DEVELOPING ETHNIC IDENTITIES IN MIDDLE CHILDHOOD

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This thesis reports an investigation into the development of ethnic identity during middle childhood. It commences with a literature review on ethnic identification, attitudes and interactions and their dominant theories. It is argued that ethnic identity development is simultaneously cognitive and social and relates to cognitive changes, schemas and social relationships. This research combines different methodologies to explore the multifaceted nature of its development.

The report of empirical work begins with an ethnography into ethnic interactions. Two critical themes are that children tended to play more with same-ethnic (ingroup) peers and expected these others to play together. This theme is examined in two experiments. 84 white, Asian and black children, aged 5, 6-7, and 8-9 years, rated their own and white, Asian and black others' ('targets') liking for toys and foods. Ethnocentric inference (that ethnic ingroup members would like things similar to oneself) was found at 6-7 years. Verbal justifications from 8-9-year-olds indicate more sophisticated expectations about group members.

A conceptual and methodological amalgamation of the last two phases was undertaken in three final studies. 220 7-year-old white and Asian children in same- or different-ethnic dyads discussed their preference for white and Asian targets. They also discussed targets' preferences for them and each other as pairs. Different-ethnic dyads had more difficulty resolving differences since each partner preferred an ingroup target. Same-ethnic dyads were more likely to select an ingroup target, pair ingroup targets together, and share their choices from the outset. Asian-dyads were more likely to reason by ethnicity.

It is concluded that this investigation demonstrates that in middle childhood children prefer, identify and interact more with same-ethnic members. These processes are augmented by an emerging recognition that others sharing one's ethnicity also share deeper attributes. However, the relationship between identity components remains unclear and could be illuminated by further research.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Basic questions

Statements like "I am English" and "She is Indian" might, at first glance, appear simple and clear. Children as young as age five years spontaneously make these statements (e.g. Aboud, 1988). But the meaning children attach to them (such as, what, or how, children associate these statements with the characteristics of, and their attitudes towards, others *and* themselves who belong to these groups) appears to change radically during the next few years. The period in question refers to what can be considered as the entry point into 'middle childhood' where, not only the development of ethnic identity and attitudes, but also a broad range of cognitive, psychological, and emotional changes take place within the child. Furthermore, middle childhood is a period of major social transitions (entering school), which present myriad changes and challenges to children collectively. So, what is the nature of ethnic identity during this critical period? How does it change? Crucially, how does cognitive development and social influence change and shape the development of children's sense of self and others in relation to ethnicity? Which of these dimensions is more dominant in exerting such an impact? These are some of the questions which the research reported in the present thesis is designed to address. For this research an attempt is made, combining different theoretical perspectives and methodological frameworks, to raise points of interest or importance as well as to provide some answers to these points.

This section surveys literature reporting those theories and research already proposed and conducted from past to present, in relation to the above primary questions concerning the development of children's ethnic identity. Upon this review of the conceptualisations and

findings of others, some of the unanswered queries, or 'gaps', within this area of research will be identified, setting up the agenda for enquiries on which those investigations in this thesis are based. Before delving into such issues, however, the definitions of ethnicity and ethnic identity themselves require some examining as the terminology can have important and at times rather uneasy implications for the study of ethnic identity development.

1.2 Definitions of ethnicity and ethnic identity

The broad term of 'ethnicity', or what constitutes an 'ethnic group', as well as what is an 'ethnic identity' or 'ethnic attitude', the constructs investigated in this thesis, have taken on numerous, inconsistent definitions in the psychological and developmental literature. Whilst the variation in definition is likely to broaden even more over time there are some common elements in the definitions by different authors and researchers in this area. The following will offer some of these from the existing literature.

1.2.1 Ethnicity

In Rotheram and Phinney's (1987) influential book *Children's ethnic socialisation* they quote definitions of ethnicity and ethnic groups as by researchers since the first half of the past century. Shibutani and Kwan (1965), for instance, define an 'ethnic group' as those who conceive of themselves as alike by virtue of their common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others. But Rotheram and Phinney (1987) argue that ethnicity is more than what one's race, religion, or national origin donates, and can

pattern one's thinking, feelings, and behaviour, in both obvious and subtle ways. Hence, definitions are suggested, by Ogbu (1981) for example, to include group patterns of all of values, social customs, perceptions, behavioural roles, language usage, and rules of social interactions that group members share. Later definitions of an 'ethnic group' hence often include elements akin to some 'socially *and/or* psychologically defined set of people who share a common culture or cultural background, because of similarity of race, nationality, or religion' (Aboud & Skerry, 1984). Similarly, in Zuckerman's (1990) review, ethnicity is concluded to be defined as distinctions based loosely on *one or more* of national origin, language, religion, and other cultural markers including food.

Rotheram and Phinney (1987) further identify some lack of clarity in boundaries between ethnic groups or how the way group members label themselves may be different from the way others label them. Obgu (1981) reports a substantial proportion of children who label themselves in ways different from their official classification in school. In their relatively recent review on racial or ethnic peer relationships, Foster, Martinez, and Kulberg (1996) further voice the lack of consistency with which the terms 'ethnicity', 'culture' and 'race' have been applied, and the recognition that all of these terms are used interchangeably to describe varying groups of people. For the broad term 'culture' Foster et al. (1996) quote Triandis and associates' definition wherein an identified group of people share a common physical (e.g. buildings, tools, artefacts) and subjective environment (Triandis, Lambert, Berry, Lonner, Heron, Brislin, & Draguns, 1980). While Foster et al. (1996) notice how this categorisation often involves national or regional origin because research on culture and its transmission has concentrated on the "subjective" aspects of culture (like social

norms, familial roles, shared values, and beliefs), other "subjective" aspects (like gender and religion) will suffice as well within this definition. Meanwhile, "ethnicity" has been appropriated to define 'a group of people who share *any or all* of common cultural background, national origins, languages, values, and practices' – thus, synonymous with culture (e.g. Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Ocampo, Bernal, & Knight, 1993).

On the surface, the term 'race', often defined as 'a grouping of people based on genetic similarity and common physical features' (e.g. skin colour, stature, facial features) (e.g. Foster et al., 1996), appears to be more easily distinguishable from the other constructs. Race is, indeed, more generally used by social scientists who refer to distinctions drawn from physical appearance which includes eye shape and physiognomy and is seen to have a 'quasi-biological' status (Zuckerman, 1990). However, this use of race is hotly debated (Frable, 1997). This is complicated by the arbitrariness with which terms like "black" or "Asian" have been applied to groups of people on the basis of *either* their racial *or* ethnic distinctions above. Considering the heterogeneity in values and behaviours among people commonly collapsed into these groups, the term 'race' instantly becomes problematic. Its difficulty is also reflected in the literature examining ethnic differences, where 'race' and 'ethnicity' are often operationalised as static variables, which in turn mask the substantial heterogeneity in cultural beliefs, behaviours and experiences (Foster et al., 1996).

1.2.2 Ethnic identity

Using Rotheram and Phinney's (1987) all-encompassing approach, ethnic identity can be broadly referred to, 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...' They are also cautious to distinguish ethnic identity from ethnicity in that the latter refers to group patterns and the former refers to the individual's *acquisition* of such patterns and is 'conceptually and functionally separate from one's personal identity as an individual, even though the two may reciprocally influence each other' (p.13).

Reviewing how ethnic identity has been applied in the literature, Rotheram and Phinney (1987) conclude that this construct includes various components, not least the following: (a) ethnic awareness (the understanding of one's own and other groups); (b) ethnic self-identification (the label used for one's own group); (c) ethnic attitudes (feelings about own and other groups); and, (d) ethnic behaviours (behavioural patterns specific to the ethnic group). They have also identified that research has frequently limited its focus on just one of these and attempts to study the relationships between thoughts, attitudes, and behaviours have been rare.

Taking into consideration developmental issues is also particularly important in assessing and understanding children's ethnic identities. Though sharing some common aspects and definitions with Rotheram and Phinney (1987), the five components of ethnic identities in children set by Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, Garza, and Cota (1990, 1993) also include some apparently age-related aspects: (1) ethnic self-identification (categorisation of oneself as a member of a particular group); (2) ethnic constancy (knowledge that one's ethnic identity

remains fixed); (3) degree to which one engages in ethnic-role behaviours (e.g. customs, language); (4) knowledge of behaviours relevant to one's ethnic group; (5) feelings and preferences related to aspects of one's ethnic knowledge (ethnic pride). Phinney (1992) outlines similar components of ethnic identity, but further added that an ethnic identity also includes a sense of belonging to one's identified ethnic group. Bernal et al. (1993) are similarly emphatic about the aspect of self, asserting that ethnic identity is a set of self-ideas about one's own ethnic group membership. They further discovered that as children, and in particular minority ethnic children, grow, they develop feelings about being members of their ethnic group and express such feelings in preference regarding ethnic values, group members, customs, language use, and other behaviours, as part of their ethnic group identity.

Applying appropriate terminology in the discussion of relevant literature is troublesome to the extent that, firstly writers often use ethnic, racial or cultural labels interchangeably even though they refer to different constructs. Secondly, researchers often fail to specify the basis of their categorisation, rendering it difficult for the reader to ascertain which of the constructs is under investigation. Due to such problems of definition, this review will use writers' own terminology to describe the population groups they assessed. However, it has to be acknowledged that this practice may invariably produce and perhaps promote continued imprecision, suffice to note that the term "ethnic group" here can apply to any collection of people who call themselves, or are called, an "ethnic" group – and who see themselves sharing common attributes as their ethnicity.

1.3 Ethnic identity – literature past to present

1.3.1 Ethnic categorisation and awareness

Categorisation of individuals on the basis of distinguishable physical or visual features (e.g. skin colour) to common societal or arbitrary stratifications (e.g. religion) is said to be a fundamental stage of social perception (e.g. Stangor, Lynch, Duan, & Glass, 1992; Tajfel, 1981). At the age of three to four years most children can differentiate people by at least skin colour (e.g. Aboud, 1988, Davey, 1983; Milner, 1983; Stangor et al., 1992) or for the distinction between black and white people, children by two years are already noticing such differences (Milner, 1983). According to most reviews, the period between zero and four years of age is when children observe and recognise different ethnic others predominantly based on their superficial physical characteristics such as skin colour, hair texture, and facial features, and from these cues form rudimentary concepts at least about race. A child is aware of such differences even without knowledge of racial concepts and racial classifications (e.g. Aboud, 1988; Goodman, 1964; Katz, 1976; Ramsey, 1987).

From age three or four, children recognise the irrevocability of racial cues, or that race is a 'biological' unchangeable characteristic (Hirschfield, 1993, 1995). It is from the same period that children form increasingly more conceptual (less superficial) differentiation. In particular between the ages of five and seven, that is entering middle childhood, they are able to consolidate more group concepts that surpass the visual racial cues to include social ethnic codes that distinguish between the different groups, from the style of dress,

speech patterns, to culinary tastes. Still further into middle childhood, around eight and nine years, children also understand that ethnic distinctions remain constant despite the advance of age or changes in external attributes (e.g. a black lady remains black even if she puts on white makeup and wears a blond wig) (Aboud, 1988; Goldman, 1964; Katz, 1976). This is identified as a more 'mature' or 'deeper' form of awareness as it involves understanding that race and ethnicity are tied to notions deeper than superficial features by which younger children are fooled (e.g. Aboud, 1984). Such development, known as ethnic constancy, is considered to be parallel to gender constancy – although the former does seem to emerge a year or so earlier than the latter (see Aboud, 1988).

The child's awareness of ethnic grouping can take the form of perceiving similarities and differences between members of the same and different groups. Vaughan (1963, 1987) in his study of 5-8 year-old white and Maori children found that they were able to categorise by race and to give appropriate labels to people only after they were relatively accurate at perceiving similarities, suggesting that classification skills required for categorisation and labelling mature later than perceptual skills. Similar results were obtained by Aboud and Mitchell (1977) with 6-10 year-old white and Indian American children. However, it was also found that perceived similarity received interference from white children's own likes and dislikes for the group – they made more 'errors' to their disliked groups. This finding relating attitudes to classification is argued to have come from a lack of knowledge of, or attention to, details to those one dislikes since this parallels an earlier finding by Johnson, Middleton and Tajfel (1970) where children possessed least knowledge about the national groups they disliked.

More recently several studies from the Netherlands show that the use of ethnic categories is less frequent than anticipated. For instance, Verkuyten and Masson (1994) found that, in describing differences between school friends, many alternative social categories and non-categorical descriptions were used and there were hardly any references to ethnicity where 10-12 year-old Dutch and Turkish children described their peers' patterns of play. Verkuyten and Kinket (1999) further reported that children were more likely to categorise their peers by psychological characteristics. They also, however, found that children's use of ethnic categories was influenced by stereotypes. In one previous UK study by Bennett, Dewberry and Yeeles (1991), 8 and 11 year-old children seldom used ethnicity as a basis for categorising persons, if afforded the option of responding to either individual or group characteristics. These studies suggest the possibility that the salience of ethnic categories in person perception may be overstated in some test situations.

The degree of awareness is dependent on the ethnic group in which one belongs. It has been generally noted in categorisation tasks that minority ethnic groups tend to develop ethnic awareness earlier than majority ethnic groups (e.g. Goodman, 1964; Katz, 1976). However, the salience of ethnicity and race or their various aspects may differ *between minority* groups. For example, the feature of colour is considered to be more salient for black children than it is for other minority groups (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990) whilst food and language may be more critical for Chinese children (e.g. Aboud, 1987).

Where initial ethnic awareness is based largely on children's ability to categorise obvious external perceptual cues, such information acquired about others is also highly dependent on the amount or kinds of contact a child has with other groups. Children living in mixed ethnic neighbourhood appear to have a much greater awareness of others' characteristics than those living in ethnically homogeneous areas (e.g. see Ramsey, 1987; for a review). For instance, in categorisation tasks, black children who present a clear minority in their community more frequently use ethnicity than do their white counterparts. But in a more equally 'balanced' community white and black children use this dimension with the same frequency. In short, ethnic awareness may vary as a function of any of these dimensions of ethnic features, task, exposure and the larger social context.

1.3.2 Ethnic self-awareness and identification

Closely parallel to the awareness of others' ethnicity, ethnic self-awareness, defined by Aboud (1987) as the first stage towards self-identification, is typically found to develop during the same childhood period, emerging by three or four years of age. But it appears that self-awareness develops more rapidly than the awareness of others' ethnicity. That is, children perceive the ethnic similarity between themselves and others earlier than they do so between others, although such evidence is relatively rare (Vaughan, 1963). Thus, once children acquire the initial recognition of ethnic groups, they quickly proceed through the levels of self-identification. This process further seems to change with social experience, exposure to new information, and developing cognitive abilities (see later sections).

Ethnic self-identification necessitates that a child acquire and consistently use accurately his/her own ethnic label, based on the perception and conception of themselves as being a member who belongs to that ethnic group (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). Similar to one's awareness of others' ethnicity, long before their acquisition of the ability to label oneself accurately, as a form of self-identification children are found to be both perceptually and cognitively aware of ethnic stimuli already (Katz, 1987). However, ethnic self-awareness does not only involve knowledge of one's own and others' ethnic groups and their critical attributes or characteristics, becoming aware of the similarity and differences between the self and others is of pivotal importance (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). It is anticipated that ethnic awareness feeds into and is also fed by the child's growing self-identification (e.g. Aboud, 1988). With the awareness of one's ethnic cues comes the knowledge of oneself as a member of an ethnic group; in the process of knowing more about others, they also increase their ethnic knowledge about themselves. In other words, as children are able to discriminate between ethnic stimuli, assign ethnic labels, they should also become able to identify with the stimulus that is most like them.

Earlier studies on ethnic identification concentrated on which ethnicity a child identifies with (with the child indicating which doll, photograph, or drawing looks or is most like themselves as the test stimuli). After the initial random identification at very young ages (despite one UK study which found three quarters of white children as young as 3 years identifying more with the white person or doll; Marsh, 1970), children from at least the majority white group tend to display certain response consistency from around age four. Many studies report most of white children to select their own-race characters as being

similar to themselves by age 4 or 5 and virtually all do so by 6 and 7 years (e.g. Aboud, 1988; Davey, 1983; Williams & Morland, 1976; for reviews). Thus for white children, significant improvements occur between ages 4 and 8; regardless of the absolute levels claiming ingroup similarity, accuracy is high at 4 and increases over the next few years.

Concurrently, for minority ethnic children, since the earliest work by Clark and Clark (1947), much evidence has accumulated to indicate that in any society with ethnic and racial stratifications, self-identification "errors" persist from early childhood to a latter stage. Despite a few exceptions where black children of ages 3 or 4 identify with black stimuli (e.g. Fox & Jordan, 1973; Marsh, 1970), a substantial proportion of studies has tended to find that black and minority ethnic children choose the "wrong" stimulus, an other-race (typically white) character, both in the US (e.g. see Aboud, 1988; Goodman, 1964; Katz, 1976; for a review) and in the UK (e.g. Jahoda, Thomson, & Bhatt, 1972; Milner, 1973). Similar findings have been reported of other minority ethnic children in different national or cultural contexts (e.g. the Maori in New Zealand; Vaughan, 1964; Bantu in South Africa; Gregor & McPherson, 1966). There are significant increases in correct self-identification from about age 5, and at 7 most minority ethnic children will identify with their own group. However, even among older children the figure seldom exceeds 90 per cent (e.g. see Davey, 1983; Willliams & Morland, 1976; for reviews). This presents an interesting irony in that, as noted before, minority ethnic children are aware of their own ethnicity and ethnic differences earlier than their majority peers.

The past two decades have seen relatively fewer studies directly enquiring children's ethnic self-identification with those undertaking this, in particular in the UK, reporting somewhat higher proportions of black and minority ethnic children choosing characters of their own ethnic groups compared to previous decades (e.g. Boulton & Smith, 1992; Davey & Mullin, 1980; Milner, 1983). Davey and Mullin (1980), for instance, reported especially low rates of both black and Asian children identifying with other-race (white) characters, which are even lower than that in white children. Boulton and Smith (1992) more recently found no appreciable ethnic differences in own-race identification among white, black, and Asian 8-10 year-olds. However, when he (see Milner, 1983) repeated his self-identification test from ten years before, Milner found that a drop in other-race identification only applied to black children; misidentification by Asian children in fact rose slightly. This suggests some between-minority-ethnic-group differences in self-identification which can reflect different contemporary social experiences or influences, such as the "increased representation and involvement of black adults in politics, mass media, and education" from the late 1970s (Davey & Mullin, 1980).

Despite the evidence accumulated to suggest that ethnic self-consciousness at least starts to be established from about four or five years of age. Aboud and Christian's (1979) work demonstrates that children only begin to develop a sense of *association* with some people and *dissociation* from others from age six. Furthermore, the criteria which underlie these associations and dissociations are inconsistently applied and not consistently understood. Ethnic dimensions were most prevalent in social perceptions and self-identification but took different forms in different ethnic children, which reflects aspects of socialisation.

Still, for most children, social affiliations developed later than behavioural attachments. Indeed, apart from consistently identifying oneself as being similar to others from one's ethnic group, components of ethnic self-identification also involve labelling oneself as a member of that group and defining oneself in terms of certain critical attributes of their ethnicity (e.g. Aboud, 1987, 1988). Perceptual measures on similarity simply appear to evoke responses more readily than labelling or attribute-identifying measures and also very few of the latter cognitive measures have been used to examine children's ethnic self-identification.

Of those using labelling *and* perceived similarity to measure self-identification Aboud's (1977, 1980) work has shed some light in the way in which children acquire their ethnic label and perception of similarity to ingroup members. Her 1980 study found a peculiar pattern where black children knew their correct label if they perceived themselves to be similar to other black people whilst some white children had acquired their label before perceived similarity and some after. This indicates somewhat differential identification processes between majority and minority ethnic children which was implied in Aboud's 1977 study. Native Indian and Chinese Canadian 5-7 year-olds knew their correct labels but did not perceive themselves to be similar to members from their ethnic groups. Few perceived themselves to be similar to white children without claiming themselves white. Such discrepancies suggest that although the label measure may more accurately reflect the child's knowledge of his/her ethnic group *membership*, the similarity measure may well reveal the group with whom he/she actually *relates to* in other characteristics.

In spontaneous reporting of self-identities there is a general tendency for minority ethnic members to describe themselves by their ethnic groups both in adulthood and childhood (Powell, 1973; McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978). Hence, in a predominantly white society being black is a more salient aspect of one's identity than being white. This has been shown to be the case in the Netherlands for Turkish children recently (Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997) who more likely referred to their ethnicity in self-description than their Dutch classmates. But group differences in norms, expectations, values, and behavioural patterns are less frequently recognised by white children, since most of their contacts are with white others (see later) or contacts with non-whites are in contexts in which majority norms prevail (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). As a result many white children are not even aware that they belong to an ethnic group. Contextual factors such as ethnic composition of the school have an influence on especially older children's self-identification. Dutton, Singer and Devlin (1998), using majority white, majority black, and integrated schools, found that 9-10-year-olds made more references to race in the integrated schools than in the other school settings. This supports their hypothesis that the exposure to other races increases the salience of one's own race (see McGuire & Padawer-Singer, 1976).

1.3.3 Ethnic attitudes and preferences

It is important to recognise that children's conceptions of ethnicity do not simply consist of perceptual and cognitive representations, but further contain an affective or evaluative component usually seen as attitudes. The latter idea has been demonstrated in the 1960's by Tajfel whose studies on children's perceptions of 'salient foreign people' (in Barrett &

Short, 1992) illustrate how children often acquire value judgements about the individuals in the absence of other information about them (e.g. Tajfel, 1966; Tajfel & Jahoda, 1966). In regard to ethnicity, an ethnic attitude is generally seen as a predisposition to behave in a favourable or unfavourable manner towards people from certain ethnicities (e.g. Aboud, 1987, 1988; Aboud & Skerry, 1984), or preferences or liking (or otherwise) for own and other ethnic groups (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990).

The age at which children actually start to acquire racial attitudes has been a question of much interest. To date, evidence suggests that by age 3 or 4 years children already make differential affective or evaluative responses to skin colour and other racial cues (e.g. see Aboud, 1987, 1988; Katz, 1982, 1983). There are general agreements that ethnic attitudes begin to take shape and are already observable during the nursery school ages which then increase rapidly for the next few years into middle childhood. Early studies appropriated Clark and Clark's (1947) and Williams' (Williams, Best, & Boswell, 1976; Williams & Morland, 1976) or Katz's (Katz & Zalk, 1978; Katz, Sohn, & Zalk, 1975) methodology, which requires the child to choose a doll or photograph in response to some preference or evaluative questions. These found the most consistent pattern at least with white children, who often display a preference for white stimuli as opposed to black or other ethnic cues, which is a pronounced tendency by 4 years of age (e.g. Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1980; Kircher & Furby, 1971). Clark et al. (1980), and Kircher and Furby (1971), performed a cross-sectional analysis of 3- and 4-year-olds' responses which pinpoints a definite white preference at ages 4 and 5 which did not exist at age 3.

Brand, Ruiz, and Padilla (1974) assert that once positive or negative attitudes are formed when ethnic awareness emerges at about 4 years they tend to increase with age and young white children will display higher ingroup preferences and outgroup rejections than black children. Pro-ingroup attitudes or bias in white children have been amply documented to continue to rise through 5-, 6-, and 7-year-olds indeed whereas beyond 7 or 8 years there appears to be some decline. Some studies report a drop in ingroup preference as well as positive ingroup attributions of traits (or negative outgroup attributions) in the form of a curvilinear fashion, declining after 6-7 years to a level approaching or even below those levels during earlier childhood (e.g. Black-Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Doyle, Beudat, & Aboud, 1988; Rice, Ruiz, & Padilla, 1974). Few studies have seen no change in ingroup favouritism from early through middle childhood still (e.g. Aboud, 1977, Fox & Jordan, 1973; George & Hoppe, 1979).

Meanwhile, since Clark and Clark's (1947) classic work a substantial body of literature has accumulated to suggest either that, similar to their white counterparts, minority ethnic children are likely to reject representations of black and minority ethnic stimuli in favour of white stimuli, or at least there is no typical ingroup attachment and outgroup rejection (see reviews by Aboud, 1987, 1988; Aboud & Skerry, 1984). Black children also appear to form these attitudes at the same ages as white children, by 3 or 4 years (e.g. Kircher & Furby, 1971). Towards age 7, analyses of age effects found either an increase in ingroup preference (e.g. Fox & Jordan, 1977; Hraba & Grant, 1970), or simply no change at all (e.g. Aboud, 1980; Katz et al., 1975; Williams et al., 1975). While no studies reported a fall in this ingroup preference until 7 years, there has been some indication for this trend

beyond 8 years for those who are already pro-black, similar to the pro-ingroup pattern in white children. On the whole, older children consistently favour their ingroup over white than younger children with little change over the next few years (see Aboud, 1987, 1988).

Non-black minority children in both the US (e.g. native Indian, Hispanic, and Chinese) and the UK (e.g. Asian) express similarly low, or even lower, preferences for their own ethnicity during the same period (e.g. Aboud, 1977; George & Hoppe, 1979; Rice et al., 1974; in the US; Jahoda et al., 1972; Milner, 1973, 1979; in the UK). Not dissimilar to black children, they either indicated a white preference or showed no preferences at all. Although some increase in ingroup favouritism has often been reported towards middle childhood, their predominant preference for white stimuli and positive attitudes towards white stimuli remain quite high throughout this period. Then beyond 7, most have more moderated though not rejecting attitudes towards white stimuli (Aboud, 1987, 1988).

The apparent devaluation by young minority ethnic children of their own group is likely related to the social norms ruling the relative position of groups in a society, considering the consistent findings across different cultural settings, including those where the white population is a minority in number, but not in status. For instance, Vaughan (1964) found New Zealander Maori children to less likely favour their ingroup than the Pakeha (white) children. Gregor and McPherson (1966) report that Bantu children preferred white dolls, although whites are the numerical minority in South Africa. Tajfel, Jahoda, Nemeth, Rim and Johnson (1972) found that, where there are few clearly visual differences in Scotland and Israel, subtle influences can still lead minority children to devalue their own group.

On the note of societal status, later literature within the last two decades portrays slightly different pictures of both majority and minority children's ethnic attitudes, which may go to reflect the change of socio-political climate concerning minority ethnic people's status. Although relatively fewer studies have been conducted since the 1980s, of those in place numerous examples in both the US and UK literature (Aboud, 1980, 1981; Barnes, 1980; Davey, 1983; Milner, 1983) have demonstrated both white and black children to display marked ethnocentrism. This contrasts the previous trend of at least black children having ingroup rejecting or pro-white attitudes. Similar to the explanation offered by Davey and Mullin (1980) for black ingroup identification, Barnes (1980) quotes the efforts by black communities to strengthen pro-black values and attitudes, particularly by the relationship among the community and parent promotion of the black 'cause' and child beliefs.

More recently, whilst Boulton and Smith (1992) produced a slightly more 'encouraging' finding for older (age 8-10) white children in that gender is a more important preference criterion than race (same-sex other-race others were chosen to other-sex same-race ones), they still allocated considerably more positive and fewer negative traits to ingroup others. However, the white children seemed to have more positive opinions of black than Asian photographs. Asian children, on the other hand, generally preferred their own group first but black others least. Similarly, in Black-Gutman and Hickson (1996) white Australian children from age 5 to 12 were more positive towards Asian than Aborigine Australians. These findings suggest that, similar to self-identification, children's ethnic attitudes can vary as a function of the ethnic group membership of both the judge and the group to be

judged. In particular, there can be much *between-minority* ethnic difference in the extent to which they are evaluated positively or negatively by the majority group, which can be in part dependent on socialisation and concurrent stereotypes (e.g. increasingly positive, particularly by white boys, of black males as sportsmen; Boulton & Smith, 1992).

Verkuyten's recent investigations in the Netherlands as mentioned before further point to the role of stereotypes in, as well as the context dependency of, children's ethnic attitudes similar to their influence on ethnic awareness and self-identification (see earlier sections). In his 1999 study with Kinket (Verkuyten & Kinket, 1999), for example, 10-12 year-old Dutch and Turkish children were asked to indicate preferences in different situations for hypothetical partners who had been described by a combination of ethnicity, gender, and psychological characteristics. Both ethnic groups were less likely to make use of ethnicity in indicating their preferences for playing than preferences for working on an educational task and for explaining quarrels. Even the role of ethnic stereotypes is domain-specific in activity in that, for instance, perceived difference in quarrelsomeness between Dutch and Turkish was only predictive of how they explain quarrelling, whilst perceived difference in friendliness between the groups was predictive of ethnic preference in play.

Taken together, although it can be viewed that the pro-majority white, anti-minority black and others dominate the preschool and in many cases even early school years, it has often been found that around 7 years of age there is a modification in these rather dichotomised responses. Meanwhile any or all of factors such as social status, political climate, societal stereotypes and context can influence children's ethnic attitudes and their development.

1.3.4 Ethnic behaviours and interactions

A behavioural component is often included as part of ethnic identity which is defined by the set of interactions and relations they conduct with others. Foster et al. (1996) identify that culturally distinct social values are particularly likely to develop to the extent that: (1) children are socialised within their ethnic ingroup; and that, (2) the group transmits culturally specific values, shapes, reinforces, and punishes behaviour considered to be desirable and undesirable within the group. Both conditions, to Foster et al. (1996), are plausible insofar that children's interactions with peers correlate with their socialisation with parents, who almost always are members of the same group and, as the following will show, children interact largely within their own ethnic group.

Schofield (1982) claims that "one need not be a social scientist" to recognise that during the preadolescent years friendships and other lesser forms of associations most frequently occur between children who have both gender and ethnic group membership in common. He observed research which portrays that during middle childhood while children gain an increasing understanding of their own ethnic label and its ethnic attributes and constancy, the number of cross-ethnic friends drops concurrently. Indeed, research since the 1970's has documented the pervasive nature of ethnic divisions in primary-school-age children's friendship and interaction patterns both in the UK and US and the striking racial cleavage through preadolescence (e.g. Cohen, 1975; Schofield, 1978).

Racial cleavage is observed in interaction patterns since preschool in that white and black children spend a higher percentage of the time with same-race peers than with children of another race in school and nursery (e.g. Finkelstein & Haskins, 1983; Sagar, Schofield, & Synder, 1983). Further, there is evidence that through the course of a school year children become even more racially biased in their play patterns in that they increasingly associate with same-race peers (Finkelstein & Haskins, 1983). On the other hand, an earlier study by Singleton and Asher (1977) found that ingroup tendency was only observed in girls. While most of such previous research in the 1970s and 1980s was conducted in the US between black and white children, their results have been echoed by a more recent study in the UK by Boulton and Smith (1993) who observed that white and Asian 8-9 year-old interacted more with same-ethnic peers. However, also in line with Singleton and Asher (1977), boys were more likely to play in cross-ethnic grouping than girls.

Considerable evidence in their sociometric choices also supports the notion that children show same-ethnic preferences. White and black children from preschool through end of primary school have consistently given higher liking ratings or friendship nominations to same-race peers than other-race peers (e.g. Coie, Dodge, & Coppotelli, 1982; Hallinan & Smith, 1985; Sagar, Schofield, & Synder, 1983). Gender differences in peer interactions and friendships are also evident in such research. Sagar et al. (1983) found that although older (US 6th grade) boys chose more same-race friends than girls, girls in general were more likely to choose other same-race girls. Meanwhile, Hallinan and Teixeira (1987) found this gender discrepancy only true for white girls from 8 through 12 years of age (4th to 7th grades), but black girls in fact nominated more white friends than black boys.

Again, the issue of context is of vital significance. Some early research conducted during classroom instruction found little evidence of same-ethnic peer preferences (see Singleton & Asher, 1977). At the same time, other studies conducted in more fluid settings, such as the school playground or canteen (e.g. Schofield, 1979; Schofield & Sagar, 1977), which give children more freedom in peer interactions, show high same-ethnic peer preferences. Finkelstein and Haskins's (1983) study looking at interactions in both settings confirmed this; same-race preferences in class were much weaker than that for play during recesses. The feature of (majority/minority) status within the setting under investigation is likely to play a part. In Coie et al. (1982) the influence of status group on how black children were evaluated indicates that as a minority in school black children who showed assertiveness, which was otherwise an attribute for popular children among the majority, may generate resentment instead among majority white children and be seen as controversial.

More recent studies looking at rejection as well as preferences found that children giving higher liking ratings to same-race peers does not necessarily result in disproportionately greater representation of other-race peers being rejected at least within ethnically diverse settings (Foster et al., 1996). Patterson and associates and Wentzel in the US (Patterson, Kupersmidt, & Vaden, 1990; Wentzel, 1991), and Bichard and colleagues in Canada (see Bichard, Alden, Walker, & McMahon, 1988), found that race and ethnicity and children's classroom social status were not related in white and black Americans, and in Caucasian-Oriental-, and Indian-Canadians. Howes and Wu (1990) obtained similar results with all of Euro-, Afro-, Asian-, and Spanish-American children and found that third-graders in

fact engaged in more positive cross-ethnic interactions and friendships than preschoolers. Three years on, however, Kistner and others found that classroom minority status of both white and black girls is associated with their rejection as they received more negative trait and behavioural nominations (Kistner, Metzler, Gatlin, & Risi, 1993).

Hence, literature related to within- and between-ethnic peer interactions and friendships abound to show the degree of affiliation and the reverse between different ethnic groups of children as a potential indicator of the group's ethnic identity. But limited research so far has examined directly the behavioural patterns *within* these groups to illuminate their ethnicity related values, norms, expectations and so on as a component of ethnic identity. What research there is has been undertaken in the US which has demonstrated that ethnic minority children have ethnically based behavioural patterns that can differ from that of majority white children somewhat (see Foster et al., 1996; Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, Ocampo, 1993). Comparatively little like research has been conducted in recent years in the UK but with earlier attempts highlighting similarly differential behaviour tendencies in black and minority ethnic children (e.g. Smith & Tomlinson, 1989; Tomlinson, 1983). Black children, as an example, are perceived as being emphatic on the direct expression of feelings; that is, they externalise their emotions (Foster et al., 1996). This appears to tie in with Coie et al.'s (1982) finding that proportionately more black children were selected as controversial in that they received more nominations for "disrupts", "fights" and like items and fewer for "co-operates".

There have been fewer reports on the ethnic behavioural patterns of Asian children in the UK with what research there has been pointing towards the role of both enculturation and acculturation at home and in school (e.g. Foster et al., 1996; Smith & Tomlinson, 1989). The former suggests that Asian children would be relatively oriented towards their ethnic group and the family, having higher respect and being accepting of authority due to their cultures being characterised as emphasising affiliation, cooperation, and interpersonal – in particular, familial – relationships. On the other hand, acculturation processes imply that some (not all) Asian cultures should aspire to achievement, which may be translated into academic success in children. These suppositions seem to correspond well with the behavioural norm reported in previous research (Smith & Tomlinson, 1989; Tomlinson, 1983) where Asian children as an ethnic group have been described as well-behaved and able as pupils, although a revised trend might need to be considered for certain (notably Muslim) subcultures in recent years (Weinreich, 1996).

The role of ethnic behaviours is of importance to the development of ethnic identities in that the use of such behaviours within the family and school may be one of the essential precursors of one's ethnic group knowledge (e.g. values, customs, expectations) (Knight et al., 1993). As such, through prolonged association with family and peers children can develop feelings of identification with their ethnic ingroup and express these feelings in terms of preferences for their ingroup membership, values, customs and other behaviour. These have long been thought to be related to and an aspect of children's ethnic identity, developed through both socialisation and cognitive growth (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). In turn, a sense of ethnic identity also leads to ethnically related behaviours (Knight et al.,

1990, 1993). Although both Knight's and Rotheram and Phinney's frameworks focus on ethnic socialisation, it is also emphasised that socialising experiences in conjunction with other (notably cognitive) factors shape and are shaped by children's ethnic identities (e.g. Phinney & Rotheram, 1987).

1.3.5 Summary

There appears to be a definite, though only vaguely consistent, sequence of development for ethnic identity from early to middle childhood. At or by the age of three, most young children will have at least gained an awareness of some ethnic categories. Concurrently, or soon after that, they become aware of their own ethnic group membership, seemingly by recognising the similarities between themselves and those of their ingroup. However, many minority ethnic children do not identify with others of their group by this principle of similarity even though they are more conscious of ethnic differences. It is at about the same time that attitudes towards different ethnic groups are formed. Although there is no precise data on whether ethnic identification or attitudes happens first, minority children are often pro-white, the majority group with whom many also identity. Towards middle childhood, however, both majority and minority children will increasingly identify with and prefer (or have more positive attitudes towards) those of their own ethnic group and further into childhood this ingroup tendency generally continues. Despite these changes in identification and in preferences or attitudes, there is a fairly consistent pattern where children as young as three through late middle childhood interact more and claim more friendships with others of their ingroup. Gender, classroom status, and the wider social context all seem to moderate the level of ethnic identification, attitudes, and behaviour.

1.4 Major theories for the development of ethnic identities

A number of different theoretical and empirical approaches have been used in the study of ethnic identities. Previously those from the psychoanalytical school of thoughts have tended to concentrate on the child's affective ties to and motivational instincts to be one similar to his/her ethnic group. But such tendencies are considered as an evolving sense of identity based on one's culture expressed differently at different developmental phase (Erikson, 1968). While such a model has been, albeit scarcely, explored in research, this has focused on identity formation in adolescence (see review by Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). The development of ethnic identities in the Eriksonian sense has indeed been minimally investigated, particularly among younger minority ethnic children.

This section will provide a review and critique on the more longstanding and extensively researched frameworks, namely the cognitive-developmental and social identity theories. The former has been inspired by the stage theory of cognitive development formulated by Piaget which largely examines the child's increasing ability to discriminate, differentiate, and integrate ethnic stimuli or experience (e.g. Aboud, 1988, Katz, 1976). Social identity theorists examine processes of social comparison between oneself and others (e.g. Tajfel, 1973, 1978, 1981). More recent variants of such (schema and self-categorisation theories) models are also presented, reflecting the increasing importance placed on the contextual variables in identity development, a feature that has been neglected until more recently. Prior to delving into these issues, however, the themes specific to ethnic perception in general that pertains to such theories will be dissected in some length first; in particular,

the question of how ethnic categories and ethnic differences have come to be such a salient aspect of perception.

1.4.1 Ethnic salience: from distinctiveness to differentiation and integration

Why are ethnic categories and differences so salient to children? At this point there is no one satisfactory explanation of why ethnic characteristics play a highly dominant role in social perception. An early explanation is that, lacking a set of elaborated and organised cognitions about people, children rely more than adults on overt perceptual information that conveys group differences (Rosenberg, 1979; Shantz, 1975). Katz (1982) identifies this as the 'perceptual prerequisite' involved in learning any category system. In order to define a social group, the child has to discriminate between groups and learn which cues are relevant for group inclusion or exclusion.

Because of this perceptual prerequisite, for young children, formative classifications are based upon cues that are easily discernible. It is not until later, near preadolescence, that children refer to internal attributes such as beliefs and feelings, which might be far more useful for differentiating and evaluating individuals. As such this developmental pattern to categorise based on overt cues has been argued to be one that affects self-descriptions in general as much as ethnic group descriptions (e.g. Aboud, 1977; Davidson, 1976). Yet Aboud and Skerry (1983, 1984) note a developmental 'lag' in ethnic perception; external attributes dominate ethnic in/outgroup descriptions alike for about two years longer than they do person descriptions which may be related to the distinctiveness of ethnic groups.

Concerning the distinctiveness of group characteristics, early theorists such as Lambert and Klineberg (1967) suggested that minority children might be encouraged (by parents, in particular) to make comparisons and contrasts among groups as a way of 'solidifying' self and group identity. McGuire et al. (1978) argued that distinctive or different features are generally more salient and thus attended to more than nondistinctive features. It is the principle that they adapt to reason why in their study minority ethnic children more often included ethnicity in their self-descriptors than did majority ethnic children. Similarly, in Katz (1983), black children's perceptions of group differences show no decline with age, as the distinctiveness of another person's ethnicity may similarly draw attention to his or her ethnicity and affect other-group attitudes (Aboud & Skerry, 1984). Racial salience is also seen as a factor for the higher awareness of black children in Dutton et al. (1998) in making them more aware of society's racial tensions and greater acceptance of the white "norm" and consequently more self-conscious about portraying themselves.

The idea of distinctiveness has been extended by Hamilton (1979). He found that, when members of an infrequently referenced category were described in conjunction with low-frequency behaviours, children would overestimate the frequency with which the group performed the behaviour. The salience of the group-behaviour link was salient, and thus was argued to be easier to recall and lead children to postulate that it happens frequently. With age, however, at least white children appeared to perceive members of an outgroup more similarly and those of their ingroup more differently (e.g. Aboud & Mitchell, 1977; Katz, Sohn, & Zalk, 1975). This has been a robust feature where self-other differentiation

and integration seem to increase with age. But the distinctions made between people will increase in abstraction (from concrete external features to social and psychological ones) as well as in number, and certain 'higher-order' similarities emerge which help the child to recognise relationships among different individuals (e.g. Livesley & Bromley, 1973; Secord & Peevers, 1974).

Major theories of ethnic identity development, whether cognitively or socially orientated, thus have at their core the two processes of differentiation and integration. Differentiation refers to how one differentiates oneself and one's group from others. Integration refers to how one integrates oneself with members of one's own group, and at another apparently higher level, how one integrates one's group with other groups in the larger society (e.g. Aboud, 1977; Aboud & Christian, 1979). Katz considers such processes as prerequisites involved in learning *any* category system and concept formation on the whole (e.g. Katz, 1982, 1983) and that before being able to define a category (including social categories), the child must learn those cues relevant for group inclusion and exclusion. Whether such processes are prerequisite for ethnic identity development, they are likely to at least have a bearing on the child's nature and degree of complexity of ethnic self-definition. This is particularly likely, bearing in mind children's reliance on perceptual attributes described, that ethnic groups, similar to gender as perceptually salient categories, can easily become the basis for self identification and intergroup attitudes (Bigler, Jones, & Lobliner, 1997). It would also be interesting to study the developmental course of such processes, in view of the changes reviewed above from almost exclusively perceptually based towards more and more psychologically based categorisation from younger to older children.

1.4.2 Cognitive developmental theories

For great many years the dominant approach emerging from the literature attends to the processes related to cognitive development and posits that these are also responsible for the development of identities and attitudes manifested by children. Since much of social cognition, moral development, and conservation ability are at least in part dependent on cognitive ability (e.g. moving from concrete to abstract thinking), it is hence conceivable that cognitive development may also influence the development of self-identities (Crain, 1996). Indeed Katz (1976) articulates that children's perceptions of social stimuli should follow the same developmental rules as their perception or concepts about other stimuli. The cognitive-developmental approach of children's understanding of ethnicity requires that this understanding follow certain developmental sequence similar to other cognitive phenomena (e.g. conservation ability; Clark et al., 1980; Doyle et al. 1988). This school predicts a direct relationship between ethnic identity and cognitive development.

Best represented in Piaget's constructivist approaches, cognitive-developmental theories stress the child's active role in interpreting, organising, and utilising information from the environment as well as acquiring and maturing his skills and knowledge in the process. In particular Piaget's work on children's intellectual and moral development, encompassing areas such as egocentrism and perception of national groups (Piaget, 1929, 1932; Piaget & Weil, 1951) has been extended to investigate children's perception and understanding of social categories (gender, ethnicity, for example; see reviews by Aboud, 1987, 1988; Katz, 1976; Kohlberg, 1966).

Unsurprisingly, the stage-like progression of qualitative changes in cognitive structures, or schemas, borrowing from Piaget's original theorisation (Piaget, 1929, 1932; Piaget & Inhelder, 1969) is central to the cognitive-developmental approach. To explain children's acquisition and development of ethnic-role knowledge, cognitive-developmental theories generally rest on the assumption where young (age 6 years or under) preoperational stage children's cognitive ability levels would give rise to biases or mistakes in the processing of ethnic categories as they are unable to decentre (Aboud, 1988). Decentring, according to Piaget (1932), means attending to two or more different perspectives simultaneously, or processing multiple classifications. With advances towards a higher stage or level of cognitive development (i.e. towards concrete operational stage) children engage in more social categorisation and intergroup differentiation. The child is said to consider more of those differences between social categories as in- or out-groups and to be less concerned for the similarity between members in different groups, or differences between members within a group (Aboud, 1988). As children progress further in cognitive development (i.e. towards their formal operational stage), group differences become gradually less salient, and individual differences more so. Children are thought to be increasingly likely to make social judgements based on interpersonal or psychological traits rather than intergroup qualities alone (e.g. Aboud, 1988; Katz, 1976).

Hence, cognitive-developmental theories predict children from about age 6-7 (entering middle childhood) to start showing highest levels of ingroup identification, favouritism and outgroup rejection (e.g. Aboud, 1988; Clark et al., 1980). The term "ethnocentrism"

is used to refer to an exaggerated preference for the ingroup and a concomitant dislike of other groups (LeVine & Campbell, 1972). This attitude is posited to 'peak' from 7 years, for children are 'sociocentric' (see Aboud, 1988); their perception preoccupied with the similarities and differences between groups or categories. Towards the 9 or 10 years the child's ability to decentre, or to take multiple perspectives simultaneously increase still further, and their ingroup tendencies would begin to abate. This is seen to be a result of their becoming more aware of individual differences in terms of their internal qualities (instead of simply group-based inferences) and their reasoning no longer being largely dominated by the 'biases' of stereotyping and intergroup attitudes.

There has been some evidence for the changes in ethnic classification, identification, and attitudes reflecting children's levels of cognitive achievements. The increase in cognitive functions that comes with the change from preoperational thought (at age 6-7) correlates with various ethnic cognitions. Decentration has been found to correlate with or precede the development of ethnic constancy (e.g. Aboud, 1984; Aboud, Skerry, 1980; Clark et al., 1980), and to the acceptance of different ethnic preferences held by different ethnic groups (Aboud, 1981). These correspond with the cognitive frameworks by Piaget and Weil (1951) and Kohlberg (1969), who examined children's understanding of national groups. Piaget and Weil (1951), for instance, found that children seemed to understand the viewpoints and feelings of different groups along the development of perspective-taking abilities. They noticed that this understanding of national relationships included reciprocation (the awareness that other nationalities prefer their ingroup as much as the child perceiver him/herself prefers his/her ingroup), then, reconciliation (the awareness

that both sides are "right"). Later, Aboud (1981) found that the ability to reconcile two different racial perspectives increased from age 5 to 9 and that it correlates with social perspective taking. Furthermore, Aboud and Christian's (1979) studies into children's ethnic associations and dissociations showed that many 7-year-old children sometimes conformed to others' perspectives, desirous of minimising ingroup difference whereas their younger counterparts were much more egocentric. Aboud's more recent research with Doyle (Doyle & Aboud, 1995) further found that white children displayed greater improvements in reconciliation of differential racial views from age 6 to 9 and that the increase of this perception is associated with a decline in negative outgroup attitudes.

Further evidence that supports the cognitive-developmental perspective comes from the increasing usage of ethnic categories and identification with ingroup others by children from early middle childhood. These phenomena emerge with increases in their cognitive abilities during the transition from concrete to abstract thinking, where the domination of preoperational cues gives way to a more flexible cognitive pattern as the child progresses through the concrete operational stage. Young children's less sophisticated categorisation and attention to physical features (e.g. skin colour, facial features) of ethnicity and errors in identification are thought to be determined largely by their relatively concrete thinking. A decline in white children's negative attitudes towards minority ethnic others has been tied with the attainment of concrete operations after age 7 (e.g. Katz, 1976). Further still, diminishing salience of ethnicity in categorisation and identification possibly reflect their increasingly less concrete thinking preoccupied by group-based characteristics. Instead, more abstract and individual-psychological features, as indicated by older (11-year-olds)

children's (versus 8-year-old) responses in Bennett et al. (1991), become more dominant. Relatively direct evidence comes from studies which found that children's understanding of race and ethnicity shows positive relationships with their performances on previously researched measures of general cognitive development (e.g. Clark et al.'s, 1980). Clark and others (1980) examinations of 2½ to 10½ year-olds' understanding of the origins of race and their physical conservation and physical causality suggest that these cognitive abilities serve as developmental prerequisites to children's understanding of race.

However, more recent studies found somewhat contrary or inconsistent patterns to what would be expected by the cognitive-developmental school. Black-Gutman and Hickson (1996), in examining 5-12 year-old white Australian children's attitudes towards white, Asian, and Aborigines Australians, found only partial evidence in support of the role of cognition in the development of racial attitudes. The middle childhood group (7-9 years) showed less bias towards the outgroup than the younger *as well as* older children, which was unexpected, given that in later childhood 10-12 year-olds should not be constrained by a cognition in how they think about groups. In general, children did not differ in their evaluations of their own group and Asian Australians yet they did towards Aborigines in that the 7-9 year-olds displayed less negativity. There was a barely moderate relationship among maturing ability to reconcile different racial perspectives, perceived between-race similarity, and greater racial tolerance. Likewise, Coremblum, Annis, and Tanaka (1997) investigated directly the predictability of cognitive competencies for ethnic identity, and produced even less convincing results. Again children's cognitive ability was associated only moderately with, or predicted only white children's, but not other groups', attitudes

towards their own group. Older children's ethnic preferences did not differ from those of the younger groups. Overall the unclear relationship between cognitive ability and ethnic attitudes and the differences in bias towards different minority ethnic groups indicate the influence of other maybe non-cognitive (e.g. environment, learning) factors on children's developing ethnic identities.

If cognitive development in general is to account for every component of ethnic identity development, one would also expect there to be certain age-related matches between, for example, ethnic awareness, ethnic self-identification, and ethnic attitudes or preferences. Indeed it is widely accepted that awareness is a necessary precursor of attitude formation whether positive or negative (see Aboud, 1987, 1988). With the common idea that ethnic awareness and identification develop in parallel to one another (see earlier sections), this somehow promotes the impression that ethnic attitudes develops in line with ethnic self-identification; the child would develop a preference for children who are like themselves. But, as summarised earlier, for many minority ethnic children, this is not so, where they more likely develop non-biased, and at times even outgroup-oriented, attitudes. Even as their awareness and self identification become 'accurate' (by 5-6 years) their preference may be for another, usually the white majority, group which persists for another year or so prior to ingroup preference taking precedence, often at 7 years.

Alternatively, black and minority ethnic children's early 'misplaced' identification with a group (notably to white) other than their own may reflect social values about which group is dominant instead of the physical reality of who they are. The self-identification process

involved in knowing and understanding one's ethnicity is found to be generally weak and hence can be distorted in line with attitudes (Aboud, 1988). Corrected identification, from age 5 or 6 years when perceptual and cognitive processes mature, *then* ingroup preference afterwards at 7 years, implies that early low ingroup preferences by minority children are not only constrained by purely cognitive processes of self-perception. This has prompted Aboud (1988) herself to consider it likely that, in the early years particularly, motivations and emotions dominate the child's ethnic perceptions, not least, with affective processing associated with fear of the unknown by the majority and motivation for greater esteem by the minority.

In general, the sociocognitive approach, in particular dominant theories by Aboud (1988) and Katz (1976), have been rooted in, and thus more predictive of, affective dimensions of ethnic identity development; that is, ethnic attitudes and in particular ethnic prejudice. The changes in these measures at different ages would be related to changes in cognitive structure for 'mature/immature' social cognition (Aboud, 1988, Doyle & Aboud, 1995). Environmental factors, such as social stratifications and intergroup contact for instance, are seen to be somewhat relegated into secondary place in explaining children's ethnic identities (see Black-Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 1996). Indeed, Aboud (1988) stresses that for factors arisen from the social situation to have an impact on the child's attitudes they must be 'represented cognitively in the child's mind' (p.75) and young children's immature cognition 'filters and distort environmental input' (p.22).

In short, cognitive-developmental theories assume that there are clear age-related changes in ethnic attitudes associated with general cognitive development, particularly a sequence related to a change in the focus of the child's attention from self, to group, and individual. This sequence should underlie how a child perceives him/herself and others, where more polarised attitudes are centred on the period where group differences are paramount, and less polarised ones depend on cognitive capabilities that allow one to attend to individual differences. Ethnic self-identification would, thus, partly determine attitudes where, from around 7 years when most children identify themselves with those of their ethnic ingroup. It is the strength of this framework that it explains age-related changes in ethnic attitudes and identification in terms of processes known to be influential in development generally, particularly during middle childhood, and for white children, which are not explained by other theories. But one major weakness of this framework is that it does not allow for an adequate explanation for minority ethnic children's identification and preferences before and even around the critical ages. Further it does not explain sufficiently the great deal of differences in minority children between studies at different times or in different contexts (such as whether they are a clear minority in school; see earlier sections). If identification and preferences of such children coincide with the social norms and status imbalances of society the question remains; from where they receive the information. Another question concerns *how* children process and use information in terms of structuring their thoughts and behaviour. This is where a more recent, though not wholly irreconcilable version of the cognitive school of thoughts, schematic processing, may provide some indications.

1.4.3 Schema theories and stereotyping

More recent cognitive approaches to understanding perception of social categories have looked at knowledge structures or representations, which are coined by some as *schemas* (Bem, 1981, 1983; Hamilton & Trolier, 1986; Martin, 1993; Martin & Halverson, 1981). Such an approach has sought to understand the role of cognitive *structures* and *processes* in the development of our conceptions of social (i.e. gender, ethnic, etc.) groups and their effects on information processing and interpersonal behaviour. Schemas are referred to as 'naïve theories' (Martin & Halverson, 1981), or 'a network of associations' (Bem, 1981), that guide information processing and organise an individual's perception by structuring their experiences, regulating their behaviour, and providing bases for making inferences and interpretations. Thus, it is said that any schema theory can be considered to construe perception as a constructive process and what is perceived as a product of the interaction between the incoming (including gender and ethnic) information and the perceiver's pre-existing schema (e.g. Taylor & Crocker, 1981).

In the same vein a stereotype is typically defined as a cognitive structure that contains the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectations about human groups, from the cognitive perspective (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986). As such, the conception of a stereotype may be seen as a particular type of schema. The assumption concerning schemas and stereotypes is the need to simplify information by seeking the commonalities between individuals, by their shared properties and attributes. This process of categorisation serves as a means of reducing the amount of information to be dealt with and improving processing efficiency.

This process is argued to serve multiple purposes that reflect a variety of both cognitive and motivational processes (Hilton & Von Hippel, 1996), in response to environmental factors, such as different social roles (Eagly, 1995) and power differences (Fiske, 1993) and at times used in response to a need for social identity (Hogg & Abrams, 1998).

Schemas, as structures or processes, which relate information to a typical object, person, or event in the social world, are thus similar, though not identical, to the sense in which Piaget used them. The representations are a construction rather than copy of information received or a way of representing the different types of pertinent knowledge we possess about some object, person or event. As well as supplying a base of knowledge, schemas provide a framework within which *new* information can be processed and remembered. But whereas Piaget's theory explains how such a knowledge base is constructed, it does not address why there may be individual and/or group differences in the adoption of this processing. The schematic approach does encompass the differences in tendency in using schemas. For instance, Bem (1981) suggests that individual differences in the tendency to use gender schemas, or to sex-type, derive from "the extent to which one's socialisation history has stressed the functional importance of the gender dichotomy". Hence schema theories imply the possibility of examining cognitive-developmental and environmental contributions, such as reinforcement, modelling, or other circumstances that increase the salience of the group or categorical dimension in question, within a single model (Serbin & Sprafkin, 1986). Thus in this sense, the origins and developmental course of schematic processing can be examined. However, although much of this work is increasingly taken for gender, this is not the case for ethnicity.

Research examining models of gender schematic processing and stereotyping has gained much momentum for some years (e.g. Hamilton, 1981; Hamilton & Trolier, 1986; Martin & Halverson, 1981). The advantages of these models include not least the ease of making explicit predictions about the effects of schemas on processing and memory of schematic information, and there has been a continual stream of research on gender and sex-typing schemas (see Markus, Crane, Bernstein, & Siladi, 1982; Ruble & Stangor, 1986; Serbin, Powlishta, & Gulko, 1993; for a review). The literature typically supports the contention that children's behaviour and perception are guided towards sex-appropriate activities or dispositions, as defined by the overall schema of their gender ingroup. It is reasoned that this phenomenon of sex typing derives in part from gender-related schematic processing, a generalised readiness to process information on the basis of the sex-linked associations that constitute the gender schema. As children learn the contents of that society's gender schema they learn which attributes are linked with their own sex, thus with themselves. Thus sex typing results, in part, from the fact that the self-concept itself gets assimilated into this gender schema.

Schematic processing models have been only very recently applied in ethnic perception. Ethnic stereotypes have been viewed as group schemas, just one of the many subclasses in a broad 'schema sphere' (Taylor & Fiske, 1984). Ethnic schemas are hypothesised to actively modulate all stages of information processing and can be applied to both events and persons. A schema-consistent person is one, who is perceived by familiar observers as a prototypical exemplar of their ethnic ingroup whereas a schema-inconsistent person

may have all the critical attributes of ethnic identity maintained, with some behaviours, values, and beliefs incongruent with that culture and, crucially, schema of the observers (Boski, 1988). Research on ethnic stereotyping has largely focussed on adult perception (see Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Dovidio, Evans, & Tyler, 1986). Findings indicate that racial stereotypes affect adults' memory and interpretation of race-related information or decision-making processes (Bodenhausen & Wyer, 1985; Branscombe & Smith, 1990; Duncan, 1976). There has been little developmental research into schematic processing based on ethnic information or ethnic stereotyping. What has been conducted has been mostly directed towards identifying the content of children's ethnic stereotypes, the age at which they appear (e.g. Williams & Roberson, 1967; Williams et al., 1975), and more recently, their role in memory for ethnic information and the extended construct of ethnic schematicity (e.g. Bigler & Liben, 1993; Levy, 2000).

Confirming those predictions from schema models, Bigler and Liben (1993) found that 4-7 year-olds had better memory of racial stereotype-consistent than stereotype-inconsistent information. Children high in racial stereotyping also had poorer memories of stereotype-inconsistent information than those low in stereotyping. A pattern of contradictory results was reported, however, by Levy, Lysne and Underwood (1997), based on the proposition that self-schemas, generalisations about the self derived from repeated organisations and evaluation of one's own behaviours, can lead one to search for, attend to, and remember information that is consistent with their past experiences, acquired beliefs or knowledge (Markus & Zajonc, 1987; Zajonc, 1980). It was thus expected that people would display consistently better memory accuracies for same-sex, same-age or same-race information.

Levy et al.'s data contrast this where schemas, particularly self-schemas, interact with all of cognitive, social and developmental factors to influence information processing. More recently, on the contrary, Nesdale (2000) found that with increase in age 8- to 12-year-old white-Australian children remembered more ethnic stereotype-inconsistent information in relation to the ingroup. Nesdale reasoned that this could be due to the attention which was attracted by those information violating the children's expectancy of the traits likely to be displayed by ingroup members; that is, their self-relevant ingroup schemas.

The other branch of research on ethnic schemas has focussed on the extended construct of schematicity in a few experiments by Levy. Levy (Levy, 2000; Levy et al., 1997) defines 'race schematicity' as the tendency to use race-relevant information as a dimension upon which to make a decision. Zimmerman and Levy (2000) examined the predictability of this measure on white preschoolers' tendencies to promote prosocial behaviour towards white and black others. It was found that children's race schematicity was predictive of tendencies to claim that they would engage in prosocial behaviours towards black others. Levy (2000) examined white and black children's race schematicity, memories for racial stereotypes, and racial peer preferences. High schematicity was associated with accurate memories of stereotype-inconsistent portrayals and their distortions (to consistent ones). Importantly, schematicity was also positively associated with same-race peer preference and age. These results, paralleling those from gender research which shows associations between gender schematicity and preferences (e.g. Carter & Levy, 1988; Levy & Carter, 1989), support the tenets from generic schema models that schemas are associated with other aspects of social information processing.

There are certain limitations, however, to this approach to understanding the development of ethnic identity. Firstly, it works at an individual perceptual level (versus a group level). Social categorical perception may involve only the individual's processing of in/outgroup attributes and behaviours. But processes of identification and attitudes probably involve some motivational mechanism which operates through group members' self-identity and self-esteem maintenance (Tajfel, 1981; Turner, 1981). This is more pertinent to measures of preference/favouritism as intergroup attitudes where deferences to groups are elicited. It is important also to note that schematic processing and stereotyping generally involve groups of unequal status (e.g. those of the dominant majority in society as having higher levels of income, educational attainment, and occupational prestige than minority). This means that most schemas about social groups are developed in children in the particular context in which they are familiar (Bigler, Brown, & Markell, 2001). The compatibility of this approach (where group status affects identification and intergroup attitudes) with schema theories entails research. In particular, the developmental course where children learn those *links* between social groups and status in the environment then subsequently internalise the information about these links as mental structures such as schemas needs clarification. As mentioned before, there is a lack of developmental research into *ethnic* schematic processing, compared to the lengthy history of gender schematic processing. There is also a gap in the literature on the nature of, and ways in which children apply, such structures in terms of decision making, predictions, preferences, and interpersonal relationships, all of which are open for considerable further investigations.

1.4.4 Social groups and social identities

The concept of social representations has been used to explain the construction of social categories in society. In turn the concept of social identities marks the 'individual-social interface' (e.g. Duveen & Lloyd, 1986) like the construction of individuals in relation to the social representations of significant groups in our society. Duveen and Lloyd (1986) first propose that individual and society are not immutable givens but that individuals are 'inextricably interwoven in a fabric of social relations' insofar that a representation of the individual as divorced from the social is theoretically inadequate (p. 219). Such complex interrelations of the individual and the social are in fact likened by Duveen and Lloyd to those between environmental and hereditary influences on the expression of intelligence.

According to Moscovici's (1976) arguments, the relationship between the individual and society is constantly mediated by the particular social context in which he/she is situated and he/she is related to such a society through his/her participation in social groups (e.g. gender, ethnicity, age). One's particular 'individual-society interfaces' are hence defined within those social representations of such systems of grouping. Social representations in this sense, as the organised systems of values, ideas, and practices (Moscovici, 1973), are then the features of social groups. Social representations, hence according to Duveen and Lloyd (1986), regulate the child's construction of social reality; as in Piaget's analysis of cognitive development, it is those 'closed structures' of 'logical systems', which regulate the child's construction of the logico-mathematical structure (p. 221). In this sense, social representations can neatly account for children's developing understanding of the society

and the social groups into which they are born or socialised. Social categories associated with dimensions such as age, gender and ethnicity can exert much of the influence on the child's interpersonal interaction and as such enjoy a high degree of salience, particularly through systems of social labelling. The more salient and frequently labelled categories are also among the earliest to be constructed by children. Membership in these systems locates the child in relation to others who are also socially categorised and thus confers on the child his/her social identity through his/her participation in social life (Duveen & Lloyd, 1986).

Indeed, in Tajfel's (1982) formal definition social identity is the component of one's self-concept which derives from membership in a particular social group, as well as the value and emotional significance of the membership. Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978, 1981; 1982) essentially denotes that categorisation and identification are a precursor of ingroup biases and favouritism, and development of negative beliefs about members of groups to which he/she does not belong. The basic theoretical tenet by Tajfel (e.g. Tajfel, Flament, Billig, & Bundy, 1971) posits that the mere act of categorising persons into social groups is a necessary as well as adequate condition to produce intergroup attitudes and prejudice. Underlying ingroup bias is a desire by the individual to promote positive self-esteem, or social identity. That part of his/her esteem and identity derived from the group of which one is a member indicates that such a group will be more positively perceived due to the greater positive esteem one can draw from his/her membership of such a group (Turner, 1981). Favourable comparisons with other groups thus enhance one's social identity (e.g. Cialdini & Richardson, 1980; Oakes & Turner, 1980).

It has been widely documented, in the social psychological literature (e.g. Brewer, 1979; Hamilton & Trolier, 1986) with "minimal" group conditions (when social categories are constructed, albeit uninformative, irrelevant, or unfounded) that social categorisation can elevate perception of between-group differences and within-group similarity and ingroup favouritism and outgroup prejudice (e.g. Brewer & Silver, 1978). Hamilton and Trolier's (1986) review has highlighted that intergroup manipulations can affect one's information processing concerning group members, like increasing memory for negative behaviours, or attributing to such behaviour negative dispositions, performed by outgroups; whereas the reverse is true for ingroup members.

Ingroup bias can be moderated by the relative status of comparison groups both in adults and children, illustrated in social experimental situations recently (e.g. Bigler, Brown, & Markell, 2001; Bruce, Curtis, & Johnson, 1998; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001). It is often the case hence, that majority group children display ingroup favouritism as well as outgroup derogation whereas at the same time scores of minority group children display relatively egalitarian or even an outgroup bias or favouritism towards the majority group of which one is a non-member. Members of a majority, usually the dominant, group are thought to find it easier to make positive intergroup comparisons than members of minority groups who may attempt to identify with those of the majority in order to achieve higher status and esteem (e.g. Brown & Abrams, 1986; Van Knippernberg, 1984).

Insofar as how the precursor to ingroup favouritism works, ingroup identity and stronger ingroup identification are both reflected in ingroup favouritism and outgroup derogation. It could then follow that minority ethnic groups fail to show ingroup favouritism or show outgroup favouritism, as a consequence of not strongly identifying with their own groups. This relationship is considered to be particularly likely for younger children, whose sense of ethnic self-identity is not yet fully developed (e.g. Davey, 1983; Williams & Morland, 1976). This is also seen as the strong underlying explanation for the general finding that children of both majority and minority ethnic groups, until middle childhood, display greater preferences for members of the majority ethnic group and lesser preferences for those of minority ethnic groups.

Meanwhile, identification with outgroup members is only feasible if group boundaries are permeable, so that it is possible to move from membership of one group to another (Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993), which is not the case for ethnicity for most individuals' ethnic group boundaries are impermeable. If joining higher status groups is perceived to be impossible, minority group members can enhance self-esteem through an elevation or development of positive ingroup characteristics. Such a strategy is said to both maintain the distinctiveness of the minority group and to enhance their social identities (Lemaine, 1974; Turner, 1975). Attempts to raise identity of minority groups can be seen in Wales, Canada, and New Zealand (Brown, 1995; Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977), and recently, in Muslim youth in the UK (Weinreich, 1996), through the increasing voice of minority cultures. Such a shift to emphasising one's distinctiveness may also underlie the pattern

of increasing ingroup identification and favouritism from middle childhood as being the only strategy to raise social identity since the crossing of ethnic borders is not an option.

As long as many minority ethnic children make self-identification 'errors', both majority and minority children are likely to reject representations of minority persons in favour of the majority. The phenomenon has been interpreted as meaning that minority children are self-rejecting and having a negative or ambivalent attitude to their social status in society. Such an interpretation is in part supported by some US research, which indicates that the increased representation and involvement of black people in the media and the public has been accompanied by a greater probability of black youth preferring and identifying with their own ethnic group than in previous research (e.g. Barnes, 1980; Dutton et al., 1998). Similar comparisons of ethnic identification and preferences across time in the UK have been somewhat scarce with what studies there are conducted with smaller-scale samples and, again, predominantly black children. Children of South Asian origins, for example, have not been widely investigated with few exceptions, even to date, that show a similar change to those studies examining black children's changing identification (e.g. Boulton & Smith, 1992; Davey, 1983; Davey & Mullin, 1980; Milner, 1983).

Similar to the pattern for cognitive-developmental theories, more updated research which assessed predictions for ethnic identity derived from principles of social identity theories, however, have gathered findings which are somewhat unaccountable by the theory itself. In New Zealand, Bruce, Curtis, and Johnson (1998) investigated whether Maori children attending bilingual units at school possessed a different pattern of intergroup evaluations

from those attending school without such provisions. This was based on the premise that assertive attempts to raise the identity of minority group culture (particularly indigenous populations) would elevate positive ingroup characteristics and distinctiveness, and thus enhance social identity. The findings obtained from children's ethnic identification and preferences offered little support for such a hypothesis in that, not only did the children who attended the bilingual units not possess a stronger ingroup identity, the children at school without such units may in fact have had stronger ingroup identity than expected. Both groups also displayed preference bias towards Pakeha (white) children. Bruce et al. attributed the stronger ingroup identification of children without bilingual units to ethnic salience as it is indicative of status in school, where, clearly, white children dominate in number and culture, raising Maori children's distinctiveness and hence self-awareness.

In the same year, Bennett and colleagues contended the fundamental assumption of social identity theory that ingroup identification is a necessary condition for ingroup favouritism (Bennett, Sani, Lyons, & Barrett, 1998). They collated evidence from UK 6-12 year-olds' nationality self-conceptions and national group evaluations which shows that even if one fails to identify oneself as a member of one's national group, one still favours one's own group, although increasing ingroup identification enhances the extent of such favouritism. The authors thus argue that even before identification with the ingroup, as *de facto* group members being exposed to a wealth of positive information about the ingroup is adequate to encourage group-serving evaluations. This result echoes earlier observations by Piaget and Weil (1951) and Lambert and Klineberg (1967) who found that 6-8 year-olds did not identify with, but still preferred their own national group. It is a crucial finding for social

identity theory, suggesting that other factors, perhaps familiarity with the ingroup within one's social context, should be considered as contributory to intergroup evaluation.

1.4.5 Self-categorisation theory and the intergroup context

A more recent elaboration of social identity theory, social categorisation theory (Spears & Haslam, 1997; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) further argues that all human perception is categorical as its basic premise. In this theory, social perception is intrinsically categorical insofar that, firstly, common elements of so-called *individual* perception by psychological traits can still be seen as *categories* for perceiving people in general. Oakes, Haslam, & Turner (1994), for instance, use the example of the 'personal' attribute of 'altruism', which apart from serving as a cue to an individual's trait, can also be used to describe a social identity of being a 'human' depending on the social context. The second argument for human perception being inherently categorical, similar to that of Duveen and Lloyd (1986), asserts that a person cannot be defined as an 'individual' without some reference to some level of social categorisation. For Spears and Haslam (1997), person perception is not an issue of individuation versus categorisation, but of various *levels* of categorisation. This is due to the view that a process of 'individuation' has still to involve the perception of similarity and difference relative to a 'categorical frame of reference' (Rutland, 1999). What that transpires is that some comparative and contrastive processes are necessitated even when a person is perceived as 'unique,' for this implies that one is different from *other* individuals, placing one as a member of a specific group against which one is compared and contrasted.

The idea that all human perception is categorical is not new. Rutland (1999) ties Spears and Haslam's (1997) theorisation in with that of Vygotsky (1978) who asserted that 'all human perception consists of categorised rather than isolated perceptions' (p.33) or that perception is also essentially social. The latter is underscored by the view that people do not only see the world through their eyes but also through language and communication between people through which the world is made meaningful. Studies on ethnic identity, regardless of the theories they uphold, is based around a backdrop of ethnic relationships in which a whole genre of social factors are likely to be at work.

Hence the perception of groups and individuals, both involving categorisation, which in theory entail equivalent cognitive skills, ingroup identification, and favouritism, instead of showing an age-related pattern of cognitive limitations, should be more dependent on the context in which a process of categorisation takes place. Such opposing perspectives were examined by Rutland (1999) testing British children's attitudes to national groups, ingroup favouritism, and self-stereotyping. Analysis of children's answers to evaluative questions indicate that these attributes were evident only in children aged 10 years at the least, the approximate age when children began to form self-stereotypes of 'Britishness'. Negative national attitudes were shown only towards Germans and at 12 years and over. Rutland's findings hence suggest that intergroup attitudes are related to some perceived appropriateness and meaning of categorisation as prescribed by the comparative context and the social or ideological significance of a particular social identity. It is argued that younger children could not detect 'fit' within this context due to the lack of salience of

the relevant social category – British – at this age. An ideological flexibility was applied

in that national stereotyping and intergroup attitudes were more likely when they had an

understanding of the ideological meanings associated with a particular social group (e.g.

German) and the category is salient within that context. In fact the very social context in

which intergroup comparisons are made may well reconcile the seemingly contradictory

age-related results in the two areas of ethnic identity and national identity development.

The social representations in society endowed with varying levels of acceptability, with

ethnic prejudice being seen as highly illegitimate and national prejudice as admissible or

even encouraged (see Billig, 1995a), may play a crucial part in shaping the contents and

evaluations of ethnic and national identities differently.

Another implication of context sensitivity associated with the self-categorisation position

concerns the intergroup context within which stereotypes are invoked. Conventionally, a

stereotype, as a set of beliefs about attributes and behaviours of a social category, is seen

to be automatically assigned to its members (e.g. Fiske and Neuberg, 1990; Hamilton &

Trolier, 1986; also refer to previous section *Schema theories and stereotyping*). Oakes et

al. (1994) contend that a stereotype is a representation of a social group which is formed

within a specific intergroup context by making use of all cognitive resources available to

the perceiver and which is further used to explain, describe, and justify the nature of that

intergroup relation. In this vein, changes in the intergroup context will lead to changes in

the nature and content of the stereotype itself. This has indeed been supported in research

with adults (Haslam & Turner, 1992; Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty, & Hayes, 1992).

But from a developmental approach where the process of stereotyping clearly rests on the

ability to engage in social comparison Ruble's work (Ruble & Flett, 1988; Ruble & Frey, 1991), with experimentally manipulated ingroups and outgroups, has found that it is not until around 7 years that children can use social comparison information for purposes of self-evaluation. Recent work by Sani and Bennett (Sani & Bennett, 2001; Sani, Bennett, & Mullally, in press), extending the significance of stereotyping context into the gender aspect of social identity, has indicated that among 6- and 7-year-olds some stereotypical traits attributed to ingroup changed as the frame of reference changed. Furthermore, the dimensions, which varied according to changes in the comparative context, were those which should maximise perceived intergroup differences (e.g. boys saw themselves as 'brave' and 'strong' in the context of describing themselves only after describing girls).

The relevance of the comparative context in self-categorisation and evaluation has rarely been investigated in ethnic perception, stereotyping and intergroup attitudes, particularly in children, with notable exceptions from the Netherlands (Hagendoorn & Kleinpenning, 1991; Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997; Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1991; and refer to earlier sections). However, the developmental trajectory of such contextually dependent ethnic perception is yet to be deciphered, particularly the age at which this context dependency begins to exert its significance or how ethnic perception varies with different contexts at different ages. This is likely to be highly pertinent to ethnic identity development during middle childhood considering (in Ruble's work above) children's emerging use of social-comparison information in self-evaluation in the experimental setting and the significance of context in gender stereotyping.

1.5 Methodological considerations

The moderately consistent trend of study findings in relation to children's ethnic identity development towards and during middle childhood have prompted some to recognise that perhaps some investigations have been lacking in certain important ways (e.g. Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990; Troyna, 1991). Such concerns are typically methodological; in particular, earlier investigations into ethnic identities were plagued by a host of problems, not least the design and control of experiments and measurements, and operationalisation of concepts. Others also question more conceptual issues, such as the social and practical relevance of the methodology and interpretations of children's responses and behaviour.

1.5.1 Ethnic identification and attitudes

Traditionally, the conclusions that children's ethnic identification and attitudes increase with age and that white children show more in-group identification and preferences than black and other children have been based on a relatively restricted range of research and their validity is weakened by the researchers' reliance on the techniques used initially by the Clark's (1939, 1947) and Horowitz's (1936, 1938) in the first half of the past century. This forced-choice method (for instance testing children's ability in applying correctly an ethnic label or identifying which person goes with a label, or is similar to the participant, or has positive or negative attributes) as a measure of ethnic awareness, identification, or attitudes, has had a long history. These are typically conducted by presenting pictures, or dolls, from the different ethnic groups, and asking the child to point to the "correct", or

"good" or "bad", stimulus. Many of the studies that have employed this method show a majority 'correct' response by at least white children by 5 years of age and a significant improvement with age thereafter (see earlier sections).

The pattern of 'correct' identification and ingroup preference or positive ingroup attitudes shown by black and other minority children has been somewhat more haphazard. But due to the forced-choice procedure, finding patterns where a child does not always choose an own-group member as, for example, "the one like me" or "the nice one", are classified as other-group identification, or own-group rejection and such. This, however, can be said to confound other-group identification or preference with own-group rejection; just because one identifies with, or prefers, one group, it does not mean that one actively rejects other groups. It is unsurprising that by using continuous rating scales to measure identification with and attitudes towards other groups independent of own group other research reports less extreme results (e.g. Aboud, 1977, 1980; Aboud & Mitchell, 1977).

Another drawback on using dolls or pictures as stimuli to invoke senses of identification or attitudes is that this procedure does not take into account the possibility that children's responses towards the stimulus set, whether perceptual or evaluative, are not necessarily based on race or ethnicity but sometimes on other categorical or even individual features. By asking children to point to the pictures or dolls that look like them or one another, the method emphasises appearance. This is particularly the case with children of later years (8 years and beyond; Katz et al., 1975) where perceptions are not always based on overt ethnic cues, but on other aspects, such as emotional expression or inferred psychological

traits. Thus one must bear in mind the likelihood that around middle childhood and after ethnic awareness has been first acquired, ethnic categories are often overused, if invoked by some relevant stimuli. The spontaneous salience of ethnic categories when other kinds of categorisation or types of information are available may be more useful.

Another problem specific to some ethnic identification research concerns the dimension of children's perception of dissimilarity which has been neglected in most studies. Since the perceived similarity measure is usually based on a choice of one person to whom the child sees him/herself as being similar, or pairing two persons whom the child considers to be similar, it is assumed that the stimuli left behind are perceived as different. But this may not be so when the rejected persons may simply be seen as slightly less similar than the chosen ones, yet not as different. Alternatively they may both be seen as different but the rejected persons as more so. There is in fact some support that ethnicity may be more salient when deciding who is different from who is similar, where ethnicity is more often given as a factor for a child to point out what he/she is *not*, or a reason for how someone is more different from them (Aboud, 1977; McGuire et al., 1978).

Another problem with the use of stimulus persons in ethnic identity and attitude studies is one of interpretation. Typically, an identification "error", or preference for a peer, known or novel, of other ethnic groups by young minority-ethnic children has been interpreted to mean that such children are self-rejecting, or have a negative attitude, or 'ambivalence' to their own ethnic identity, thus 'misattachment' in self-identification process, a somewhat maladaptive mentality. In contrast, the finding that white children are more willing to see

negative qualities in white people along with the positive, and positive qualities in black people along with the negative, over age 7 is thought of as cognitive maturity as it is said to reflect certain flexibility (Aboud, 1988). This may be partly a consequence of the then prevalent expectations that cognitive flexibility is unlikely at early ages by theorists who interpret the inconsistent findings of minority-ethnic children as displaying uncertain self-identification and preference. On the other hand, it might also be a form of flexibility that stems from these children's higher social adaptability as members of societies with white norms and as such their identities and attitudes may be functional in that context. Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) also identify the conceptual issue where, since the body of research is largely atheoretical, by not clarifying the sources for the responses, it is not at all possible to attest whether these findings reflect children's 'true' orientation with their own group, an actual 'other group', an outgroup internalisation of values or a rejection of the self. One of the other possibilities is that both majority- and minority-ethnic children are simply reporting their knowledge of power positions in society, responding from the implicitly understood stereotyped preferences.

For minority children in particular, their response pattern may imply their recognition of connotative meanings associated with the different groups as a function of their level of cognitive development, in view of their earlier or higher ethnic awareness. This looks to be even more likely when measures of identification, preference, or attitudes (as specific aspects of identity processes) are compared with measures of broader conceptualisations of the 'self' (self-concept or self-perception and self-esteem instruments). From the few studies (e.g. Banks, 1976; Spencer, 1985), the relationship between the broader self and

the more specific ethnic or racial identity constructs has been either nonlinear, negative, or independent, depending upon the age of the child and stage of cognitive development. This interpretation is seen to be consistent with black children's pro-white bias and their still high self-esteem (Powell, 1985) during the preschool years with high egocentrism. Given the more positive attributes accredited to white stimuli and negative ones to non-white ones, their misidentification and outgroup preference responses may reflect their identification with the perceived valued stimuli rather than devalued social stereotypes.

Some other qualifiers may be identified for the misidentification or outgroup preference phenomena of minority ethnic children. The ethnicity/race of the experimenter has been repeatedly found to have a significant effect on the children's identification and attitude measures. Coremblum and Wilson (1982) warn that race of experimenter versus race of participant need to be considered. In 1973, a study by Spencer and Horowitz found with white and black children an unexpected effect of experimenter's race. In reverse, a white experimenter was more reinforcing for the child's acquisition of new pro-black attitudes, connotations, and preferences as an intervention than a black experimenter, independent of the child's own race. In Annis and Coremblum (1987), Amerindian children showed greater preferences for their own race when tested in their native language. Comparable results were also obtained in the UK by Jahoda et al. back in 1972. Asian children were found to be very powerfully influenced by the values of the host (Scottish) community, but later expressed preferences more in the direction of their cultural values, when tests were repeated with an Indian experimenter.

1.5.2 Peer interactions and relationships

Similar to the confounding effect between ingroup preference and outgroup rejection (or outgroup preference and ingroup rejection) using the forced-choice method, the literature on sociometric choices, in spite of its lengthy history, has the shortcoming of a confusion between social acceptance and rejection. One is the inconsistency with which acceptance among peers is operationally defined (Coie et al., 1982; Foster et al., 1996). Sometimes it is defined simply by social acceptance (the number of positive nominations for the child to the question, "Whom do you like most" or "Who is your best friend" and the like (e.g. Hallinan & Smith, 1985; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987; Howes & Wu, 1990). This measure provides a picture of interethnic peer relationships by various ethnic children's standing or popularity among their same- and other-ethnic peers. However, they do not allow one to identify whether certain groups are more likely to be rejected (i.e. actively disliked by peers) in relation to other groups or the correlates involved in being rejected. Thus some studies which combine this acceptance measure with one of social rejection (by negative nominations to the question "Whom do you like least?") (Coie et al., 1982; Kistner et al., 1993). However, the two measures, while providing a fuller account on interethnic social standing of children and reciprocal friendships, acceptance and rejection are only slightly negatively correlated; getting accepted least or not at all (few or no positive nominations) does not necessarily imply being rejected (with many negative nominations).

In essence, the kinds of social status distinctions which can be drawn from sociometric data will vary greatly depending on whether or how the two measures of acceptance and

rejection are used together and interpreted to define types of peer status. Of curiosity to researchers are those who are both liked and disliked, or the 'controversial' category, in which black children have been over-represented (see Foster et al., 1996, for a review). However, there is no systematic research to investigate the links between this category and ethnicity. Furthermore, the dependence on children's perceptions of their peers, and in particular, their behaviours, may have coloured findings on the behavioural correlates of different ethnic groups. This reliance has stemmed from the notion that children have more opportunities to observe their peers, thus their perceptions have an advantage over other measures. However, children's perceptions are prone to distortion by their feelings about the peer; if the same behaviours have been exhibited by liked and disliked others, children are more apt to perceive that or the disliked peer more negatively (Lawrence, 1991; Schofield, 1980). Peer reported ethnic differences in nominations and behavioural descriptors must then be interpreted with caution. More direct quantitative observations of ethnically based behaviour and interethnic friendships have been scarce and have involved collecting data in brief recordings of behaviour and interactions (e.g. Boulton & Smith, 1993; Finkelstein & Haskins, 1983; Howes & Wu, 1990). However, behavioural data in the natural setting in conjunction with the same children's peer preferences may strengthen the validity of either measure.

1.5.3 The socialisation context

A common flaw with earlier studies thus, be they experiments or observations, concerns their reliability and validity, which are typically unknown, or if known, are often derived

from single crude indices of children's response which are inconsistently defined. These highlight the so-called 'transparency' of the measures that are typically used according to Nesdale (2000). There is a danger in relying solely on such explicit measures purportedly designed to represent ethnic dimensions, without soliciting the sources of responses from the perspective of the child. This is particularly critical in children after 7 years of age, as pointed out by numerous researchers, when the apparent decline in ingroup preference by majority ethnic children may simply comprise a social desirability response (e.g. Clark et al., 1980; Katz, 1976; Katz et al., 1975; Verna, 1982). The methodological shortcomings mentioned above, coupled with constant societal and contextual changes detailed below, leave the reliance of studies based on such dated methods conducted with contemporary children's ethnic identities and attitudes open to even more questions. Increasing media coverage of minority ethnic adults and children, for instance, has likely influenced even younger children to be more aware of ethnicity and related issues (e.g. see Barnes, 1980; Boulton & Smith, 1992; Davey & Mullin, 1980). This heightened awareness can in turn lead to a generally higher sophistication of perception and responses, making children's identification and preferences more difficult to assess.

Contextual variables may also be responsible for the contrasts between identification and attitudinal research findings (generally a pro-white bias) and those from observations in a natural setting (ingroup interaction and friendships). Coupled with a general experimenter effect (where children may respond in the way that they believe that the examiner expects them to respond) children may be responding to questions based on the items used rather than transferring the answers to real life (Donaldson, 1978). When answering to, "Which

is the nice girl?", for example, the child will respond based on the dolls or pictures *per se* or adopting the expected or societal attitudes, rather than applying their attitudes towards different ethnic others in school and neighbourhood. By not enquiring children of *why* they make a certain choice in a test, again as it has been usually the case, the researcher assumes reasons often in relation to the set hypotheses, which may or may not coincide with the children's own. That is, beyond cognition children do have varying reasons for their choices which are not readily identifiable by adults without deeper probing. These underline a severe overall weakness of the majority of literature that lies in the *a priori* developmental interpretation which goes far beyond the data. Researchers have seldom sought children's views in more indepth and subtle formats to alleviate those effects of demand sets and social desirability, in particular where *social* attitudes and perceptions are concerned, limiting the possibility to portray more fully and faithfully the nature of children's ethnic socialisation processes.

Recent longer-term investigations in context have been scarce and involved either older (e.g. Andereck, 1992), or younger (e.g. Van Ausdale & Feagin, 1996), children's ethnic behaviour. This paucity of studies documenting the socialisation behind ethnic identity development may be in turn symptomatic of the relative paucity of research into social influences and development. In spite of Piaget's inspiration for a general constructivist intellectual development theory, a significant theme of his approach is the likely 'motor' underlying cognitive development as social interaction (Bennett, 1993). Development is said to be guided by opportunities to practise behaviour and skills which are affected by the culture within which children are reared; the child's conceptualisation of their world

is not a private activity, but involves the exchange of actions, in which the other person

provides an influence on the child's own conception. Recently Doise, Mugny and Pérez

(1998) described this interdependence between the social and individual regulations as a

'spiral causality' wherein at each moment in development specific competences allow an

individual to participate in social interactions. These then give rise to new competences,

which can then further enrich participation in other social interactions. Social interaction,

for Doise and Mugny (1984), enables children to construct knowledge and coordinations,

which they were unable to achieve as individuals. These operations demand that the child

recognises the role of the self as a social actor engaged with others in the construction of

social knowledge (Leman & Duveen, 1996).

Vygotsky's (1978) views are important in extending the emphasis on children's activities

beyond acknowledging interactive events *per se* to emphasising that such events are basic

to producing and maintaining cultural systems. The particular aspect of Vygotsky's work

that has received most attention is his conception of internalisation. He debated that each

learnt function in a child's cultural development appears twice: firstly, on the social level,

between people (interpsychological), afterwards on the individual level within the child

(intrapsychological). The role of language is of paramount importance, whereby children

reproduce their own social world though their acquisition and use of language, signs, and

discourses during socialisation as a social and collective process.

Numerous attempts have been made to understand development as a collective process

through childhood socialisation as the entry point. Inspired initially by the promises of

constructivism, Corsaro (1979, 1985, 1992) started ethnographic research in nurseries, and came to be convinced that the effects that peer interaction had on children's social development are beyond a theory of the individual child's accommodation to a largely autonomous world as presented by Piaget (see Bruner, 1986). By examining children's collective, communal, and cultural processes, he documented their creative productions of, and participation in, a *shared* peer culture. Following Corsaro's continuous work on children's complex knowledge of gender, Van Ausdale and Feagin (1996) pioneered in-depth long-term data, systematically examining racial/ethnic behaviours by children as young as age 3. Close scrutiny of children's lives revealed that they are as 'intricate and convoluted' as those of adults if interactions could be viewed over time and in context. Racial/ethnic issues were observed to be very powerful identifiers of the self and others for children who had had little or no exposure to others and awareness of racial/ethnic differences and social status increased steadily.

Interactive activities in children have been stressed to be embedded in the social context and to always involve, apart from the use of language, children's interpretative abilities. This type of interpretative approach looks at development in a reproductive rather than linear manner; by interacting with others children establish social understandings which become fundamental social knowledge on which they build *continually* (Corsaro, 1992). This is reminiscent of the conceptualisation in Dutch psychologists Koot and Venema's (1986) view of ethnicity as a social identity – with 'ethnic identification' the question is about *to what extent* an identification occurs with *any* ethnic group as the child explores with others within the nuances of complexity and interconnected thinking and behaviour.

The idea of the *degree* of identification (versus identification *per se*) is somewhat echoed recently by Weinreich (1996) who claims that ethnic identity as a concept is all too often 'reified as an essentialist quality' and that the act of social categorisation of people being of an ethnic group contributes to this reification. Weinreich advocates for the importance of the context since from the perspective of the individual, identity formation consists of socio-psychological and developmental processes situated within certain socio-historical contexts in accordance with the individual's biographical experiences. Contextual factors include, among other things, the ambience of different cultural valued and belief systems and the variation of these within an ethnicity. Weinreich's review of ethnic minorities in three different national, cultural contexts reveals that, whilst enculturating features of the salient, dominant group, children maintain their ethnic distinctiveness, even in a modified form. Any one identification made by the child tends not to be an all or none process, but partial in that the child identifies only to some, and varying, degree with others, both their ingroup and outgroups. Thus it is completely feasible for individuals to adopt elements of other cultures without losing their own distinctive sense of ethnicity. This indeed fits well with Vygotsky's (1978) model of appropriation, the first external production phase where children discover a world of meaning, then shape and share into their own developmental experiences and creative production of the social order by their interactive responses.

Taken together, both methodological and theoretical implications of research findings on ethnic identity development would be likely to have an 'inherent element of uncertainty' (Jahoda et al., 1972) which calls for caution in making generalisation. The fact that there have been a great many discrepancies between studies would seem to remind of the great

many differences or shortcomings both individually and collectively in this kind of work, with the discrepancies probably reflecting in part real differences between children in the different contexts and different times. There have been substantial changes in the testing materials employed, including using coloured photographs rather than simply black and white drawings or dolls, to name one example. This implies substantial variations in the cues available for categorisation, identification and preferences and attitudes. Increasing recognition has been given to the importance of socialisation aspects of ethnic identities, particularly in the form of interactions between children as both a backdrop as well as a force or opportunity offering exchange of perspectives.

Finally, in general it is difficult to ascertain precisely what results of 'identification' and 'misidentification', 'ingroup' and 'outgroup' preferences, and the child's perception of 'similarity' and 'differences' mean as psychological phenomena. This is of even greater interest where minority ethnic group children are concerned; they have higher awareness of ethnic differences and ethnicity poses higher salience to them (see previous sections). There appears to be much scope for the behaviour of the child to be at variance with the descriptors of his/her peers as well as interpretations of the researchers. Further research should entail much more clarification in conceptualising and operationalising constructs pertaining to ethnic identification and preferences or attitudes from the onset and caution in extrapolating with precision what the children's responses indicate in relation to these concepts and measures.

1.6 The present project

The existing research suggests that: 1) ethnicity is recognised and identified very early in childhood (from approximately 3 years of age); 2) ethnic ingroup identification increases towards middle childhood; 3) attitudes towards ethnic categories are formed just as early (as ethnic identification), but are typically moderated towards middle childhood; and, 4) concurrently, between-ethnic interactions and relationships diminish in number well into middle childhood and beyond. However, such work by far has not often addressed issues such as why or how this is so. Exploring such questions seems to be the next logical step, provided that existing research findings are fairly consistent, with certain inconsistencies mainly for minority ethnic children.

Although each of the reviewed approaches and theories have addressed the issue of how ethnic group membership can influence the child's identity development, those from the cognitive developmental domain have derived the most empirically tested theories. One strength of such theories lies in the age-related stage-by-stage approach to development which makes it relatively easy to generate research predictions as well as comparisons with the child's level of general cognitive capabilities on which the theories are based. However, the lack of, or poor, associations between cognitive level and ethnic identity development and the study of individual children outside the social context leaves other aspects of the validity of this framework open to question. The associated research with individuals has also been criticised for its neglects of the social influences at work. Such influences, purportedly driven by processes of social comparison, form the backbone of models devised from social representations and social identities. The approach excels to

the extent that the child's sense of identity is derived from a group level, recognising the influence from the asymmetry in status and power-relationships between ethnic majority and minority groups. However, this particular nature of the model also makes it harder to draw predictions that are testable and which if drawn, have been usually still assessed on the individual level and produce findings often not expected from or contradictory to the hypotheses. The social identity approach further suffers from the probable fallacy built in the assumption, where the process of identification is a necessary prerequisite for that of attitudes and preferences which has been shown not to be the case. Those more updated variants of both cognitive and social approaches, schema theories and self-categorisation theory, respectively, each allow for more flexibility and consideration of other variables, such as how ethnic information is processed and applied and the context. However their application into ethnic perceptions in developmental research has been relatively recent, thus scarce. Further research should include the role of both cognitive competencies and social variables, treating them as complementary rather than conflicting, with the aim of uncovering indepth the multifaceted nature of ethnic identity development.

A child's perception of ethnic differences and developing ethnic identity encompasses a complex set of all cognitive, affective, and behavioural components (Katz, 1976, 1982; Milner, 1983; Sigelman & Singleton, 1986). Hence to understand ethnic identity and its development fully, one requires the knowledge about the extent to which children notice and make sense of racial and ethnic information and the extent to which they apply these information into different identity components. Those studies reviewed earlier have often limited their focus on just one component at a time. Only a few attempts have been made

to study the way thoughts, attitudes, and behaviours might influence each other (Ramsay, 1991; Ramsay & Myers, 1990). For example, the level of cognitive functioning has long been postulated to influence, not only ethnic attitudes, but also the relationships between cognitions and attitudes (Aboud & Skerry, 1983; Clark et al., 1980). A child's reaction to racial/ethnic stimuli will vary depending on whether the cues are affective, perceptual, or cognitive (Aboud, 1984, 1988; Ramsey, 1987; 1991). Thus Rotheram and Phinney (1987) warn that although one discusses components of ethnic identity separately, it is important to keep in mind that they interact in complex and not well-understood ways.

The purpose of the present project is to obtain various sources of data from children with regards to the different components of their ethnic identity development, conceptualising from varied frameworks and developing more robust methodologies. Specifically, it has been identified that there exists the paucity of research formulated from certain branches (e.g. schematic information processing) of theorisation. Of paramount importance is the consideration of the socialisation context and peer interaction, a dimension that has been largely neglected until recent years. In light of this, using eclectic research strategies is of greater importance than ever before (methods such as extensive observations and indepth inquiries combined with 'traditional' experimentation). Incorporating different theoretical perspectives and methodology, this thesis reports research that addresses:

(1) Whether the concept of ethnicity/race is pertinent in children's day-to-day situations. This research commences with an exploratory and indepth inquiry into the various facets

of ethnic behaviours and interactions to draw a set of scenarios in context to which ethnic issues appear to be particularly transparent.

(2) How salient is ethnicity/race in children's cognition – to what extent children apply and rely on ethnic/racial information to form predictions, judgements, evaluations, and the like about people and events, and whether they also relate *themselves* to such ethnic information, and importantly, how do such processes change over the course of middle childhood. The themes of interest evolved from the initial enquiry are more rigorously examined for their degree of relevance in children's thinking in different contexts.

(3) How perception and identification processes emerge and are transmitted – whether the role of interaction is critical. The final thread of investigation will return to the theme of social interactions to test the assumption that children's ethnic perception and senses of ethnic identity 'arise forcefully' within the context of their interaction with others (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 1996); in particular, the language and discourses children exchange with their peers when ethnic/racial issues are invoked and the robustness of such beliefs or representations.

The studies in this thesis have involved children from both the majority white culture and the two most dominant minority ethnic groups, namely, black (mainly African and Afro-Caribbean or West Indians) and South Asian (mainly Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi). However, after the initial exploratory phase of the investigation, attention is shifted more towards Asian children, due to both practical reasons (available samples) and a particular interest in this group. Although there is a preponderance of evidence which indicates that minority ethnic children *in general* are more sensitive to ethnic cues or more precocious

with regards to ethnicity, research until recent years in the UK and US has concentrated rather more on black children in contrasting their attributes against white children as the majority norm (see Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Amidst the limited, and often sociological research concerned with adults and their adjustment of Asian groups, there has been an implicit sense that these groups, in contrast to West Indians, were 'anxious' to preserve the values of their culture of origin, its language and religion (see Jahoda et al., 1972). In other words, these groups seemingly wish to maintain their ethnic identity 'in the face of pressures from the indigenous social environment' – with their ancestors' expressed allegiance and loyalty to traditions. This would make the study of children in these groups particularly interesting and important, for they would be growing up under such alleged pervasive ethnic influences.

PHASE ONE

2.1 Background

The ethnographic study reported in this phase of work describes naturalistic participant-observations of children's behaviour and interaction in a multiethnic primary school. This approach breaks away from the majority of literature that focuses on the quantity of same- and cross-ethnic peer interactions and friendships and researcher-predesignated correlates of peer interactions. This exercise is intended to raise questions of interest and potential importance regarding ethnicity issues within the context of children's socialisation in light of the particular scarcity of observational studies within the natural setting. This is where children are said to be socialised into their ethnic roles, as they are into sex roles (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). Through the interpretative activities in relation to this setting certain themes of significance are proposed to bring into focus the possible mechanisms through which children's senses of ethnic identity may evolve or consolidate.

There is extensive literature on experimentally projected ethnic identities and attitudes of children and young people concerning race and ethnicity (see sections on literature review for a review). However, there is conspicuously less evidence about the significance of such constructs in children's behaviour and social interactions within and outside the school and what research there is in this subject has largely been conducted in the US. But as many of our schools, in particular those in urban conurbations, have become increasingly ethnically mixed, race and ethnicity have become important influences in the socialisation of children (Smith & Tomlinson, 1989). Indeed even though race relations in the US cannot be wholly equated with the situation in the UK, due to their differential educational system, as well

as the historical, social and economic backgrounds of minority ethnic groups, the few UK studies have tended to find similar patterns to those of our US counterparts.

In the UK the two largest minority ethnic groups are commonly described as 'black' and 'Asian' (Tomlinson, 1983). The former almost always exclusively labels people of African and Afro-Caribbean origins. The latter usually refers to groups from those so-called Indian sub-continental countries (i.e. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh), although in the US the term is typically used to describe those from East Asian nations (e.g. Chinese, Japanese; Foster, Martinez, & Kulberg, 1996). Because of the broad-based categorisation of these diverse populations, overgeneralisations of research findings within or across countries would be both inappropriate and unwise. Nevertheless some tentative pictures of shared racial and ethnic behavioural patterns and interaction styles have been identified.

2.1.1 Ethnicity-based behavioural patterns

There has been some evidence to indicate that pupils of Caribbean origins are thought to be less "well-behaved" than those of other ethnic groups. "Black boys", in particular, are reported by both peers and teachers to be more intransigent, "rebellious", having poorer concentration, and engage in more socially-disapproved-of conduct which are referred to schools' special education needs units (e.g. Smith & Tomlinson, 1989; Tomlinson, 1983). Observational data from the US suggests that black preschool and kindergarten children display more aggressive and negative behaviour than do white children (e.g. Finkelstein & Haskins, 1983). Coie, Dodge and Coppotelli (1982) reported that all of black third-, fifth-,

and eighth-graders received more peer nominations for 'disruptions' and 'fights' than did their white counterparts.

There have been common beliefs held by peers concerning young children of South Asian origins that they behave and achieve more 'academically' than their white and black peers (Smith & Tomlinson, 1989). Smith and Tomlinson also described a general feeling among primary teachers that Asian children were "quiet" and not "troublemakers" and a tendency for Asian children of certain backgrounds to be considered "technically of high ability" and socially "conformist". Enculturation and acculturation processes are considered to play a role, the former being the strong emphasis on respect for family, tied to some well-defined role-relationships within a cohesive, well-organised patriarchal hierarchy. The latter is said to reflect the value of educational attainment in some Asian cultures (Foster et al., 1996).

Although the available literature tends to typecast Asian students as generally deferential to authority, group-oriented, and more passive, and cultural values and norms potentially predictive, the latter's specific relationships to the former are yet to be determined. Some authors warn about the 'Eurocentric' definition of behavioural patterns (Rotheram-Borus & Phinney, 1990). For instance, aggression and 'negative' behaviours might include forms of emotionally expressive or boisterous behaviour, such as "rough-and-tumble play", loud or tough talk. These are important to black children's culture without meaning malice and hostility but are interpreted by white peers and teachers as "aggressive" (Schofield, 1981).

Furthermore, despite certain existing evidence for different cultures supporting different behavioural norms among children, the limited research is often restricted by its methods. Firstly, many studies employ self- or third-party (teachers/peers) reports with instruments conferring uncertain validity, or validated only for white samples (see Tomlinson, 1983). There is a paucity of observational research in this area which can serve to specify more clearly how children of the different ethnic groups handle important social situations and what behaviours the culture emphasises as desirable. Secondly, researchers rarely specify how a child's race- or ethnicity-related behaviours are determined. Heterogeneity within groups leads some to query the wisdom of *a priori* designated profiles of commonalities and making cross-ethnic comparisons fearing that it may promote ethnic stereotypes and stereotyping (McLoyd, 1990).

2.1.2 Ethnic peer interaction styles

There is considerable evidence to indicate that children show same-ethnic preferences in school with the most extensive strand of knowledge in the area emerging from sociometric studies which explore patterns of friendship between children. The most common of these measures are peer nominations where children are questioned to name a few of their "best friends" or preferred partners for different types of activities. Such have almost universally indicated a marked preference for others of the same ethnic groups (e.g. Coie et al., 1982; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987; Kistner, Metzler, Gatlin, & Risi, 1993 in US; Boulton & Smith, 1992; Davey & Mullin, 1980; Tomlinson, 1983 in UK) with only a few exceptions (Howes & Wu, 1990, in US; Cohen & Manion, 1983, in US). The other sort of sociometric studies

has children rating *each* of their classmates for desirability as work or play partners. These have yielded similar results to those using peer nominations, but they also have shown that ethnicity matching accounts for smaller variances than previously predicted (e.g. Gresham & Reschly, 1987; Schofield & Whitley, 1983).

Racial and ethnic cleavage is further evident in the observational studies conducted in the US (e.g. Finkelstein & Haskins, 1983; Sagar, Schofield & Snyder, 1983) and a few from the UK (e.g. Boulton & Smith, 1993). Such research typically documents that black and white children interact in the classroom and play settings a higher percentage of the time with same-ethnic peers than with children of another ethnicity. Furthermore, Finkelstein and Haskins (1983) found that kindergarten children's play grouping was more ethnically homogeneous at the end than at the beginning of the school year. This implies that mere exposure to other ethnic groups does not guarantee increased multiethnic interactions.

There are also good reasons to believe that gender can interact with ethnicity to structure children's interacting patterns. There are some indications that boys interact across ethnic lines more than do girls (e.g. Boulton & Smith, 1993; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987; Kistner et al., 1993). This finding is not surprising for boys are observed to engage in more large-group activities whereas girls tend to form small, exclusive friendship groups (Boulton & Smith, 1993). The latter tendency would then render girls less likely to interact with many other children. Still, Foster et al. (1996) note that gender differences in ethnic cleavage are less consistent than ethnic cleavage *per se* and above all that gender is consistently a more potent predictor of friendship and liking than ethnicity.

Whether it is sociometry or observation, the research mentioned above has been criticised for portraying an oversimplified and incomplete picture of peer ethnic interactions. Troyna (1991) is sceptical about the application of exclusively quantitative measures of same- and cross-ethnic interactions, that they are too crude to capture the subtle and complex issues of race and ethnicity. The emphasis on statistical profiles can mean that some variables are conceptualised according to what are easily questionable rather than what are theoretically significant. Surprisingly little is known about the nature of within- and inter-group contact in schools. More investigations are required to delve into the roles of race and ethnicity in structuring school-based friendship groups and the patterns of interaction among children in the context where such socialising processes take place.

2.1.3 The sociocultural dimension

Several researchers have expanded developmental theories towards a better understanding of the sociocultural contexts of child socialisation. For example, Corsaro (1992) advocates for greater attention to children's collective and interpretative reproduction of knowledge and meaning. A pioneer in reflecting from the natural play setting how young children can be informed actors in the 'social production of everyday life', his multidimensional theory emphasises children's collective participation in their own culture-making. The idea is not new. Vygotsky (1978) framed children in a social world in which social interactions were considered as the sources of mental functioning. He took the view where what arose on the intrapsychological plane had first appeared on the interpsychological plane: learning

was both a product of socioculturally evolved means of mediation or tools and the modes of activity, placing much emphasis on the social setting. Van Ausdale and Feagin's (1996) naturalistic approach supports this notion through their extensive observational studies of very young children's racial and ethnic experiences. The close scrutiny of children's lives revealed that the nuances of their interaction can be as 'intricate and convoluted' as those of adults. They regard that the 'racial nature' of children's interactions can become fully apparent only when they are viewed over time and in context.

2.1.4 The current phase

It is thus paramount that the specificities of context be taken into account when examining how children's peer cultures are formed or structured. These cultures can be of overriding importance when considering the patterns of interaction between children of the different ethnicities in the school setting. Hence, it is only through empirical work in *local* settings that one can begin to uncover how ethnicity may operate. For this phase of research, the notions of ethnicity, drawing from those of gender in Ivinson and Murphy's (1999) study on subject culture among many others are viewed as both a symbolic system and practice. Indeed, it is increasingly recognised that ethnically associated practices from an early age, like gender-related practices, are linked to a child's socialisation both within and outside the schools, each compounding the other (e.g. Ramsey, 1987).

2.1.5 The ethnographic approach

My approach was necessarily ethnographic in order that I could put the particular groups under study, children, into the broader context such that their actions become meaningful within their own remits. Ethnography is described as a thick description by Geertz (1974) which captures the intentional structures of the social actors, groups and institutions being described as well as highlights the interpretative activities of the researcher. This focus is not on whether 'appeals to the weight of external or objective facts which can sustain, or justify a particular interpretation', but is rather the ability of the ethnographer to convince the reader that system of categories proposed are adequate to grasp and render intelligible the social action under investigation. This perspective is purported to establish a 'dialectic' between observation and interpretation, between the material collected and the categories employed in rendering it comprehensible (Duveen, 2000).

I directed a field of enquiry into children's everyday behaviours and interactions with the specific purpose of focussing on how children of different racial and ethnic groups might participate in their very own 'culture-making' in all its complexity. Both their activities in the classroom and the playground were observed, as research suggests that children often behave differently when an adult is present than they do when they are involved with only other children (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 1996). Peer interactions separate from adults can also be critical for children exploring social status, such as the meaning of authority and rules, and its accompanying power and prestige (Corsaro, 1992).

Although the open approach to fieldwork suggests that invariably children of all ages, both sexes and all racial or ethnic groups were observed, some particular attention was directed

towards a class of 6-7-year-olds. This was my "station" during lessons, and I followed up their interactions, including those with other classes and ages of children, during free play. This was in place because identification and attitudinal research (refer to literature review in the last part of this thesis), has found children's ethnic-role knowledge to be increasing rapidly towards the age of 7 where it is said to reach its 'peak' (e.g. Aboud, 1987, 1988). For example, at this 'entry point' into middle childhood, children form increasingly more conceptually based differentiation between ethnic groups. Children may now consolidate group concepts that surpass the overt visual racial cues (e.g. skin tones, facial features) to include social ethnic codes that distinguish between the various groups, from the style of dress or culinary tastes to the more subtle distinctions like speech patterns or behavioural differences among their peers. It is likely that psychological concerns become transparent as well as reinforced in the context of their socialisation wherein children co-participate in the various class and play activities, offering them ample opportunities to project, acquire, and transmit their ethnic identities. Hence there are obvious advantages in focussing on the 6-7 age group to provide an account of their socialisation with different ethnic peers which might illuminate those changes children are purportedly experiencing during this important developmental period.

2.1.6 Research questions

In this first phase of the research contextual and interpretative data are provided that were gathered during a typical school week in an extremely ethnically diverse primary school in London. The ethnograph was structured in such a way in order to address those questions

relating to how race and ethnicity may relate to children's behaviour and peer interactions. Specifically, the following questions relating to possible characteristics of intergroup and interpersonal behaviours were examined – each in relation to the parameters of the social contexts where they took place.

1. Is there a prevalence of same- or cross-ethnic interactions and friendships? What is the nature of such exchanges and relationships?

2. How does the selection of playmates and formation of play grouping take place? What kind of play activities are involved?

3. Are there peculiar patterns of group dynamics (e.g. the ethnic and gender composition of different sizes of grouping; dominance and cohesiveness within groups)?

4. What is the children's nature of verbal conversations and nonverbal communication?

5. What kinds of same-ethnic and cross-ethnic social relationships do children convey in general (e.g. evidence of co-operation, conflict or rejection)?

6. What are children's typical behaviours in the presence of or towards adult figures (e.g. teachers, class helpers, myself)?

7. What do their behaviour and interactions inform about their awareness of their race and ethnicity (e.g. does it imply elements of identification or preference)?

2.2 Method

2.2.1 The School

The data featuring brief episodes of peer interaction evolved primarily from a one-week intensive observation of a class of 24 six-year-old children at a primary school with over 350 pupils, which belongs to the London Borough of Greenwich Educational Authority. Observations of other children were further conducted during recesses and lunch breaks. Almost 60 per cent of the school's population were from minority ethnic families within which there were similar numbers of black and South Asian children. The school aims to promote a "multicultural" atmosphere; there are four South Asian teachers two of whom were 'bilingual assistants', one the 'minority ethnic pupils co-ordinator'. The school as a whole has celebrated cultural events. For instance, on the first day of my fieldwork, an extended assembly was devoted to the Muslim festival 'Eid', with children of that faith undertaking presentations on the meaning of the festival and Islam, including readings from the Koran.

Data on the gender and racial/ethnic backgrounds of children in the 6-7-year-old class, as provided by their teacher and supplemented by parents, are presented in Table 2.1. Only the first letter(s) of the children's names are revealed in order to protect their identities. I have used a shorthand code to denote the racial and ethnic backgrounds of the children in my analysis and results. For example, CA is described as WB, indicating that he is "white" and a boy. In a few cases I have used further designations with an attempt to illustrate the complex identities of a few of the children. For example, Z is described as "WB/Turkish", indicating that he was initially registered as "white", but was later revealed to also have Turkish heritage.

Table 2.1. Ethnicity and gender of 24 6-year-olds in a multiethnic primary school

	Child	Code	Additional Notes
1	AD	BG	
2	AN	WG	
3	AS	MG	Father white, mother with Caribbean origin
4	C	WB	
5	CH	WG	
6	D	BG	Muslim, Somali origin
7	E	WG/Turkish	Father Turkish, info supplied by teacher
8	IB	AB	
9	J	WG	
10	KE	WG	
11	KI	AG	
12	KO	AG	
13	M	WG	
14	ND	WG	
15	NA	MG	black/white mixed-race, from parents
16	NT	MG	black/white mixed-race, from parents
17	RM	BB	
18	RN	WG	
19	SE	MB	Father black, mother mixed-race, by teacher
20	SH	BB	
21	SO	WG	
22	TA	AG	
23	TH	AG	
24	Z	WB/Turkish	Father Turkish, info supplied by teacher

Code key – AB: Asian boy; AG: Asian girl; BB: black boy; BG: black girl; MB: mixed boy; MG: mixed girl; WB: white boy; WG: white girl

2.2.2 Procedure

Inspired by others (e.g. Andereck, 1992; Corsaro, 1992; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 1996), 'experiential data' was gathered as I made unstructured field observations and recorded everyday behaviours using an approach resembling that of the 'least-adult' role. Like the children and teachers, I was present in the classroom and playground all day during the 5 schooldays watching and listening children's free play and also teacher-directed activities.

The amount of time spent on witnessing each event or group of children was deliberately not fixed from the outset, particularly when an interesting ongoing event continued for a considerable duration. Otherwise, attention was 'evened out' as much as possible in that, depending on the setting (classroom or playground), I would 'rotate' around the different points within each venue to maximise the variety of events observed. For instance, during a lesson when each table across the classroom was occupied by several children, I would station myself behind each table for part of the lesson to write about the exchanges at all of the tables. Similarly during recesses and lunchtimes, I would situate myself at different corners of the playground to observe as many kinds of activities as possible.

During each episode, I endeavoured to record accurately what children said, to whom they spoke, and the precise contexts of the instances were all noted. It was indeed the case that children were initially highly curious about myself and my intentions. However, with some explanations and reassurance from the teacher (who told the class that I was there "to see how children learn"), and my low profile in the background alongside the class assistants,

who were present from time to time, the children soon settled to their usual routines (as I

was reassured by the teachers that they behaved "as normal" on the second day).

On the occasion when a child enquired, I identified myself as a "researcher, watching

children play and learn to write things about them". Otherwise I continually sought to

assume the role of a non-authoritarian observer, at times a companion, if they wished

myself to be one, although at all times I tried not to ask predetermined or sanctioning

questions or pass value-laden comments or judgements. This protocol was followed in

order that interpretations of their behaviour and interactions could evolve gradually as

children were observed in the natural setting as these would occur anyhow. This way, 189

distinct episodes of children's interaction can be identified from the week's recording.

2.2.3 Data analysis

Grounded theory, with the aid of the software *Atlast.ti*, was used for analysing the data.

The aim of this technique is to characterise the nature of the interactions and the themes

that were of interest rather than the exact number of times a particular kind of behaviour

was made. For this reason, a particular variant of the approach to analysis was employed

(Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This is seen as essentially a bottom-up approach to conceptual

analysis of unstructured or semi-structured qualitative or other textual data as a means of

systematic discovery of a theory(s) from the data itself (see Burgoyne, 1997; Burgoyne &

Morrison, 1997). This approach places great emphasis on the detailed examination and

cataloguing (categorisation, classification and labelling) of qualitative data as the initial

analytic stage in developing rich conceptual models that can accurately describe and are therefore firmly grounded in the data itself. The resultant product is intended to be 'a meaningful account' which combines and reflects the complexity and variability of the participants' world (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The cataloguing took the form of creating an index system of 'concepts' by coding those relevant segments of each of the five detailed original documents (observations each day) on a unit-by-unit (a unit may be a phrase, sentence, paragraph or an entire section of the transcript – depending upon the relevance of their contexts) basis and applying labels to capture their meaning. For instance, a phrase expressing the event "Two white boys are kicking and punching one another" was coded under the concepts "Within-ethnic boys" and "fighting" to classify the characters involved in the interaction as well as the nature characterising that interaction episode. This is also called an 'Open code' in *Atlas* in that once such a concept had been identified and indexed further examples of such a concept would be added only if these might extend its meaning by expanding 'qualitative variety'. In other words, coding was not conducted for identical illustrations of the same concept but for their diversity or 'richness' to support the wider concept (Burgoyne, 1997).

When the indexing was 'saturated', that no more details from the original scripts could be coded, and no more new codes written, the indexing system was 'refined'. This was done by noting and jotting down that items under the same code might be better split into two, or more concepts, or two or more codes pointing to the same concept be collaborated to form one, in each case with new categories labelled in the comments box under the code.

'Links' within the coding scheme were elicited by means of 'memo' writing, which was often generated by the reasons and grounds on which such links were made. This can be seen as a form of 'cross-indexing' the index system and a higher level of analysis. All the purposes and bases for such cross-indexing were necessarily jotted down on the memo, apart from the linked materials themselves. This way, the interaction and interpretation between the data and myself as the researcher was made explicit and indeed for this kind of analysis it is acknowledged that the 'two sides' are interdependent (Silverman, 1998). Combining the system of index cards and memos, and from time to time referring to the original scripts for context, ideas emerging from the main concepts in the fieldwork were gradually elaborated into their definitions and these categories were gradually integrated into the larger themes and perhaps subthemes that emerged across the various documents (see Pidgeon, Turner, & Blockley, 1991, for a clear step-by-step application of grounded theory; and Miles & Huberman, 1994, for a detailed exposition of qualitative methods).

2.3 Results and Discussion

This section reports the key themes grounded from the raw observational data, presented in the order in which they evolved, taking into account the research questions formulated. My interpretations are interspersed with detailed episodes of data for 'conceptual density', that categories are laden with context, interaction and linkages (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This is to illustrate the emerging theories which are balanced between the elicited themes and evidence from the children's behavioural and interaction patterns themselves.

2.3.1 Gender Divide

The most consistent characteristic of peer interactions observed, be it within- or between-ethnic, was the tendency for boys and girls to play separately. A possible pertinent factor is their distinct patterns of play which appear to underlie the differing sizes of grouping. It was much more common for boys to participate in apparently less structured activities as very large and 'loosely-defined' groups. In contrast girls tended to play in smaller and more intimate circles that engaged in more structured activities. The following describes some of such typical examples (line numbers from *Atlas.ti* in brackets).

Boys' play: Playground

        Tuesday 11   (378:380)

        A "loose" group of 15 to 20 boys (various ethnicities) are

        running towards the same direction in the playground. They

        fill in a lot of space then disappear, running to one side

        in seconds some spilling to the basketball court next door.

        Wednesday 12   (362:365)

        A group of about ten boys (at least 3 WBs, 5 ABs and a MB)

        are throwing some ropes about at the nearby corner.

Girls' play: Playground

        Friday 14   (383:385)

        KI and TH(AGs) are holding onto the ends of a rope as KE(WG)

        is about to jump. 2 BGs and a teacher stand and watch…

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```
(416:420)   The teacher is no longer there; a small WG (with

learning difficulties) attempts to skip but jumps too early

every time and misses. Her timing problem upsets the group:

Frowning, still holding onto the rope, TH steps forward to

intervene, demonstrating the technique in big gestures...
```

The most distinguished features of the boys' and girls' grouping depicted above are their different sizes and nature of activities. The 'loose' structure of the boys' play is apparent in the extensive use of space by its widely dispersed members. Racing and chasing were a common activity for those boys where they were often observed also at other times to be engaging in such rapid games. The use of ropes as a play apparatus is contrasted between the boys and girls. The boys simply tossed them casually but a (structured) skipping game was played by the girls.

Also interesting is the inclusion of the teacher in the girls' groups. It was not unusual for teachers to watch girls play or be seen holding hands with girls strolling in the playground but such instances, involving boys, were not observed throughout the entire school week. Furthermore, how the girls strove to maintain the 'flow' of the game even in the teacher's absence despite a member's difficulty is interesting and revealing. These girls were always observed engaging in other also 'traditional' games (such as "hops" and "hide-and-seek") further suggesting the importance of or tendency in conforming to set activity structures in girls' play groups.

Gender divide has been mentioned numerous times by researchers interested in children's gender identities and sex-role development (e.g. Lloyd & Duveen, 1992). The comparably higher likelihood of between-ethnic interactions among boys could be attributed to the size of their play groups (e.g. Boulton & Smith, 1993; Kistner et al., 1993), in particular within an extremely ethnically diverse environment in here, where minority ethnic children sum to over half of the school's populations. It would be unlikely for boys not to be involved with any other-ethnic peers playing in such large grouping. Same-ethnic boys' playgroups were indeed very rare compared to same-ethnic girls' gathering (see later). The organisation and structure of girls' play illustrated here may contribute significantly. To clarify this potential factor, the features of a dominant girls' group will be examined next.

2.3.2 "The club"

Contrasting the nature of boys' groups, the central features of girls' groups as being more well-defined, and usually participating in structured activities, have been identified above. Among such apparently orderly groups, one of the most prominent or enduring exemplar is a girls' group who referred to themselves as "the club". The chronological account of events relating to the formation and growth of this well-organised group is illustrated as follows.

```
Wednesday 12 (379:388)                        Playground

D(BG), a BG, a MG and a WG, who introduces herself as SA,

come to me. SA says they are starting a "club". "What does

the 'club' do?" "...You have to be 'good'," she attempts to
```

clarify, "…That's what the club is about. You tell people how to be good, the 'good things'." Now she asks me who I am, what I am doing… They all politely say "bye". But SA reminds me, "D doesn't have to say bye." I ask her, "Why?" "She's in your class."

(419:421)   Playground

The "club" has grown to have over ten members, all girls. SA looks to be "ticking" them off (with a list), arranging who is to stand or go where.

(595:605)   Playground

I try to figure who are in the club now: SA, KE, E(WGs), KI, another AG, D, another BG… Every few seconds two of them are in the centre around whom the others will rotate, holding hands… The girls now settle down on the floor; their game involves one girl chasing another outside the circle they have formed. AS(MG) says the game is "Ducks and Geese".

Thursday 13   (623:632)   Playground

The Nigerian girl (who has spoken to me before) comes over to me, "We're in a club." "I know." "And you have to have a sticker," She shows me a Pocahontas tag she says she "must" keep safe in her coat pocket. "Who's in the club?" I ask. She points to a long string of children in sight.

Friday 14   (449:465)   Playground

The Nigerian girl turns up to report being hit. "Who hit you?" "N", she points to a BG with SA and 2 BGs, who stare back… "Weren't you all in the club?" "N's not in the club." N et al. come up. N says, "Don't believe her, I didn't do

anything!". Nigerian insists, "She punched and kicked me!"
Another BG says, "She's always ruining our games." SA says
finally, "When we're playing, she'll go 'don't wanna play'
and make a fuss…"

"The club" gradually expanded in numbers following its inception by a few girls inspired by a somewhat conformist philosophy of doing "good", which was explicitly stated as the condition or requirement for conferring membership. Its critical aspects are: the apparent leadership who founded the philosophy, goals and norms and who monitored its members; the conditions of joining formulated in advance; and their equally well-structured activities mentioned earlier. Furthermore, much emphasis was placed on the labelling (sticker) that clearly conveyed one's identity as an ingroup member and the sense that one *belongs to* something. This sense of belonging in a well-regulated organisation might have been the force linking them for three consecutive days and it would have been of interest to pursue whether this group endured into the next week after the weekend.

The group's leading figure (SA) appeared to possess certain qualities which might have contributed to her attraction of followers. SA exercised certain assertiveness by initiating contact with me, an adult stranger, to conceptualise her ideas, which sounded apparently appealing to an ally of girls. Her assertive trait was also shown in her direct questioning towards me and reasoning on behalf of her peer's (D) appropriate action. But her siding with a non-member with a similar style might have led to a rift between certain members; the "Nigerian girl" was playing alone for a large part of the break that followed.

2.3.3 Asian girls' friendships

We have examined the contrast between boys' and girls' play grouping and the structure that likely governed their style of play. Among the well-defined girls' groups were a few highly cohesive Asian girls' pairs – the most prevalent of same-ethnic grouping. Two of these same-ethnic girls' friendships are described and discussed in the following.

Asian girls TH and KI:

> Tuesday 11   (130:133)   Classroom
>
> *TH comes up to me excitedly, "Guess what, I'm gonna give KI*
>
> *a present!" "Is it her birthday?" "No, She's my friend," she*
>
> *walks away happily.*
>
> (201:205)   Classroom
>
> *Ms Z tells KI and TH to "sit properly". Mrs H, sitting*
>
> *behind, explains, "They want to sit with their friend." Ms Z*
>
> *comments, "Well, sometimes maybe we shouldn't sit with our*
>
> *friends. You two. You do much better when you're not playing*
>
> *around."*
>
> (353:360)   Playground
>
> *KI and TH come to me; KI says she has injured her ankle… I*
>
> *take her to the teacher on duty… The teacher takes KI into*
>
> *the building. TH follows until they reach the door where she*
>
> *is told to wait outside.*

TH's declaration of friendship with KI to me, as a stranger (it had been the first time we spoke; TH had been absent on Monday), is indicative of their closeness. This is supported

by her gesture of gift-giving as a token emphasising their friendship. Their friendship was

also acknowledged by the teachers as their playing together in class somehow led to their

being reprimanded. TH and KI also spent a great deal of time together in the playground;

though not necessarily as an exclusive pair, they were observed together even as a part of

larger grouping. Evidential of such closeness was also TH 'standing by' her injured friend

for as long as was permitted, accompanying her and giving support.

Asian girls TA and friend:

```
Tuesday 11   (431:438)                        Playground
```

TA and the AG (who have been together many times) come to

show me their injured fingers with cotton. "Miss, a moment

ago my finger was bleeding." "How?" "On the fence, by the

nursery," TA unwraps the cotton to show me a scratch under

her nail. Her friend shows a similar cut in the same place.

```
Friday 14   (475:494)                         Playground
```

TA sits down by me panting but smiling, "He's been chasing

us again!" "That boy from before?" "Yes." (On Tuesday an AB

"chased" her and friend) "And who's 'us'?" Her friend (AG)

turns up, but it looks like she too has been chasing TA. As

she approaches she makes a playful aggressive grin. TA yells

happily. TA's friend says, "I'm playing a snake!" She makes

slurping noises with her lips and tongue, miming a "snake's"

gestures... TA chases her back.

```
(492:494)                                     Playground
```

TA and friend return. I overhear her friend speaking Punjabi

to TA (she has done so every time but TA stays quiet, though

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clearly comprehending it), pointing to her cheek. Then TA

points to the same place on her own cheek...

TA and her friend from another class were almost an 'exclusive' pair in the playground in that rarely were they in the company of others, with few notable exceptions (to follow) as they were always by the nursery watching the infants together. The events above indicate that they were often engaged in the same activities from role-playing, being chased by the same boy, to incurring injuries. Although I had never heard TA speak Punjabi (she always remained quiet when her friend spoke their lingua), the *consistent* usage of one's mother tongue is deemed a powerful 'ethnic definer' (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 1996), which may strengthen one's bond within a same-ethnic and same-sex friendship. In fact, these girls' repeatedly sharing activities and actions and co-exploration constitute some of the most crucial processes of ethnic socialisation (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987).

2.3.4 Conflict

It has been shown (from "the Club") that being part of a well-structured network does not necessarily exempt its members from quarrelling and in-fighting. It would not be surprising that children attempting to join in a group activity without *a priori* invitation could lead to arguments more easily than they would, had they consented to play together. This appears to be a factor behind some of the misunderstanding and disagreement in girls, and at times the children's ethnicity is salient during such interactions as the scenario below suggests.

Friday 14   (348:350)   Playground

3 AGs and 1 AB are gathering at a picnic table near the nursery. TA and her friend join in... (Moments later) there are 7 Asian (6 girls) children at the table.

(396:414)   Playground

The *4 AGs (including TA's friend) from previously, SE and AB (from earlier) are playing what they call "Koko" in a queue, with TA's friend last, each clutching the waist of the one in front kicking their legs sideways rhythmically, chanting "KOKO, KOKO"... They pass TA and me as one says, "TA, you're supposed to play with us!" "Don't wanna play!" ...I ask why. TA replies, "Just don't want to..."*

(403:414)   Playground

M(WG) approaches to join the "Koko" queue, clutching TA's friend in the end who now protests, "You're Not Allowed to play!" The dance stops, AG in front says, "Your name's not on the list," bringing out a piece of paper from her pocket. "...How do you spell your name?" All the names on the "list" are Asian. M spells her name as the AG writes it down. TA's friend has also brought out her "list" to examine. The AG in front announces, "I'm just doing THE REGISTER." When the "register" is done, M joins in clutching the hood of TA's friend, who shakes M's hands away irritably throwing a look of annoyance, then walks off with TA... The queue "koko" away, with their new member...

The series of events listed above can be viewed as an example of inclusion and rejection. The all-Asian playgroup was likely to have been formed earlier during the lunch break as

the children gathered. Her expected participation is apparent when TA was *told* to include herself into the group (that she was "supposed" to). But TA made the individual decision to refuse the crude invitation when she did not want to participate in their activity.

The rash rejection of M from participating in their activity represents a notable contrast to the invitation of TA. Similar to "the club", this exclusively Asian children's group had its own procedures well set out for admitting membership; the leader's emphasis on routines as "register" or "list" is indicative of such a structured organisation. However, the lack of unanimous consensus for M to join them seemed to render TA's friend's own decision to abandon an activity she had obviously enjoyed, to depart with TA, though a close friend, who only moments ago had made it clear that she did not want to play with them.

It is reasonable to suggest that the inclusion of TA and rejection of M were linked to their respective peer statuses as listed member and non-member of an organised group, rather than their ethnic group memberships *per se*. But the overt expectation of TA, an Asian peer, to join in an all-Asian group activity is reminiscent of a synonymous 'gendercentric' reasoning pattern (Martin, Eisenbud & Rose, 1995). Martin et al. (1995) found that both boys and girls are likely to expect others of the same sex to like the same, despite novel, toys. They argued that it was due to children's underlying abstract belief of within-group similarity (what they like, others of their own sex should like). Accordingly, children may also make inferences about others applying this theory on ethnicity. After all, the group's overwhelming ethnic composition would suggest at least some unconscious within-ethnic peer preference underlying its formation in the first place (see Kistner et al., 1993).

2.3.5 Asian Children

The recurring phenomena of close-knitted friendship groups and in-group orientation of Asian children raise many questions regarding this ethnic group. One of such concerns the possibility of a differential behavioural pattern or interaction style which might distinguish them from other children. Upon close examination of data on classroom interactions three particular themes arose which point to this possibility. The first is, as the existing literature postulates, that the Asian children in the class seemed to be industrious, academically and attainment-oriented, and indeed 'high-achievers'. Secondly, there is evidence to suggest a pattern of so-called 'passive coping-style' (Foster et al., 1996) characterised by avoidance as a conflict resolution strategy among peers. Importantly, certain data suggests that these traits might be at least partially reinforced by their interactions with teachers. Each of such themes is discussed with corresponding behavioural exemplars in the following.

```
Emphasis on academia - Asian boy IB and Asian girls TA and TH:
        Thursday 13  (141:145)                          Classroom

        The computer screen is showing a girl with an arrow pointing

        at her knee (the program is to help revise names of the body

        parts). AS(MG) has just done her turn and tells those seated

        near there, "That's what I did!" She gallops back and forth.

        IB(AB) turns round, "AS, are you working now?"


        Wednesday 12  (251:252)                          Classroom
```

(The class are colouring in a 1-100 table the multiples of 3's, as usual TA is ahead) She turns her worksheet to face classmates at her table, "I've got to 48!" They look up for a second and then continue with their work.
(267:268)   Classroom

TA turns her sheet over again to show them, "Look what I did!" Her peers just blink or glance this time.
(270:272)   Classroom

TH(AG from before) announces, "Guess what, I'm at 60!" TA says, "I'm at 81!" C(WB) reminds them, speaking to both AGs, "You're too quick… Make sure you don't go over the line (colour across the number squares)."

Friday 14 (281)   Classroom

TA passes me, "I've finished all my work!"

The above are cases drawn from a broad range of episodes where Asian children placed explicit emphasis on their class work: they concentrated in class, and frequently worked quietly and independently even when others found it difficult, uninteresting, and dawdled. The first scenario suggests that not only was IB working, he expected his peer (he rarely interacted with AS) to do so despite that AS in her own way had been working: many of the children enjoyed the computing exercises. AS, among many, had enquired in advance about her turn and had looked forward to such interactive learning. That IB reminded AS on standard written class work that he was doing indicates the importance he put on that. The second event describes the diligence and efficiency of two rather ambitious girls and their obvious pride from their achievement (many children had difficulty with times tables,

recognised by the teachers). Cases like this abound in the dataset where the girls displayed or announced to teachers or myself the work they had completed. It is worth noting those peers' responses to the girls' declarations, from indifference to caution (about some minor issue). These highlight the apparent emphasis the Asian children placed on their academic standards, compared to the peers who spread their attention among other things.

```
Passive coping style - Asian girl KI:
        Monday 10   (50:61)                        Classroom
        (The table are to "play" a story with the book and "finger-
        puppets" given) The others sort the roles and puppets as KI
        reads on, but she has troubles with longer words. When she
        stumbles, C(WB) interrupts, "Watermelon! It's WATERMELON!"
        He calls several times as AD(BG) and ND(WG) opposite shout,
        "Turn it (the page)!" C insists, "NO! I say it's watermelon.
        DON'T TURN IT!" KI moves on with the story as the struggles
        between the two sides ensue…
        (69:72)                                    Classroom
        KI continues reading (the others are still arguing), to Ms Z
        who has turned round from the next table to listen, nodding,
        "Well done."
        (78:81)                                    Classroom
        The others continue to puppet, and KI continues to read. Her
        peers are now arguing who to play which character. KI
        pauses, sticks her 'puppeted' hand on the table between her
        peers', who are still bickering with each other… KI retreats
        her hand immediately and covers her ears with both hands as
        if it is too noisy. She returns to her reading.
```

Passive coping style - Asian boy IB:

      Tuesday 11 (98:101)   Classroom

IB looks at AD's(BG) worksheet and disagrees with her answer saying firmly a few times "It's FORTY!" Nearby SH and RM (BBs) stop and ridicule (chanting together), "…IT'S FORRRR-TEEE!" AD insists, "It's FORTY-FOUR!" "Where's 40 then?" IB puts down 44 on his worksheet (he continues to the next one)

The first series shows the differential interaction styles of several children who had been arranged to work together. KI's reading problems triggered off an interface for argument between C and two girls, who were constantly at odds to his opinions, regarding the next group action. But KI had kept a decidedly low profile throughout her peers' debate, from her lack of actions against their attempt at controlling her reading to her excluding herself from the peers' ongoing activity following a tentative endeavour to enter it. Her behaviour (covering her ears before retrieving) implies that she consciously opted not to be involved with the already developed heated disharmony. KI's behaviour might be reviewed as being consistent with the passive coping style in the face of unreasonable pressures (Foster et al., 1996). Meanwhile, data presented earlier here and elsewhere (Tomlinson, 1989) depicting the academic orientation of Asian children suggests that KI would perhaps rather carry on with her own readings than to bother with her classmates, who (throughout that time) had quite clearly shown no inclination of doing so themselves (although they had all been given a storybook as well as the puppets).

The second episode portrays the disagreement between an Asian boy (IB) and her black female peer (AD) and during it the disparagement from two black male peers. It appears that the combined pressures, imposed by the other children by the means of the two boys' belittling mocking which perhaps encouraged AD's assertion to continue, might have led to IB's resignation to comply *behaviourally* (by aligning his answer with his peer's which he disapproved) although he was clearly unconvinced. It begs the question of whether he would have persisted with his own stance had there not been such peer pressures. Again, his behaviour would be categorised as 'passive coping' as peer pressures overrule one's own preference or judgement (Foster et al., 1996).

Teachers' expectations - Ms Z and Asian girls KI, KO and Asian boy IB:

    Tuesday 11 (601-602)   Classroom

    KI interrupts the story, talking without raising her hand.

    Ms Z comments, "I've never known you to be like this..."

    Wednesday 12 (461:464)   Classroom

    Ms Z has gone to fetch some books. The children pick up the

    finger-puppets, playing with joy. IB(AB) 'envelopes' J's(WG)

    fingers, J turns to cover Z's; Z continues the 'chain' to K

    (AG). K, at the end of the table, reverses the flow to Z...

    Mrs Z calls over, "J and Z, be quiet!"

Teachers' expectations - Ms Z, Mrs J and Asian girls KI, KO, TA and KI:

    Friday 14 (317:342)   Classroom

    Ms Z calls over to Mrs. J (Asian teacher leading the table),

    "Seems like a party going on at that table. Lots of giggles,

TH's been giving her wide smiles!" "Yes, we have!" Mrs J

smiles; she, KI and KO(AG) are listening with interest to

TH's enthusiastic story full of expressions and gesturing.

TA focuses on her work first, then fiddles with her pencil

poking KO's hair and face gently with its rubber end. KO

turns round and laughs; they start to chat...

(346:348)   Classroom

(TA has been allowed to pick the order of the "lunch queue"

because Ms Z says that she has been "working efficiently".)

All the others have been picked and gone but AGs TH and KI,

smiling at TA. She smiles back, and then the 3 AGs walk out

together laughing followed by Mrs J smiling, "I thought you

would choose them (TH and KI - for the lunch queue) FIRST!"

Whilst the previous themes could perilously confirm the contentious stereotypes of Asian children's dispositions, elsewhere the data indicated that these children's common cultural background may not be the sole factor, if at all, underlying their different interaction style. The above examples suggest that the role teachers play can be crucial.

In the first case, the teacher's comment to KI hints that she seldom talked "out of turn" in class. Interruption was an act for which children were often reprimanded to varying extent but there is a rarity in the data of teachers reprimanding these Asian children. The second event sheds some light on this issue. Boys and girls of different ethnicities, as described in this scenario, largely interacted harmoniously in class. Here, the white and Asian children, one of each gender, were playful together despite the fact that unsupervised play activities

were not permitted in class. Although IB had initiated the unsupervised act the reprimand was directed only towards the white children. Selective sanctioning on some children and not others for a collective misconduct has been referred to reflect expectations held about specific groups of children (Tomlinson, 1983). The teacher's reprimand to *only* the white children (particularly J who was otherwise often praised as an example of a hardworking pupil – by teachers' saying "Well done" or "Good work" - and rule-abiding "Good girl") might be reflective of the common expectation held that Asian children are 'well-behaved' (e.g. Smith & Tomlinson, 1989; Tomlinson, 1983). This is particularly so where, as shown earlier, the Asian children in this class did appear highly diligent. Teachers' expectations also take other forms, as in the second example.

The other section of events above illustrated how all the four Asian girls and their female Asian teacher (here serving as 'bilingual assistant') were interacting harmoniously in class. That Mrs J included herself might have played a crucial role in maintaining and enhancing the apparently interesting discussion; that amount of both verbal and tactile exchanges was normally discouraged in class. Her reply to Ms Z's remark about her ongoing activity with the girls is evidential of Mrs J's acknowledgement of the affiliation among themselves.

The "lunch queue" usually conveyed the order in which children were permitted to leave the class for their meal. This was usually arranged by the teachers according to how well-behaved the children had been in the morning (children who had been "quiet" or "good"). Her conferment of this duty to TA *explicitly* basing her decision on TA's work efficiency (she had done so a few times) can be a reinforcing influence on children's diligence. TA's

nomination of KI and TH leaving them to last so that they could go to eat together shows that these girls got on well as classmates, even though not all three were always together otherwise during the week. Similar to Mrs H and Ms Z recognition of the tenacious bond between KI and TH, Mrs J who knew all the Asian children well affirmed their friendship by voicing her expectation that TA would have selected KI and TH in preference to other classmates for a recognised privilege (going to lunch first).

2.3.6 Ethnic awareness

The themes illustrated above evolved from the rigorous 'grounding' of data of children's 'usual' behaviour within so-called 'naturalistic' settings, where they participated together in a variety of learning and play activities. The question still arises as whether the ethnicity 'themes' raised were simply an artifact of the backdrop that this dimension was central to the enquiry (see review by Troyna, 1991), or whether the children themselves did possess notions of ethnicity, and if so, what was the nature of such awareness. There is evidence, however, from the dataset itself which quite clearly illustrates that children as young as 6 years old certainly have an awareness at least of their own and others' 'race', as would be predicted from previous experimental studies (see review by Aboud, 1988). Furthermore, they could also be shown to relate this externally oriented information to 'deeper' or even culture-specific knowledge, and were at least aware that these subtle differences exist and were actively seeking more ethnic-role knowledge. The following displays such examples, which come from a large batch of similar instances from children of various ethnic groups which accumulated over the course of only one week's observations.

6-year-old mixed-ethnic (black and white) boy – N:

Monday 10 (250:254)   Classroom

(This is a Science lesson on "the body" and Ms Z has put on

the board pictures of the head and skull.) When she refers

to the skull, N asks, "Doesn't it depend on your skin…what

colour your skull is?" Ms Z responds, "No it's all whitish."

Friday 14 (627:635)   Classroom

A tall black man with glasses comes in. Ms Z turns to N by

the windows, "N, your daddy's here!" But the man is not N's

father: he asks for a boy in another class! (Ms Z tells him

his son is in the next classroom) Looking embarrassed, Ms Z

says to N, "Well, your daddy looks a bit like that, doesn't

he?" (Then other children and parents demand her attention)

but N goes on, "African men look like…" He goes into great

detail to describe his father's ethnic male group to TH and

KI standing listening before him. He pointed at his facial

features and hair including the description of "glasses".

Tuesday 11 (308:308)   Classroom

N (who has been staring at me for a few moments) asks me,

just before they are allowed to head upstairs for lunch

(they are queuing by the classroom door, "Have you seen

'Mulan' (the film)?"

7- and 8-year-old girls from other classes:

Tuesday 11 (376:377)   Playground

Three girls, in each other's arms as a packed row consisting

of an East Asian girl, BG and AG, come up to ask me whether I

am a new teacher and "can you (the EA girl and I) speak your

language to us?" EA girl looks embarrassed instantly, smiles

at me and says nothing...

7-year-old Nigerian girl from before:

Wednesday 12   (390:407)   Playground

A BG (who *tells me that she is from Class L) comes to ask me*

where I am "from". I explain my ethnicity. "But aren't you

from, er..." she tries to answer. Without my reply, she says

she is from South Africa. "...Do you know which town?" "...No."

"Johannesburg?" "Cape town?" "Oh actually I don't think it's

SA... I'm from...er, Africa..." "Do you know which country?" "Er..."

I wait for her answer for seconds until she says, "Delta."

"It's in Nigeria?" "Yeah! The Delta State." "Oh, I see." "I

have a sister, she's seventeen... She's from... Africa. But I'm

not sure where." "But she lives in London, too, now?" "Yeah,

but she lived in...Naarr...er...Raob..." "Are there many Nigerian

children in this school?" "No."

6-year-old Asian girls – TA and TH:

Friday 14   (485:486)   Playground/classroom

(TA had role-played 'snakes' with her friend during break as

mentioned before) The teacher's animal story turns into the

part involving snakes...TA turns round from the front of the

class (while Ms Z is answering others' questions and will

not hear her) in a low voice, "People from India talk to

snakes..." (She had told me she had visited India.)

Friday 14   (570:571)   Classroom

TH is talking with great enthusiasm of her father's meeting

with "this East Asian man" to Ms Z; K listens with interest.

The episodes above all contain verbalised data which both explicitly and implicitly reveal children's knowledge, or attempts to make sense, of the ethnic concepts they encountered in various settings. The first episode where the mixed-ethnic boy, N, questioned the colour of the human skull while at the same time referred to skin colour implies one such attempt. This demonstrates that he was not only aware of the differing colour between people, but further considered that it might concern their anatomy. This suggests an inference he made that colour is not "skin deep" but may signify unseen properties.

The second episode demonstrates how his teacher's blunder in identifying his parent led N to display his ethnic awareness. Although race or ethnicity was not explicitly stated (and it would not be expected of teachers after an awkward mistake) it can be said that N referred this error to a confusion concerning race, in that he proceeded to delve into characterising his father's ethnic male group to his peers. The detail, albeit stereotyped (such as glasses), to which he subscribed, and importantly, the fact that he specifically mentioned "African" (rather than "black") men (which his father was one) indicates that his ethnic knowledge is more than about race or skin colour again but includes more precise ideas of ethnicity.

Racial or ethnic saliency in N's thinking might not simply be coincidental, given his own (mixed-ethnic) background, as it has been found that mixed-ethnic children are in general more aware of both their own and others' ethnicity (e.g. Wilson, 1984). Such heightened awareness is implied also by his enquiry on my viewing of cartoons featuring people of my own ethnicity. However, such an interest, among others, was also shown by other children such as the older girls in the other episodes above. Their slightly older ages may be crucial in the 'deeper' inferences they made. Two members of the three-girl group expected from my (and their peer's) external signifiers that ethnolinguistic symbols exist which associate those of us belonging to the same or similar ethnicity. It has been discussed in length, that at the age of 7, the peak level of ethnic-role development, the accelerated acquirement of ethnocultural knowledge will have surpassed those superficial physical features to include more covert or complex ethnic concepts that include culinary tastes, musical preferences, and other internal traits (e.g. Aboud, 1987, 1988). This high-level knowledge was shown by the 7-year-old Nigerian girl who had begun to gain rudimentary notions of nationality as possibly related to ethnicity. Such impoverished notions of nations, regions, and cities (including her own) were more likely a reflection of her limited geographical than ethnic understanding as she could identify others of her precise ethnic background in the school (rather than simply "black" children of which there were many).

The last two instances refer to two of the 6-year-old Asian girls who were portrayed in previous themes. In spite of their younger age, in comparison to children in the episodes before them, their ethnic concepts did not appear to be much less profound, particularly those concerning their own ethnicity. TA's and her friend's role-play of snakes perhaps

was no coincidence as TA clearly associated this animal with people of her own ethnicity, whom she had also visited within their cultural context. The emphasis of "East Asian" by TH in the brief episode shows her knowledge of other Asian groups as distinct from her own (as *South* Asian), which implies a clear awareness of her own ethnic identity.

2.4 Summary and conclusions

2.4.1 Summary

This first phase of my enquiry is represented by an ethnography into children's behavioural patterns and peer interactions within an ethnically diverse context to examine whether and how ethnicity may be involved in such processes. The nature of the enquiry was decidedly exploratory on recognition of the paucity of observational data in natural settings and the often elusive and predetermined definitions of 'ethnic' behaviours in the existing literature. The key themes evolving gradually from a detailed analysis of the naturalistic data can be summarised as follows - without pinpointing causality, but rather, the order of discovery.

The most prevalent phenomenon observed is that boys and girls largely played separately and in different ways. Thus the possible underlying factor concerning group organisation and structure between boys' and girls' play was cross-examined. It was found that whilst boys tended to play as larger and ill-defined grouping, and in activities with less structure or few rules, girls tended to play in smaller, exclusive groups and 'traditional' games with well-defined rules and structures. This was exemplified by the formation and growth of an

enduring girls' network with their own ideology, norms, membership conditions and logo. Such close-knitted features of girls' groups appear to be a potential factor behind Asian-girl friendships and their same-ethnic orientation. These children showed certain cohesive affiliation as close-group partners who constantly accompanied each other or participated in their own brand of activities meaningfully co-constructed themselves. The expectations of others of their own and other ethnic groups unveiled an interesting pattern of inferences reminiscent of an earlier experimental finding (Martin et al., 1995) regarding gender-group memberships which might have been a factor behind an interpersonal conflict incident.

The peculiarity of Asian children's play patterns prompted a closer examination of their data elsewhere and their academic tendency and coping style in class were notable which in turn was possibly mediated or maintained by their interactions with both teachers and classmates. To ascertain the role of ethnicity within the particular themes interpreted of these interaction and behavioural patterns, children's ethnic awareness and active pursuit of ethnic-role knowledge was illustrated by various episodes involving their verbalisation of ethnic, racial, and cultural information within their meaningful contexts. These themes are dissected below, along the dimensions as ethnic interaction and ethnic identification, which are central to the enquiry, eventuating towards further questions in this thesis.

2.4.2 Ethnic interactions

The ethnograph suggests that children's ethnicity, similar to gender, does play a part in their behaviour and interactions with others in school and they are highly aware of both

their own and others' ethnicities. The former pattern is manifest at least by the prevalence and different structures of same-sex play, and associated with it, albeit less prevalent, the existence of female exclusive same-ethnic interactions and friendships. Whereas gender in-grouping has been widely observed and discussed (see Lloyd & Duveen, 1992, for review) the equivalent phenomenon in the ethnic domain has been comparably recent and varying degree of prevalence has been reported (e.g. Boulton & Smith, 1992; Cohen & Manion, 1983; Davey & Mullin, 1980; Howes & Wu, 1990). The finding here in relation to other research may be reviewed with the possible explanations offered by different authors.

In terms of indepth observations of children's interactions, it has been noted by numerous authors, both anecdotally (e.g. Ramsey, 1987) and empirically (e.g. Andereck, 1992; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 1996) that the salience of race or ethnicity appear to vary much across contexts. At times children may be consciously reacting to such factors and at other times they may be more subconscious. Much of the data in this ethnograph would be considered to show more of the latter. It is hardly surprising that even young children seldom overtly voiced ethnicity (not even gender) as the determining factor for their group formation and friendship preferences due to social desirability concerns. This is also highly unlikely to be applicable to behavioural data, not least in the setting here where children interacted freely and overall children played with cross-sex and cross-ethnic peers as well as same-sex and same-ethnic ones. However, the notable gender-line division and same-ethnic orientation (specific to certain children) when data is viewed in depth and context imply their use of such categorical information in their interaction and friendship preferences.

In addition, the salience of ethnicity can show variations between groups. An overview of past research (e.g. Hallinan & Smith, 1985; Ramsey, 1987) would reveal that children who are a clear minority in their community (including school, classroom, and neighbourhood) consistently use race and ethnicity more as a classifying criterion compared to their white counterparts. However, different ethnic children use these concepts with about the same frequency in more equally balanced communities. This pattern of findings does not really fit well with the one specific to Asian children in the present investigation that took place in a school with about equal representations of white, black and Asian pupils. This would suggest that the larger sociocultural context of neighbourhood, the particular locale of the school, and the wider community or society, aside from the composition of the immediate classroom and playground settings, can all exert an influence on peer ethnic relations.

It is necessary to point out that the not infrequent phenomenon where younger children are forming their concepts of ethnicity and race through their active involvement with, at times, only same-ethnic peers has been interpreted by some quarters as evidence of early prejudice. However, what is indeed clear is that it reflects children's efforts to assimilate new information into their existing ethnic knowledge. This assimilation process is said to be pertinent to the development of group identity about persons and groups (Moscovici, 1976) and the understanding of relationships between them (Emler, Ohana, & Dickinson, 1990). This occurs as children are exposed to both overt and covert expressions of social expectation and the relative statuses of each other by interacting with the people they see (and do *not* see) in their surroundings. This is where they can learn much about their own and other groups and absorb the expectations, behaviour and norms associated with these

groups. Much of what is assimilated is neither taught nor learnt in a conscious manner but in ways through body language, vocal inflections, pace of conversations, and even what is acceptable 'entry behaviour', as quoted in the data here as well as in similar previous work as a possible source of conflict (e.g. Van Ausdale & Feagan, 1996).

Indeed, very early on in life even before starting school, children already learn to expect some kinds of behaviour as they assimilate the social rules and norms from their families and communities (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993; Rotheram & Phinney, 1987), including those nuances of social interactions that can often differ between ethnic groups (Ramsey, 1987). Rotheram and Phinney (1987) further write that it is due to such interactions children develop expectations of how members of their own group may react, and in a mixed-ethnic setting, how some other groups may react to certain circumstances. Such stylistic differences can be a source of influence that, rather than consciously formed preferences, play a part in the increasing gender and ethnic cleavage in schools (Schofield, 1982). What is implied here, is that learnt patterns of mutually perceived (within-group) similarity and (between-group) differences are likely to go a long way to become a basis for children's tendency to engage in same-ethnic interactions and form friendships as the data of the Asian girls suggests (Epstein, 1989). This type of dynamic tendency to affiliate with peers who are similar (here on ethnic basis) has been recently conceptualised by Ryan (1999) as 'homophily' to which socialisation is a major contributory process. Ryan further describes this socialisation as a peer influence which manifests itself in direct and indirect ways. Social reinforcement is articulated as beliefs and behaviours encouraged, or received positively, by the group which become more likely to be displayed again. Moreover, peer

pressure is said to occur in less direct ways. Modelling processes are said to be involved for which Ryan offers the example of observing a classmate's commitment to schoolwork as introducing an individual to new behaviours and viewpoints. This indeed features highly in the present dataset concerning Asian children's classroom behaviour (particularly where the girls were apparently competing with each other to finish a difficult task quickly).

2.4.3 Ethnic identification

It has been suggested (by Foster et al., 1996) that culturally (including ethnically) distinct socialisation patterns and social values are particularly likely to develop to the extent that: (a) children are socialised within their own ethnic group, and (b) the group can transmit ethnically specific norms and shapes, reinforces (also punishes) behaviours considered to be desirable or normative (and also undesirable or inappropriate) within the group. Both of these conditions are likely to happen in the present setting (at least for the Asian girls) in that some children interact largely within groups of same-ethnic peers, providing more opportunities for within-group influence and socialisation of ethnic identity. Evidence of the transmission of norms and behaviours shared and co-constructed by such children is also available through their idiosyncratic play and modes of communication.

Similarity (perceived and learnt) as an unconscious primary basis that contributes to ethnic cleavage and friendship choice has been discussed above. Similarity can be based on any or all of obvious features (e.g. skin colour), interest (e.g. activities) as well as behavioural characteristics (e.g. playing similarly), all of which are evident in the current dataset. Such

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can also be an important component of other in- and out-group processes that may play a role in promoting and maintaining a sense of ethnic identity (Aboud, 1987; Brislin, 1981). The distinction between in- and out-group behaviour has been explained as a component of social identity formation (Brewer & Kramer, 1985; Tajfel, 1978, 1982). Social identity refers to that component of a person's self-concept that derives from the membership in a particular social group as well as the value and emotional significance of that membership (Tajfel, 1982). It is also viewed that ingroup members will differentiate themselves from outgroups and are motivated to maintain group distinctiveness, which serves to enhance their positive identity.

Children as young as 3 can distinguish their own group from another and show ingroup favouritism in their evaluations in the process (Yee & Brown, 1992). Older preadolescent children (7-11 years) continue to display such distinct group preference and make choices which favour their ingroup over the outgroup (e.g. Vaughan, Tajfel, & Williams, 1981). There is no substantive evidence from the current data in its open and uncontrolled setting that the phenomenon of ingroup/outgroup bias was definite (by inviting a same-ethnic peer to join a group activity and rejecting an other-ethnic peer). However, the distinctiveness of ethnic ingroup characteristics is pervasively conveyed by some children's (i.e. Asian girls') behaviour (such as their common dialect and style of play, and to an extent their academic tendency and coping style). Take linguistic difference for example, since other children can only take part if they also share that language, which usually means those from their ethnic ingroup, this discourages the inclusion of outgroup members, which further distinguishes between members and non-members even more.

Apart from the observable ethnically related interaction patterns, the inferred dispositions from such behaviour are particular germane to the current argument for the association of ethnic identity to ethnic socialisation. It was within this interaction context that children's expectations or evaluations of each other of their own and other ethnic groups were made transparent through not just the statements they verbalised, but also how statements were communicated within that particular local setting (Ivinson & Murphy, 1998).

Overtly voiced comments that one's ethnic ingroup member is expected to play with their same-ethnic peers and that someone of an ethnic outgroup is not, or is discouraged from engaging in the ingroup activities, has been invoked as similar to its gender equivalent in Martin et al. (1995). Despite the lack of precise parallels between this 'ethnocentric' way of assigning or refusing group members for play in the loosely defined natural setting and Martin et al.'s 'gendercentric' pattern of inference making within experimental conditions, both cases share the same vital elements. Children made specific and differential inference about their (gender and ethnic) in- and out-group members as sharing (or not sharing) the same internal attributes related to play (toys or activities) as themselves. Such inferences, once again, may be linked to the kind of learnt perceived between-group differences (and similarity) purported to underlie ethnic cleavage and friendship choice mentioned earlier.

Inferences of between- and within-category differences and similarity are articulated as reflective of children's categorical reasoning, accounted for by more general conceptual development (Gelman, 1989; Gelman, Collman, & Maccoby, 1986; Gelman & Markman,

1986, 1987). These abstract concepts have been more simply explained by Martin et al. (1995) as the belief where, if person-based information is unavailable, impoverished or neglected, perceivers will base their judgements of others upon their group memberships. Children and in some cases adults have been seen to assume that because group members share a category label, they may also share deeper internal properties known as 'essences'. Indeed one need not look further for a demonstration explicating the concept of essences than the present dataset showing children's ethnic awareness and knowledge. Children as young as age 6 showed evidence of their recognition that categorical differences between people can mean internal ethnocultural differences, although their knowledge *itself* of the differences was not always sophisticated. Yet in fact it is where their ethnic concepts were not so well polished that their very *overuse* of categorical information reveals this kind of inference making about essences (e.g. presuming that skin-colour differences could mean anatomical differences; thinking any two individuals sharing some racial similarities could speak the same language). Martin et al.'s (1995) gender-based reasoning is similar in that boys and girls assume those of their own sex will enjoy the same play things like they do, presumably purely due to their common gender-group membership, discounting same-sex (within-group) differences and cross-sex (between-group) similarities in the process.

In the absence of more substantive data in the present investigation, which is one of the expected limitations of this approach, the aforementioned interesting pattern of ethnicity-based reasoning inferred from the available data needs to be examined in a more rigorous and robust manner. This is an important venture as children's voluntary inferences of the internal dispositions being shared between the self and others as critical ethnic attributes,

and distinguishing one from those of other ethnic groups along such attributes, can be considered as some of the first criteria that an ethnic identification has been made (Aboud, 1987, 1988; Rotheram & Phinney, 1987).

2.4.4 Conclusions and further research directions

This investigation reveals quite clearly that children from the age of 6 are highly aware of race and ethnicity and perhaps make predictions and judgements based on such knowledge about in- and out-group members. Concurrently, they tend to socialise with ingroup (both gender and ethnic) members which is particularly the case for girls and the defining ethnic distinctiveness of their groups is transparent within the context of their interactions. This pattern is highly consistent with that in previous studies employing similar methodology. However, such studies, including this one, have not examined how children conceptualise ethnic-role knowledge, or the extent to which children employ these constructs in various social situations. In existence are a rarity of empirical sources on children's formation and development of ethnicity-related concepts and categories, and their application of these, in well-controlled settings. In other words, we are certain that ethnicity exerts an influence in children's socialisation with different ethnic others but the *salience* of this influence within different contexts (such as between play and other domains and between ethnic groups) is not so clear. Upon bringing this issue into focus through this exploratory enquiry, this will effectively be designed to formulate the 'secondary' level of empirical questions deserving of rigorous investigations in the next phase of research, now that the relationship between children's socialisation and ethnic identification has been brought into light.

PHASE TWO

3.1 Background

3.1.1 Review of Phase One

The two experimental studies in this phase of my research explore children's reasoning about their own and different ethnic others' preferences for toys and foods. It is hoped, through such measures, that more substantive empirical support can be obtained for the key themes arisen from my observations in the last phase of enquiry.

Within the naturalistic setting, children appear to have a tendency towards same-ethnic interaction and friendships, as it has also been observed in other studies (e.g. Boulton & Smith, 1992; Finkelstein & Haskins, 1983; Sagar, Schofield, & Snyder, 1983), similar to the gender ingrouping pattern (e.g. Lloyd and Duveen, 1992; Maccoby, 1988; Serbin & Sprafkin, 1986). The cohesiveness of same-ethnic friendships was especially transparent among girls of a certain (Asian) ethnicity. This could be seen in the way in which they constantly shared activities and co-constructed their own brand of structured 'regimes' and practices during free play.

A distinct point of interest is the observation that ethnic group members brought forward the expectation that others of their own ethnicity should engage in the same activity and those of another ethnicity should not. This point of reference is particularly germane to this enquiry because it broadly equates a pattern arisen from the experimental setting in the gender domain (Martin, Eisenbud, & Rose, 1995). Martin et al. found that by the age

of 5 boys and girls consistently predicted that same-sex others would like the same toys they themselves did (gendercentric reasoning) despite the fact that such toy items were novel to these children and did not carry any gender labels or ideals. Placing the Asian children's expectation from the ethnography from into perspective, the notion that same-ethnic others are to engage in the same play activities shares the same premise with this gendercentric reasoning pattern. In both cases children invoke specific inferences about their (gender or ethnic) ingroup members having the same internal attribute (in terms of preference for toys or activities) as themselves.

Phenomena such as gendercentric, or 'ethnocentric' reasoning, as the previous phase of data suggests, are thought to be supported by more general cognitive processes, namely the abstract theories of within-group similarity and between-group differences (Gelman, 1989; Gelman, Collman, & Maccoby, 1986; Gelman & Markman, 1986, 1987). These two implicit concepts, according to Martin et al. (1995), can be explained by the tenets governing children's conceptual development of category perception, where perceivers tend to assume that because group members share a category label, they may also share deeper properties known as 'essences' (Medin, 1989).

3.1.2 Phase Two: Investigating ethnicity-based reasoning

While it is intended for the present studies to provide more substantive evidence for the existence and validity of ethnocentric reasoning implicated in the ethnographic findings, of paramount importance are the *nature* of such group-based knowledge and the *ways* in

which children understand and integrate such information. Rotheram and Phinney (1987) discuss how children might develop expectations of how members of their own and other ethnic groups behave in certain situations. Since very early in life children learn to expect certain kinds of behaviour as they assimilate the social rules and norms of their families, peers, the wider community, and from school the nuances of social interaction that differ between gender and ethnic groups such as those observed in the previous enquiry.

On the other hand, empirical evidence for different ways of perceiving reference groups by the observing child has been relatively sparse, or confounded or complicated by poor control of person characteristics, such as socio-economic status and stereotypes (Aboud, 1987; Ramsey, 1987). Such gender- and ethnicity-specific social cognition can also take several forms, one of which is the way in which children form judgements, expectations, or evaluations of others on the basis of their own and their peers' gender and ethnicity.

Social expectations have been studied empirically in adults by symbolic interactionists, who focus on ethnic differences in social perception, culture, and meaning of everyday experience, but relatively little research examines how such expectations operate among children. The existing studies were typically designed in such a way that children would view videotapes or pictures of others displaying identical behaviour with the ethnicity of subjects, stimulus children and sometimes the type of behaviour varied (Lawrence, 1991; Rotheram-Borus & Phinney, 1990; Sagar & Schofield, 1980). Any main effect involving the ethnicity of perceivers (subjects) was taken to indicate differential social expectations between groups. Major effects of the ethnicity of stimulus children would suggest biased

evaluations or stereotyping of such stimulus categories. Interactions between ethnicity of the perceiver and that of stimulus children would indicate that one group of subjects and not another showed a particular bias, or that different groups judged stimulus children of different ethnicities differently. Interactions with types of behaviour would suggest that judgements might be context-specific (see review by Foster, Martinez, & Kulberg, 1996).

Rotheram-Borus and Phinney (1990), for instance, found gender differences in social expectations and increasing divergence in ethnically linked social expectations with age in children's responses to videotaped scenes. Such are consistent with previous research reflecting the cultural norms of ethnic groups, like findings of increasing differentiation and elaboration of ethnic self-identification (Aboud, 1987) as well as decreasing cross-ethnic friendships (Schofield, 1982). Using the same paradigm, Lawrence (1991) studied 6-9 year-olds' interpretations of drawings of ambiguous behaviours and found that social stereotyping strongly influences their perceptions of peers; white children interpreted the behaviour of white cartoon characters more positively than that of black characters. Over and above, the relevant evidence indicates that children appear to be acquiring ethnically based patterns of social expectations particularly rapidly during middle childhood.

It has been debated that early socialisation and a clear component of children's level of cognitive development may determine the ways in which they process group information (e.g. see Aboud, 1987, 1988; for ethnicity; Serbin, Powlishta, & Gulko 1993, for gender). Each of such models assumes an age-based progression in the ability to perceive, process and interpret racial/ethnic and gender stimuli, with young children initially learning from

others to which group they belong. During middle childhood children are thought to gain an increasing understanding of their own group label, its critical attributes and constancy. Concurrently, their number of cross-ethnic friends, like cross-gender friends, decreases (see *Introduction* section).

Although the work above highlights the cognitive variables in children's perception of behavioural stimuli associated with between-group differences, a problem with this kind of research is that differences of evaluations may be a function of particular cataloguing of certain behaviours *performed by* certain groups (e.g. aggressive acts by black males), rather than perceived differences between stimulus children *per se*. Further, the literature on ethnicity has focused primarily on black and white children in the US; generalisability to other ethnic groups elsewhere remains to be established.

3.1.3 Schematic processing theories

The study by Martin et al. (1995) outlined above used unfamiliar toys as experimental stimuli to investigate preschool children's gender-based inference making with the goal of illuminating more recent frameworks of gender schematic processing (e.g. Bem, 1981; Markus, Crane, Bernstein, & Silandi, 1982; Martin & Halverson, 1981). Such paradigms are driven by cognitive knowledge structures known as *gender schemas*. These are naïve theories or belief systems that guide information processing by structuring experiences, regulating behaviour and providing bases for making inferences and interpretations (e.g. Berndt & Heller, 1986; Martin, 1993; also see *Introduction*).

Gender schemas function by drawing on existing beliefs about gender information that defines the *in-* and *out*-groups. Children are geared towards sex-appropriate thinking and behaviour as defined by the schemas of their ingroup (see review by Serbin et al., 1993). In the case of toy choice, for example, if a child decides that a toy is "for boys", or "for girls" (drawing on their existing beliefs of which toys are typically liked by boys or girls), or is told that it is "liked by girls" or "liked by boys", they will compare this information with their knowledge of which sex they are. A girl may reason, "this toy is liked by girls, I'm a girl, so I'll probably like to play with it." Martin et al. (1995) further assert that this mechanism is so well learned that it occurs automatically.

But what might happen if the gender label of a toy (or other item) is unknown and the child is asked to make judgements about his or her own *as well as* other boys' and girls' preferences for the item? Martin et al. (1995) argued that children's own liking would be affected by the appeal of the toy. This is a personal choice. But in predicting the choices for other boys and girls they would draw on inferences based on this information about their own liking, combined with their beliefs about boys and girls. In this case, say, if a girl finds a toy attractive she may reason, "I like this toy, I'm a girl, so other girls would like it and other boys would not". This way the child is seen as relying on the theories of within-group similarity and one of between-group differences mentioned earlier. So sex-congruent inferences would appear to require that a gendered self-concept (knowledge of one's own gender group), which is abstract and implicit, be incorporated into the child's

schema. Recent infant research further unveils the early emergence of this implicit gender

knowledge (Campbell, Shirley, Heywood, & Crook, 2000; Hujawski & Bower, 1993).

Until recently the application of the schematic processing framework in ethnic perception

has scarcely been attempted (with recent notable exceptions; e.g. Levy, 2000). Whereas it

would be unwise to assume that common psychological processes underpin reasoning

about ethnicity and gender, both conceptual as well as empirical parallels can be drawn

between them. For instance, in so-called "folk theories" held by both adults and children,

both biological and social factors are believed to underlie gender and racial differences,

and in both social factors are considered to be more important (Martin & Parker, 1994).

The role of socialisation in ethnic-role development has often been conceptualised in a

similar manner to that in gender-role development (e.g. Katz, 1987; 1983). Indeed there

is increasing evidence of a close association of children's ethnic practices both inside and

outside the school and their senses of ethnic identity (e.g. Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota; &

Ocampo, 1993; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 1996; Andereck,

1992). This is crucial as the social psychological literature has for a long time identified

both gender and ethnic identities as consequences of an individual's membership to a

particular social group or category (e.g. Tajfel & Wilkes, 1963, Lloyd & Duveen, 1992).

The development of knowledge of gender labels, gender group membership and other

gender-related concepts further appears to parallel the development of ethnic knowledge.

However, evidence suggests that development of the latter takes lags a year or so behind

that of the former, approaching its ceiling level near the beginnings of middle childhood (around 7; see Aboud, 1987; 1988). At least two reasons could account for this delayed development. Firstly, the gender groups represent the "male" and "female" dichotomous, exhaustive, and perceptually salient "natural kind" categories emphasised by both adults and children (Serbin et al., 1993). In contrast, there is a broad range of ethnic and racial category labels that are societally designated to categorise population groups, and which are not always defined by clear or stable boundaries.

The second reason that might account for the discrepancy between the development of gender- and ethnic-role knowledge concerns the ages at which children commence their day-to-day experience of gender and ethnic socialisation. Whilst most infants encounter and interact with adults and infants of both sexes very early on in life, some younger ones may not encounter, let alone socialise with, members from the wide ethnic spectrum until their first year of schooling. That means for the young child, learning of the "other" (out-) groups is ordinarily less extensive in the ethnic than gender domain (Katz, 1987). Despite this delay, development of ethnic-role concepts nevertheless appears to be largely parallel to that of gender-role concepts. If gender-role knowledge enables the formation of gender schemas, which can function to structure perceptions, cognitions and behaviours, could ethnic-role knowledge form constructs of this kind that serve similar functions?

If the structures of 'ethnic schemas' hold, those underlying abstract theories of between-group differences and within-group similarity should apply in the case of ethnicity as they do in the case of gender. Similarly children may incorporate the self into their ethnic

schemas as they incorporate the self into gender schemas. Also, they may use ethnicity to reason about liking for novel toys and objects following a pattern similar to the one found for gender. Thus they may infer that because they themselves like a toy or object children of their own ethnicity also might like it whereas children of other ethnicities might not. Such an inference would stem from the underlying beliefs that children sharing their own ethnic category will also share other properties (here, preferences for toys) which, in turn, leads to children generalising their own preferences to others from the same ethnic group.

Another point of interest concerning the function of schemas is whether the relationship between the self and (same- and other-gender or ethnic) others or the distinction between schemas representing the self and those representing others is emphasised. While Martin and colleagues (e.g. Martin & Halverson, 1981; Martin et al., 1995) view all schemas as an aspect of the self, others (e.g. Signorella, Bigler, & Liben, 1993) believe that schemas might begin as part of the self and thereafter diverge with age into relatively unconnected components, despite acknowledging that there may be some shared variance across such components. In view of the differentiations between judgements of the self and of others being commonly made in other research areas, such as attributions, it appears sensible to also distinguish between what children perceive for themselves and what they perceive in the place of others in our study. This would further make the concept of ethnic schemas a particularly fascinating one, given the recent evidence of biases in children's information processing of ethnic stereotypes for same- and different-race others *only* (Levy, 2000).

3.1.4 The current studies: inferences for toy and food choice

The first study of this phase investigates children's inferences about toy choice. This is based on the possible ethnicity-based pattern of reasoning (deduced from ethnographic results in phase one) paralleling the gender-based pattern found by Martin et al. (1995). This involves children drawing on inferences from their own toy and play preferences and combining that with their apparent expectations of different ethnic groups based on implicit group beliefs. Conceptualising further the principles of conceptual development mentioned earlier relating to groups or categories, the second study attempts to extend the enquiry by exploring how children reason for themselves and others in terms of their food preferences. Owing to the fact that both toys and foods are highly significant aspects of children's lives, with elements that possess ecological potential that invoke gender- and ethnicity-based thinking, categorical reasoning is postulated to also apply in the context of foods. This is particularly so when food selection, consumption and acceptance have often been conceptualised as being social and cultural, rather than purely physiological and individual (e.g. Caplan, 1996; Rozin, 1986, 1996), thus significantly associated with interpersonal perception as well as identity development and maintenance (e.g. Fischler, 1988; Laroche, Kim, & Tomuik, 1998; Loconto, 2000; Mooney & Lorenz, 1997; and see later subsection in *Study Two*).

In addition, in order to examine the development in this form of reasoning children of different age groups which lay before, during, and after the conceptual developmental 'peak' of the associations between ethnic category labelling, ethnic group memberships, and complex ethnic concepts described earlier were assessed. Children of the critical ages

were expected to display more the relevant ethnicity-based reasoning pattern since their cognitive abilities and socialisation would have enabled and shaped their acquisition of ethnic information.

The two studies are designed to address the following questions:

1) Is ethnicity (and gender) implicated in children's inferences about others' preferences for toys and foods?

2) In what way(s) are such categories applied in these inference-making processes (e.g. did ethnicity and gender have differential impact on children's inferences about others)?

3) Are there different processes underlying children's inferences about others *in isolation* (e.g. stereotyping of target groups) and inferences about others *in relation to the self* (i.e. possible identification with others)?

3) What are the factors which influence children's reasoning for their inference decisions (e.g. did they mention others' and/or their own gender or ethnic group membership; could the kind of abstract group theories mentioned earlier play a role)?

4) Does ethnicity- and gender-based reasoning vary between the two different contexts (i.e. did the kind or salience of gender and ethnic influence differ in children's inferences about toys and foods)?

5) What implications do these findings have on children's ethnic conceptualisation (e.g. ethnic categorisation, intergroup perception, ethnic identity development)?

It is intended that the findings in this phase will lend further support for the phenomena observed in the previous phase within another (naturalistic) setting, particularly in regards

children's beliefs of and identification with so-called ethnic in- and out-groups. Moreover it is hoped that any substantive ethnicity-related pattern found can lead to the formulation of further research questions in the next phase of enquiry.

3.2 Study One: The influence of ethnicity on inferences about toy choice

Children's toy preferences for themselves and others have consistently been found to be sex-typed. They express preferences for and explore novel yet same-sex-labelled toys and objects more so than other-sex-labelled toys and objects (e.g. Bradbard & Endsley, 1983; Bradbard, Martin, Endsley, & Halverson, 1986). That is, once boys and girls learn the sex label of something, their judgements and behaviour towards it will often change to match stereotyped expectations.

Furthermore according to the particular branch of gender schematic processing models addressed earlier, even without explicit sex labelling children still attribute toy or object liking to others following a gender-based or 'gendercentric' pattern (Martin et al., 1995). Both boys and girls will use gender to reason about a toy following a pattern where once they have established that they themselves like a toy they will expect same-sex others to also prefer and play with the object, and the reverse will be true for opposite-sex others, despite the fact that the toys themselves are unfamiliar and non-sex-typed.

Based on the nature of the abstract group-based theories underlying the kind of gender-based reasoning mentioned before (Gelman, 1989; Gelman, Collman, & Maccoby, 1986;

Gelman & Markman, 1986, 1987), it is envisaged here that such theories can apply to the domain of ethnicity which forms the main issue of the current investigation. Additionally, children's reasoning of others' toy choice were looked at both in isolation and in relation to their own choice as this might reveal the possible differences between how schematic processing relates to the evaluation of others *only* and how it relates to others *in relation to oneself* as discussed earlier (Signorella et al., 1993).

The present study was designed to examine children's reasoning about preferences for novel toys for themselves and others of the same or of other sex group and ethnic group memberships. To do so, children were asked to make judgements about how much they and other children would like these toys. They were given information about some other children's gender and ethnic group memberships. However, the toys were unfamiliar to them and thus should not possess any ethnic or gender labels. The use of *novel* toys is a central component in this sort of research (cf. Martin et al., 1995). That is because it can assure the researchers that the influence of gender or ethnicity on children's reasoning is connected solely to the children's understanding of gender and ethnic notions rather than to any existing stereotyped characteristics of the toys themselves. In order to investigate the possible age-related differences in ethnicity-based reasoning, three age groups (5-, 6-7, 8-9-year) of children were tested. The pattern of toy liking they inferred for others was analysed both in isolation and in comparison to their own liking to distinguish processing underlying these two kinds of inference making.

3.2.1 Hypotheses

Regarding children's predictions of others' liking *in relation to what they gave as their own liking*, it was expected that those from age 5 would already display a gendercentric reasoning pattern (as in Martin et al., 1995), due to their early acquisition of gender-role knowledge. However the corresponding ethnocentric pattern was expected from age 6-7, towards the peak level of the parallel but delayed development of ethnic-role knowledge during middle childhood. Children's predictions of others' toy liking by themselves are a largely exploratory investigation; since the toys used are novel and nonstereotyped, any gender- or ethnic differences in such predictions may depend on children's perception of the social group in relation to attitudes towards toys in general, or specifically novel toys.

3.2.2 Method

3.2.2.1 Participants

A total of 84 children were recruited from the same primary school in a South East London borough of mainly working to lower-middle class families. The majority of the participants were of white and Asian backgrounds, with the remaining being of black and other ethnic minorities. There were 30 participants in the 5-year group (17 boys, 13 girls; 15 white, 10 Asian), 27 in the 6-7-year group (11 boys, 16 girls; 10 white, 9 Asian), and 27 in the 8-9-year group (15 boys, 12 girls; 12 white, 10 Asian). The mean ages of these three year groups at the time of our testing near the end of the Summer Term (from the youngest) were 5.17, 6.92 and 8.83 years, and each group was from the same peer year

class separated by a school year inbetween ("Rise-in-fives" – enrolled after Easter break, Years 2 and 4, respectively). Among the 5-year group, all but 3 children had turned 5 by or during the Summer Term, whilst most of the 6-7-year group had either turned age 7 by or during the Summer Term or would do so during the summer. Similarly, the 8-9-year group had either turned age 9 or would do so during the summer.

3.2.2.2 Toy photographs

From a range of unusual toys and toy-like objects bought, three items ("Microscopic Explorer", spirograph and "Strawcopters") were selected by twelve adult judges on the basis of their being most unfamiliar and nonstereotyped. As control contrast, three other toys (yoyo, "Pokemon" bouncyball, and "Wallace and Gromit" miniature models) were chosen for their familiarity. An A5-size print photograph was processed and laminated for each toy for presentation (see *Appendices* I-VI).

3.2.2.3 Children photographs

Passport-sized photographs showing smiling facial expressions of children were printed from children's Internet sites. The judges who chose the toys were also asked to estimate the ages and to rate the attractiveness and ethnic typicality of these children. The final six 'target' children, two of whom (a boy and a girl) from each of the ethnic groups as white, black and Asian, had their perceived ages (mean = 7.33 yrs; apparent-age range 6-8 yrs), attractiveness, and ethnic typicality ratings matched across both gender and ethnic groups. Their photographs were laminated for presentation (see Appendix VII).

3.2.2.4 Rating scale

A "marble" rating scale was used for the participants to indicate how much they liked, and how much they predicted that others would like, the toys, by placing marbles (0-3) into paper containers. Three marbles were labelled as "like something *a lot*", two "like something *quite a bit*", one "like something *a little bit*", and finally no marbles "*not* like something at all". Similar rating methods have previously been used (e.g. Martin et al., 1995) with children as young as under 5 years old.

3.2.2.5 Procedure

A female experimenter assessed each participant in a quiet corner of the classroom away from the other class peers. She explained that she was interested in finding out how much children liked different things (by saying, "We would like to see if children would like our new toys..."). Then she illustrated how to use the marble rating scale. When the child had fully understood the scale, the experimenter presented a toy photograph and asked him or her to inspect it for as long as he or she wished. She then assessed its familiarity by asking (1) "Do you know what it is?" and, (2) "Have you played with it before?". The child was then asked to rate how much he or she liked the toy by using the rating scale ("Could you put some marbles in your cup to show me how much you like it?").

The experimenter then asked how much the child thought each of the children in those photographs would like that toy. The target children's photographs were displayed in a row in front of the participant at all times and the order of display had been randomised separately for each child by shuffling the cards. The first target on the left was selected

first for the participant as an example to the procedure ("Could you put some marbles in this cup to show me how much you think this child will like it?"). The order in which the other targets were rated was left to the individual child; many continued across the row to the right, but others also did so in a seemingly more random manner according to their own preference. Children were allowed to change their ratings (before further questions) and some did do so before and/or after all six targets' liking had been rated. The same procedure was repeated for the six toys and the order of toy presentation was also randomised for each child. After each trial the child was invited to expand on the reasons for giving the ratings they had for themselves and the targets ("Lets look at the marbles you've put in everyone's cup. Could you tell me why you think you and these children would like the toy in these ways?). The procedure is depicted in Diagram 3.1.

Children's familiarity with the toys was assessed by combining two 3-point scales, each scoring responses to questions (1) and (2) above. A score of 0 was given if the child had said "no", 2 if he or she had said "yes". A score of 1 representing "uncertain" was given if the child indicated that he or she had seen the toy but did not know its name, or identified a toy not dissimilar in nature and function to the one in question or said that he or she had played with something similar before. The scores to these questions were then summed to give a composite score, which ranged between 0 (most unfamiliar) and 4 (most familiar).

Diagram 3.1

The "marble" rating scale

Target children's photographs and cups for child to predict and indicate others' toy liking

Photo	Photo	Photo	Photo	Photo	Photo
Cup	Cup	Cup	Cup	Cup	Cup

2 marbles:
"Like it quite a bit"

3 marbles:
"Like it a lot"

0 marbles:
"Not like it at all"

Toy photo

Participant's cup
- to rate own liking

1 marble:
"Like it a little bit"

Marbles
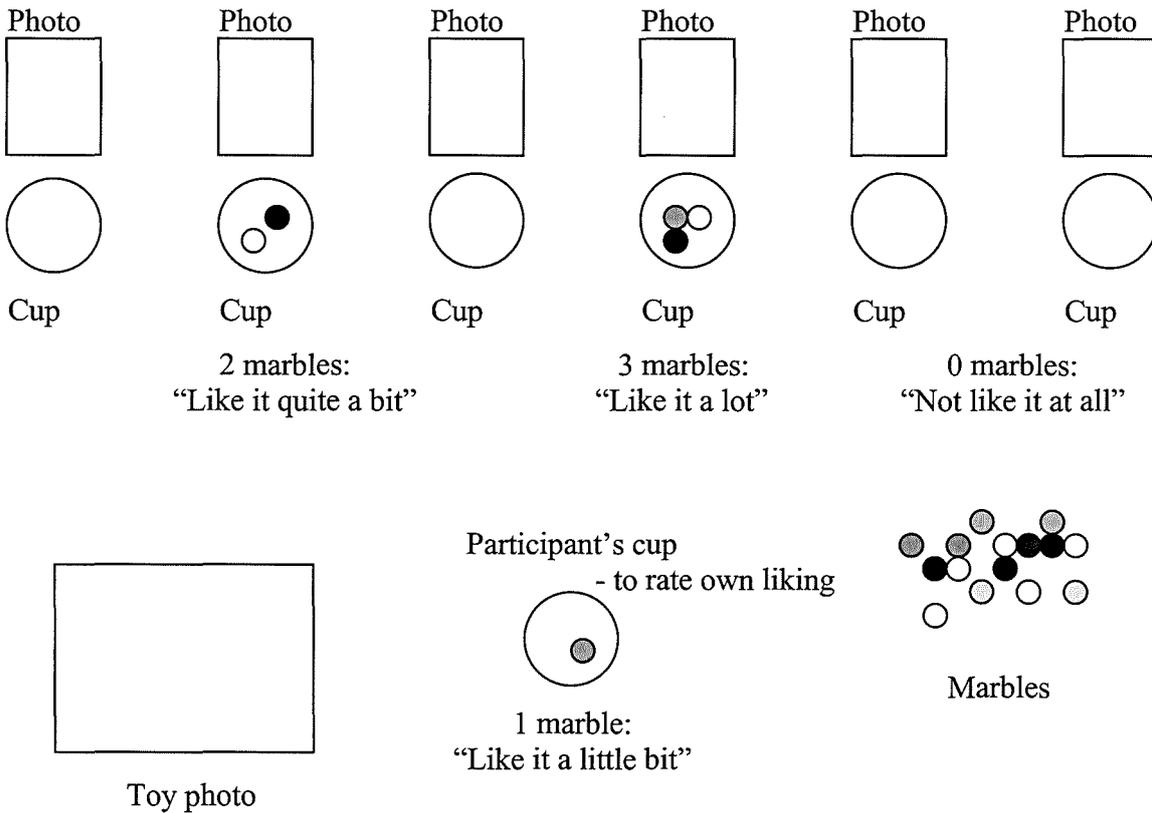
3.2.3 Results

3.2.3.1 Toys' familiarity and typing

The mean familiarity rating for the toys selected as unfamiliar ("Microscopic Explorer",

spirograph, and "Strawcopters") was 0.69 (scale 0-4), versus 3.15 for the toys selected as

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familiar (yoyo, "Pokemon", and "Wallace and Gromit"). The mean participants' liking for score unfamiliar toys was 2.00 (scale 0-3), versus 2.62 for familiar toys. Two four-way ANOVAs, one with toy familiarity (mean familiarity ratings for unfamiliar toys vs. familiar toys), the other own toy-liking (mean own liking scores for unfamiliar toys vs. familiar toys), as the repeated measures factor, and participants' age group, gender and ethnicity as between-participants factors, were performed as a manipulation check. It was essential to ensure the novelty and nonstereotyped nature of unfamiliar toys as predicted liking ratings for targets should not be biased by children's differences in familiarity with or typing of the toys themselves. There was a significant main toy-familiarity effect on familiarity ratings, $F(1,61) = 40.82$, $p<.001$, and on own toy-liking scores, $F(1,61) = 34.88$, $p<.001$. Hence, participants in general perceived the toys pre-selected as being unfamiliar to be much less familiar than those pre-selected as being familiar and also liked those unfamiliar toys less. Furthermore, a significant toy familiarity x age group x ethnicity interaction was found for familiarity ratings, $F(6,61) = 2.50$, $p<.05$, and a toy familiarity x age group interaction was found for own toy-liking scores, $F(2,61) = 4.24$, $p<.05$. Subsequent separate (either only for unfamiliar or for familiar toys) analyses showed that such effects were significant only for familiar toys. For toy-familiarity ratings, all effects of age group, $F(2,72) = 5.63$, $p <.001$, ethnicity, $F(2,72) = 3.29$, p<.05, and of age group x ethnicity interaction, $F(6,72) = 4.21$, $p <.001$, were significant. For own toy-liking scores, the main age-group effect was found, $F(2,81) = 3.20$, $p<.05$. The familiar toys which themselves appeared to be biased by their familiarity and typing were thereby dropped from further analyses.

3.2.3.2 Targets' toy liking

To explore liking for unfamiliar toys predicted for target (photographed) children of the gender and three ethnic groups (white, black and Asian), an average score was calculated for each target gender and ethnic group. First, for each toy an average for each group was delivered by summing the predicted liking scores of targets belonging to that group before dividing that sum by the number of targets. For instance, for 'Strawcopters', this average of girl-targets was calculated by adding those liking scores predicted for the *three* girls in photographs and dividing that sum by *three*. The same was done for target boys, white, black and Asian children. Finally, an aggregate average for unfamiliar toys for each group was simply derived by summing the above scores for the *three* individual unfamiliar toys and dividing this sum by *three*.

Mean predicted liking scores for the unfamiliar toys by each target group are listed in Table 3.1. Two four-way repeated measures ANOVAs with three between-participants factors (participant's age group, gender and ethnicity) and a within-participants factor (targets' gender in one analysis and ethnicity in the other) were computed to compare predicted toy liking scores as dependent measure between target gender and ethnicity.

TABLE 3.1

Mean predicted liking for unfamiliar toys of target children by gender and ethnicity

(Standard deviations in brackets)

		Mean toy liking, scale 0-3
Target gender:	Boy	2.08 (.51)
	Girl	1.99 (.57)
Target ethnicity:	White	2.12 (.54)
	Black	2.10 (.49)
	Asian	1.89 (.63)

No target gender effect or interaction with the between-participants factors was found. There was a main effect of target ethnicity, $F(2,60) = 9.61$, $p<.001$, although this effect was only qualified by its interaction with participant's age group, $F(4,122) = 3.26$, $p<.01$, as well as with participant's gender, $F(2,60) = 6.94$, $p<.01$. Hence different toy liking of the three target ethnic groups as predicted by the participants varied as a function of the participants' own age group and gender. The different mean toy-liking scores of the three target ethnic groups predicted by each age group of participants (in Fig. 3.1) indicate that these differences followed distinct age-related patterns. Simple-effects tests conducted for the three age groups separately found that the targets' ethnicity effect was significant only in the 6-7-year [$F(2,60) = 5.58$, $p<.01$)] and the 8-9-year [$F(2,60) = 9.40$, $p<.01$]

groups. Tukey post hoc examinations revealed that in the 6-7-year group, participants predicted that toy liking of white targets would be higher than that of both Asian ($p<.01$) and black targets ($p<.05$), the latter of which would in turn be higher than that of the Asian targets ($p<.05$). The 8-9-year group, on the other hand, predicted that liking of the Asian targets would be lower than that of both black ($p<.001$) and white ($p<.01$) targets, which did not differ significantly from one another.

FIGURE 3.1

Mean predicted liking scores: unfamiliar toys: target's ethnicity/participant's age group
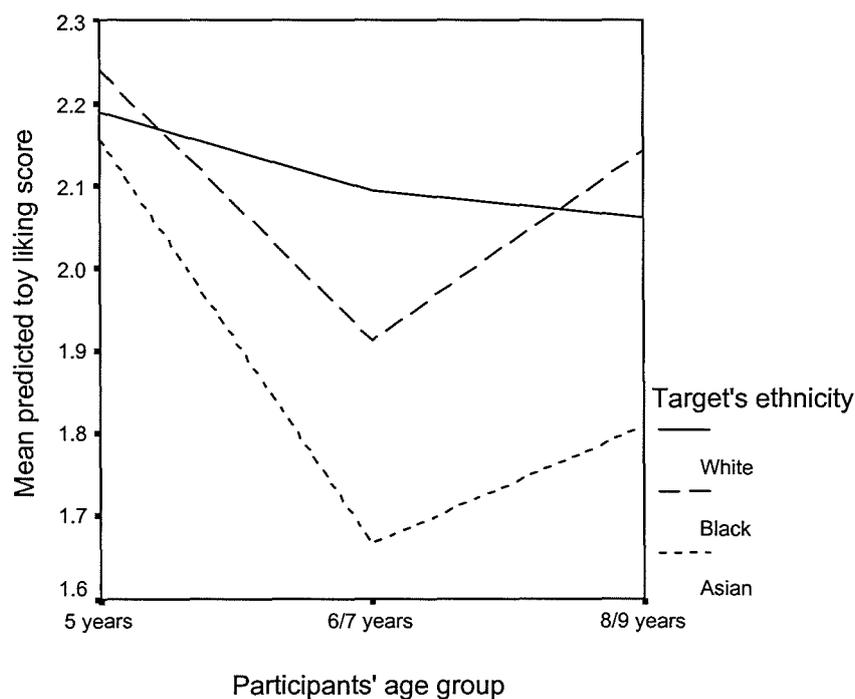
Mean toy liking ratings predicted for the three target ethnic groups by male and female participants (Fig. 3.2) clearly show that the sexes predicted a differential liking pattern for the targets' ethnic groups. Simple-effects analyses for male and female participants

separately also verified that target ethnicity was significant only among boys, $F(2,61) = 9.42$, $p<.001$. Post hoc confirmed that boys predicted that toy liking of the Asian targets would be lower than that of both white ($p<.001$) and black ($p<.001$) targets, which in turn did not differ significantly from one another.

FIGURE 3.2

Mean predicted liking scores for unfamiliar toys target's ethnicity by participant's gender
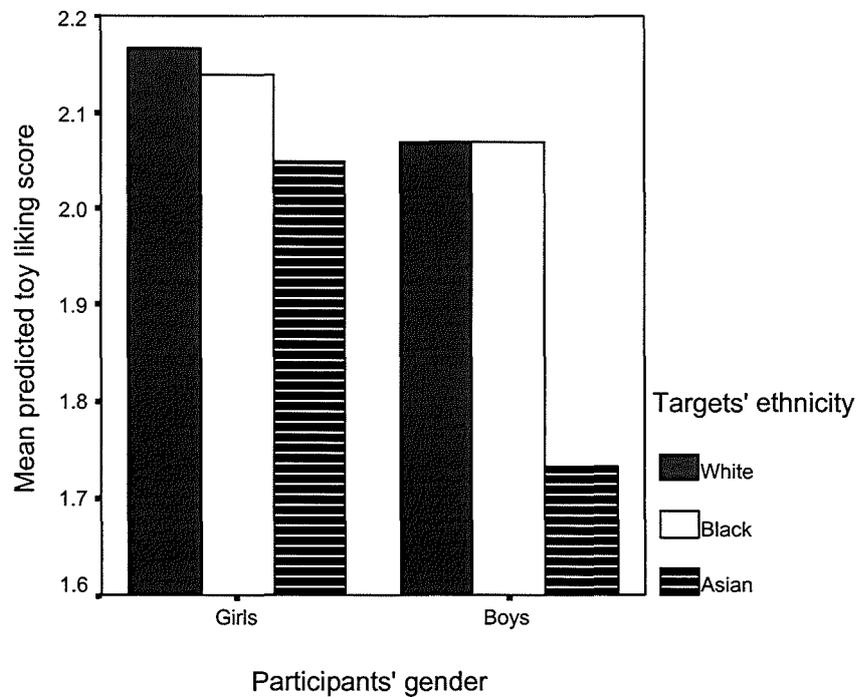
3.2.3.3 *Own and targets' toy liking*

Two four-way repeated measures ANOVAs were conducted, each with three between-participants variables (participant's age group, gender, and ethnicity) and one within-participants factor, self-target gender (same-sex vs. other-sex) in one analysis and self-

target ethnicity (same-ethnic vs. other-ethnic) in the other. These two within-participants analyses investigated participants' own liking compared to their predictions for same-sex targets versus their own liking compared to their predictions for opposite-sex targets, and participants' own liking compared to their predictions for same-ethnic targets versus their own liking compared to their predictions for other-ethnic targets. The dependent measure was computed as the *absolute* differences between participants' own liking for each toy minus their predictions of how much the target categories in question would like the toy, summed over all unfamiliar toys. This was regarded as the most direct method, tested by Martin et al. (1995), in measuring the size of differences between children's own liking and their predictions for peers. Analyses involving *actual* differences between children's own liking and their predictions for target children were not conducted in that, with the participant's own liking score being a constant, such analyses involving the size *and* the direction of differences between these constants and the targets' measures would yield identical results to those of the above earlier analyses involving only the targets' scores. The analyses of absolute differences also highlight our interest in examining how similar (or different) the participant children saw themselves in relation to others who belong to their gender and ethnic in- and out-groups (in terms of their toy liking). For the analysis that concerned ethnicity (differences between participants' own liking and predictions for same- and other-ethnic targets) only white and Asian participants' (and targets') scores were included. The smaller sample sizes of black and other ethnic-group children (each numbering fewer than ten across three age groups), particularly compared to the much larger samples of white and Asian children, were inadequate for a fair comparison.

ANOVA on differences between participants' own liking and predictions for same- and other-gender targets revealed a significant self-target gender effect, $F(1,61) = 8.14$, $p<.01$. Differences between children's own toy liking and what they predicted for other-sex peers (mean difference = 0.57, std. dev. = 0.15) were larger than that between their own liking and what they predicted for same-sex peers (mean difference = 0.44, std. dev. = 0.11).

FIGURE 3.3

Mean absolute differences between participants' own liking and their predictions for same- and other-ethnic target children for unfamiliar toys
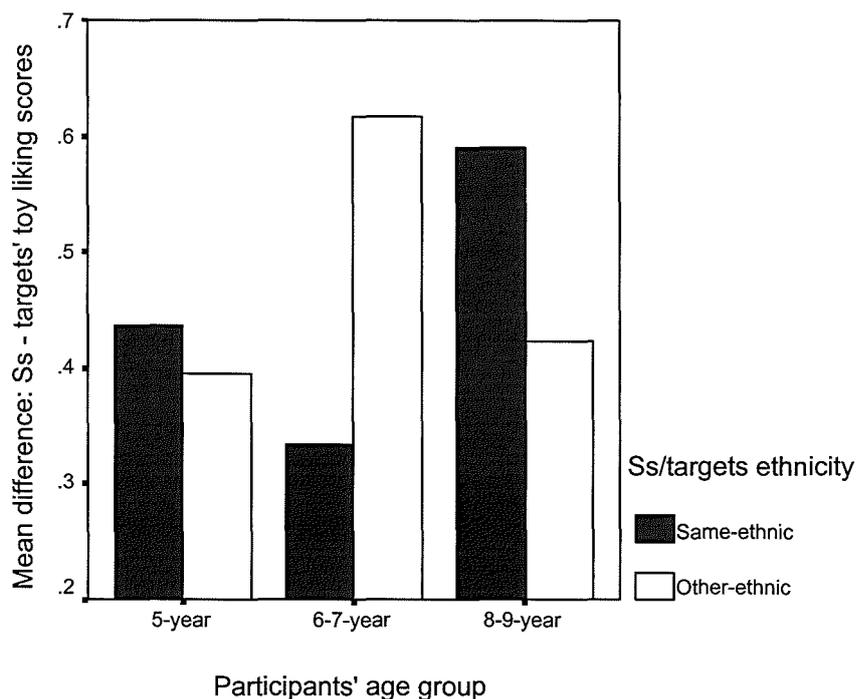
The analysis on the differences between participants' own liking and their predictions for same- and other-ethnic targets obtained a self-target ethnicity x participant's age group

interaction approaching statistical significance, $F(2,51) = 3.81, p = .05$. Thus the degree in which children differentially scored their own toy liking in relation to what they predicted for same- and other-ethnic peers tended to depend upon the age group in which they fell. Figure 3.3 depicts the mean absolute differences between each age group of participants' own liking and predictions for same- and other- ethnic targets. Simple-effects analyses for each age group confirmed that self-target was significant only among the 6-7 year group, $F(1,51) = 5.16, p < .05$. These children's own liking for unfamiliar toys was more different from what they predicted for other-ethnic peers than what they did for same-ethnic peers.

3.2.3.4 Reasons for toy liking

Children's justifications in general on why they had given the particular range of toy-liking ratings for the novel toys were explored qualitatively using a form of propositional content analysis of their utterances (see Bauer, 2001; Krippendorf, 1980). A preliminary analysis was first performed by two raters reviewing a small portion of comments from each of the age groups together and co-creating a system of categories and their criteria that could describe and specify the kind of comments the child uttered. For instance, a child might focus on only some characteristics or perceived traits of one or more targets without any indication of his or her paying attention to their gender and/or ethnic group memberships (e.g. "Some of them don't smile that much." "Her face tells you she likes everything."). Such cases would be categorised under the theme of 'individual targets' as the child's comments was directed towards the targets as individuals without evidence of

his or her focussing on their social group membership. Evidence of focuses on category membership would hence be derived from children levelling comments at targets of one certain gender or ethnic group (e.g. "Them lot (pointing at the two Asian targets) don't play a lot." "They're (Asian targets) more into art work and things."). Such cases would hence be categorised under 'target groups' as their theme of focus accordingly.

According to the set of criteria co-constructed by themselves, the two raters proceeded to categorise the rest of children's verbal data independently. The inter-rater reliability Kappa measure of agreement for categorisation was .81. The raters then carried out a detailed discussion on those cases upon which they had differed concerning their own categorisation until a consensus was reached. Such categories summarising children's themes of focus, their description, as well as some verbal exemplars that fall into each category are listed in Table 3.2, with the number of participants who voiced each type of comments grouped by their age group, gender, and ethnicity. This was done in order to give an indication of the varying amount of different comments between groups with the hope of illuminating the reasoning behind the patterns of results found in the quantitative analyses above.

Corresponding to previous research (e.g. Leman & Duveen, 1996) examining different ages of children's verbal justifications for their own judgements or evaluations, over half of the 5-year group here made no comments ("don't know", "can't think", or silence) to justify the toy-liking ratings they had given for themselves and/or the targets, compared to fewer than a quarter of the 6-7-year and fewer than 10 per cent of the 8-9-year groups.

TABLE 3.2

Participants' justifications for their own liking and target children's liking for unfamiliar toys by age group, gender and ethnicity

Theme of focus	Description/ categorisation	Age group	No. children (boy:girl) (white:Asian:black/other)	Quotation exemplars
Individual targets	Child commented on some characteristics or perceived traits of a target(s) *without* referring to their categories (gender/ethnic) by focusing on their individual features rather than talking of them as a group(s).	5-year	4 (1B:3G) (3W:0A:1B)	"They're (white and Asian girls) too big for it." "Some of them (not pointing to any specific gender or ethnic group) don't smile that much."
		6-7-year	4 (0B:4G) (2W:1A:1B)	"They (not indicating a particular gender or ethnic group) look happier/smile more/It's in their smiles."
everything."		8-9-year	8 (4B:4G)	"Her(white girl) face tells you she likes
			(4W:3A:1B)	"They (Asian targets and black boy) may have tried it and don't like it" "Looks nice, they all look like they'll play it, but she (Asian girl) may not like the glow, he'll (Asian boy) probably say it's dull."
Target groups	Child commented on some characteristics or perceived traits of targets of a certain gender/ethnicity, such as by pointing only at their photos talking of them as a group.	6-7-year	8 (5B:3G) (4W:1A:3B)	"Them lot (Asian targets)... don't play a lot/they won't like/don't have/won't know how to play it." "They (black targets) may not have many toys..." "They (white targets) will like all toys/play lots/ know what it is."

		8-9-year	4 (3B 1G) (2W:1A:1B)	"They're (Asian targets) more into other stuff/like art work and things." "I'm not sexist or anything, but these girls are all like Barbie's…I'm not racist or anything, but it's like, in the playground, yeah? At playtime it's like them kids (Asian targets) like to just, hang around together…"
Stereotyping toys	Child proclaimed that the toy is only/is not suitable for one gender/ethnicity/ only certain members of other categories *without* referring specifically to a target(s) or themselves.	5-year	3 (3B:0G) (2W:1A:0B)	"It's a boys' toy/looks like it's only fun for boys."
		6-7-year	7 (5B:2G) (2W:3A:2B)	"Boys are more into it." "Girls won't like it." "It's for older/smaller kids."
		8-9-year	6 (4B 2G) (2W:3A:1B)	"It's more to do with boys/a boys' thing or toy." "It's a toy thing girls won't like/are not up for it."
General on toys	Child commented on the toy *without* referring to targets/themselves nor category memberships.	5-year	7 (4B:3G) (3W:3A:1B)	"It looks nice/good/fun." "No one will like it!" "It's not like a toy."
Self and toys	Child focussed on toys in relation to their own characteristics or traits *exclusively*.	6-7-year	2 (1B:1G) (0W:1A:1B)	"I don't like its colour." "Other people may have these toys, not me."
		8-9-year	7 (4B 3G) (4W:2A:1B)	"Other children may do all sorts with it, but I may break it!" "It's the design of it, like you have to wait for/work on it/may be hard, I like this sort of things/ I'm not sure."/"I like it 'cos I like to experiment."

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None	Child did not comment.	5-year	16 (9B:7G) (7W:6A:3B)	"Don't know." "Can't think." Silence.
		6-7-year	6 (0B:6G) (2W:3A:1B)	"Don't know." "Just think so."
		8-9-year	2 (0B:2G) (0W:1A:1B)	"Don't know." "Not sure."

These children were all girls apart from those cases in the 5-year group. From those who made specific comments, within the 6-7-year group twice as many children verbalised comments on targets' (particularly ethnic) groups as those who focussed on individual target features, whereas the precise opposite was true for the 8-9-year group. None of the 5-year-olds focussed on the targets' group membership.

More than twice as many girls focussed on the targets as individuals than boys whereas twice as many boys paid apparent attention to the targets' group memberships than girls, although within the 8-9-year group equal number of boys and girls made individualised comments on the targets. There was quite clear indication that, despite the toys' novelty and nonstereotyped features by their own liking scores, children nevertheless explained their ratings by post-justifying such toys' differential suitability for different (particularly gender) groups of children. This tendency was much higher among the 6-7- and 8-9-year groups; around twice as many stereotyped these toys compared to the 5-year group. Three times as many boys stereotyped the toys as girls and notably most who did inferred that the toys were more suitable for boys. Some of the comments surrounding the toys were not stereotyped nor related to the targets: around the same number of 5-year-old boys and girls voiced some general comments on the toys and similar number of 6-7- and 8-9-year-old boys and girls related the toys' features to their own characteristics or traits.

Concentrating on the content of children's comments, it is worth noting that despite the age group's relative reticence, many of the 5-year participants who did attempt to reason for their ratings did so simply by generalising their opinions of the toys without showing

particular interest in the targets and category-based references were absent. In contrast, comments by the 6-7-year-olds on the targets revealed evidence of their prevalent focus on ethnic categories, particularly the Asian targets' lesser likelihood to encounter or try new play things, and also their (particularly boys) tendency to stereotype toys by gender. While 8-9-year-olds maintained much of this gender *toy* stereotyping, their focus on the *targets* shifted from a prevalence in group memberships to one of individualised themes, where their comments imply that they actively inferred some psychological dispositions from the targets. Even for those 8-9 year-olds who focussed on the targets' ethnic group membership, the content of their statements differed from their younger counterparts' in that they did not simply restate Asian children's lesser tendency to approach the toys but *explained* this perception by means of their own accounts of Asian peers' characteristics. One further distinctive feature of this older group is the way many of them contemplated the nature or function of the toys and related that to their *own* specific preferences, tastes, or personality in elaborate details. This thoughtful attempted matching between the toys and their own internal dispositions independent of others was a dimension lacking in the discourses of the younger age groups.

3.2.4 Discussion

The present study used novel, "unlabelled" toys as experimental stimuli to examine the ways in which children form inferences about others on the basis of gender and ethnicity. Findings suggest that children utilise what notions they have about gender and ethnicity (schemas) as ways of making predictions for themselves and others. Furthermore, there

appears to be an age-related trend in the nature and salience of the influence of ethnicity. The toys' unfamiliarity was deemed essential in ensuring that any ethnicity- and gender-based inference children made was more a result of their knowledge and evaluations of gender and ethnic concepts about category members rather than stereotypes attached to the toys themselves. The finding that boys more consistently expected that Asian children would like novel toys less than would other ethnic groups was unexpected. This implies a kind of typing more commonly made by boys about certain peer ethnic groups, compared to other ethnic groups, in terms of attitudes to new playthings. Whilst earlier literature on sex typing provides evidence that girls give fewer sex-typed responses than boys about toys and play (see Huston, 1983, 1985 for reviews), more recent studies portray a more mixed picture (see also Serbin et al. 1993 for a review), and in some cases girls actually make more stereotyped responses than boys (see review by Signorella et al., 1993). One possible explanation for boys' higher tendency to stereotype in the current study concerns the type of measures used; for 'unforced-choice' measures (such as in here when children had to rate *each* target rather than to select one) girls give more nonstereotyped responses than boys (Signorella et al., 1993). However, in view of the absence of sex typing parallel to ethnic typing here, this explanation looks less likely.

Another possible explanation for greater ethnic typing in boys may be that the gender that makes more of such responses has more stereotyped knowledge. Although this study used novel nonstereotyped toys, it is clear that this did not inhibit children from forming stereotyped opinions. The data here suggests that they actively assigned gender (or other) labelling to the toys, in effect *constructing* stereotyped knowledge for what had been to

them unfamiliar items. Boys were not only more likely to sex-type these toys, they *also* made more comments on the Asian targets than did girls (although this may simply raise the possibility that boys are more ready to express their attitudes).

The way boys displayed more ethnic typing is broadly consistent with one other study (Powlishta, Serbin, Doyle, & White, 1994) where boys show more of an ethnolinguistic bias than girls. Powlisthta et al. (1994) also did not obtain evidence for the generality of attitudes across different categorical domains (e.g. gender vs. ethnicity) which did not support the notion of a general predisposition towards biases and prejudice against all target groups. They attribute this to the possible children's specific learning experiences and differential category salience. Further research would clearly help to disentangle the possible cognitive, environmental, and personality factors that may underlie such inter-domain inconsistency.

Ethnic influence on reasoning about toy choice was found to emerge at 6-7 years when children presumed that the different ethnic groups would like novel toys differently from each other. Then at 8-9 years children turned to reason that Asian children would like the toys less than other children would. It therefore seems that prior to some possible critical age period (around age 6-7) children tend not to make such differential predictions about peers according to their ethnic group memberships. Yet beyond that period the *pattern* of their differentiation changes over time, from one where children make widely different predictions about all peer ethnic groups to one where they realise more subtle distinctions about only certain minority groups (here, Asian peers).

The accurate and consistent labelling and categorisation of persons by ethnicity has previously observed to be not reliably shown by children until towards age 6-7, when they begin consolidating complex concepts of ethnicity that surpass obvious physical cues like skin colour and facial features to include subtle tastes and preferences such as speech style and cultural practice (Ramsey, 1987). This may explain the *onset* of ethnic-typed reasoning among the 6-7-year group: in the current study, at this intermediate age children's ethnic concepts are relatively unsophisticated so in judging internal attributes such as others' toy choice children merely polarised all groups. It is not until later (8-9 years) when children have gained a certain level of sophistication in their ethnocultural knowledge that they become capable of making more subtle differentiation among the various ethnic groups (Aboud, 1987, 1988).

The gendercentric pattern of inferences where children predicted that same-sex others would like the toys more similar to how much they did themselves replicates the earlier finding by Martin et al. (1995). This is also in line with the majority of developmental literature which sees gender as a highly salient social category through which children since preschool (4 years and under) are able to and do relate their predictions of others' thoughts, feelings, and behaviour to their own according to gender group memberships (e.g. Martin, 1993; Serbin et al., 1993; Signorella et al., 1993). However corresponding ethnocentric pattern of reasoning among white and Asian children at 6-7 years is rather curious for several reasons. First, it hints that, like gender, ethnicity is salient in making inferences for others *in relation to oneself* at this stage of a child's development. At 7

years children acquire and apply their ethnic-role knowledge most extensively. The way children may add information to their existing gender schemas based on what they like or dislike generalising their own preference to members of their gender in-group (that is, incorporating self into their gender schemas) has been discussed elsewhere (e.g. Martin & Halverson, 1981; Martin, 1993; Martin et al., 1995). Placing this principle in perspective of ethnicity, what this implies is that children have developed abstract theories about ethnicity that go beyond explicit knowledge in the form of within-group similarity and between-group differences. What one likes, one thinks other people of one's own ethnic group also may like, and those of other ethnic groups may not; that is, an individual incorporates the self into his or her ethnic schemas.

Whilst we predicted ethnocentric reasoning to occur *from* around 6-7 years its apparent disappearance at age 8-9 is rather baffling. However previous researchers have proposed that from about age 6 children are increasingly likely to modify interpersonal judgements based on information about specific individuals (Berndt & Heller, 1986; Martin, 1989; Serbin & Sprafkin, 1986)–including themselves–rather than their social categories alone. The comments of children in our study appear to point to this explanation. The 8-9-year-group was just as aware as, if not more than, the 6-7-year group about ethnic categorical characteristics in that they also voiced their (more in-depth) perceptions about the (Asian) targets (and of course they had made significant ethnic differentiations between the target groups by their toy-liking predictions in isolation). But the content of their justifications here suggests that the reasoning they used was far more complex than that of the younger groups. They attempted more elaborate matching between toys and people, which include

the targets and importantly *themselves* as individuals, which implies a sense of the role of self as an independent agent despite their awareness of group characteristics. Meanwhile, as discussed earlier this age group was no less likely to stereotype the toys by gender than their 6-7-year counterparts. This lends further support to the pervasiveness of sex typing in (even novel) toy and play situations throughout childhood (e.g. Bradbard & Endsley, 1983; Bradbard, Martin, Endsley, & Halverson, 1986) which may underlie the continual gendercentric inference pattern.

The possible differential role and salience of gender and ethnic influence at the different stages of development within the toy-play context is thus crucial in determining whether a child chooses to use a certain kind of categorical information to support a certain kind of evaluation. Only 6-7-year-olds used ethnicity as a category in distinguishing between others *as well as* relating themselves to others but all those between ages 5-9 used gender to relate to others. This bears out, as mentioned in the introduction, some authors' doubts about viewing *all* schemas as involving the self *at all times* (see Signorella et al., 1993), as it did not appear to apply in the case of ethnicity here. This also suggests qualitatively different developmental trajectories for sex and ethnic stereotyping and identification due to their differing impact and salience among children which is not fully accounted for by schema theories involving *general* development of categorical reasoning (e.g. Martin & Halverson, 1981).

These results might also be viewed in terms of children's emerging perspective- (or role-) taking skills (e.g. Selman, 1971, Selman & Byrne, 1974). Social role taking is defined by

Selman as the person's ability to consider the world (including the self) from another's perspective. Young children's inability to perform this social task (from around age 2 to 7), at times referred to as egocentrism, stems from Piagetian accounts of child cognitive development (see Piaget & Inhelder, 1956). The development of role taking concerns social decentring-the ability to simultaneously consider multiple viewpoints and move towards the eventual acquisition of 'socialised thought' (Piaget, 1932). One's ability to determine the exact *content* of another's viewpoint is deemed as impoverished by his or her cognitive capabilities (e.g. Urberg & Docherty, 1976), which implies a stage-related development of perspective-taking skills tied to one's level of cognitive development.

The results concerning ethnicity, both from the analysis involving targets' liking and that involving targets' and own liking, might be indicative of egocentrism or abilities in social perspective taking. At the age of 5 years, the child may have a sense of others, but fails to distinguish thoughts and perceptions between different-ethnic others, *and* between others and the self. Results of the 6-7-year-olds suggest that, at this age, the child is beginning to realise that others can think and feel differently as they are in different situations or have different information (such as belonging to different gender or ethnic categories). They can further distinguish their sense of self from or attribute their own viewpoints to others depending on such group information. Finally, after age 8, although the child continues to be well aware of the differentiation between different-ethnic others' viewpoints, he or she can differentiate perspective of the self from the generalised view, the perspective taken by 'some average member' of a category (Selman & Byrne, 1974). Selman (1971) further observed that from age 8, there seems to be at least one qualitative reorganisation in the

role-taking sequence in which the child acquires this ability in a concrete, restricted way to simultaneously take account for both others' viewpoints as well as *the others' taking of his or her own view.* This "reciprocal role taking" is thought to 'open the door' to a wide range of new cognitive and interpersonal skills, interests, and insights which are not yet available to the younger child.

While the stage-like sequence of social perspective taking fits well with our curvilinear pattern of ethnocentric inferences, the nonparallel gender pattern presents a difficulty for the model. Greater maturity in perspective-taking ability appears to lead to a reduction in egocentric reasoning in only the ethnic, but not gender, domain. This again may be due to the differing degree of influence by gender and ethnic information. Gender roles are seen to be highly salient from a young age and to strengthen and persist throughout childhood and adulthood (Serbin et al., 1993) which may explain the early onset and continuance of gendercentric inferences. In terms of ethnicity, Quintana and associates recently found that their ethnic perspective-taking ability measure was associated significantly not only with a general social perspective-taking ability measure but also with 'ethnic cognition' (knowledge and self-identification) at similar ages (US second grade) (Quintana, Ybarra, Gonzalez-Doupe, & De-Baessa, 2000). This, in line with the age-7 peak in ethnic-role development, can go to explain the unique pattern we found for ethnocentric reasoning. Perspective taking, under the influence of social group or categorical (e.g. gender, ethnic) information in particular, is an area largely neglected in recent years. However in light of our findings the search for validated developmental stages (for decentring, for example) would be worth pursuing further in larger samples.

3.3 Study Two: The influence of ethnicity on inferences about food choice

It has been argued that for humans the search and preparation of food and its ingestion at meal times are social occasions, that food is a highly social entity (Rozin, 1986, 1996). Social influences can set the stage for or modulate the interpretation of food encounters, and may include beliefs, culinary traditions, and occasions that are established as part of the acquisition of culture. Food is also debated to be central to human beings' senses of identity (Fischler, 1988): the way a social group eats is seen to help assert its diversity, hierarchy and organisation, and also both its 'oneness or the otherness' of whoever eats differently. Fischler (1984, 1988) has demonstrated that humans select foods not only according to physiological requirements and perceptual and cognitive mechanisms but they also do so on the basis of cultural and social representations resulting in additional constraints on what can and cannot be eaten or what is liked and disliked. This second dimension links the nutritional to the symbolic, the biological to the cultural, and the individual to the collective. However, this dynamic and multidimensional character of food selection is rarely studied directly or indirectly, particularly in children.

Studies on food preference and practice in minority populations in particular are rather sparse until more recent years. Research has shown that ethnic identity and the retention or loss of the attitudes, values, and behaviours of one's culture of origin are significantly related to the consumption of traditional and untraditional foods (e.g. Laroche, Kim, & Tomiuk, 1998; Loconto, 2000). Stein and Nemeroff (1995) further revealed that moral judgements of others differ depending on what foods they eat, with 'good-food' eaters

rated more feminine, attractive, and likeable. This effect was explained by the 'Puritan' ethic and the "you are what you eat" principle. This socialised view of food selection is also reflected by the data in Back and Glasgow's (1981) study of self-defined gourmets and vegetarians. For these particular groups, food becomes an analogical representation of the self; for example, whereas gourmets try to integrate the large, fluid, cosmopolitan, middle-class culture, vegetarians define themselves more negatively and create stronger boundaries against the general society.

So how do socially or culturally constructed norms and representations become inscribed, or internalised, into our taste buds? Fischler (1988), drawing on ideas and work by Rozin, analysed and interrelated the processes of food identification and the construction of the eater's identity. He reasons that because *Homo sapiens* are omnivores (and thus have the invaluable ability of utilising a wide multitude of foods), the incorporation of foodstuffs is an act laden with meaning. To incorporate a food, that is, to include and accept it into one's consumption or practice in Fischler's view, is for one to incorporate all or some of its properties literally: hence, "we become what we eat" in both the real and imaginary senses incorporation is a basis of individual identity. Incorporation is further seen as the basis of collective identity and, by the same token, of otherness. Human beings do mark their membership of a group or a culture by asserting the specificity of what they eat, and also defining the otherness, the difference of others. Examples of how we define a people or population group by what it eats or is only imagined to eat (including those that arouse irony or disgust) can simply be demonstrated by how people sometimes define the 'other' group as "...-eaters" (e.g. "Krauts", "Frogs", "Rossbeefs"). This centrality of food as the

sense of collective belonging can be illustrated by the retention of the features of cultural cuisine even when the original language is lost through migration (Calvo, 1982). Eating incorporates the eater into a culinary system and into the group which practises it.

Fischler further identifies humans' highly sophisticated cognitive competences as similar to culturally constructed practices and representations (aside from the 'elegant' biological programming or regulatory mechanisms). A social group's cuisine can be understood as a body of practices, rules or norms and so on based upon classifications due to the scarcely recognised ideology that human organisms both consciously and unconsciously construct and share representations. Food not only nourishes, it signifies. Because of the principles of incorporation discussed, identification of foods is a key element in the construction of our identity and our relationship to food should be regarded in its myriad characters.

Thus variations in food choice among social groups are based upon variations in a host of factors and the evidence supports the role of cognitive factors, in particular, attitudes and beliefs, in mediating the influence of many social variables, such as culture and identities, on food choice. This argument is vastly pertinent in understanding children's preferences for food, particularly new or novel foodstuffs. Rozin's (1986) overview of physiological research on infants' likes and dislikes for tastes concludes that at birth the infant has few genetically programmed biases (apart from a positive response to sweet and a negative to bitter, irritant, and perhaps other very strong tastes). Children up to approximately 2 years of age seem to regard everything as potentially edible, and therefore a major challenge of their development is *acquiring* the knowledge of what to eat or what not to eat.

Individual experiences and cultural and familial influences are thus dominant in building

and shaping the child's minimal (biological or physiological) food-preference base. Then

by early childhood those in each culture have attained a culturally based set of food liking

that enables them to classify new food substances with respect to acceptability. Research

has shown that despite their assimilation to the mainstream culture, food preferences and

eating-related attitudes of younger minority generations still reflect that of the older ones

(e.g. Dacosta & Wilson, 1996). Morrison (1995) examined food choice and consumption

in relation to institutional dynamics and interpretations of internal and external influences

on children's understanding about food. The apparent ordinariness of eating is considered

with multiple perceptions of food, as they link to educational experience and to identities

forged from family, gender, and media interests. Kaplan (2000) found that middle-school

children's assessments of cooking, sharing, and receiving food shape their perceptions of

family and school. They distinguish between food eaten in the private realm of the family

in which it is used to express solidarity and conflict and the public realm of the school in

which it is used as a signifier for school care.

Drawing on the concepts and literature on the meaning of food, it is clearly visible how

food as a metaphor plays a part in children's worldviews. Such thinking may hold certain

significance when children determine their own and infer about others' food preferences

and eating-associated practices. This study expands my enquiry on children's categorical

reasoning by negotiating this mechanism with that of implicit group-based concepts and

schematic processing theories examined earlier in the toy-choice study within the context

of food choice. If ethnic (or gender) schemas hold within the context of food preferences (in the case where the labelling of a dish or cuisine is unknown and the child is asked to decide on his or her own *and* others' preferences for it), the child would probably infer preferences for others based on their own liking, combined with their beliefs about their social group membership. This should particularly hold truth for the domain of ethnicity based on the discussion on the symbolic meaning of foods in relation to cultural groups and practices above.

Applying the structures of 'ethnic schemas' and those underlying the abstract theories of within-group similarity and between-group differences, children may incorporate the self into their ethnic (and perhaps also gender) schemas as they incorporate the self to reason about food liking following a pattern similar to the one found for gender and ethnicity in toy choice. Thus they may infer that because they themselves like a food or dish children of their own ethnicity also might like it whilst that children of other ethnicities might not. Such an inference would derive from the underlying ideas that children sharing their own ethnic category might also share other properties (here, food preferences), which in turn leads to children generalising their own preferences to others from the same ethnic group. In this case, say, if an Asian girl finds a food appealing she may reason, "I like this food, I'm Asian, other Asian children would like it and children who are not Asian would not." This way the child would be relying on the theory of within-group similarity and one of between-group differences mentioned earlier. If gender is also a salient category in such instances of her inference making, she would then reason accordingly, "I like this food,

I'm a girl, so other girls would also like it and boys would not", although sex differences have not been featured as profusely in the literature on food preference.

Furthermore, schematic processing is also examined from known dishes that have been classified as "ethnic" in that they are typically seen to represent foods that are consumed as a cultural practice by ethnic groups. As schemas function by drawing on existing ideas about information that defines the in- and out-groups, children should be geared towards thinking and behaviour as defined by the schemas of their in-group (Serbin et al., 1993). In the case of food choice, if a child decides that the food is "for white people" or "for Asian people" (drawing on their existing notions of which foods are generally liked by such groups), or relies on knowledge of labelling or stereotypes that it is "liked by…" they will compare this information with their *knowledge* of which ethnic group they are. An Asian child may reason, "this is Indian food, I'm Indian, so I'll like to eat it; they're Indians too, so they'll probably like it as well."

In the current study, children's reasoning about preferences for novel and ethnic foods for themselves, and for others of the same or other sex and ethnic group memberships, were explored. Once again the novelty of certain foods is crucial in the case that any influence of gender or ethnicity on children's inferences can be attributed to their understanding of these group members, rather than to any existing stereotyped characteristics of the foods themselves. However, the use of ethnic foods is important both in ascertaining children's levels of ethnic knowledge in foods or culinary tastes as well as in investigating whether they associated such knowledge to ethnic group memberships of themselves and others.

Possible age-related difference in such reasoning was also tested with age groups before, during, and beyond the turning point of middle childhood. Possible distinctions between inferences about others alone and about others in relation to the self were also explored.

3.3.1 Hypotheses

Similar to predictions for unfamiliar toy choice, it was hypothesised that from age 6-7 children's predictions of others' unfamiliar food liking, in relation to their own, would display the ethnocentric pattern or reasoning seen in the last study due to their peaking level of their ethnic-role development (particularly about shared culinary tastes). Based on the same premise, age 6-7 was expected also to be the period when the relevant more sophisticated knowledge emerges concerning ethnic groups (that each group would like the food representing their ethnicity more than other ethnic groups). Hence, children of this age group would predict that target children would like the familiar or ethnic food, which stereotyped that respective target group, most. No gender or ethnic differences in unfamiliar food liking in specific were expected due to their novel and nonstereotyped nature. Any of such difference found may depend on children's perception of the group in relation to attitudes towards foods in general, or novel foods specifically.

3.3.2 Method

3.3.2.1 Participants

The 84 children of three age (5, 6-7, 8-9 yrs) and ethnic (white, black, Asian) groups who took part in the last study also participated in this study, with a break between the two.

3.3.2.2 Food photographs

From a variety of cookery books, three dishes (a stuffed onion dish, a mashed seafood starter and "the Crown of Ducks"), illustrated by diagrams, were selected by the twelve adult judges from our toy choice study for the present experiment on the basis of being unfamiliar and non-ethnic-typed. For familiarity checking, three other dishes (spaghetti, burgers and pizza) dishes were then chosen for being highly familiar. As an exploratory comparison, three dishes (an English meat pie, an assortment of tropical fruit of coconut, pineapple, mango, and papaya, and an "bullion" buffet with rice, nan, and chutneys) were selected by the same judges for being "ethnic" foods or most ethnic-typed concerning the three target ethnic groups (white, black, and Asian, respectively). Each photograph was scanned into an A5-size print laminated for presentation at the experiment (Appendices VIII-XVI).

3.3.2.3 Children photographs

The photographs used in the toy choice study, showing faces of white, black, and Asian children (one boy and one girl of each ethnicity), having apparent age, attractiveness, and ethnic typicality matched, were reused.

3.3.2.4 Rating scale

The "marble" rating scale used in the last study was used again for children to indicate how much they liked the foods by placing marbles (0-3) in a paper cup; 3 marbles meant

"like something *a lot*", 2 "like something *quite a bit*", 1 "like something *a little bit*", and 0 marbles "*not* like something at all".

3.3.2.5 Procedure

A female experimenter tested the children individually after the toy-choice experiment with a short recess between the two tasks. She explained that she was now interested in finding out how much children liked different foods (by saying, "We would like to see if children will like our foods"). She also explained that they were to use the 4-point marble rating scale again for this task. Then she presented a food photograph and allowed the child to inspect it for as long as he or she wished. She assessed its familiarity by asking: (1) "Do you know what it is?" and (2) "Have you eaten it before?". The child was asked to rate how much he or she liked the food by using the rating scale ("Can you put some marbles in your cup to show me how much you like it?"). The experimenter also asked how much the child thought each of the children in the photographs would like that food. As in the toy-choice study, the target children's photographs were displayed in a row in front of the participant and the order of display was randomised for every child. The first target on the left was thus picked first for the participant as an example to the procedure ("Could you put some marbles in this cup to show me how much you think this child will like it?"). The order in which the other targets were rated was left to the individual child; as in the toy-choice study, many continued across the row to the right, but others also did so in a haphazard manner according to their own preference. Some children also changed their ratings and again did do so before and/or after all six targets' liking had been rated. The same procedure was repeated for all the food pictures and their order of presentation

was also randomised for each child. After each trial the child was then invited to expand

on their reasons for giving the ratings they had for themselves and the targets ("Lets look

at the marbles you've put in everyone's cup. Can you tell me why you think you and the

children would like the food in these ways?).

Identical procedures to the last study in quantifying children's familiarity with the toys

were used again for assessing their familiarity with the foods; combining 3-point scales

corresponding to responses to questions (1) and (2) above for a composite score ranging

between 0 (most unfamiliar) and 4 (most familiar).

3.3.3 Results

3.3.3.1 Food familiarity and typing

The mean familiarity scores for each of the foods selected as unfamiliar and non-ethnic-

typed (stuffed onions, seafood starter, and "Crown of duck"), familiar (spaghetti, burgers,

and pizza), and ethnic-typed (bullion buffet, meat pies, and tropical fruit) were 0.26, 3.78,

and 2.17 (scale 0-4), respectively. A four-way ANOVA, with food-type (unfamiliar vs.

familiar vs. ethnic) as repeated measure, participant's age group, gender, and ethnicity as

the between-participants variables, was performed on children's food-familiarity ratings.

This was to ensure novelty of the unfamiliar foods, and familiarity and ethnic typing of

the familiar and ethnic foods, the latter of which designed to affect liking. There was a

significant main food-type effect, $F(2,61) = 58.04$, $p<.0001$, and a food type x age group

interaction, $F(4,124) = 8.08$, $p<.001$. Simple-effects tests further showed that the mean familiarity rating for unfamiliar foods was significantly lower than that of both familiar foods, $F(1,61) = 44.49$, $p<.0001$, and ethnic foods, $F(1,61) = 19.74$, $p<.001$, and mean familiarity rating of familiar foods was higher than that of ethnic foods, $F(1,61) = 14.86$, $p<.001$. Separate analyses for each food type found that age group had a significant effect on familiarity ratings for ethnic foods, $F(2,81) = 27.69$, $p<.0001$. Post-hoc Tukey tests showed that the 8-9-year group gave significantly higher food familiarity ratings than did both 6-7-year ($<.01$) and 5-year ($<.001$); in turn 6-7-year group gave significantly higher food familiarity ratings than did the 5-year group ($<.01$).

Participants' mean own liking scores (scale 0-3) for the unfamiliar, familiar, and ethnic foods are 1.31, 2.61, 1.94, respectively. A four-way ANOVA with food type as repeated measure and participant's age group, gender and ethnicity as between-participants factors was performed with own food-liking ratings as dependent variable. A significant main effect of food type was found, $F(2,61) = 33.98$, $p<.0001$. Simple-effects tests showed that participants own liking for familiar foods was significantly higher than for ethnic foods, $F(1,61) = 11.31$, $p<.0001$, which in turn was significantly higher than that for unfamiliar foods, $F(1,61) = 5.83$, $p<.001$. No other main or interaction effects were found and as in the toy-choice study, after serving the purpose of contrasting familiarity ratings with the other foods, the classified familiar foods were dropped from further analyses.

3.3.3.2 Target's food liking

The method for comparing predicted food liking of the of the target (photographed) children by their gender and ethnicity was identical to that used in the toy-choice study. An average score was calculated for these children along each of these dimensions by summing the predicted liking scores given for the target children who belonged to each (gender or ethnic) group and dividing that sum by the number of those children in these groups. For instance, the average predicted liking for burgers boy-targets was calculated by adding the predicted liking scores for this food given to the *three* boys in photographs and dividing that number by *three*. The same was done for target girls, white, black and Asian targets. The aggregate average for unfamiliar and ethnic foods for each group was derived by summing the resultant scores for the *three* individual unfamiliar (or the *three* ethnic foods) and dividing those sums by *three*.

Mean predicted liking scores for the target children for unfamiliar and ethnic foods are listed in Table 3.3. 4-way repeated measures ANOVAs with three between-participants factors (participants' age group, gender and ethnicity) and one within-participants factor (target gender or ethnicity) were conducted to compare predicted liking for the unfamiliar and ethnic foods between gender and ethnicity of the target children.

TABLE 3.3.

Mean predicted food-liking scores of targets by gender and ethnicity

		Mean food-liking score, scale 0-3 (std. dev. in brackets)			
		Unfamiliar foods		Ethnic foods	
Target gender:	Boy	1.86	(.65)	2.04	(.59)
	Girl	1.94	(.65)	2.09	(.58)
Target ethnicity:	White	1.78	(.72)	1.94	(.66)
	Black	1.92	(.74)	2.09	(.65)
	Asian	2.09	(.67)	2.16	(.59)

3.3.3.3 Unfamiliar foods

A significant target gender x participant ethnicity interaction was found for predicted target-liking scores for unfamiliar foods, $F(3,62) = 4.97$, $p<.01$. Figure 3.4 illustrates mean predicted unfamiliar-food-liking scores for target boys and girls by the different ethnic participants. Simple-effects analyses for each participant ethnic group revealed that target gender was significant for white participants, $F(1,62) = 12.77$, $p< .01$, who predicted that target girls would like the foods more than that target boys ($p<.01$).

There was a significant main target ethnicity effect on predicted target liking scores for unfamiliar foods, $F(2,61) = 4.88$, $p<.01$. Post hoc Tukey analyses showed that predicted

liking scores of the white targets was significantly lower than that of both black ($p<.05$)

and Asian ($p<.01$) targets. Yet this target effect varied as a function of participants' own

ethnicity as a significant target ethnicity x participant ethnicity interaction was revealed,

$F(6,124) = 3.57$, $p<.01$. In Figure 3.5 mean predicted liking scores of the three target

ethnic groups by the four participant-ethnic groups are depicted. Simple-effects analyses

for each participant-ethnic group confirmed that target ethnicity was significant only for

white [$F(2,61) = 6.74$, $p<.01$] and Asian [$F(2,61) = 4.41$, $p<.05$] children. Post hoc tests

showed that white children predicted that Asian targets would like these foods more than

would white ($p<.01$) and black ($p<.05$) targets, whilst Asian participants predicted that

black targets would like them more than would white ($p<.05$) and Asian ($p<.01$) targets.

FIGURE 3.4.

Mean predicted liking scores for unfamiliar foods: target's gender by participant's

ethnicity
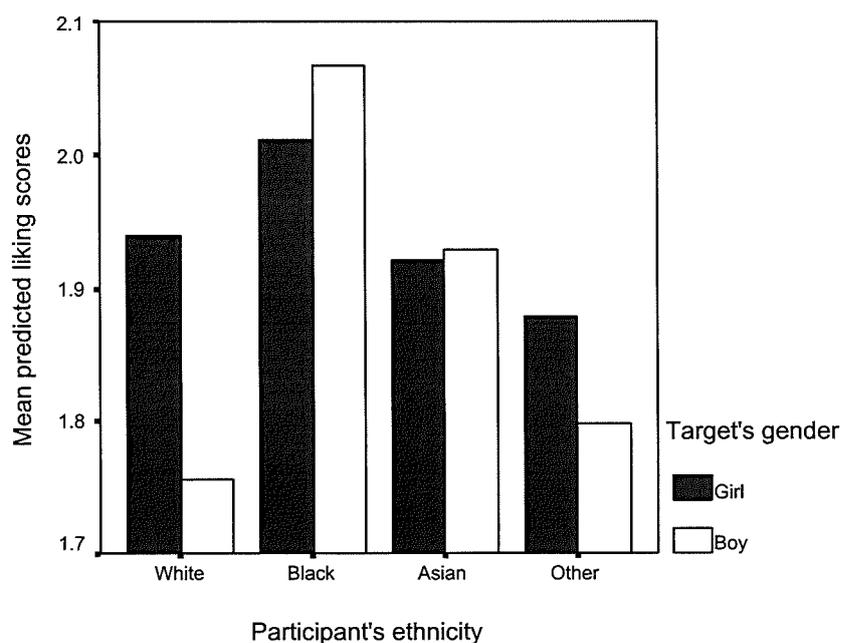
FIGURE 3.5.

Mean predicted liking scores for unfamiliar foods: target's ethnicity by participant's

ethnicity
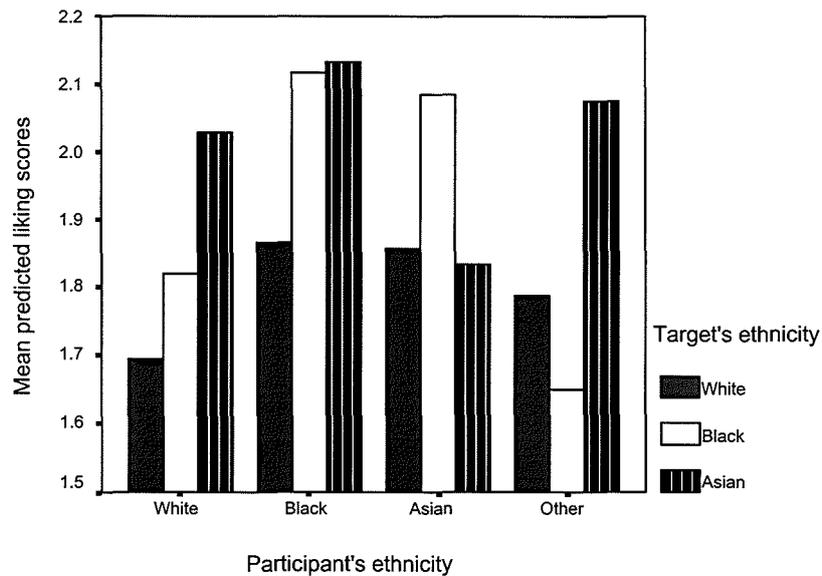
3.3.3.4 Ethnic foods

Four-way repeated measures analyses were performed to compare the predicted target

liking for ethnic- foods *on the whole* as well as for *each* food item because these foods

each were assumed to represent each target ethnic group's ethnic-typed food preference

(such as the tropical fruit for black people). A significant main target ethnicity effect on

predicted liking scores for ethnic foods on the whole was found, $F(2,61) = 5.61$, $p<.01$.

Simple-effects tests showed that participants predicted that white targets would like the

ethnic-typed foods significant less than would both black $[F(1,61) = 4.41$, $p<.01]$ and

Asian $[F(2,61) = 6.74, p<.001]$ targets.

Separate ANOVAs for each ethnic-typed food revealed a main target ethnicity effect on predicted liking scores for the bullion buffet, $F(2,61) = 7.83$, $p<.001$. Simple-effects tests showed that participants predicted that Asian targets' liking (mean = 2.24, std. dev. = .87) for this food which was intended to symbolise their group's ethnic-typed food preference, would be significantly higher than predicted liking of both white targets (mean = 1.65, std. dev. = .97), $F(1,61) = 5.05$, $p<.001$, and black targets (mean = 1.84, std. dev. = .95), $F(1,61) = 3.56$, $p<.01$].

3.3.3.5 Own and targets' food liking

As in the toy-choice study, two sets of repeated measures ANOVAs were conducted to examine the relationship between children's own liking and their predictions for targets. The within-participants factor was self-target gender in the first analysis (same-sex vs. other-sex; that is, own liking compared with predictions for same-sex vs. own liking compared with predictions for other-sex targets) and self-target ethnicity in the other (same-ethnic vs. other-ethnic; own liking compared with predictions for same-ethnic vs. own liking compared with other-ethnic targets). There were three between-participants (participant's age, gender and ethnicity) factors in each analysis. The dependent measure was computed as the *absolute* differences between participants' own liking for each food minus their predictions of how much the target group in question would like it, summed across all unfamiliar (and ethnic) foods (separate analyses were also conducted for each ethnic food-see below). Same as in the toy-choice study, analyses concerning children's

ethnicity were performed only for white and Asian participants (and targets) due to the

small numbers of other ethnic groups on the whole rendering some of their sub-samples

within age groups being inadequate statistically.

3.3.3.6 Unfamiliar foods

No main self-target gender effect nor its interaction with between-participants variables

were found on food-liking scores in the analysis involving children's own liking and their

predictions for same- and other-sex targets. The analysis on mean differences between

participants' own liking and their predictions for same- and other-ethnic targets found a

main self-target ethnicity effect, $F(1,54) = 6.58$, $p<.05$. But this effect was qualified only

by its interaction with children's age group, $F(2,54) = 4.20$, $p<.05$. Figure 3.6 shows the

mean differences in liking scores between participants' own and what they predicted for

same- and other- ethnic targets across the three age groups. Simple-effects tests for each

age group revealed that only the 6-7-year, $F(1,54) = 6.56$, $p<.05$, and 8-9-year, $F(1,54) =$

19.39, $p<.001$, groups predicted that other-ethnic targets would like the unfamiliar foods

more differently than would same-ethnic targets from their own liking.

FIGURE 3.6.

Mean absolute differences between participants' own liking and their predictions for

same- and other-ethnic target children for unfamiliar foods
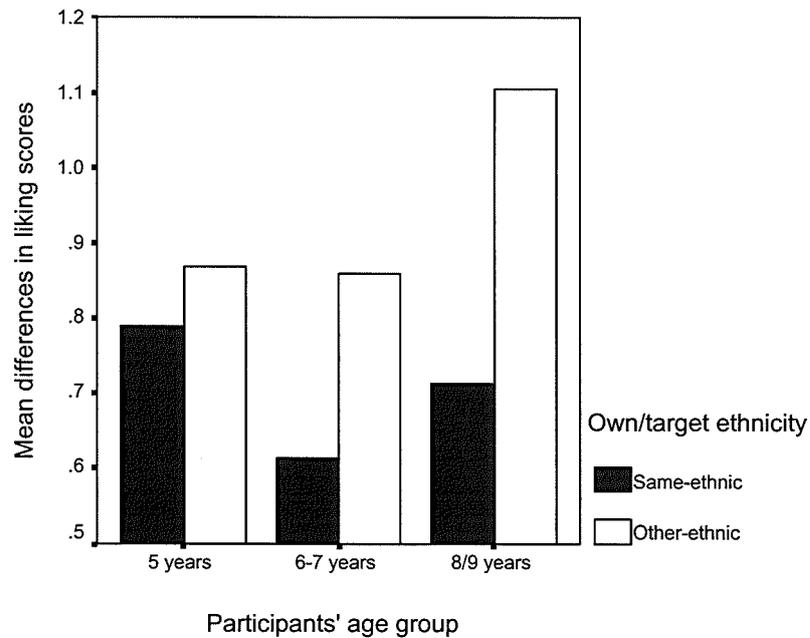
3.3.3.7 Ethnic foods

As in the above analyses involving targets' food-liking scores alone, repeated measures

analyses here were performed to compare participants' own liking and their predictions

for targets for ethnic foods on the whole as well as for *each* of such food items due to

their assumed representation of each target ethnic group's ethnic-typed food preference.

The self-target gender effect and its interactions with between-participants factors were

not significant on liking for ethnic food on the whole or on liking for each ethnic food.

For ethnic foods on the whole, there was no significant main self-target ethnicity effect

nor its interactions with between-participants variables. When liking for each ethnic food was analysed separately, however, the following pattern of results emerged.

For English meat pies there was a significant self-target ethnicity x participant ethnicity interaction, $F(1,51) = 5.93$, $p<.05$. Figures 3.7 shows the mean differences in food-liking scores between participants' own liking and their predictions for same- and other-ethnic targets for this dish. Simple-effects analyses showed that only Asian children predicted that their own liking for pies would be more different from that of other-ethnic (white) targets than it was from same-ethnic (Asian) targets, $F(1,51) = 14.03$, $p<.001$.

FIGURE 3.7.

Mean differences between white and Asian children' own liking and their predictions for same- and other-ethnic targets for English meat pies (ethnic typed for 'white' people)
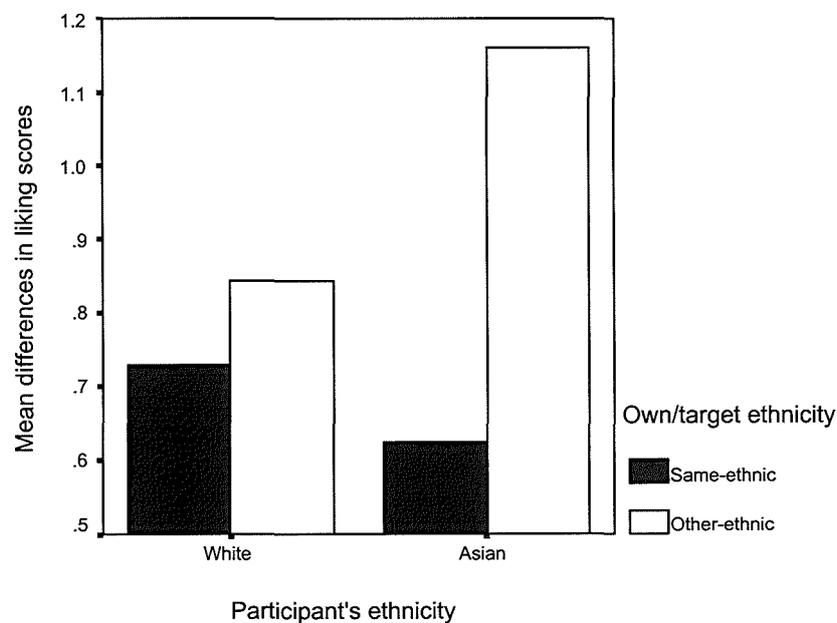
For the bullion buffet there was a self-target ethnicity x participant ethnicity interaction, $F(1,51) = 11.15$, $p<.01$. Figure 3.8 shows the mean differences in liking scores for this dish between participants' own and their predictions for same- and other-ethnic targets. Simple-effects analyses revealed that only Asian children predicted that their own liking for the bullion buffet would be more different from that of other-ethnic targets than it was from same-ethnic targets, $F(1,51) = 12.77$, $p<.001$, similar to the above pattern for pies.

FIGURE 3.8.

Mean differences between white and Asian children' own liking and their predictions for

same- and other-ethnic targets for bullion buffet (ethnic typed for 'Asian' people)
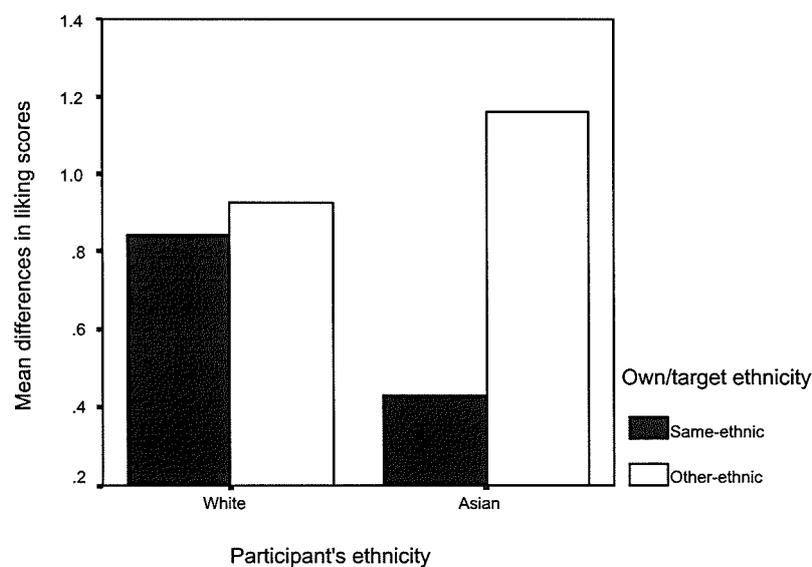
For tropical fruit, intended to symbolise black children's ethnic-typed food preference, no main self-target ethnicity effect nor its interactions with between-participants factors were found in comparing white and Asian children's own liking and target predictions.

3.3.3.8 Reasons for food liking

Children's general comments on why they had given the variation of food-liking scores were explored qualitatively using the identical form of content analysis in the toy-choice study of their utterances. Similarly, a preliminary analysis was initially conducted by the two raters reviewing a small portion of comments from each of the age groups together and constructing a system of categories and their criteria that could describe and specify the kind of comments the child uttered. Similar to their reasoning for toy choice, a child could focus on some characteristics or perceived traits of one or more targets without any reference to their gender or ethnic group membership (e.g. "She (white girl) smiles a lot." "'She (Asian girl) doesn't look like she like many things."). These would be categorised under the theme of 'individual targets' as the child's comments was directed towards the targets as individuals without his or her specific focus upon their group membership(s). Evidence of focus on category membership would thus be derived from the children's levelling comments at targets of a certain gender or ethnic group (e.g. "Them kind of people (pointing at the two Asian targets) eat rotten food." "Some boys don't like fruit and vegetables."). These would be categorised under 'target groups' as its theme of focus.

As in the last study, the raters proceeded to categorise the rest of children's comments independently according to criteria for categorisation constructed together. The inter-rater reliability Kappa measure of agreement for categorisation was .83. The raters carried out, again, a discussion on the few cases upon which they had differed concerning their own categorisation until a consensus was reached. Such categories summarising participants'

themes of focus, their description, and the verbal exemplars that fall into each category, are shown in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 (unfamiliar and ethnic foods, respectively). The number of children who voiced each type of comments grouped by their age group, gender, and ethnicity are presented to provide an idea of the varying amount of different comments between groups. This was also done to shed light upon children's reasoning behind the patterns of results found in the quantitative analyses above.

3.3.3.9 Unfamiliar foods

In line with the pattern in the previous study, most (two-thirds) of the 5-year-olds made no comments ("don't know", "can't say", or silence) to explain their food-liking ratings, compared to fewer than 30 per cent of the 6-7- and just two of the 8-9-year-olds (the vast majority of whom were girls). It is also noticeable that from those 5-year-olds who made comments only referred to targets' group characteristics, half of the others talked of them each as individuals. There was also an absence of food stereotyping by this age group.

Just over a quarter of the 6-7-year group commented on targets' group characteristics compared to under one-fifths who referred to them by individual traits. This contrast was even clearer for 8-9-year group near 40 per cent of whom reasoned by group features and only around 15 per cent relied on individual characteristics. The 8-9-year group was also twice as likely as the 6-7-year group to stereotype the foods. Most of the justifications on targets' group features and food stereotypes were given by white and Asian children who made about equal amount of statements in such aspects.

All the three age groups made similar amounts of non-target-based and nonstereotyped comments on the foods in general or related the foods to their own traits. The participant ethnic groups were similarly likely to voice comments of the former category whilst most comments relating to the self were made by black or other ethnic children (one quarter).

The content of children's comments indicated that many 5-year-olds voiced relatively short and unsubstantiated statements on some surface features of the targets or the foods (such as smiles, food appearance, own likes/dislikes) regardless of the focus categories. The 6-7-year-olds on the other hand inferred from such features the inner characteristics of targets or how the dishes would taste (such as whether an ethnic/gender group would like/avoid some ingredients or conferring food suitability on groups). The 8-9-year-olds further revealed evidence of attempting to *account for* such personal preferences or food appropriateness (such as by bringing in issues of religion or nationality, the consequences of eating) rather than only stating their assumptions (that one is vegetarian, for instance).

A more detailed examination at the kind of statements different ethnic children voiced was made. White children tended to comment that the Asian targets would like the foods for (what would be to their own group) their novel/strong tastes or the vegetable content due to their vegetarianism. Asian children tended to comment that other groups would prefer such foods to their own (Asian targets) due to the meat content. Most of the sex-typed comments (of boys not liking vegetables) were made by white children.

TABLE 3.4.

Children's justifications for their own liking and target children's liking for unfamiliar foods by age group, gender and ethnicity

Theme of focus	Description/ categorisation	Age group	No. children (boy:girl) (white:Asian:black/other)	Quotation exemplars
Individual targets	Child commented on some characteristics or perceived traits of a target(s) *without* referring to their categories (gender/ethnic) by focusing on their individual features rather than talking of them as a group(s).	5-year	5 (5B:0G) (3W:2A:0B)	"It's in their smiles/She (white girl) smiles very big, some of the others don't smile that big." "Them two (white and Asian girls) may have eaten it before?"
		6-7-year	5 (2B:3G) (2W:1A:2B)	"She (Asian girl) doesn't look like she likes many things." "It may look nice to them/those two (white and black girls) won't like the lemon, and he (black boy) won't like the vegetables around it.
		8-9-year	4 (4B:0G) (2W:2A:0B)	"She (white girl) looks like she'll like it/the others are not so into it." "It may make some of them sick (pointing at black and Asian girl and white boy)."
Target groups	Child commented on some characteristics or perceived traits of targets of a certain gender/ethnicity, such as by tapping only on their photos talking of them as a group.	5-year	1 (1B:0G) (1W:0A:0B)	"(Cake...or meat?) These (black and Asian targets) are vegetarians."
		6-7-year	7 (4B:3G) (3W:3A:1B)	"Some of them, like (Asian targets) don't eat meat/ are vegetarians." "It's that stuff on it, some people like that, some don't like the green but he's (Asian boy) vegetarian, she's (Asian girl) vegetarian too." "Them kind (Asian) of people eat rotten food!"

		8-9-year	10 (5B:5G) (5W:4A:1B)	"It's their religion, like where they come from. Say she's (Asian girl) Somalian (I'm Somalian), or he's (Asian boy) from Pakistan… Muslim people won't eat some of these food." "It's European food, it has their (white/black targets) kind of food in it." "The (white and black) boys may not like the vegetables, we (I and Asian targets) are vegetarians, it's not the type of food we like/Depends whether they're vege/ from another country/They may have tried it or it's not too spicy for them but for us (white targets)."
Stereotyping food	Child proclaimed that the food is only/not pleasant for one gender/ethnicity/ only certain members of other categories *without* referring specifically to a target(s) or themselves.	6-7-year	3 (1B:2G) (1W:1A:1B)	"Boys don't like/are not into vegetables." "English people won't eat that stuff!"
		8-9-year	6 (3B 3G) (3W:2A:1B)	"These are foods for grown-ups/older people may have stronger taste buds for it!" "Girls will like the carrots and topping…I'm not sure…the vegetables …but the ribs (they ribs?) are nice…My sister will like the whole lot, girls would eat anything!"
General on food	Child commented on the food *without* referring to targets/themselves nor category memberships.	5-year	2 (0B:2G) (1W:1A:0B)	"It looks nice." "All of these look yummy!"
		6-7-year	2 (1B:1G) (1W:0A:1B)	"These may taste nice." "Disgusting vegetables!"
		8-9-year	3 (2B:1G) (1W:1A:1B)	"These foods look too weird!" "Potatoes are nice, but depends on what cheese this is…some people can't take some cheeses."

Self and food	Child focussed on food in relation to their own characteristics or traits *exclusively*.	5-year	2 (1B:1G) (0W:1A:1B)	"I don't like potatoes." "Is it soup? I don't like it!"
		6-7-year	2 (2B:0G) (0W:0A:2B)	"I don't like fish." "Cheese and…meat? Think I'll like that."
		8-9-year	2 (1B 1G) (1W:0A:1B)	"It's a type of starter you get in restaurants, isn't it? My tummy is rumbling!" "It's a big thing with lots of vegetables, I'm not that keen if I haven't tried it."
None	Child did not comment.	5-year	20 (12B:8G) (10W:6A:4B)	"Don't know." "Can't say." Silence.
		6-7-year	8 (1B:7G) (3W:4A:1B)	"Don't know." "Just think so."
		8-9-year	2 (0B:2G) (0W:1A:1B)	"Don't know." "Not sure."

TABLE 3.5

Children's justifications for their own liking and target children's liking for ethnic foods by age group, gender and ethnicity

Theme of focus	Description/ categorisation	Age group	No. children (boy:girl) (white:Asian:black/other)	Quotation exemplars
Individual targets	Child commented on some characteristics or perceived traits of a target(s) *without* referring to their categories (gender/ethnic) by focusing on their individual features rather than talking of them as a group(s).	5-year	1 (1B:0G) (1W:0A:0B)	"She (white girl) smiles a lot but he (white boy) and the others don't smile that much."
		6-7-year	5 (3B:2G) (3W:1A:1B)	"Can tell by their faces..." "He (white/black/Asian) may not have tried/know it/like to peel the skins off these fruit." "She (black girl) may eat it lots?"
		8-9-year	2 (1B:1G) (0W:1A:1B)	"They (black and Asian girls) may have tried it but they (black and Asian boys) don't look like they've tried it." "Him and her (white girl and black boy) haven't tasted it."
Target groups	Child commented on some characteristics or perceived traits of targets of a certain gender/ethnicity, such as by pointing only at their photos talking of them as a group.	5-year	1 (0B:1G) (0W:0A:1B)	"They (Asian/black targets)...taste (bullion/fruit) these at home?"
		6-7-year	10 (4B:6G) (5W:2A:3B)	"They (white targets) haven't had it (tropical fruit/ bullion) before." "They're from different countries, like they (Asian targets) eat it (bullion) every day/ don't eat beef (or pigs?) and things/are vegetarian, and they're (black targets) Jamaican." "They have different skins/colour..."

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		8-9-year	9 (6B:3G) (5W:3A:1B)	"It's their religion again, they come from different countries…they (white targets) won't like most of the fruit and that/are Christians, they'll eat it (pie) a lot/won't like African food." "I'm not racist but…I know some dark people, like they know it and they like some of this stuff, but I've tried Indian before." "He (Asian boy) is vegetarian, she (Asian girl) too, she may eat only *some* meat, they have poppadom, spicy things and stuff…I love these!"
Ethnicity or stereotypes of food	Child professed/claimed knowledge that a food is especially for/only for/ not liked by one certain gender/ethnic group/any other category members *without* referring to self or targets.	5-year	5 (3B:2G) (3W:2A:0B)	"It's Indian? Looks yummy." "Chinese food? I like Chinese food, some English people my mum knows eat Chinese food." "Fruit and veg are not for boys!"
		6-7-year	3 (2B:1G) (0W:1A:2B)	"It's from India/Jamaica English kids won't like it!" "Boys won't like vegetables and fruit!"
		8-9-year	9 (5B 4G) (3W:4A:2B)	"These are sort of Jamaican/like an African dish/It's Indian/comes from India, some English people may not have tried it/like it…but Jamaican/Indian people definitely!" "Oh it's bullion! It's Indian, I'm Indian, some people may have never tried it…I can eat *very* hot!" "These foods come from different countries… I've tried them before, my family travels!"
General on food	Child commented on the food *without* referring to targets/themselves nor category memberships.	5-year	2 (0B:2G) (2W:0A:0B)	"It looks nice/I don't remember what they're called but fruit/it (pie) tastes yummy."
		6-7-year	2 (2B:0G) (0W:1A:1B)	"Lots of people like/eat pies/rice/fruit." "It's the sauce/what's inside…"

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		8-9-year	4 (1B:3G) (2W:2A:0B)	"Kids won't like any of these!" "Not sure everyone/ lots of people like coconut/rice/so much fruit/pies."
Self and food	Child focussed on food in relation to their own characteristics or traits *exclusively*.	5-year	2 (2B:0G) (0W:2A:0B)	"I eat this (bullion) at home sometimes, meat is not tasty." "It's the stuff inside (pie) I don't eat."
		6-7-year	2 (0B:2G) (0W:1A:1B)	"I have to be careful, I have to know what's inside." "I've tried some...I've done coconut, paw paw, and yam...and pineapple!/like rice/pies."
		8-9-year	3 (2B 1G) (2W:0A:1B)	"Not sure, I'm not so familiar with all of this/keen." "They may be good/healthy, but I haven't tried it."
None	Child did not comment.	5-year	19 (11B:8G) (9W:8A:2B)	"Don't know." "Just think so." Silence.
		6-7-year	5 (0B:5G) (2W:3A:0B)	"Don't know." "Can't say/explain/describe it!"

3.3.3.10 Ethnic foods

Similar to the pattern for unfamiliar foods, near two-thirds of the 5-year group made no comments ("Don't know", "Just think so", or silence) to explain their food-liking ratings, compared to fewer than one fifths of the 6-7- and none of the 8-9-year-olds. But in spite of the result that only one referred to targets' group features, half of the others mentioned the ethnicity or gender stereotypes they assumed for these foods. The 6-7-year-olds were twice as likely to talk of targets' group than individual traits whilst the 8-9-year-olds were over four fold more likely to mention targets' group features than their individual traits. The 8-9-year group was also three times as likely as the 6-7-year group to comment on the ethnic nature of these foods.

Proportionately similar amounts of the three age groups made non-target-related and nonstereotyped comments on these ethnic foods or related the foods to their own liking. The participant ethnic groups were also similarly likely to comment on such categories, on targets as individuals, and on the ethnicity of the foods, but white children were twice as likely as Asian children to focus on the targets' group characteristics.

The content of children's comments indicated that the younger the children, the more impoverished their knowledge of the dishes (like incorrectly labelling the bullion buffet as Chinese food, not knowing the names of fruit) and the more concise and inexplicable the comments made. However, the younger (5-year-old) children nevertheless had some recognition of the foods and endeavoured to reason accordingly (commenting on others'

experiences, investigating what the foods contained). Older (from 6-7-year old) children elaborated on their wider knowledge of foods (like their tastes or origins) and extended their reasoning (by people's religion or nationality or prohibition) at the same time.

An examination of the statements made by different ethnic children revealed a notable tendency for Asian children to comment on the targets' or their own cultural or religious preferences for certain foods, vegetarianism, or avoidance of certain foods by expressing caution for what the dishes contained. Older children particularly also related themselves to the targets. Where the ethnicity of foods was identified many children also commented on the white targets' or "English people's" inexperience of or dislikes for such foods.

3.3.4 Discussion

The present study employed novel, unlabelled as well as "ethnic" foods as experimental stimuli to examine the ways in which children form inferences about others on the basis of gender and ethnicity. Findings suggest that, similar to inferences about toys, children actively make use of what ideas they have about gender and ethnicity (schemas) as ways of making predictions for their own and others' food choice. Furthermore, there seems to be an age-based trend in the salience of the influence of ethnicity on how they compared others' preferences to their own broadly similar to the patterns for toy choice. The novel foods' unfamiliarity, like the novel toys' unfamiliarity in the previous study, is deemed imperative in ensuring that ethnicity- and gender-based inferences children made were a consequence of their knowledge or evaluations of ethnic and gender concepts about such

category members rather than the foods' labels or stereotypes. For ethnic foods, however, children's reasoning was based on the knowledge and/or stereotypes they had about such foods associating with the ethnic group members, which included others and themselves. Results for novel and ethnic food liking are discussed below as separate sections.

3.3.4.1 Unfamiliar foods

The finding that white children in particular expected boys to like unfamiliar foods less than girls was unexpected. This implies sex-typing specific to only certain ethnic groups (white children) in terms of how members reason for the sexes' attitudes to novel foods. This, firstly, points at least to the potency of foods in invoking gender notions as they do ethnic notions (from the ethnicity-related findings). Secondly, the finding that only white children, and not others, have such notions indicates this group's differential perceptions of the sexes in terms of acceptance of new foods on the whole or certain food ingredients. The first phenomenon suggesting boys' general scepticism towards new foods termed as *food neophobia* has been found in a large Swedish family sample by Hursti and Sjoeden (1997). Hursti and Sjoeden also found evidence for familial resemblance in that fathers showed higher food neophobia than did mothers, and that levels of food neophobia was correlated with self-reported food consumption. Indeed, novel-food tasting research has established that so-called *neophilics* rated these foods more favourably than *neophobics* (Tuorila, Meiselman, Bell, Cardello, & Armand, 1994). Mooney and Lorenz (1997) also found support for different underlying expectations held for the two sexes where dietary type is involved during the impression formation process.

On the other hand, there is relatively clear evidence from children's verbal data which implies food stereotyping of boys mainly by white children in that this gender was seen as having a dislike towards vegetables, which could be seen in the pictures of two of the three unfamiliar dishes despite the *dishes'* unfamiliarity. Whether or not food or general neophobia has a part to play, this stereotyped notion of boys' food liking verbalised by white children appears to be a more likely account for the particular pattern of results.

The different patterns of ethnic-typed inferences made by white and Asian children were also unexpected and suggest a rather complex set of reasoning specific to different ethnic groups of children. It is interesting though difficult to decipher why when considering all three target ethnicities, white children assumed *only* Asian peers' preference to be higher than both white (their ethnic ingroup) and black peers' (another ethnic outgroup), whose preferences were seen as relatively similar. Asian children expected, however, that black peers' preference would be higher than white and Asian peers' (both out- and ingroups), whose preferences would be similar. A possible explanation, drawing on their own verbal data, is that white children considered Asian children as the only target group that possess culinary tastes as distinct from their own as a result of their religious or cultural practices. Subsequently they inferred that this group would eat what they themselves did not know, or would not normally eat. Meanwhile, Asian children, being aware of their own cultures, *knew* that those dishes were not of their practice and thus did not make such a prediction. These children, however, similar to white children not having indepth information about other culinary tastes, may not know or have limited cultural knowledge about other ethnic minorities, including black peers, about whom they might make the type of inferences as

white children did Asian targets. That Asian children did not make such inferences about white peers may be due to the fact that minority children are inevitably made aware of the dominant (white) cultural norms through their socialisation (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987).

Those findings from the comparisons between children's own liking and their predictions for same- and other-ethnic peers support the hypothesis based on the implicit concepts of within-group similarity and between-group differences. From 6-7 years children expected that those who share their ethnic group membership would be more similar to themselves (in terms of their food preference), or that those who do not share this category would be more different from themselves on this internal property, or *essence* (see Gelman, 1989; Gelman et al., 1986; Gelman & Markman, 1987). This ethnocentric pattern then became more pronounced towards 8-9 years as the discrepancies between children's own-versus other-ethnic peers' preferences, compared to own-versus-same-ethnic peers', broadened. Ethnicity is salient in making inferences for others in relation to oneself from age 6-7 and this coincides with the peak level of ethnic-role knowledge when accurate and consistent ethnic labelling and categorisation is consolidated (Aboud, 1987, 1988). These skills are not reliably shown before this age as children are still acquiring complex ethnic notions to include subtle differences such as culinary tastes (Ramsey, 1987). Beyond this point, their ethnocultural knowledge evolves to be more sophisticated, as shown by children's comments at age 8-9 when they were the most ethnocentric in reasoning about foods.

As in the toy-choice study children can add information to their existing ethnic schemas based on what food they like and dislike, generalising their own preferences to members

of their ethnic in-group (incorporating the self into their ethnic schemas). Hence children

have developed abstract theories about ethnicity that go beyond superficial knowledge in

the form of within-group similarity and between-group differences. What food one likes,

one thinks others of one's own ethnicity also might like, and those of other ethnic groups

might not; again, an individual incorporates the self into his or her ethnic schemas.

The absence of a parallel gendercentric pattern of inferences where children predict that

same-sex others would like the foods more similar to how much they did themselves may

be accounted for by the fact that generally food is not a medium or vehicle through which

children identify the self with others in terms of gender, compared with ethnicity. That is,

ethnic categories may hold more salience *in this particular setting* than gender categories.

It has to be borne in mind the vast majority of developmental studies that examine gender

as a social category through which children relate peers' thoughts, feelings and behaviour

to their own based on gender group memberships utilise toys and game plays (see Martin,

1993; Serbin et al., 1993; Signorella et al., 1993). This again points to the differential role

and impact of gender and ethnic categories across different contexts, and further research

can identity and contrast how these operate differently in inference making.

3.3.4.2 Ethnic foods

It is not surprising to see that children in general were relatively more familiar (compared

with novel foods) with so-called *ethnic* foods and the fact that familiarity with such foods

increased with age. As children journey further into middle childhood, their ethnocultural

knowledge increases; knowledge that transcends the external perceptual traits to cultural practices which distinguish one ethnicity from another; like tastes for food, among others. This can be seen from their verbal data where children (in particular older ones) knew or (younger ones) recognised some of the dishes, or were somewhat aware of their origins, thus their ethnic labels. This indicates that children would have acted on such knowledge by associating labels to targets' and their own ethnic group membership.

Although this part of the analyses on familiar ethnic foods could be re-interpreted as at least in part simply testing children's stereotyped knowledge, the result that white peers were thought to like ethnic foods *generally* less is curious. This implies that children on the whole expect that this ethnic group would like all the ethnic dishes, including the one representing their *own* ethnicity (meat pies), less than other peer groups. But an analysis of children's verbal data reveals that most of their target-group-based or food-ethnicity-based or other stereotyped comments referred to black and Asian people and dishes that represented their preferences in this part. Of the few comments on white (or "English") targets most were voiced on behalf of their general dislikes or inexperience of the foods; comments relating to the dish (pies) representing their preferences were rare. This might have been a factor behind their lower general food liking in that most attention was paid on associating the other target (minority ethnic) groups and 'their' foods, inflating their predicted ratings. That the white (majority) targets' ethnicity and food was comparably neglected may however be a result of the fact that the dish itself is not as representative of their ethnicity as other groups. It is considered (Loconto, 2000) that cultural practices

change over time; with the various foods available nowadays, what was once, especially majority cultural food, may be lost or diffused amid economic forces on food marketing.

The finding that children expected Asian peers to like the dish representing their culture (bullion) more than other ethnic peers and their accompanying comments indicate that in general they possessed knowledge of this ethnic food and associated this with that ethnic group membership. This effect is specific to Asian peers either because of a closer match between the representative dish and ethnic group membership compared with other ethnic matches or because this group was perceived to have strong culturally socialised culinary preferences. The latter would seem to be more plausible considering that the ethnocentric reasoning pattern found for liking for this cuisine and pies was specific to Asian children. These findings denote that they regarded that other Asian children would like (or not like) the foods similar to how they would themselves. Their verbal data suggests that ethnicity was an essential guide for making the inferences they did for others in relation to the self. Most children, including Asian children, identified the origin of the bullion buffet, some of whom explicitly made the links between the origin of this dish and their own and the targets' ethnic group membership. Although the vast majority of children did not identify the ethnic origin of pies, it is notable that some Asian children themselves voiced indirect scepticism towards or caution for this dish due to its meat ingredients remarking that they or the Asian peers are vegetarian or only consume particular meat produce as the reasons. Hence Asian children's reasoning for food preferences generally in this part suggest that ethnicity was prevalent in forming evaluations for their own and others' food preferences.

3.4 General Discussion

The studies undertaken in this phase of research made use of toys and foods, two salient elements of children's lives, as experimental stimuli to invoke gender and ethnic notions in order to investigate how they perceive different-ethnic and sex others. The novelty of toys and some foods is paramount as it ensured that gender- or ethnicity-based inferences would be a result of their judgements of the category members rather than sex- or ethnic-typed notions they possessed of the toys or foods. Generally speaking, it was found that ethnicity (as well as gender) offers highly salient categorical information (as schemas) in children's thoughts on their own and others' liking for both toys and foods. Furthermore, there appears to be an age-related pattern for utilising ethnicity as a basis for judging both toy and food liking. However the way in which each categorical (gender versus ethnicity) system influenced such decision-making processes appears to be different from the other both within each (toy or food), and between the two, contexts (toy versus food).

3.4.1 Sex and ethnic typing

In terms of stereotyping others (inferences of targets analysed separately from own traits) unexpected findings arose from both studies but along different directions. The surprising pattern of ethnic typing on toy liking (that Asian peers would like the toys less than other ethnic groups) was found which was more prevalent among boys. On the other hand, the unpredicted pattern of sex typing on novel-food liking (that boys would like these foods less than girls) was made by white children only. Children's verbalised explanations for

these patterns shed further light on their reasoning behind in that they applied what they observed or assumed (from observation) of the target group in question into the relevant context. For instance, Asian children were seen by some boys as not inclined to try new play things or to play as much as other groups do in general whereas boys were seen by white children particularly to have a dislike for vegetables which novel dishes contained.

The above typology of social cognition is usually trait- or category-based and may affect inferences made about others in the absence of other relevant information (Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1991). Schofield (1981) argued that such social expectations can at times be based on a "kernel of truth" and emerge out of the very interactions with persons from different cultural groups. Children's processes of interaction in ethnically diverse settings may lead to specific social expectations in everyday encounters, as findings from the last phase or others (e.g. Rotheram & Phinney, 1987) suggest. They reflect implicit norms as appropriate feelings and behaviour in specific situations that vary by subcultural groups.

The absence of the other-domain equivalence (i.e. sex typing for toys or ethnic typing for foods) of the typing pattern found in each study implies that in each context both the role and salience of gender and ethnicity were distinct from one another. In such instances, as unpredictable as it is, children's knowledge of the stereotypes, and actual stereotyping of the various categories, can rely on the context within which such members are judged but not simply from mere categorisation of the members, as earlier intergroup theories imply (for example, social identity theory; Tajfel, 1978, 1981). This contextual dependency of stereotyping is in line with assumptions embedded in self-categorisation theory (Spears &

Haslam, 1997; Turner et al., 1987) in that processes of categorisation concerns that very comparative context in which stereotypes are invoked. Here, the two contexts (toy versus food choice) clearly made a difference in how gender and ethnicity influenced children's inference making about others due to the different salience of the categories tied to these contexts. Furthermore, some meanings associated with a particular social group (Rutland, 1999) may be applied only in certain contexts and not others; the differential stereotyping patterns and reasoning provided by white and Asian children unique to foods would point to this possibility. Indeed Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) propose, from evidence in relatively more recent literature, that concerning ethnicity or race children's inference-making skills may be related not only to an awareness of categories but also to the child's *knowledge* of stereotypes concerning the groups.

At the same time, although it is clear from the developmental literature that children as young as preschool ages can and do classify or identify people by gender (see review by Lloyd & Duveen, 1992) and ethnicity (at least between black and white people; reviewed by Aboud, 1988), most studies do not provide information regarding the *salience* of such categories or how they are conceptualised. When children are afforded the possibility of responding to photographs of target persons on the basis of either individual or category characteristics (gender or ethnicity), or the opportunity to reason for selected grouping patterns, gender or ethnicity is not always used as a basis for categorising persons, nor implicated in the judgements of preference, or at times children mention minor details that do not relate to gender or ethnicity (e.g. Bennett, Dewberry, & Yeeles, 1991).

Research further discovered that racial and ethnic classification differs across categories and regions with its salience likewise showing some variations between groups (Bennett et al., 1991; Dutton, Singer, & Devlin, 1990). Contextual factors in ethnic stereotypes or stereotyping have been studied with Dutch children (Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1991; Hagendoorn & Kleinpenning, 1991). The existence of context-specific ethnic stereotypes and their differential effect on social distance towards minority groups in social domains (as neighbours, colleagues, classmates and romantic partners) was supported. It was also true that for most ethnic groups contextual stereotypes are better predictors of interethnic evaluations than general group stereotypes. Taken together the current findings as well as others, it should be recognised that different models are required to describe the relations between stereotypes and intergroup perception in the myriad contexts.

It can be thus concluded from the current and other research that although ethnicity and gender do exert influence on children's perception of others, their salience varies across situations. At times, children may be consciously reacting to it; at others, it may be more subconscious or not relevant at all (Ramsey, 1987).

3.4.2 Gender and ethnic identification

As in the typing patterns discussed above, findings indicative of gender and ethnic group identification (through the relationships between children's own toy and food preferences and what they inferred to be other gender or ethnic ingroup members' preferences versus what they inferred to be outgroup members) at least suggest that ethnic categories play a

salient role in this process within both toy and food contexts and gender categories play a similar role within the toy context. For ethnicity, there seems to be an age-based progress in this type of identification through both toy and food preferences, although the two sets of findings were somewhat different, implying an effect by the respective contexts.

The gendercentric pattern from ages 5 through 9 years in the toy-choice study was seen as reflecting the early onset of and continual sex-role salience throughout childhood (and adulthood) particularly within the toy-play setting as it has been reflected in other studies (reviewed by Serbin et al., 1993). By contrast, the parallel ethnocentric reasoning pattern was visible only among the 6-7-year-old children. This might be interpreted as reflecting, once again, the contextual specificities of ethnic (versus gender) influence on inferences relating the self to others (in terms of toy choice) not accounted for by standard premises belying both cognitive developmental and social perspective-taking schools of thoughts. Such contextual variables (toy versus food choices) might by the same argument underlie the finding that in terms of food liking ethnocentric reasoning held *from* 6-7- through 8-9- years old (unlike the 8-9 year's 'disappearance' of this pattern for toy choice) as expected from children's cognitive abilities responsible for ethnicity-based reasoning.

Children both accurately and reliably label and categorise persons by their ethnicity in test conditions by the age of 6-7 as they develop to attain a more sophisticated corpus of ethnic concepts that surpasses superficial elements (which include toy-play and food and culinary practices). However, whether or not they do apply this knowledge in comparing and *relating* themselves to others as social category members in different circumstances,

as discussed in the last section, is more than a matter of labelling or categorisation skills, or awareness of such categories. Identification, in terms of internal dispositions or traits, between oneself and others are based on a multitude of factors both cognitive and social (see Rotheram & Phinney, 1987).

Categorisation of the self and others, though maybe not an adequate condition for ingroup belonging and favouritism, is likely to be at least a *precursor* of this pattern (e.g. Aboud, 1980, 1987, 1988). Children's cognitive developmental level is at least partly associated with children's understanding of and attitudes towards ethnic categories (e.g. Aboud & Doyle, 1995; Aboud & Skerry, 1984; Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1980). Yet in terms of basing decisions, like person evaluations and expectations, on ethnic information, more recent research has found that this function varies in relation to the child's endorsement of social stereotypes (derived from majority-culture's views of minorities) and his or her evaluation of his or her own ethnicity (e.g. Averhart & Bigler, 1997). Moreover the 'gap' identified by other recent investigations into ethnic influence on person judgements that cannot be resolved by cognitive developmental theories also stresses the role of social or environmental-learning factors (Black-Gutman & Hickman, 1996). One would require to obtain independent data on children's specific social learning to more adequately account for such findings. This is particularly crucial for those in multiethnic environments, such as children here who have been both acculturated and enculturated, or at least exposed to both their own and others' cultures. As a reference for future research, standard measures may be taken for ethnic and gender identification to tally with the indirect test measure.

The above considerations may be considered as consistent with conclusions negotiating symbolic interaction as well as perspective- or role-taking skills. Children here integrate notions of role taking in the self-development processes in which they define themselves by taking others' perspectives and hereafter reflecting on the self from these perspectives. This line of theorising on defining the self in relation to others, similar to theories in self-categorisation (e.g. Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994), has not been examined in terms of children's ethnic identities, although it has been explored with national identities recently (Rutland, 1999). The studies here may however represent an exploratory effort to understand such identification processes in the context of toy and food preferences where both children's own and other group referent-others' viewpoints were considered.

3.4.3 Conclusions

Children's toy and food choices are influenced by both ethnicity and gender. Not only do such schemas lead to particular patterns of ethnic typing at certain ages, the incorporation of children's self into these schemas – combined with their use of abstract concepts about categories – at or from the critical age period can lead them to make either sex- or ethnic-congruent inferences, or both, about others depending on the inference-making *context*. The age-related changes in children's inferences suggest that all of exploring notions of ethnicity, in terms of schematic information processing, perspective-taking skills, as well as other categorisation theories combining cognitive and social processes, is a potentially fruitful avenue for future research.

PHASE THREE

4.1 Background

4.1.1 Reviewing previous phases

The three experimental studies in the present section of the thesis investigate children's preferences for different ethnic playmates and what they predict to be *others'* playmate preferences. Two further empirical foci are the ways in which ethnic (and gender) peer preferences may arise from children's interaction (with a peer of their own or of another ethnicity) and the sorts of reasoning with which they legitimise their preferences. These have been designed to explore in more depth certain results from the last two phases of this thesis by amalgamating both their theoretical and methodological approaches.

The previous two parts of this thesis provide support for, firstly, the early prevalence of children's same-ethnic (and same-sex) peer play interaction and same-ethnic friendships which had been found in previous observational as well as sociometric studies (Boulton & Smith, 1992, 1993; Finkelstein & Haskins, 1983; Sagar, Schofield, & Snyder, 1983). Secondly, certain age-related patterns of ethnicity-based expectations of group members and indicators for ingroup identification have been found which might be a factor behind same-ethnic preference. Specifically, the experimental findings in the second phase on children's ethnocentric reasoning (similar to gendercentric reasoning, in Martin et al., 1995) are a possible reflection of more general developmental trajectories in children's categorical reasoning and ingroup identification at the critical turning point of middle childhood. Underlying these patterns are the developing abstract theories of between-

group differences and within-group similarities. Members of the same social category

(here ethnicity), due to their common categorical membership, are perceived as sharing

certain deeper internal attributes termed 'essences', which non-members are thought not

to share (Gelman, 1989; Gelman & Markman, 1986, 1987). It may be due to this premise

that children here assumed that those of their own ethnic category membership could also

share their liking for the same toys and foods at this point of their development.

Overall research in these previous phases has yielded interesting findings regarding the

different aspects of children's ethnic identity (ethnic preferences and peer interactions in

phase one, ethnic attitudes and identification in phase two, for example). However, a still

unresolved quandary is that these components have been observed or invoked in vastly

different contexts. Prevalence of same-ethnic interactions and inferences about peers'

play have been initially observed as collective, overt and verbal behaviour during free

play suggesting same-ethnic peer preferences and ethnocentric reasoning, respectively.

The strengths of the naturalistic approach are the lack of an authoritative experimenter

adult figure and the unstructured nature of its methodology where group behaviours are

captured in children's daily interactive state of play. But it also means that a variety of

factors (such as peer status) could confound the observations founded within this open

uncontrolled setting. Furthermore, preferences and inferences are often conceptualised as

internal dispositions; as such any deduction from observed and loosely defined behaviour

to support these concepts would be problematic. This is particularly so when considering

the weak correlations among the affective, cognitive, and behavioural components within

children's ethnic identity previously found (e.g. Ramsey & Myers, 1990; Rosenfield & Stephen, 1981; Troyna, 1991).

At the same time, ethnocentric reasoning, which is posited as one principal contributing factor to own-ethnic preference, has been examined further in experimental settings. The findings in Phase Two have given substantive evidence for the salience of ethnocentrism in children's perception via how children identify with same-ethnic others through their perceived sharing of toy and food preferences. One limitation to this research, however, is that identification was examined through operationalised measures as shared liking for toys or foods 'indirectly', by the way in which the child infers about others in relation to themselves. Furthermore, the procedure tested the *individual* child's perception as a *first* person outside his/her interactions with the peer group from which this kind of ethnicity-based reasoning had been first implied by a *third party* (a peer). This makes it a tenuous speculation that children will implement the same reasoning (as for toys and foods) to a similar degree within a peer interaction context.

4.1.2 Phase three: Resolving phases one and two

The different methods used to explore the different aspects of ethnic identity render any conclusion linking these aspects at best tentative. In brief, the investigative arrangement so far does not allow one to ascertain that same-ethnic preference implicated within one context and ethnic ingroup identification (through ethnocentric inferences about critical attributes) assessed in another context are perhaps 'two sides of the same coin' in ethnic

identity development. Also, of particular interest is the role interaction plays in any inter-component relationship (ethnic preference, ethnic identification, ethnic attitudes). Hence this final phase of my research binds the previous two threads of enquiry together in the same investigative context. This formulation facilitates the examination of those various elements of ethnic identity at work as children participate in their own interactions when both their own and others' ethnicity is likely to be pertinent to the task at hand (resolving peer ethnic preferences). This approach follows in the footsteps of earlier similar studies, which manipulate the dyadic or polyadic composition of an interactive team (e.g. Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Leman & Duveen, 1996, 1999). This is arranged by assembling two or more children of the same versus different social categories, or of equivalent versus non-equivalent status authority (such as gender, ethnicity), or some other relevant dimension (matched or contrasting developmental levels or perspectives). This is done so as to see whether both differential patterns of interaction and outcomes vary as a function of the pair or group composition.

Involving pairs of children in this 'semi-experimental' setting has obvious advantages. It enables the study of children's interaction by providing a unique naturalistic environment without adult intervention. Sources of authority figure are seen to impose a constraining influence on peer interaction (Leman & Duveen, 1996) perhaps due to the role of demand characteristics on the children's part. The setting also provides an open forum that allows children to explore the legitimacy of their beliefs, particularly in the case of a conflict of perspectives. The researcher can examine the persuasive power of children's arguments and the role of identity in influencing such interactions (see the next subsections).

4.1.3 Peer interaction

It has long been widely suggested that in understanding one's own identity, in particular from middle childhood when egocentricity is overcome, the child does not perceive him or herself in isolation from those perceptions and reactions of others, nor evaluate him or herself apart from the values by which individuals in their position are judged (Davey & Mullin, 1980). Hence the involvement of two (or more) members, be they of the same or different social categories, in spontaneous play or in a dialogue in order to arrive at some mutually-agreed-upon outcome, is of particular interest as well as potential importance in reflecting the members' social identities.

These ideas have their origins in Piaget's theory (1932) where 'perspective clashes' help to dissolve cognitive egocentricity and is one of the two major ways in which interaction might facilitate development in childhood. The second way is via the child's justification of his or her judgement. Both of these conditions are investigated in the current research. Involvement in discussions is said to require that the child have a grasp of his/her role in the processes of social construction (Duveen & Lloyd, 1986). And cognitive development is thought to require that the child recognise the role of the self as a social actor engaged with others in the construction of social knowledge (Leman & Duveen, 1996).

Placing the role of social interaction within the wider developmental perspective, Doise, Mugny, and Perez (1998) have argued that the developmental process, including that of identity development, being both social and cognitive in nature, is achieved by children's

social interactions. An emphasis is placed on the possible conflict between the alternative perspectives which could only be realised, and perhaps also resolved, within interactions. Conversely, where perspectives are unresolved, components of the children's interactions can act to intervene to constrain the co-construction of knowledge (Mugny, De Paolis, & Carugati, 1984). Leman and Duveen (1999) have further accentuated the interrelationship between social interaction and development as one of 'symbiosis and an issue of interest and significance' for developmental psychologists, whose role should be to 'unpick' the various aspects of interaction and to connect them with advances in children's reasoning. In particular, where cultural systems (which include senses of identity) are thought to be embedded in the social context of interactions (which, in turn, are a necessary condition in producing and maintaining such systems; see Vygotsky, 1978) it is important to study children's use of language and discourse during such activities.

4.1.4 Research into dyadic interaction and identity

This subsection provides a summary of some research into dyadic interactions involving the manipulation of the dyad's social categorical make-up, concentrating on gender and ethnic identities, the latter of which has scarcely been examined using this methodology until more recently.

One of the most widely explored domain in this area has been dyadic influence involving the gender and its relations to some problem-solving outcome or evaluative and judgment measures. Leman & Duveen (1996), for example, examined the effect of communication

and influence on perception of epistemic authority (authority possessed by knowledge) between two ages of same- and mixed-sex dyads. For children 6 to 7 years, the ease with which an 'expert' peer's perspectives were accepted depended upon the partner's gender. Such an influence is conceived as heteronomous (judgements based upon an authority's reasoning) for the effects of gender could only be attributable to one partner's authority of status deriving its legitimacy from the social roles linked to the gender groups. Such effects absent in older (8-9 years) children mean that they could distinguish epistemic and status aspects of authority.

Leman and Duveen (1999) examined the role that social interactions play in developing moral reasoning. Nine-year-old same- or mixed-sex dyads, who pronounced contrasting pre-interaction arguments on moral questions, had to resolve into a joint response on the same issue. Once again for mixed-sex dyads gender acted as a source of status authority to influence the perceived legitimacy of a partner's epistemic judgement, whilst in same-sex dyads with an absence of such status authority epistemic authority was received with relative ease. An indepth analysis of the dyads' conversations by Leman (2002) showed that a girl's gender identity interacted with her argument to influence the dyad's balance of supports and rebuttals in mixed-sex dyads; it served as an obstacle to the persuasive power of her arguments. However, certain elements of the argument were identified as crucial in that only sophisticated rebuttals characterised by explanations and addressing the other's position to form a forum for an exchange of perspectives would win support. Thus of importance (to outcome) here were both gender identity and interaction style.

Studies on race or ethnic issues involving dyadic interactions have been very sparse and have primarily involved its influence on prejudicial attitudes. One example is Aboud and Doyle (1996) who assessed how children's racial evaluations were affected by talks with a friend whose level of prejudice was different from their own. They compared the kinds of evaluative statements and explanatory strategies used by the high- (HP) and low- (LP) prejudice partners of a dyad and the change in attitude that followed from the discussion. White children from third and fourth grades identified as above or below the class median on the racial attitude were paired with a friend who had differed in their level of prejudice and instructed to talk about how white, black, and Chinese children ought to be evaluated and why. Analysis showed that LP children stated significantly more negative evaluations and examples of white children and more cross-race similarity than their HP counterparts. HP children, however, became significantly less prejudiced after the talk. Changes were greater in children whose LP partner made more statements about cross-race similarity along with more positive black and negative white evaluations.

Whilst Aboud and Doyle's (1996) study has important implications on the role of peer interaction in moderating racial attitudes, the focus of the studies in the current phase is slightly different in that they are designed to examine what peer interactions reveal about children's ethnic identity (see below). As in Leman and Duveen's research (1996, 1999), the purposes of this are to 'unpick' the various aspects of interaction and to connect them with children's reasoning (for their ethnic preferences). Of particular interest is children's use of language and discourse (Vygotsky, 1978) in mediating their ethnic identities.

4.1.5 The current studies

The present inquiry investigates children's ethnic preferences and interactions for which their own and others' ethnic identities that are expressed or become identifiable may be relevant. Play and playmate choice again are deployed as the theme since it has already been demonstrated how play (or related stimuli such as toys), a crucial element of daily life in childhood, is a highly potent and effective way to study children's category-based thinking when the relevant stimuli are presented (including pictures of other children of different ethnic groups). Same- (both white or both Asian) or mixed- (one white and one Asian) ethnic dyads are tested in terms of their own and what they inferred to be others' choices, for playmates who belonged to their ethnic in- and outgroups. The strategies in which the dyads resolve and the reasoning for their peer choices are elicited to ascertain whether the dyadic set-up might exert an influence on their interactions and outcomes.

In the three interrelated studies of the current phase children are presented with a scenario where they, as a dyadic unit with a same-sex peer, who is of either their own or another ethnicity, have to firstly (Study One) select one potential playmate they both prefer from a choice of eight, who are also either of their own or of another ethnicity (their partner's in the case of mixed-ethnic dyads). In Study Two the dyad have to select one whom they infer would prefer both of them as new playmates. In the final study, the dyad is asked to arrange those eight playmates themselves into dyads. The dyads' interactions during their decision making as well as their justification for their choices or arrangements are closely examined. These studies are designed in such a way to address the following questions.

1) How salient is their own and others' ethnicity in 7-year-old children's decisions about playmate choices in scenarios where ethnicity of potential playmates also differ:

a. When children have to decide their own preferences about unfamiliar different ethnic others as their potential new playmates (Study One);

b. When children have to predict these targets' preferences for themselves as potential new playmates (Study Two);

c. When children have to predict these others' preferences for one another (i.e. to create potential new playmate pairs); that is, when children themselves have no role to play in the play scenario (Study Three).

2) How, when children were to make the above decisions as interactive units (in dyads), rather than as individuals, would their ethnic makeup affect their decision making?

3) What were the most pervasive variables that children use to reason for their decisions (e.g. does the kind of abstract group theories examined in previous studies play a part, or would some children voice their and others' ethnicity as a major point of reasoning, or would they focus on other, physical or psychological features)?

4) To what extent is ethnic salience consistent across the three different scenarios (e.g. would children on the whole or would only one certain ethnic dyad-type give similar responses and interact similarly across the three scenarios)?

Given the methodological rationale, not only the dyads' preference outcome responses, but also their reasons for and the interactions in which they engaged in order to arrive at such outcomes, may serve as further support to elucidate the issues elicited in previous phases on children's ethnic identity development.

4.2 Study One: Children's own playmate preferences

It has long been established that since preschool children socialise more with and prefer same-ethnic playmates (e.g. Finkelstein & Haskins, 1983; Boulton & Smith, 1992, 1993; Sagar et al., 1983). This is not astonishing considering that young children often express universal preferences for those "who are like me" over "who are not like me" (Sigelman, Miller, & Whitworth, 1986). White children in particular show consistent preferences for both the colour and the racial group labelled as "white" (Katz, 1982). For minority ethnic children in ethnically diverse settings ethnicity has also been a fairly reliable predictor of preferences for known peers and selections of potential unknown friends. However, this is to a lesser extent than ingroup bias exhibited by their white counterparts (e.g. Boulton & Smith, 1992; Davey & Mullin, 1980) which is argued to be a possible artifact of social desirability (e.g. preference for the majority norm; Aboud, 1988; and see *Introduction* of thesis). White children also express stronger positive attitudes towards their ingroup than minority ethnic children (see Aboud, 1987, 1988; Foster, Martinez, & Kulberg, 1996).

If both white and Asian children in same-ethnic dyads here were expected to generally prefer same-ethnic targets, a pattern of conflicting preferences where dyads comprised one white and one Asian children would logically be probable considering the tendency for each member of the dyad to prefer a playmate of their ethnic in-group. This is where the interaction within the dyads might be illuminative, where comments from same- and mixed-ethnic dyads might verify overall overlap or divergence of preferences. However,

the less strong preferences for Asian peers by Asian children themselves in comparison to white children's white preferences (meaning that some Asian children would prefer white playmates) might result in an overall 'residual' white preference by mixed dyads.

Some gender differences in ethnic or racial cleavage have been reported, although such were less consistent than ethnic or gender cleavage per se. Of the existing literature, more evidence could be found regarding girls' greater preference for same-ethnic female peers, particularly among white girls (e.g. Sagar et al., 1983; Singleton & Asher, 1977) although other studies did not find such a gender-ethnic interaction, or found that female minority-ethnic status was connected to rejection but not acceptance (e.g. Boulton & Smith, 1992; Kistner, Metzler, Gatlin, & Risi, 1993).

4.2.1 Hypotheses

(1) Deducing from the literature regarding individual white children's ethnic preferences, the white dyads in this study are expected to present similar same-ethnic (white) bias in their playmate preferences. They should have little conflict in selecting a joint playmate due to the lack of ethnic conflict, except for resolving between two white choices.

(2) A largely Asian (ingroup) playmate choice pattern with little conflict is expected for the Asian dyads, though the strength of this same-ethnic preference would be somewhat less than that by the white children.

(3) From same-ethnic dyads, a stronger same-ethnic preference by girls compared to boys was tentatively proposed, and particularly for white-girl dyads.

(4) Mixed white-and-Asian dyads are expected to show relatively more conflict regarding their members' own individual choices for a playmate of their respective ethnicity (to be clarified by their interactions). If resolved, however, a stronger general white preference should emerge as a result of the likelihood that white children would have stronger white preference as well as some Asian children also having white preferences.

4.2.2 Method

4.2.2.1 Participants

A total of 220 children participated in this research. All participants were in the second or third year of their formal education (mean age = 7 yr 5 mo) and were recruited from eight primary schools in East and Southeast London with equivalent ethnic mix (40-60 per cent ethnic minorities) and class background (working to lower-middle). Children participated in 110 same-sex dyads (41 both white: 20 boys, 21 girls; 35 both Asian: 19 boys, 16 girls; 34 one white, one Asian: 16 males, 18 females) – with both partners from the same class. Dyads were necessarily same-sex as (reviewed earlier) gender exerts an impact on social interaction; controlling this impact is imperative for examining the influence of ethnicity. The dyads were assigned by their class teacher matching as much as possible their verbal ability, intelligence and compatibility. The latter matching variable meant that the dyadic partners were seen to be reasonably agreeable classmates through the school year without being "best friends" to each other in order that the pairing would not bias their behaviour during the experiment and task outcome.

4.2.2.2 Materials and apparatus

Eight photographs, each showing a child of the same age group of the participants, were presented to the dyads. Half of the eight 'target' children were white (two boys, two girls) and the other half Asian (two boys, two girls). The targets' age, attractiveness, and ethnic typicality were matched by both adult and child judges independent of this research (the researcher's colleagues and their children; in Appendix XVII). A Sony video camcorder was used to film the interaction between the dyad, and a Casio stop watch was used for measuring and reminding the time limit for the dyad to reach a joint decision (see below under *Procedure*)

4.2.2.3 Procedure

Each dyad was interviewed in a quiet room by a female experimenter. She explained that she was interested in "how children choose others for play". The photographs of the target playmates were laid out in front of the dyad who were asked to imagine that these targets were to become new pupils in their class and if the dyad together were to pick one of them as new playmate which one they would prefer ("Say, if these children were going to be new children in your class. Now, if you had to pick just one of them you *both* would most want to play with, which would that be? Do think about it together between you two before picking."). Each dyad was permitted three minutes to finalise their decision. In the case that the children did not reach a consensus at the end of two minutes a reminder was given that they had one more minute to arrive at a joint outcome ("You have taken two minutes to think about this. I will give you one more minute before I have to stop you.").

The experimenter's input was kept to a minimum unless the children initiated interaction (by asking questions, for instance), or were overly silent upon which she might attempt to encourage interaction ("Can you talk with one another...?). If resolved, the experimenter invited them to explain their choice ("Why would you most want to play with this one?). The layout of the photographs was randomly mixed each time. Each dyad's behaviours, including interactions with the experimenter, during this task were captured on video.

4.2.2.4 Analysis of outcome measures

Dyads' responses, as a) whether or not they resolved into a joint preference (resolution) and b) their actual playmate choice (White or Asian), were outcome dependent measures. The dyads' ethnicity (both white or Asian, and one white one Asian) was the independent factor (dyad type). *Chi* square analyses were conducted for the numbers of the dyad types who elicited each response.

4.2.2.5 Analysis of dyadic interactions

Some aspects of this analysis could be quantified as the time taken for the dyad to make their final playmate preference and the amount of utterances made before they arrived at this decision. Differences between dyad types might give an indication of the ease with which the dyad could negotiate a joint response or the extent to which they shared similar views pre-interaction. The timing and counting of utterances prior to resolution of all data were primarily conducted by one rater although a secondary rater repeated 20 per cent of that data independently in order to keep reliability in check. The inter-rater reliability for both timing and counting (of utterances) were at $\alpha = .84$ and $\alpha = .78$, respectively.

The above surface dimensions of children's interactions as they endeavoured to resolve into a joint playmate preference were supplemented by systematic analysis of the actual content of the children's conversation coupled with, where appropriate, their non-verbal behaviour. A preliminary analysis of the dyads' interactions were first performed by the two raters viewing a small proportion of the videoed data together and co-constructing a system of categories that describe different types of interactions and the criteria for such categorisation. Each dyad's conversation and, where possible, expressions and gestures accompanying them, were then transcribed. Similar to secondary timing and counting of utterances, the second rater categorised the same 20 per cent of data from the video clips. The inter-rater Kappa measure of agreement for categorising interactions was .84. The same technique was employed for categorising children's reasoning or justification for their preferences for those dyads who resolved into a playmate choice.

4.2.3 Results

4.2.3.1 Resolution

Boy- and girl-dyads on the whole did not differ in their tendency to resolve into a joint playmate preference outcome; within both eight out of 55 dyads (14.5%) did not resolve. There were also no gender differences in resolution rates within each ethnic dyad-type. Figure 4.1 shows the proportion of children in each ethnic dyad-type who resolved into a joint playmate preference and of those who did not. Mixed (one white, one Asian) dyads were significantly less likely to resolve than same-ethnic (both white or Asian) dyads on

the whole, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 8.75$, $p < .01$, who in turn did not differ significantly from one another on resolution success. In particular, mixed-ethnic boy-dyads (nearly one-third of whom did not resolve) were significantly less likely to resolve compared to same-ethnic boy-dyads (7.7% unresolved), $\chi^2_{(1)} = 5.06$, $p < .05$. Once again, both-white and both-Asian boy-dyads did not significantly differ in this respect. There were no parallel significant between-ethnic differences among the girl-dyads in terms of resolution success.

FIGURE 4.1

Proportions of white, Asian, or white-and-Asian dyads who resolved and did not resolve

into a joint playmate choice
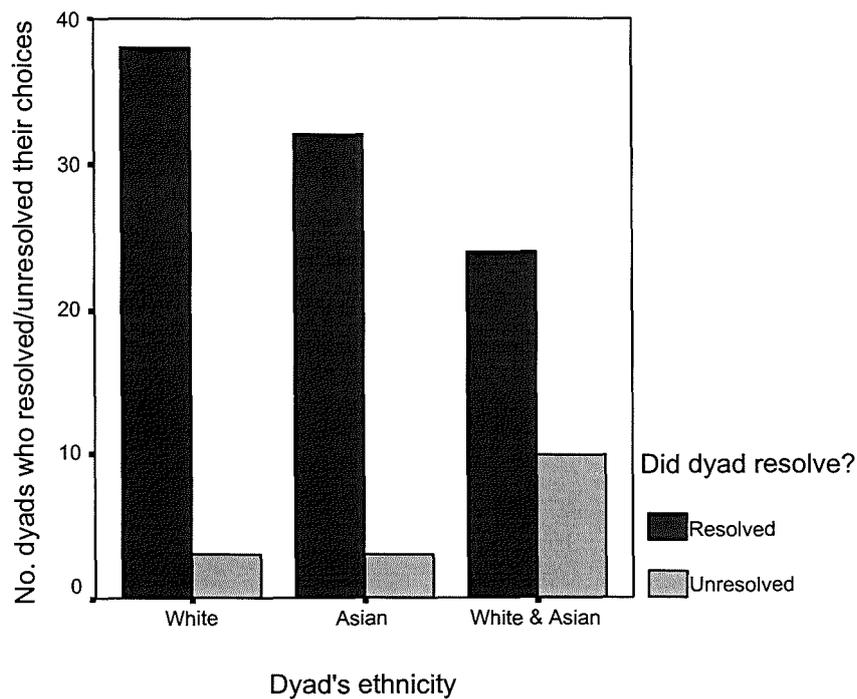
4.2.3.2 Playmate choice

All but two dyads (one white-boy dyad and one white-girl-dyad) who resolved into one joint preference selected a playmate of their own gender which made statistical analysis based on gender as a variable biased. In view of this highly uniform pattern of same-sex preferences, which in turn should not substantially influence ethnic preferences, only the ethnicity of dyads' playmate choices (whether the dyad chose a white or Asian playmate *regardless* of that chosen playmate's gender) was analysed.

Figure 4.2 shows the proportions of children in each ethnic dyad-type who resolved and chose a white or an Asian child as their preferred playmate. Same-ethnic dyads in general were more likely to select someone of their own ethnicity than one of the other ethnicity, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 14.63$, $p < .001$. Separate analysis by each ethnic dyad-type showed that only white dyads had a significant tendency to select a same-ethnic (white) playmate than an other-ethnic (Asian) playmate, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 15.16$, $p < .0001$. Asian dyads did not show a significant parallel preference for a same-ethnic (Asian) playmate over an other-ethnic (white) one, and white and Asian dyads did not differ significantly in their same-ethnic preferences. Separate analyses along gender lines revealed that only same-ethnic girl-dyads (almost 80% of whom selected a same-ethnic playmate) were significantly more likely to select a same-ethnic playmate, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 11.77$, $p < .001$. The corresponding same-ethnic preference of boy-dyads' was not significant, although the two sexes of same-ethnic dyads did not differ in preferences for a playmate of their own ethnicity.

FIGURE 4.2

Proportions of white, Asian, and white-and-Asian dyads who chose a white or Asian

novel playmate as their own preferences
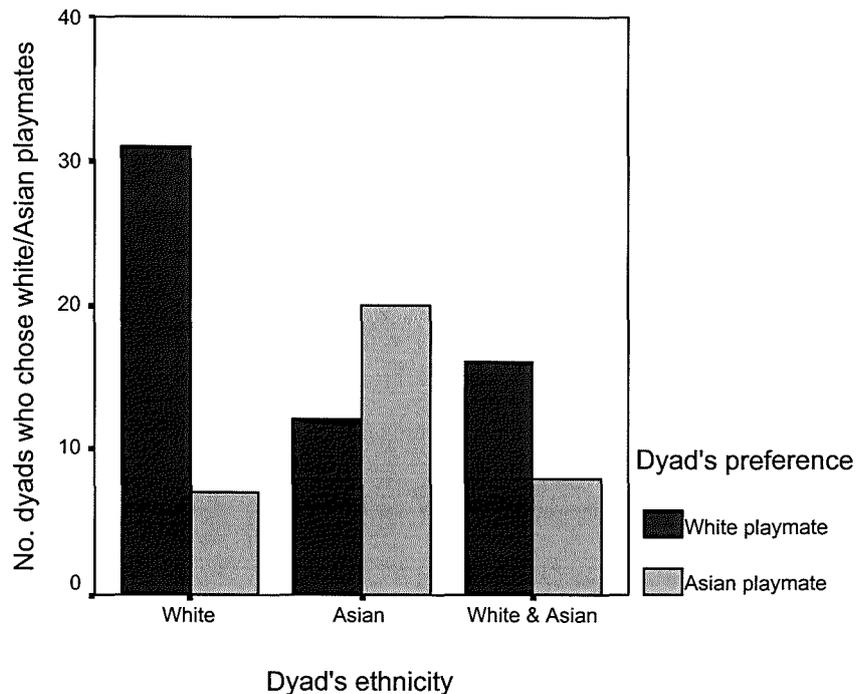
Additional tests further pinpointed that it was only white-girl dyads (nearly 90% chose a

white playmate) who displayed a significant white preference, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 11.84, p < .001$; The

parallel white preference by white-boy dyads did not reach significance despite that two-

thirds of this dyad-type showed a white preference. Neither Asian-girl- (two-thirds chose

an Asian playmate) nor Asian-boy- (under 60% chose an Asian playmate) dyads showed

a significant preference for Asian playmates over white ones. However, white-girl dyads

did not differ significantly in same-ethnic preference from Asian-girl dyads, nor did

white-boy dyads differ in this respect from Asian-boy dyads, nor did white-girl from

white-boy dyads or Asian-girl from Asian-boy dyads.

Mixed-ethnic (one white and one Asian) dyads did not have a significant preference for playmates of one ethnicity over the other. Separate analyses along gender lines showed that neither mixed-ethnic girl- nor mixed-ethnic boy-dyads had a significant preference for playmates of one ethnicity over the other. Comparisons between mixed-ethnic dyads and either of the same-ethnic dyads showed that mixed dyads did not differ significantly from white dyads in their white preference; but they did differ from Asian dyads in that the latter dyad-type preferred Asian playmates significantly more, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.67$, $p < .05$. Separate analyses along gender lines between Asian and mixed dyads showed that there was no significant difference between Asian-girl dyads and mixed-ethnic girl-dyads or between Asian-boy and mixed-boy dyads in their ethnic preferences.

4.2.3.3 Time taken to resolve

Figure 4.3 shows the amount of time each ethnic dyad-type took to decide on a playmate with whom both members of the dyad would prefer to play. A two-way between-subjects ANOVA with dyads' ethnicity and gender as the independent variables and time taken to resolve as the dependent variable showed that there was a main effect of dyads' ethnicity, $F(2,88) = 3.25$, $p<.05$. Post hoc Tukey tests showed that mixed-ethnic dyads took longer to resolve their own preferences than white dyads ($p < .05$).

4.2.3.4 Amount of utterances before resolution

Figure 4.4 shows the number of utterances each ethnic dyad-type exchanged before both members of the dyad decided on the playmate with whom they would want to play most.

Another two-way between-participants ANOVA with dyads' ethnicity and gender as the

independent variables and the number of utterances as dependent variable revealed that

there was a main effect of dyads' ethnicity, F (2,88) = 4.73, p < .05. Post hoc Tukey tests

showed that mixed-ethnic dyads emitted significantly more utterances before resolving

their own preferences than white dyads (p < .01).

FIGURE 4.3

Mean time taken for white, Asian, and white-and-Asian dyads to resolve their own

playmate preferences
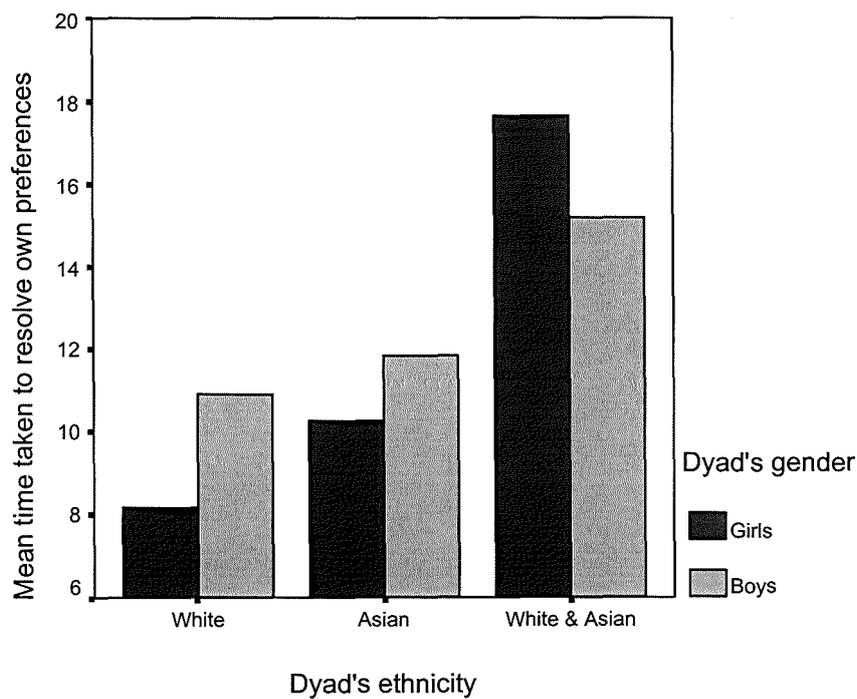
FIGURE 4.4

Mean number of utterances white, Asian, and white-and-Asian dyads made before

resolving their own playmate preferences

The chart shows "Mean no. utterances before own preferences" on the y-axis (ranging from 1.0 to 4.0) and "Dyad's ethnicity" on the x-axis (White, Asian, White & Asian). The legend "Dyad's gender" distinguishes Girls (black) and Boys (grey).
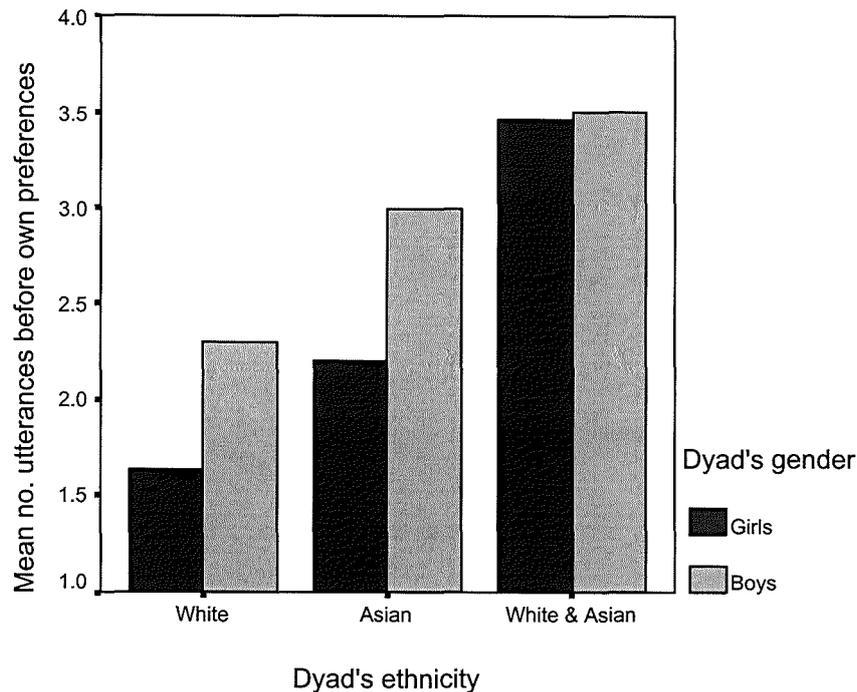
4.2.3.5 Dyads who resolved

Classification of the dyads' style of resolving their preferences was based upon whether the children's behaviour quite clearly reflected a common preference from both members of the dyad from the outset, where one party had (or not) an initial opinion and consulted the other, or where the members initially differed in their opinion the different means via which they arrived at the outcome. A system of categorisation derived from dimensions that sufficiently characterised the resolved dyads' interactions is presented in Table 4.1, with some transcribed data as illustrative examples in each category.

There were no overall gender differences in dyads' use of different styles to resolve their playmate choices, nor were there gender differences in resolution styles within any of the ethnic dyad-types.

Figure 4.5 presents the percentages of children in each ethnic dyad-type who resolved by the four major means as illustrated in Table 4.1. There were differences in the prevalence of resolving by these means between the different ethnic dyads. White dyads were more likely to display common playmate preferences compared to other resolution styles than both Asian dyads ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.97, p < .05$) and white-and-Asian dyads ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 10.27, p < .05$), who in turn did not differ from one another in this respect. In particular, it was between girl-dyads of the different ethnicities only that such differences were found when separate analyses for girls and boys were conducted. White-girl dyads (over two-thirds preferred the same playmate since outset) were significantly more likely to initially show common preferences than Asian girl-dyads (one-third of whom showed this tendency), $\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.14$, $p < .05$, and white-and-Asian girl-dyads (15% showed common preferences, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 8.72$, $p < .001$), where the latter two dyad-types in turn did not differ in this respect.

There were no between-dyad-type differences found in the prevalence in deploying the style of consultation followed by agreement over other resolution styles. For concession as a 'resolution' method, mixed dyads were significantly more likely to resolve this way than both white ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 8.57, p < .01$) and Asian ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 6.86, p < .01$). Similar to the trend for common preferences above, it was only between girls of different ethnic dyad-types that such differences were found. White-and-Asian girl-dyads were more likely to have a member conceding to the other than both white-girl ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 8.67, p < .01$) and Asian-girl ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.16, p < .05$) dyads, although these within-gender results should be viewed with caution as there were few same-ethnic dyads who resolved by concession. Of importance

and interest may be, among the mixed dyads who resorted to concession, which member (white or Asian) of the dyad was more likely to concede. From the video data of the eight mixed dyads who used concession (five dyads of which were girls and three were boys), in six cases (four girl-dyads and two boy-dyads) it was the Asian partner who conceded to the choice enacted by the white partner.

There were no between-ethnic dyad-type differences found in the prevalence in using negotiation as a method of resolving playmate choices.

TABLE 4.1

Categories of the styles in which dyads resolved into a joint preference

Categories	Description	Examples
Common preference	Minimal interaction was required in this category. This was characterised often by both children quite swiftly and clearly indicating their choices which happened to be of the same target.	Child A and Child B point at the same target photograph. Child A taps a photo before Child B shortly after confirms that opinion, "We think this one!" Child A says, "I think...this one..." Child B interjects, "I was gonna pick him/her too!"
Consultation and agreement	This was characterised by either: one child having a preference about which he/she proceeded to consult the other party; or a child did not have a preference hence consulted the other party for his/her opinions. But both scenarios would	Child A pointing at photo asks Child B, "What about...this one?" Child B replies, "Yeah, okay, that one." Child A asks Child B, "What'd you think?" Child B, "Erm...that one, or that one?" Child A, "She...perhaps?" Child B, "Yeah, that one."

	often result in suggestions by either child leading to an agreement without any conflict relatively quickly.	(Non-verbal) Child A picks up photo looking at Child B and Child B nods. Child B asks experimenter, "Can we choose him?"
Concession	This category and that one of 'negotiation' imply that the dyad initially differed in their preferences. If one conceded to the partner's choice without the partner needing to defend his/her view by further reasoning, concession was seen to be the characteristic.	Child A says, "This one." Child B slowly replies, "I'm not sure…or… this…" as Child A taps the target of her choice repeatedly. Child B after a second says, "…That one."
		Child A points at her choice. Child B looks at it but points to another photo then looks at experimenter who says, "You want to talk to one another…" Child B, still pointing at her choice, "Which do you like?" "Don't mind."
		Children point at photos of the boys of their ethnicity. Child B says, "One of these two." Experimenter reminds "Which one?" Child B states, "This one's better." "That then." Child A.
Negotiation	This was characterised also by the divergences of opinions by the dyad initially. But it differed much from 'concession' in that the final choices resulted from one party winning the other over by substantiating their reasoning for their own preference.	Child A, "This one?" Child B, "Um, I say this one." (Silence followed by experimenter's reminder to discuss.) Child A, "What'd you think?" "Err, I said this one because she's nicer… she's got nicer hair than that one." "Yeah, this one."
		Children first point at photos of two girls. Child B, "Not that one…cos… she looks like…she's gonna use you or something." Child A, "Um, yeah."
		Child A and Child B pick different Photos. Child A puts them together, thinks for a few seconds, "He's got the same look and smile as C (boy of their ethnicity they have played with) …He…" "Yeah, him, him!"

FIGURE 4.5

Percentages of white, Asian, and white-and-Asian dyads who resolved their playmate

choices by four different styles
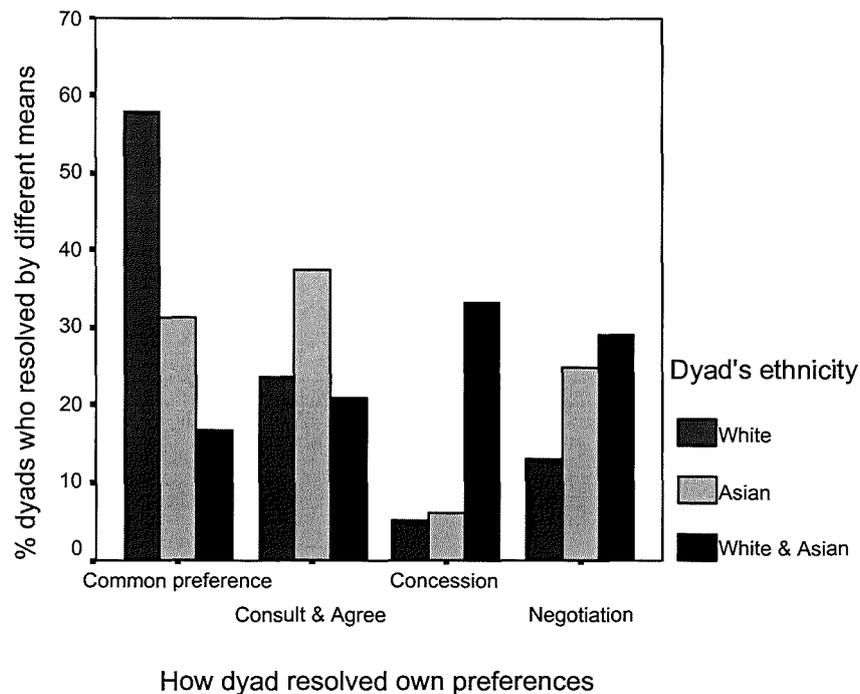
4.2.3.6 Unresolved dyads

Of the sixteen dyads who did not resolve into a joint playmate choice within the time that

was allocated for this task, ten were mixed-ethnic dyads (five girl- and five boy-dyads),

three were white (two girl- and one boy-) dyads and three Asian (one girl- and two boy-).

All the dyads who failed to resolve were identified initially by their members' individual

preferences for different playmates from the outset. Their continuous inability to resolve

was due to: 1) in most (thirteen) cases an insistence on their own preferences or, 2) in the

case of two Asian-boy dyads and one mixed girl dyad, the pair's reticence in spite of the

experimenter's encouragements for them to discuss.

Of the six same-ethnic dyads who did not resolve four dyads (one white-girl dyad, one Asian-girl and one Asian-boy dyads) first chose the two different playmates of the same gender and ethnicity as themselves but both members would not forgo their own choices to uphold their partner's. A closer look at the content of their exchanges showed that all but one (white-girl) dyad tried to persuade one another by some form of, albeit simplistic, reasoning (such as saying, "She's nicer", which was responded to with the same reason by the partner); most of the members simply repeatedly insisted on their own preferences.

Of the ten unresolved and mixed white-and-Asian dyads, the two partners in eight (four girl- and four boy-dyads) insisted on their preferences for a playmate of their respective ethnicity; one (boys) of the other two dyads chose two different white playmates and the other (girls) diverged on whether to choose a boy (white partner's idea) or a (white) girl. The children in most of these dyads did not persuade one another by extensive reasoning but simply insisted on their own choices, apart from a girl- and a boy-dyads who touched on issues related to ethnicity in terms of how one identified with the playmate's religion and some negative stereotypes one had about others of certain ethnicities. Some excerpts of these interactions are illustrated below.

```
(Silence followed by experimenter's reminder to select one photo)
Asian boy: It's hard…
White boy: Definitely that one (white target he had originally picked)
Asian boy: That one (partner's choice) if I could pick two…(still
holding photo of Asian-boy target he picked originally) but he's nicer.
```

White boy (to experimenter): But sometimes people like them start beating you up!

(No comment by Asian partner, experimenter, "Really?")

White boy: Yeah, a lot of black people beat each other up.

(Asian boy still quiet)

White boy: Well the only dark people we play with are S (Asian partner) and A (an Afro-Caribbean boy in class)…

(After repeated insistence on playmates of own ethnicities)

White girl: This one (white-girl target), she looks like I can really play with her.

Asian girl: *I* can play with *her* (Asian-girl target)…she's the same age, same hair, and she's also Muslim, I'm Muslim.

4.2.3.7 Reasoning for preferences

Classification of the dyads' reasoning for their preferences was founded on the various aspects of the chosen playmates upon which the dyads focused: whether the playmate's ethnicity was important; other kinds of similarities (not ethnicity) between the playmate and themselves; the emphasis on appearance; and, other (not appearance) characteristics assumed of the playmate. The categories of reasoning devised from the dyads' comments which adequately summarised the resolved dyads' justifications for their preferences are presented in Table 4.2, with some transcribed data as examples illustrating each category. Figure 4.6 depicts the percentages of children in each ethnic dyad-type who reasoned by those categories in Table 4.2. The only significant difference was that Asian dyads were more likely to reason with ethnicity issues than white dyads ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.97, p < .05$).

TABLE 4.2

Categories for the reasons dyads used to justify their playmate preferences.

Categories	Definition	Examples
Ethnicity	This category of reasons was defined by explicit references to any aspect of the chosen playmate's ethnicity, such as his/her assumed origin, religion, or language. These were often referred in relation to their own ethnicity.	Child A asks, "Is he Muslim?" Child B explains, "We're both Muslims, there are many Muslims in school... we all play...a lot, like all the time." "...She's Muslim like us...that one's (Asian-boy target) Muslim too," says Child A. "Yeah, but he's a boy..." "I think she's..." Child A looks at her partner. "She looks like Punjabi," says Child B, "We're both Sikhs... That one (the other Asian-girl target) is..." Child A continues, "Gujarati."
Perceived similarities (ethnicity not emphasised)	Apart from ethnicity as a common factor shared by the chosen playmate and themselves, children also pointed out other factors (which could be physical or psychological), which they assumed the chosen playmate to possess and which they felt was also a relevant commonality that related themselves to the playmate.	"Well I could play with that one, that one, that one...but I'd pick this one... he'll like football (child had said that he liked football) too, he'll be good." Child B looks at photo, "She's a bit like me!" Child A agrees, "She's got your hair!" Child A, "What colour of eyes has she got?" Child B looks at experimenter, "She's similar to us." "These ones won't like to play...he's the sort of boy that will usually play with me, he'll probably like the same things as us."
Appearance (independent of ethnicity)	This category donates to the dyad's focus on their chosen playmate's looks, or other positive aspects or impressions that they related to the appearance alone of the playmate.	Child A says, "She looks nice..." "I like her smile," continues Child B. Child B says, "She's quite pretty..." "Yeah I like long hair," says Child A "Just like the look of him I suppose,"

		says Child A. Child B goes on, "He's got a friendly smile."
Perceived traits (ethnicity not specified)	This category describes the various usually very positive personal traits which the dyad assume the chosen playmate to possess and which were important to the dyad, and a slightly different reason for their choice as they were not voiced as a similarity between target and themselves.	Child A, ".She doesn't look like the kind who'll steal stuff...does she?" Child B, "No, she doesn't look like she'll be nasty to you..." Child A, "He looks smart." Child B, "...I think he knows how to play lots of games." Child A says, "She looks like she can understand us more..." Child B says, "Like she'll be kind to you."

FIGURE 4.6

Percentages of white, Asian, white-and-Asian dyads who used different reasons for their

playmate choices
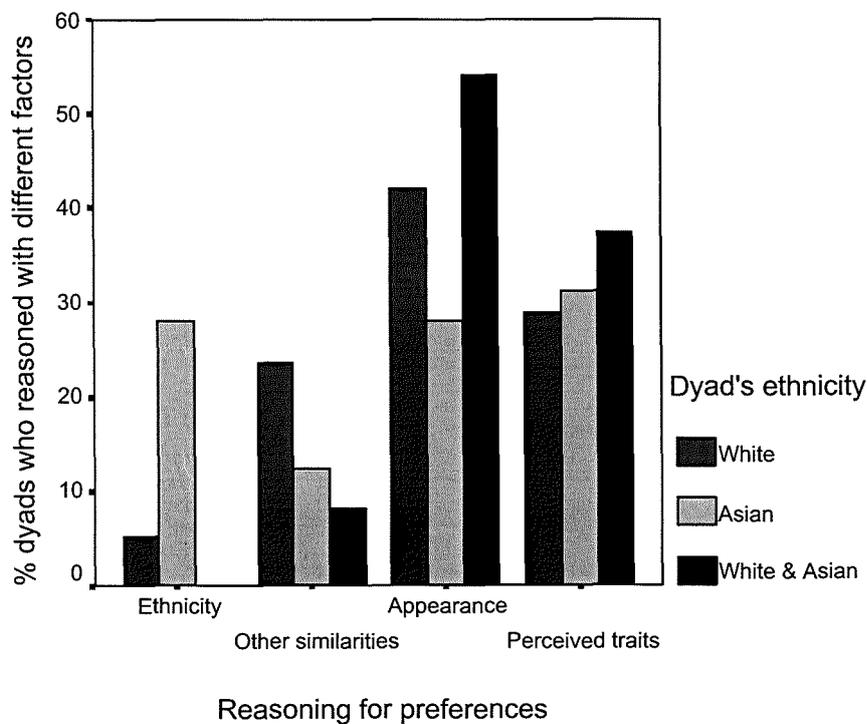
4.2.4.1 Summary of results

Mixed-ethnic dyads, particularly mixed-ethnic boy-dyads, were less likely to resolve into a joint preference outcome than same-ethnic dyads. Of those who resolved, same-ethnic dyads were more likely to select a playmate of their own than one of the other ethnicity. This trend was more apparent for white and girl-dyads, and substantially so for white-girl dyads. Mixed dyads, though not showing a preference for playmates of one ethnicity over another, were less likely to select an Asian playmate if compared with Asian dyads.

Mixed-ethnic dyads who resolved, compared with white dyads, did so rather less quickly. White dyads, especially white-girl dyads, were more likely to resolve due to their sharing the same preferences since the outset compared to Asian- and mixed-dyads. Mixed dyads, perhaps to a larger extent mixed girl-dyads, were more likely to have a partner conceding to the other so as to resolve, compared with white and Asian dyads; more often the Asian child conceded to the white child. Same-ethnic dyads failed to resolve largely due to the members insisting on different same-ethnic playmates, but most unresolved mixed dyads had each member favouring a target of their own ethnicity and ethnic issues were voiced by these dyads only. Resolved Asian dyads were more likely than white and mixed dyads to post-justify their preferences by ethnicity.

4.2.4.2 Discussion

The overall same-ethnic playmate preference by same-ethnic dyads corresponds to the pattern of findings from previous research concerning individual children's preferences (e.g. see Boulton & Smith, 1992; Davey & Mullins, 1980; Finkelstein & Haskins, 1983; Sagar et al., 1983). The clearer picture of ethnic ingroup preferences by white and female dyads confirms the hypotheses regarding between-ethnic and between-gender differences in same-ethnic preferences. Such overwhelming ingroup preferences were complemented by the efficiency and styles with which they resolved into joint responses. The frequency of the partners' liking converging upon an ethnic- and gender-ingroup target at the initial stage ensured that a joint decision was reached swiftly and reflects both children's highly pervasive ingroup favouritism. But it is difficult to ascertain that this ingroup bias was a consequence of ethnic ingroup identification in that, where a justification was prompted, most white dyads commented on the target's superficial or inferred personality attributes although a substantial minority reasoned with some similarity principles associating that target with themselves but no references were made to their ethnicity.

Although more Asian dyads selected an Asian playmate rather than a white playmate, that this same-ethnic preference did not reach significance, compared with white dyads, would indicate Asian children's lesser ethnic ingroup preference as hypothesised. This corresponds with the findings from much of the research in these past two decades with individual minority-ethnic children (see review by Foster et al., 1996). The comparably lower same-ethnic preference was accompanied by more lengthy and perhaps 'complex' resolution. These Asian dyads were less likely than white dyads to select the same target as they either needed to consult one another or had different initial choices (which means

individual outgroup choices), thus more time spent on resolution. This is an indication that their same-ethnic preference as a group was somewhat less affirmative than that of their white counterpart. However, their greater tendency to justify their ingroup choices by ethnic issues compared to other dyads is worth noting as this implies some degree of ingroup identification and higher ethnic salience as found elsewhere (e.g. Powell, 1973).

The finding that more mixed white-and-Asian dyads failed in resolving into a preference outcome jointly compared with same-ethnic dyads was hypothesised. The specific result that mixed boy-dyads had a greater tendency towards resolution failure was unexpected. But this tentative pattern ought to be viewed with care as it is clear that few same-ethnic dyads overall did not resolve, boys within this group were an even rarer minority, which could have likely distorted the statistical picture. The mixed-dyadic partners' tendency to differ in their initial choices, as hypothesised, which might have hindered and lengthened their decision making, is verified by the efficiency or style of their resolution. The dyads were substantially less likely to begin by opting for the same target and were more likely to resolve in styles (concession and negotiation) that imply conflict. This conflict in turn could account for their longer resolving times and utterances which in turn underlay their higher tendency in failing to resolve, as the majority of unresolved dyadic partners chose targets from their ingroup and often ethnicity was vocalised as the issue (in *Results*).

The finding that mixed dyads were less likely to prefer Asian playmates than both-Asian dyads could be an indicator of the authority dynamic (cf. Leman & Deveen, 1999) due to the dyadic makeup; the white partner's choice might have dominated. Support for this

comes from these dyads' higher likelihood to resolve by concession, compared with both-white and Asian dyads, and the conceding partner was likely the Asian child. White preference by the white child or the lesser Asian preference by the Asian partner, and the argumentative styles which accompanied this throughout their resolution, might have been the influence behind the slight 'residual' white preference predicted for this dyad-type. The pattern of reasoning for their resolved preferences by mixed-ethnic dyads might also have arisen from their ethnic composition. The notable paucity of justification based on similarity (including ethnicity) principles and the prevalence of reasoning with traits observed or assumed of their chosen target was probably related to their search, hence justification, for a playmate not based on ethnic similarities. But this assumption is at best speculative in light of the lack of other evidence to substantiate it. And even if this strategy held, the dyads were likely to be unaware since their non-ethnic or non-similarity-based reasoning did not correspond well with their slight preference for white playmates.

The current study provides an interesting initial revelation of the role of ethnic identity and peer interaction in ethnic preferences. Children's interactions and justifications also point to some ethnic (and non-ethnic) reasoning, although the relationship between this reasoning and preference is unclear. Where ethnic reasoning is concerned it may be even more closely tied to inference making about others' dispositions (as in the last phase). It will be a worthwhile enterprise to investigate this link in the present (interaction) setting and it is this theme upon which the next two studies are formulated.

4.3 Study Two: Inferences about others' preferences for self as playmates

Very little research, with highly notable recent exceptions (Quintana, Ybarra, Gonzalez-Doupe, & De-Baessa, 2000) to date has examined children's *inferences* of ethnic others; in particular, these others' preferences for or attitudes towards oneself as potential new playmates which was the central theme to be explored here. This absence of theoretical models or empirical data nonetheless ought not automatically preclude hypotheses being formulated from like theories and research.

The process of inference making have much in common with perspective or role taking, or the ability to view the world (including the self) from another's perspective (Selman, 1971; Selman & Byrne, 1974; also see inference making about toy and food choice in the last phase of this thesis). The development of social role-taking ability corresponds to the development of social decentring, or the ability to consider multiple viewpoints, and the child's ability to determine the actual content of another's viewpoint tied to their level of cognitive development (Piaget, 1932). On the other hand, Selman (1971) maintained that taking another's perspective is 'explicitly social-interpersonal' as one is required to infer another's capabilities, attributes, expectations, and feelings, and their potential reactions. This form of perspective taking is also seen as 'social sensitivity' and is viewed by some personality, social, and developmental psychologists to be a highly critical psychological variable of phenomena as the development of self-concept, the acquisition of roles, and the interaction within and between groups (Rothenberg, 1971).

The results from the last phase in terms of gender- and ethnicity-based inference making at/from middle childhood are in line with Selman's findings in role taking in that towards age 7, certain changes take place in the form of children's flexibility in this kind of social reasoning. The child realises that others can think or feel differently, because they are in different situations or have different information (such as belonging to a different ethnic group; see Aboud, 1988). Hence, he or she distinguishes his or her sense of self from, or attributes his or her own perspectives to, others depending upon information about their circumstances or category membership. Selman (1971) further found that towards age 8, there seems to be some qualitative reorganisation in the role-taking sequence in that the child acquires the ability, albeit in a restricted way, to simultaneously account for both others' views and of *the others' taking of his/her own view*. This 'reciprocal role taking' at the heart of this study requires that the child take into account the relevant features of the inferred perceiver's and him/herself and the interrelationships inbetween.

Children's development of ethnic perspective-taking ability (EPTA) was evaluated in two samples by Quintana et al. (2000). It was predicted that EPTA would be related to ethnic cognitions (ethnic knowledge and self-identification) and social cognition, and that there would be variance in the EPTA distinct from a related form of social perspective-taking ability (SPTA). In one sample, second and sixth grade Latino children from the US were administered interview measures of EPTA and SPTA and a questionnaire assessing their ethnic knowledge. The children in the other sample were Guatemalan Latinos, who are Spanish-speaking, of European descent and who represent a numerical minority though also a dominant political, economic, and linguistic culture in the region (Quiche). These

children, also 2nd-6th graders, were administered the EPTA and SPTA and prejudice and ethnic self-identification measures. It was found that EPTA was significantly associated with SPTA across both Latino samples, and EPTA uniquely predicted ethnic knowledge and ethnic self-identification scores in the US and Guatemalan samples, respectively.

Deducing from the foregoing propositions and data and applying these into the current study, certain patterns could be anticipated drawing on the characteristics of our sample. Firstly, being at, or mostly over 7 years old, one would expect that children would have undergone sufficient 'decentring' (Piaget, 1932) at least to develop the appreciation that different others' possess different attributes, feelings, beliefs, and the like. And children would also realise that such differences could derive from others' different situational or background information, which might include ethnic membership (Aboud, 1988).

The kind of 'reciprocal' role taking, inferring others' perspective of oneself, which was the theme under study in the form of inferring others' preferences for themselves as new potential playmates, would be in its 'transitional' stage for these children. As this ability means that children consider the relationship between the relevant features of both the inferred perceiver's (target) and themselves, as far as reciprocal role taking is concerned, if ethnicity should exert a significant impact, children would account for both targets' and their own ethnic memberships. For instance, if ethnicity was crucial for certain children's playmate or friendship choice, they might infer it upon others of their ethnicity and relate that to their own ethnic membership for the best matched outcome.

Quintana et al.'s (2000) findings suggest that children of the same age group as those in our sample, whether being privileged or otherwise, whether from majority or minority ethnic groups, are capable of ethnic inference making. Furthermore, the links between such measures and ethnic cognition, in particular identification, was important for our hypothesis formulation. If ethnicity imposes an influence on the majority and minority children's inferences here, and ethnic identification acts as a factor, such cognition may perhaps be made transparent as children resolve their inferences and as they reason for their inference outcomes. Thus the children's interactions allows for the exploration of such influences in a novel context.

4.3.1 Hypotheses

In the current study children in dyads were questioned which one of the target children would most prefer themselves (both) as new playmates (over and above the other targets). Since findings from the previous study revealed children's own preferences for those of their own ethnicity, if such a same-ethnic preference was inferred upon the targets, one may expect a similar pattern of results as before. That is, children may make inferences about others' ethnic preferences based on their own.

(1) Same-ethnic dyads would be more likely to predict that a same-ethnic rather than an other-ethnic target would most like to play with themselves.

(2) The extent of this inference would be greater for white and girl dyads since they had greater own preference for same-ethnic others than did Asian dyads which they in turn might infer upon the white targets.

(3) Similar to Study One, mixed white-and-Asian dyads are hypothesised to have more trouble in resolving their joint response since each member might infer their own-ethnic preference upon the targets of their own ethnicity, resulting in more conflict of opinions. (4) If resolved however, there should be a greater overall inference for white targets since white children would have stronger white preferences (than Asian children having Asian preference) due to typically more prevalent positive attitudes towards the majority group, as hypothesised in Study One, which they would infer upon a white target.

The video data of the dyads' interactions would provide an indication of the relative ease with which same-ethnic dyads resolved this task compared to mixed dyads as well as the divergence of opinions of the latter. Children's reasoning for their choices would give an insight into whether ethnic or other cognition is pertinent in any ethnocentric inferences.

4.3.2 Method

4.3.2.1 Participants

The same two hundred and twenty children who participated in Study One participated in this study, with a recess between the tasks. The pairing arrangement was also the same.

4.3.2.2 Materials and apparatus

The same eight stimulus photographs used in Study One were presented to the dyads. A camcorder was used also in this study to film the interactions between each dyad, and a stop watch for measuring and reminding the time limit for the dyad to reach an outcome for this different task (see below under *Procedure*).

4.3.2.3 Procedure

A largely identical procedure to Study One was followed. Each dyad was interviewed by the same experimenter after Study One with a small recess inbetween the two tasks. She explained that she was still interested in "how children choose others for play" and the scenario where they were to imagine the target playmates as new pupils in their class still remained. But instead of the dyad choosing one of the targets with whom they would prefer to play, she emphasised the inference-making element, that they had to endeavour to imagine the impressions the targets would have of them (as a dyad), and which one of such targets would like to play with them most ("Imagine here again these new children in your class. Try and guess what they might be thinking and feeling about you two when they saw you. If they were looking for people to play with, which one of them would like to play with *both* of you the most? Do think and talk it through between you first.").

The same three-minute limit applied as in Study One, and the experimenter's input was kept to a minimum. Children were also invited to reason for the responses they gave and the dyad's interaction throughout the task was videotaped.

4.3.2.4 Analysis of outcome measures

Similar to Study One dyads' responses, resolution and the ethnicity of their inferred playmate, served as outcome dependent measures and the dyads' own dyad-type was the independent factor.

4.3.2.5 Analysis of dyadic interactions

The time taken for each dyad to make their final response and the amount of utterances exchanged before which point were used as a measure of the ease for them to infer about the targets and the extent to which they shared similar views and were, again, conducted by a primary rater with a secondary rater checking 20 per cent of the data. The inter-rater reliability for timing and counting were $\alpha = .83$ and $\alpha = .81$, respectively.

A system of categories to describe different types of interactions and their criteria were, similar to that in Study One, built up by the raters. The transcription of interactions were analysed by both raters (20 per cent by the second rater). The inter-rater Kappa measure of agreement for categorising interactions was .86. The same method was employed for categorising the resolved dyads' reasoning for their inferred choices.

4.3.3 Results

4.3.3.1 Resolution

Ten out of the 55 girl- and seven out of the same total of boy-dyads could not resolve to infer a target's preference for themselves. The two sexes did not significantly differ in the tendency in resolve. Figure 4.7 shows the proportion of children in each ethnic dyad-type who did or did not resolve into joint inference decision on a target playmate's preference. Mixed dyads were significantly less likely to resolve than same-ethnic dyads, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 7.33$, $p < .01$, whose white and Asian dyads in turn did not differ from one another. Additional separate analyses for boy- and girl-dyads revealed that mixed-ethnic boy-dyads (almost

one-third of whom did not resolve) were significantly less likely to resolve compared to same-ethnic boy-dyads (only 5% unresolved), $\chi^2_{(1)} = 6.97$, $p < .01$. No parallel significant between-ethnic differences among the girl-dyads in terms of resolution were found.

FIGURE 4.7

Proportions of white, Asian, and white-and-Asian dyads who resolved and did not resolve into a joint inference about a playmate's preference
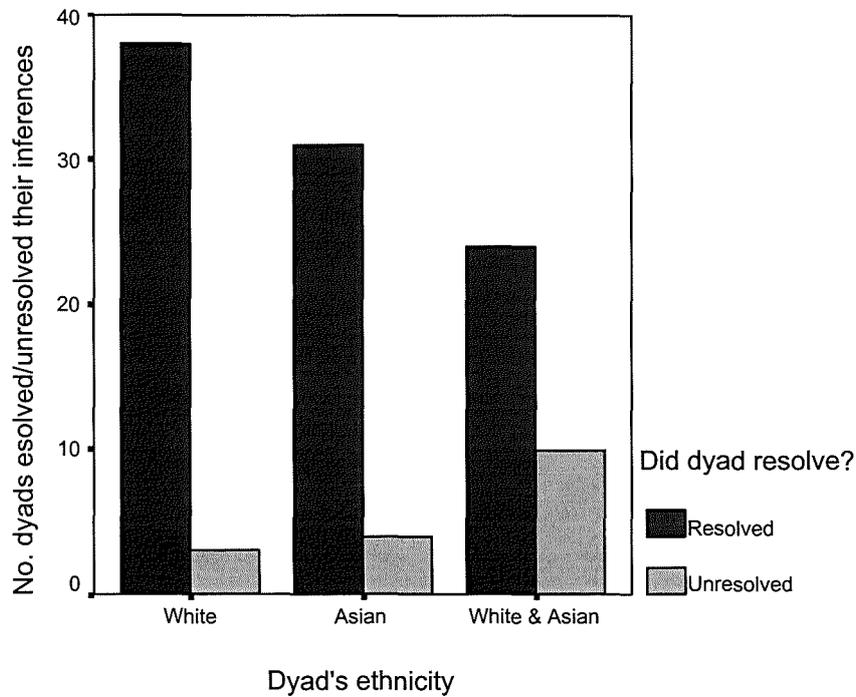
4.3.3.2 Inferred playmate preferences

All but three dyads (two white-girl dyad and one Asian-girl-dyad) who resolved into a joint preference inferred that a same-sex playmate would prefer to play with them most. Similar to the previous study the highly uniform pattern of same-sex inferred preferences, which in turn should not substantially influence ethnic preferences, rendered analysis by

gender statistically unsound (inadequate number in each cell). Hence only the ethnicity of the playmate whom dyads chose (*regardless* of that target's gender) was analysed; the gender of dyads' choices of playmates was not.

Figure 4.8 shows the proportions of children in each ethnic dyad-type who resolved and inferred that a white or an Asian target child would most like to pick them as playmates. Same-ethnic dyads were more likely to predict that an ethnic ingroup target rather than outgroup target would prefer themselves as playmates, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 29.35$, $p < .0001$. Separate tests by each ethnic dyad-type showed that white dyads were more likely to infer that a white target rather than an Asian target would play with them, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 17.79$, $p < .0001$. Conversely, Asian dyads were more likely to infer that an Asian rather than a white target would like to play with them, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 11.65$, $p < .001$. White and Asian dyads did not differ significantly in their tendencies to infer that an ethnic ingroup target would most like to select themselves as playmates.

Separate analyses for each sex of same-ethnic dyads showed that both same-ethnic girl-dyads (over 80% of whom inferred that a same-ethnic would play with them) and same-ethnic boy-dyads (near 85% inferred for a same-ethnic dyad) were more likely to predict that a same-ethnic target would like to play with them most; for girls: $\chi^2_{(1)} = 12.50$, $p < .001$, for boys: $\chi^2_{(1)} = 16.89$, $p < .0001$. Same-ethnic dyads of the two sexes did not differ in their tendencies to infer that upon a playmate of their own ethnicity.

Further tests showed that all of white-girl ($\chi^2_{(1)}$ = 8.00, p < .01), white-boy ($\chi^2_{(1)}$ = 9.80, p

< .01), Asian-girl ($\chi^2_{(1)}$ = 4.57, p < .05), and Asian-boy ($\chi^2_{(1)}$ = 7.12, p < .01) dyads were

significantly more likely to infer that a same-ethnic target would prefer to play with them.

White-girl dyads did not differ significantly in this inference-making pattern from Asian-

girl dyads, nor did white-boy dyads differ in this respect from Asian-boy dyads, nor did

white-girl from white-boy dyads or Asian-girl from Asian-boy dyads.

FIGURE 4.8

Proportions of white, Asian, and white-and-Asian dyads who inferred a white or Asian

novel child would like to play with them
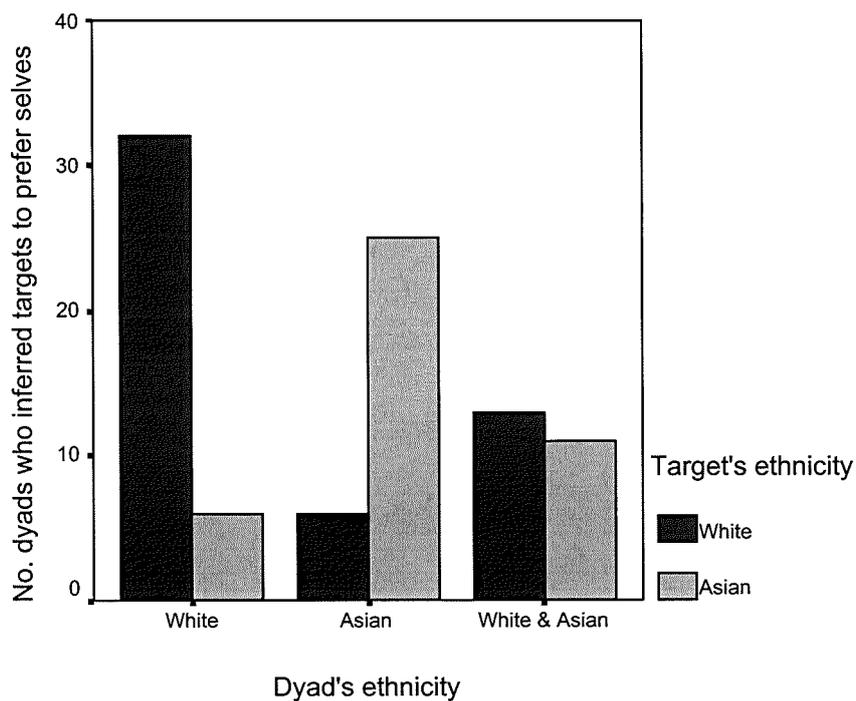
Mixed ethnic (one white and one Asian) dyads did not have any significant tendency to

infer that targets of one ethnicity over the other would most like to play with themselves.

Separate analyses along gender lines showed that neither mixed-ethnic girl- nor mixed-ethnic boy-dyads had a significant tendency in this respect. Comparisons between same-ethnic dyads and mixed-ethnic dyads showed that white dyads were more likely to infer that a white target would play with them than were mixed dyads ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 6.67, p < .01$), and Asian dyads were more likely than mixed dyads to think that an Asian target would play with them ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 7.25, p < .05$). Additional tests between white/Asian dyads and mixed dyads within gender in particular revealed that white-girl dyads tended to predict that a white target would like to play with them than mixed dyads ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.78, p < .05$) and Asian-boy dyads were more likely to infer that an Asian target would prefer to play with them than mixed-boy dyads ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 6.15, p < .05$).

4.3.3.3 Time taken to resolve

Figure 4.9 shows the amount of time each ethnic dyad-type took to decide on a playmate who they inferred would want to play with them. A two-way between-subjects ANOVA with dyads' ethnicity (same- or mixed) and gender as the independent variables and time taken to resolve as the dependent variable revealed a significant main effect of ethnicity, $F(1,89) = 4.59, p < .05$. Simple effects analyses further showed that mixed-ethnic dyads took longer to resolve than both did white ($p < .05$) and Asian ($p < .05$) dyads.

4.3.3.4 Amount of utterances before resolution

Figure 4.10 shows the number of utterances each ethnic dyad-type exchanged before both members of the dyad decided on the playmate who they inferred would like most to play with them. A two-way between-subjects ANOVA with dyads' ethnicity and gender as the

independent variables and the amount of utterances as the dependent variable showed that

there was a main effect of dyads' ethnicity, F (2,87) = 6.58, p < .05. Post hoc Tukey tests

found that mixed-ethnic dyads made significantly more utterances prior to resolving their

inferred playmate's preference than did both white (p<. 05) and Asian dyads (p< .05).

FIGURE 4.9

Mean time taken for white, Asian, and white-and-Asian dyads to resolve targets'

preferences
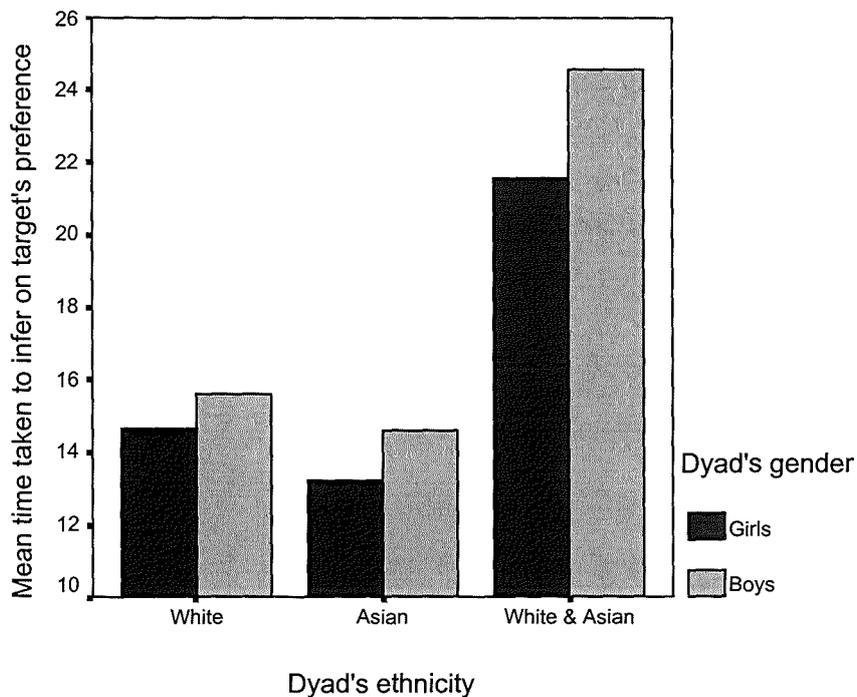
FIGURE 4.10

Mean number of utterances white, Asian, and white-and-Asian dyads made before

resolving their inferences about targets' preferences
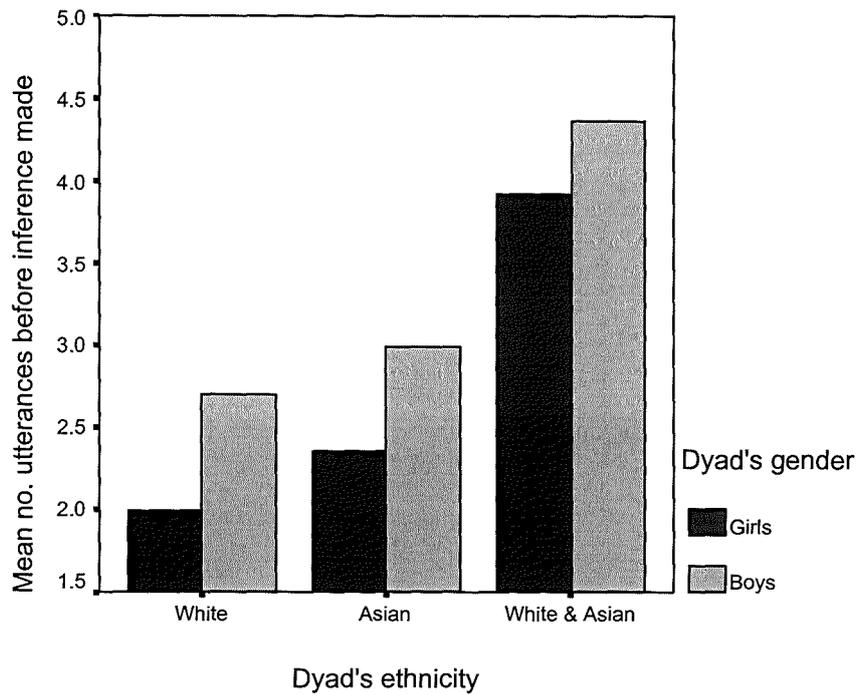
4.3.3.5 Dyads who resolved

From an initial analysis (see Method) the ways in which dyads resolved their inferences about the targets' liking for themselves as playmates were found to be highly similar to that of resolving their own preferences in Study One. Categorisation of these resolution styles was therefore similar to that conducted in the previous study. Assignment of labels depended on whether the children's interaction reflected a common inference from both members of the dyad pre-interaction, where one party had (or not) a particular inference and consulted the other; or where the two members initially differed in their opinions, the different means by which they arrived at their decision. This set of categories is listed in Table 4.3 with transcribed interactive data as illustrative examples in each category.

No gender differences in the use of different styles to resolve their inferences about the targets' preferences for themselves were found. There were also no gender differences in resolution styles within any of the ethnic dyad-types.

Figure 4.11 depicts the percentages of children in each ethnic dyad-type who resolved in the four different styles as described in Table 1. There were differences in the prevalence of resolving in these ways between the ethnic dyad-types. White dyads were more likely to display common inferences (that the same target would most like to play with them) from the outset over other resolution styles than mixed ethnic dyads, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 3.82, p < .05$. In particular, white-girl dyads (near one-third of whom shared common inferences) were more likely to display such common inferences than mixed white-and-Asian girl-dyads (less than a quarter had this tendency), $\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.41, p < .05$. White-boy dyads did not have a parallel significantly higher likelihood over white-and-Asian boy-dyads.

There were no between-dyad-type differences found in the prevalence in resolving by a pattern of consultation followed by agreement over other methods. For concession mixed dyads were significantly more likely to resolve by one member conceding to the opinion of the other white dyads, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 3.78, p < .05$). Further tests analysing each sex separately showed that similar to the pattern in resolving by common inference above, mixed white-and-Asian girl-dyads (over 45% resolved by concession) were significantly more likely to resolve their inference making by one member of the dyad conceding to the other than white-girl dyads (over 5% resolved this way), $\chi^2_{(1)} = 7.12, p < .01$. Comparison between mixed- and white-boy dyads did not show a significant difference. Similar to Study One,

such results should be treated cautiously as there were relatively few dyads who resolved by concession. Among the nine (six girl-, three boy-) mixed dyads who resolved by one member's concession, in five (three girl- and two boy-) dyads the white partner was the member who conceded to inference suggested by the Asian partner about the target who would most like to play with both of them.

There were no between-dyad-type differences found in the prevalence in resolving by discussion between the dyadic members.

TABLE 4.3

Categories for the styles in which dyads resolved into a joint inference about targets' preferences

Categories	Description	Examples
Common inference	Minimal interaction was required in this category. This was characterised often by both children quite swiftly and clearly indicating their inference upon the same target who they both thought would like to play with them.	Child A and Child B point at the same target photograph. Child A points at photo, "That one." Child B confirms, "Yeah that one!" Child A declares, "Him, him! He'll like us!" Child B follows, "I thought the same one too!..."
Consultation and agreement	Interaction falls in one or the other: a child had an inference about which he /she proceeded to consult the other party; or a child did not have a preference hence consulted the other party for his/her opinions.	(Non-verbal) Child A picks up photo and looks at Child B. Child B nods. Child A says to Child B, "You think he might...," Child B, "What'd you think?" Child A, "Er, yeah." Child A repeats, "Yeah."

	But both scenarios would often result in suggestions by either child leading to an agreement without any conflict relatively quickly.	Child A taps at photos of two Asian girls, "Are they Muslims?" Child B replies, "These two are Muslims and those two (Asian boys)...maybe that one." "Yeah that," agrees Child A.
Concession	This category and that one of 'negotiation' imply that the dyad initially differed in their inferences. If one conceded to the partner's choice without the partner needing to defend his/her view by further reasoning, concession was seen to be the characteristic.	Child A says, "This one..." Child B slowly replies, "I'm not sure...or... this..." as Child A taps the target of her choice repeatedly. Child B after a second says, "...That one." Child A points at his choice, Child B frowns, "Maybe him...too." Child A points out, "We can only pick one!" Child B (still holding photo of target he suggested) sighs, "Alright, maybe he might do." Child A picks up photo of girl-target, "Maybe a girl?" "No!" Child B says, "*He*'ll play with us!" "Okay then."
Discussion	This was characterised also by the divergences of opinions by the dyad initially. But it differed much from 'concession' in that the final choices resulted from one party succeeding to persuade the other by substantial reasoning for their own inference.	Child A, "That!" Child B, "You pick that one again!" (Silence followed by experimenter's reminder to discuss.) Child A, "That one, that one!" "No! he will!" Child A reasons, "No, he'll wanna play football, he looks like a good sport." "Or he may play HAD," Child B now taps on A's choice. Child A picks up photo, "That one!" Child B picks up another, That one." A reasons, "I think it's him, he's like my brother (B agrees "Yeah!")" "We may play with him, he's funky!" (Children A and B point at different photos) A says to B and researcher, "I think she'll come and talk to us... she's Muslim like us." "Erm, yes."

FIGURE 4.11

Percentages of white, Asian, white-and-Asian dyads who resolved their inferences about targets' preferences by four different styles
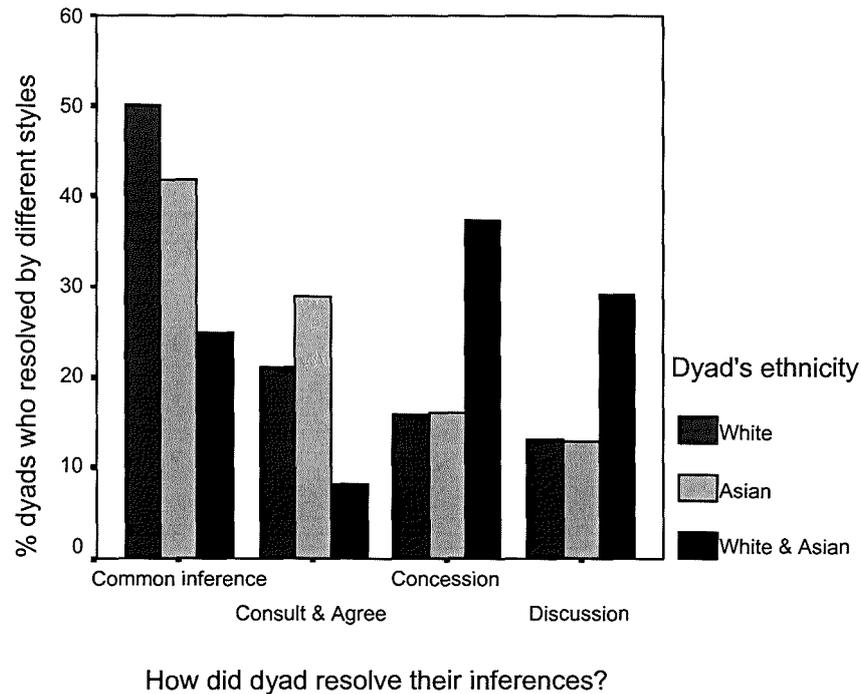
4.3.3.6 Unresolved dyads

Seventeen dyads did not resolve into a joint inference concerning which target would most like to play with themselves as a dyad within the time pre-designated for this task. Ten of such dyads were mixed-ethnic (five girl- and five boy-) dyads, three were white-girl dyads and two were Asian girl- and two Asian-boy dyads. As in the previous study statistical tests were not conducted due to the small number of cases in each dyad-type but the raters attempted to classify the dyads by the nature of their interaction throughout their disagreement over this task. The dyads who failed to resolve were all identifiable by

the divergence of their own inferences for different playmates from the onset. All but two cases (an Asian-boy and two mixed girl-dyads were reticent to discuss their differences) resulted in unsuccessful resolution due to the continual insistence on individual decisions on the part of both members.

Of the seven same-ethnic dyads who did not resolve, three dyads (two Asian-girl dyads and an Asian-boy dyad) first chose the two different playmates of the same gender and ethnicity as themselves and then neither member would give up their own choices to consider their partner's. Another three (two white-girl and an Asian-boy) dyads had both members insisting on their own inferences about two different ethnic (but same gender) targets' liking for themselves. The remaining (white-girl) dyad differed on their opinions about whether a (white) girl or boy would play with them. The content of the interactions showed that, apart from an Asian-girl and an Asian-boy dyads who remained reticent, all dyads attempted to persuade one another by some relatively simple forms of persuasion (such as reasoning that a target was of "the same year" as themselves, had "nice hair", or boys were "fun").

All but one (boy-dyad) of the ten unresolved mixed white-and-Asian dyads had the two partners insisting on their inferences that a playmate of their own ethnicity would want to play with themselves. Most of the nine (except two white-Asian girl-dyads who were too reticent to resolve) dyads tried to persuade one another with extended reasoning (such as appealing the target of their choice would be "friendlier", would "come over to introduce him/herself", or would play "better games" and so on). These included a girl- and a boy-

dyads who explicitly used ethnic issues as a part of their reasoning point in terms of how one identified with the playmate's background and the inference that children of the same ethnicity should prefer each other. The excerpts of these cases are illustrated as follows.

```
Asian girl: (swiftly pointing at the Asian-girl target she had chosen
in Study One) Her!
White girl: (slowly) I think her (a white-girl target)…
(The girls stay pointing at their own choices for a few seconds)
Asian girl: I still think it's her…she's Muslim, I'm Muslim, I think
she's my age too.
White girl: …I just think she'll (white-girl target) like the same sort
of things like me…
```

```
(After repeated insistence on playmates of own gender and ethnicity)
White boy: Still think this one.
Asian boy: I'd pick this one.
White boy: Yeah, he'd pick you 'cos you are the same colour.
Asian boy: (frowns) Shhhhh! (but still pointing at his original choice)
```

4.3.3.7 Reasoning for inferences

Classification of the dyads' reasoning for their inferences about targets' preferences for themselves as playmates was based upon the same aspects of the inferred playmates as in Study One: whether the playmate's ethnicity was mentioned; other kinds of similarities (not ethnicity) between the playmate and themselves; the emphasis on appearance; and, other (not appearance) characteristics assumed of the playmate.

TABLE 4.4

Categories for the reasons dyads used to justify their inference making.

Categories	Definition	Examples
Ethnicity	This category of reasons was defined by explicit references to any aspect of the chosen playmate's ethnicity, such as his/her assumed origin, religion, or language. These were often referred in relation to their own ethnicity.	"Cos she's from another country, she may want us to teach her something, and how to play…" "Say, these two are from India, or… where are they from?" Child A asks. Child B, "He's…if he's Indian…I'll think it's him…" "Cos she's an English girl?" Child A comments. "We're English" Child B continues, "There aren't that many English people in class…There's A …" "No, A is from…Dublin!"
Perceived similarities (ethnicity not emphasised)	Apart from ethnicity as a common factor shared by the chosen playmate and themselves, children also pointed out other factors (which could be physical or psychological), which they assumed the chosen playmate to possess and which they felt was also a relevant commonality via which the playmate would relate to them.	"Cos…cos she looks quite like you!" Child A says to Child B, who agrees, "Um, I wanna take away her photo!" "I think she'll like singing too…We do lots of singing and dancing…" Child A says, "He'll play rangers too (He had said that his dyadic partner and himself play "Power Rangers")." "Yeah he can be Blue Ranger," says Child B, Child A continues, "We're Red Green Rangers!"
Appearance (independent of ethnicity)	This category donates to the dyad's focus on their chosen playmate's looks or other positive aspects or impressions that they found agreeable.	"His smile is better than the others'!" "She's got a friendly face," Child A says, "She looks kind," says Child B "He looks like my friend in Class G"
Perceived traits (ethnicity not	This category describes the various usually very	"She looks like she may be kind to other people."

| specified) | positive personal traits which the dyad assume the chosen playmate to possess and which were important to the dyad, but were not seen in the same lights as reasons above as similarities or not simply to deal with appearance. | "Sometimes people look like they'll just come and play with you," says Child A. "Yeah, she has that look... like she'll come over and asks us to play," echoes Child B.

"She may be lonely?" suggests Child A. "So she may come over, introduce herself and start playing." |

FIGURE 4.12

Percentages of white, Asian, white-and-Asian dyads who used four reasons for their

inferences about targets' preferences
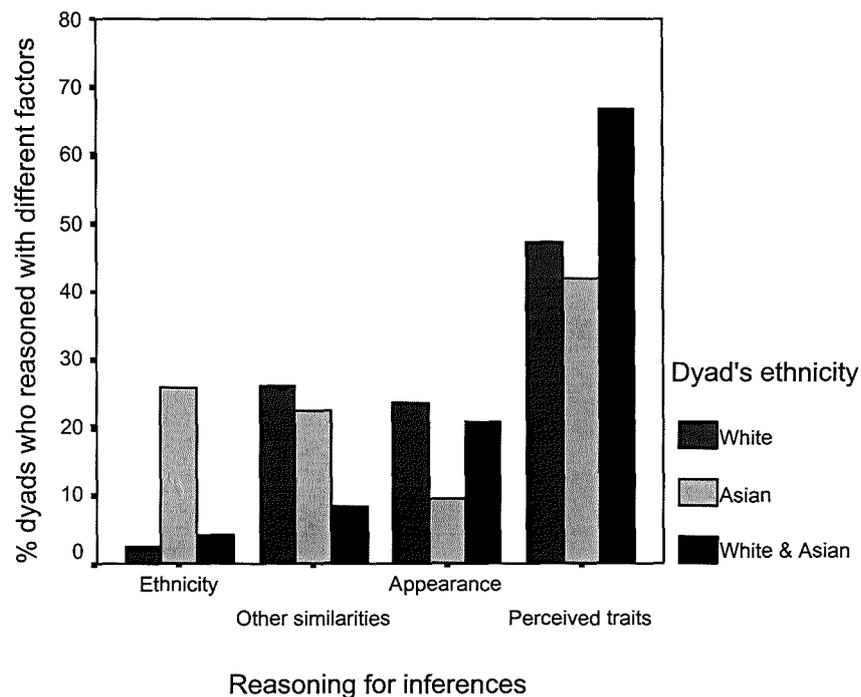
The categories devised from the dyad's comments which were voiced to justify their

inferences are presented in Table 4.4 with transcribed data as typical samples describing

each category. Figure 4.12 depicts the percentages of children in each ethnic dyad-type who reasoned with the four categories in Table 4.4. The only cross-ethnic difference was that Asian dyads were more likely to reason with ethnicity matters than both white ($\chi^2_{(1)}$ = 8.08, $p < .01$) and mixed ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 5.13$, $p < .05$) dyads.

4.3.4.1 Summary of results

Mixed-ethnic dyads, particularly mixed-ethnic boy-dyads, were more likely to fail their resolution than same-ethnic dyads. All types of same-ethnic dyads were more likely to infer that a target of their own ethnicity rather than one of the other ethnicity would like to play with themselves most. Both both-white (particularly white-girl) dyads and Asian (particularly Asian-boy) dyads were more likely than mixed dyads to infer that a target of their own ethnicity would prefer to play with them.

Mixed dyads resolved their inferences less efficiently than both white and Asian dyads. White dyads, particularly white-girl dyads, were more likely to resolve due to their same inference since the outset than were mixed dyads. Mixed dyads, maybe to a larger extent mixed girl-dyads, were more likely to resolve by a partner's concession to the other than white dyads; white and Asian partners were similarly likely to concede. The majority of unresolved mixed dyads had each partner insisting on their own choice of a target from their respective ethnicity in favouring him/herself and ethnic issues were only voiced by these dyads. Resolved Asian dyads were more likely than were white and mixed dyads to reason their inferences by ethnicity.

4.3.4.2 Discussion

That same-ethnic dyads inferred that a same-ethnic rather than an other-ethnic playmate would most like to play with them corresponds to our first hypothesis. However, that all same-ethnic dyad-types had a similar tendency to infer ethnocentrically and did not differ from each other invalidated the hypothesis for greater white and female ethnocentrism. This perhaps indicates that in predicting others' preferences for themselves, they were not specifically inferring their own in-group preferences upon others and then tallying these others' memberships with their own, or that they might not have employed reciprocal role taking to a large extent. The latter was suggested by the large proportion of the children's reasoning for their choices simply by some desirable attributes they inferred of the targets rather than some similarity (particularly ethnicity, except for Asian children) principle.

On the other hand, the clearer prevalence for same-ethnic others' preferences for oneself, complemented by their high efficiency towards this outcome, as well as white-girl dyads' greater tendency to share the same inference upon the same target from the outset would imply at least some inferred ethnic ingroup favouritism at work. But a great deal of such ethnocentric processing probably did not derive from their own same-ethnic preferences alone and was likely to be highly subconscious. However, the Asian dyads' much higher tendency to justify their ethnocentric inferences by ethnicity issues during and after their decision making compared to other dyads would warrant attention. This could indicate that there are certain links between ethnic identification and ethnocentric perspective

taking as found also by Quintana et al. (2000) with individual Latino children. But such links are perhaps stronger for minority-ethnic (here, Asian) children, in particular where their interaction with an ingroup peer might have exerted an influence.

The finding that more mixed dyads failed to resolve into a joint inference compared with same-ethnic dyads was predicted. As in Study One, the specific result that mixed boy-dyads had a greater tendency towards resolution failure might be due to the very small number of same-ethnic dyads who did not resolve, thus boys within this response category being an even rarer minority which would have distorted the statistical picture. The mixed dyad's tendency for conflicting opinions, which would have been an obstacle to their decision making is reflected by both the efficiency and style of their resolution.

The lesser proportion of mixed dyads' resolving in styles that imply that they initiated or intended to achieve converging opinions (particularly common inferences by mixed girl-dyads compared with white-girl dyads) and higher proportion of them resolving in styles that meant conflicting individual inferences (particularly concession by mixed girl-dyads compared with white-girl dyads) might explain their longer resolving time and thus more utterances. This possibly underlay mixed dyads' higher tendency in failing to resolve on time, as the majority of unresolved mixed dyads indeed chose two targets each from the partner's respective ethnicity and in several cases, ethnicity was vocalised as the central issue behind their different preferences as in the last study.

The largely equal likelihood, in a small scale, that the white or the Asian member would concede to the other when resolving can perhaps be accounted for by the previous finding that both white and Asian children were similarly likely to infer that a same-ethnic rather than an other-ethnic target would prefer them. Likewise that mixed dyads were less likely than white (particularly girls) and Asian (particularly boys) dyads to infer, respectively, that a white or an Asian target would like to play with both of them, would also point to the same phenomenon where the white and Asian members in such dyads had similarly strong inferences about a same-ethnic target's preference for themselves.

The particular pattern of reasoning for their resolved inferences by dyads on the whole might be due largely to the nature of this task. The notable prevalence of reasoning with internal traits attributed the chosen target was a probable result of the dyads' searches for an agreeable personality or a target with the intention to find playmates, demonstrated by many of the children's comments. This is however still speculative and is particularly so when it is contradicted by the clear ethnocentric inferences in most of same-ethnic dyads. Another, perhaps more plausible, explanation may be that the latter, as suggested above, was arrived from a process of which children were unaware, and their reasoning by traits perceived of targets might be simply post-justifications according to the nature of the task in asking for the targets' preferences, prompting the children to look for features of such targets suggestive of their internal characteristics.

4.4 Study Three: Inferring others' preferences for one another

Similar to inferring about others' liking for oneself as in Study Two, even less research to date exists which examines how and what children predict about potential liking between different ethnic others, particularly how children do so in interaction. Again, preliminary hypotheses may be attempted with the help of similar previous research.

It has often observed in earlier research that categorisation and labelling of ethnic groups are performed accurately by both majority and minority children from age 7 (e.g. Aboud, 1977, 1980; Ballard & Harold, 1976; Spencer, 1982; Vaughan, 1963) only after perceived own similarity has developed. Children in the current sample were sufficiently competent in such cognitive tasks. But whether they would make use of such categorical information when asked to pair or group others as potential playmates or friendships in a hypothetical scenario, as is the task requirement of this study, would depend on variables other than simply the ability to categorise by social labels.

It has been generally accepted that children's expectations of ethnic others, though not specifically on the subject of inferred playmate preferences, aside from ethnic cognition (Aboud, 1988), are dependent upon their own ethnic socialisation experiences, including same- and cross-ethnic play interactions and friendships (see Phinney & Rotheram, 1987; Rotheram-Borus & Phinney, 1990). At the same time, ethnic socialisation itself is shaped by a large multitude of factors that such socialisation might in turn maintain and promote. Distinct ethnically related socialisation patterns are argued to produce varying definitions

of behaviour or values (Aboud, 1987). And such culturally distinct values are particularly

likely to develop to the extent that, firstly, children are socialised within their own group;

secondly, the group transmits culturally specific values, shapes, reinforces, and penalises

attribute considered to be the norm or otherwise within the group (Foster et al., 1996). It

has already been discussed (in *Introduction* and *Study One*) that children interact largely

within grouping of same-ethnic (and sex) peers. This provides even more opportunities

for within-group influence and socialisation, particularly in light of findings from recent

studies (e.g. Bennett, Sani, Lyons, & Barrett, 1998) that suggest that even the pervasive

ingroup context itself is sufficient to promote ingroup bias without identification.

4.4.1 Hypotheses

This study assessed children's inferences about ethnic others' preferences for each other

as potential playmate pairs when they were to decide as an interactive dyad. To this end

children associate more frequently with others within their ethnic group that can in turn

profess and reinforce preference for and favouritism towards that group. Thus if children

display their own same-ethnic preferences (as in Study One), and infer that others would

display this towards themselves (as in Study Two), they should be likely to expect these

preferences *between* others. This would be particularly so as and when they interact with,

thus influence and are influenced by, a peer who has undergone similar socialisation.

(1) Children in same-ethnic dyads, particularly white girls, would be likely to pair others

of the same ethnicity (and gender), and do so with relative ease, and then reason for such

pairing by similarity principles, perhaps with explicit ethnic references.

(2) Children in mixed-ethnic dyads would pair others as same-ethnic dyads if they should

infer about others by same-ethnic preferences, and if so, should also resolve their pairing

without conflict as well as reason by similarity principles, including ethnicity. However,

there is a possibility that, through interacting with one another, these children might infer

their own mixed-ethnic dyadic make-up onto those targets. They might do so consciously

(reasoning by their own and the targets' ethnic group memberships) or implicitly by other

means. In either case it would be an interesting as well as informative exercise to explore

their interactions and discourses, which could in turn illuminate on this pattern of results

should it arise.

4.4.2 Method

4.4.2.1 Participants

The same children who had participated in Studies One and Two further participated in

this study, with a recess after the Study Two. The pairing arrangement was also the same.

4.4.2.2 Materials and apparatus

The same eight stimulus photographs used in Study One were presented to the dyads.

A camcorder was used also for this study to film the interaction between each dyad as

well as a stop watch for measuring and reminding the time limit for the dyad to reach an

outcome for this different task (see below under *Procedure*).

4.4.2.3 Procedure

A slightly different procedure to that of Studies One and Two was followed. Each dyad was interviewed by the same experimenter after Study Two with a recess in between the two tasks. She explained that she was still interested in "how children choose one another for play" but emphasised that in the present scenario they no longer had to choose a target nor were they themselves to be chosen by them. Instead, she explained that they now had to imagine the perception the targets would have about each other in order that they could place the targets into pairs in a way that the targets in each pair would get along best with one another as playmates. ("Remember these children. Now you don't have to pick them and they don't have to pick you. But, can you try and guess what they might be thinking and feeling about *each other*. If you had to put them into pairs, how would you pair them so that each pair of children would play most nicely with one another? Do think about it between you then try pairing them together.")

The three-minute rule applied as in the last studies and the experimenter's input was kept to a minimum. Children were invited to reason for the pairing they made and the dyad's interaction throughout the task was videotaped.

4.4.2.4 Analysis of outcome measures

The dependent outcome variable was whether the dyads placed playmates of the same or different ethnicity into pairs and the dyads' own dyad-type the independent factor.

4.4.2.5 Analysis of dyadic interactions

The time taken for each dyad to complete the four pairings and the amount of utterances exchanged before which point were used as a measure of the ease for them to infer about the targets and the extent to which they shared similar views and were, again, conducted by a primary rater with a secondary rater checking 20 per cent of the data. The inter-rater reliability for timing and counting were $\alpha = .79$ and $\alpha = .76$, respectively.

A system of categories to describe different types of interactions and their criteria were, similar to that in the last two studies, built up by the raters. The transcribed interactional data were analysed by both raters (20 per cent by the second rater). The inter-rater Kappa measure of agreement for categorising interactions was .82. The same technique was used for categorising the resolved dyads' reasoning for their pairing decisions.

4.4.3 Results

4.4.3.1 Pairing of playmates

All dyads successfully resolved the eight target children into four pairs of play partners. Figure 4.13 shows the number of children in each ethnic dyad-type who sorted the targets into all same-ethnic pairs or arrangements that contained one or more mixed-ethnic pairs. Mixed dyads were more likely to arrange at least one mixed-ethnic pairs than were same-ethnic dyads, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 15.54$, $p < .0001$. In particular they were significantly more likely to sort the targets into mixed-ethnic playmate pairs than both white ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 12.16$, $p < .0001$) and Asian ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 7.92$, $p < .01$) dyads, who in turn did not differ in this respect.

Separate analyses for each gender showed that both mixed-ethnic girl- (just under 45% of whom placed different ethnic targets into pairs) and mixed-ethnic boy- (over one-third sorted mixed-ethnic playmate pairs) were more likely to arrange others into mixed-ethnic playmate pairs than their same-ethnic counterparts; for girls: $\chi^2_{(1)} = 6.42$, $p < .05$, for boys $\chi^2_{(1)} = 9.57$, $p < .01$. In particular, mixed girl-dyads were significantly more likely to mix the ethnicities of playmate pairs than both white-girl ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.35$, $p < .05$) and Asian-girl ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.16$, $p < .05$) dyads. Mixed boy-dyads were more likely to construct mixed target pairs than white-boy dyads only ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 9.00$, $p < .01$).

FIGURE 4.13

Proportions of white, Asian, and white-and-Asian dyads who sorted targets into same- and mixed-ethnic playmate pairs
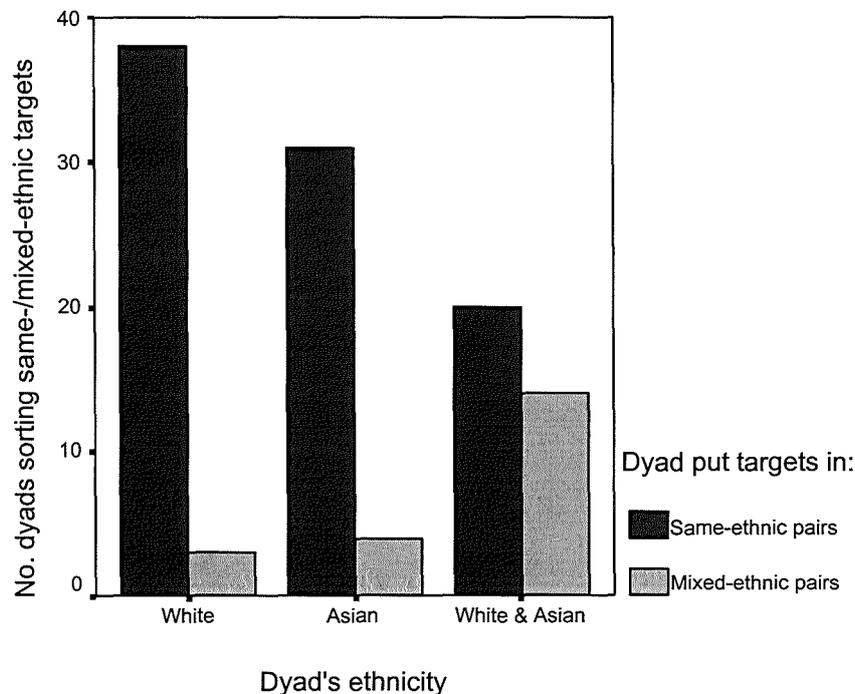
4.4.3.2 Time taken to arrange pairings

Figure 4.14 shows the amount of time each ethnic dyad-type took to complete pairing of the targets. A two-way between-subjects ANOVA with dyads' ethnicity (same- or mixed) and gender as the independent variables and time taken to pair as the dependent variable found a main effect of ethnicity, F (1,106) = 5.15, p < .05. Simple effects analyses further revealed that mixed-ethnic dyads spent significantly more time on pairing the targets than did white dyads (< .05).

FIGURE 4.14

Mean time taken for white, Asian, and white-and-Asian dyads to resolve targets' into playmate pairs
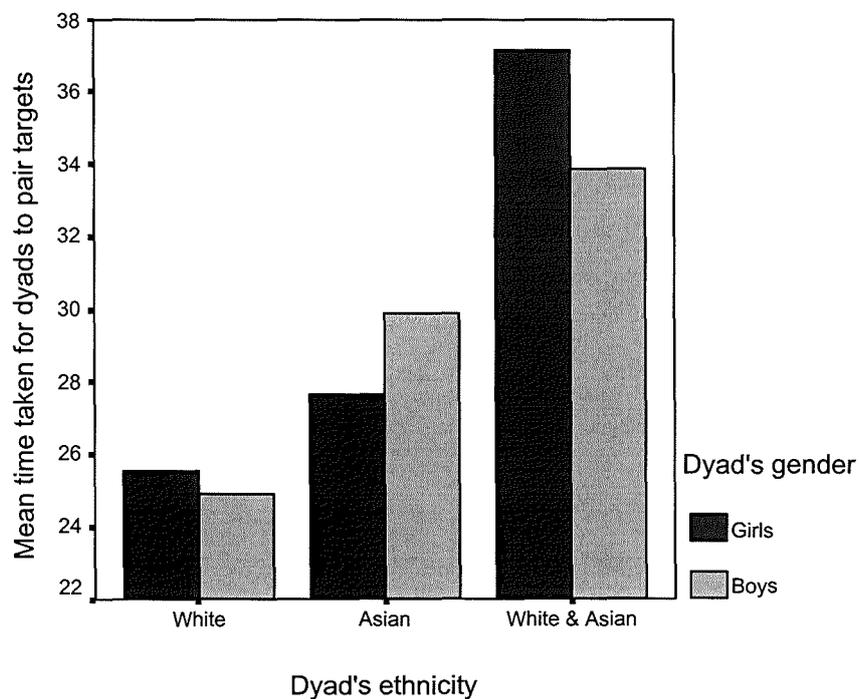
4.4.3.3 Amount of utterances during pairing

Figure 4.15 shows the number of utterances each ethnic dyad-type made while attempting to put the targets into playmate pairs. A two-way between-subjects ANOVA with dyads' ethnicity and gender as the independent variables whereas the amount of utterances as the dependent variable showed that there was a significant main effect of ethnicity, F (2,104) = 6.37, p < .01. Post hoc Tukey tests found that mixed-ethnic dyads made significantly more utterances prior to resolving their inferred playmate's preference than both white (<. 05) and Asian (< .01) dyads.

FIGURE 4.15

Mean number of utterances white, Asian, and white-and-Asian dyads made before

resolving targets into playmate pairs
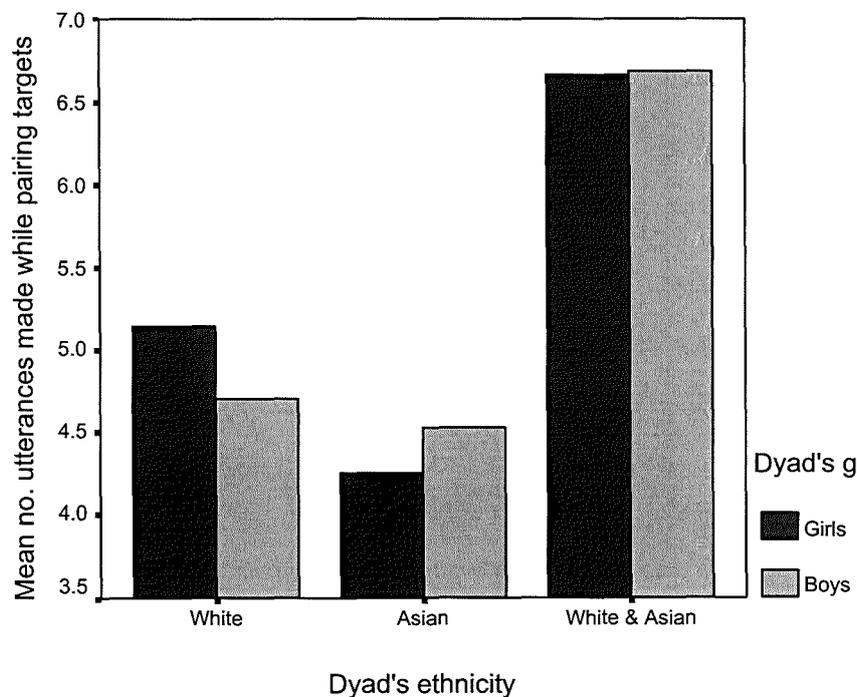
4.4.3.4 Pairing strategy

Classification of dyads' style of pairing the target children into playmate pairs could be broadly based upon several observable behavioural traits: whether the dyad attempted to solve the task together or the members each conducted part of the task, whether there was a dominant member who made the decisions, or perhaps the members achieved their final pairing by a mixture of the above. A system of categories derived from such measures of interaction is presented in Table 4.5 with transcribed examples as demonstration in each category.

TABLE 4.5

Categories for the styles in which dyads resolved targets into playmate pairs

Categories	Description	Examples
Co-construction	Both members of dyad were actively involved in each pairing and did so usually with a lot of of interaction, including mutual consultation and consensus as frequently observed features before most decisions finalised.	"This one…" enquires Child A. "She can go will her," Child B, "and she'll play with…"That one," Child A puts a photos of targets together. Child A picks up a photo to show B. "This one or that one…which one?" asks Child B. "I say him, cos he will make him laugh." "They look alike." Child A puts two photos together and looks at Child B, who nods in reply.
Task-share	Dyadic members played an equal part in the task, but often independently, though not characterised by disagreement or little conflict of opinions, and members were aware of	Child A places two photos together while Child B tries out another pair. Child A murmurs, "He'll play with… him…." Meanwhile Child B says to himself, putting two photos together, "They're similar…."

one another's pairing but relatively little exchange took place prior to most or all decision making.

Child A announces, "This one with this one...this one with this one..." Before she finishes the second pair, Child B has started, "And this one with this one and this one..."

One-in-charge

This category applied in the case that clearly one dominant member of the dyad was involved in the decision making of all or most of the task whereas his/her partner was more of a spectator, relatively reticent, or if involved at all merely uttered scarce and brief comments.

Child A tries some pairing (without looking or talking to Child B) while Child B watches in silence.

Child A scrutinises each photo, then Child B says, "We're supposed to... pair them into friends," and proceeds to pair the targets out by herself.

Child A looks at two adjacent photos Child B takes one away, "This one'll play with this one!" "I dunno," Child A says, looking at experimenter, "I'll go with what you choose..." Child B goes on to try out more pairing.

Combination and other

This category applied in the case that none of the above categories could effectively describe the dyad's working as they often showed a mixture of styles. Often dyads switched from one style to another when there emerged a conflict of opinions, or where one or both were uncertain how to continue before pairing was complete.

Child A sorts out the second pair as Child B watches, "No! He'll go with him, they could be cousins!" "Yeah, they're alike!" Child A, still holding the other photo, "So he'll go with..." Child B continues, "Him?" "Yeah."

Child A pairs two boys. "She may go with..." murmurs Child B, "Her, or," Child A says. "No, she'll go with... Say...she's (Asian-girl target) black hair, she's you. This (white-girl) one is me." Child B puts photos together.

Child A places two photos together whilst Child B pairs two other ones, "What about her?" showing Child A a third photo. "Her or him." "Her..."

FIGURE 4.16

Percentages of white, Asian, white-and-Asian dyads who arranged targets into playmate

pairs by four different styles
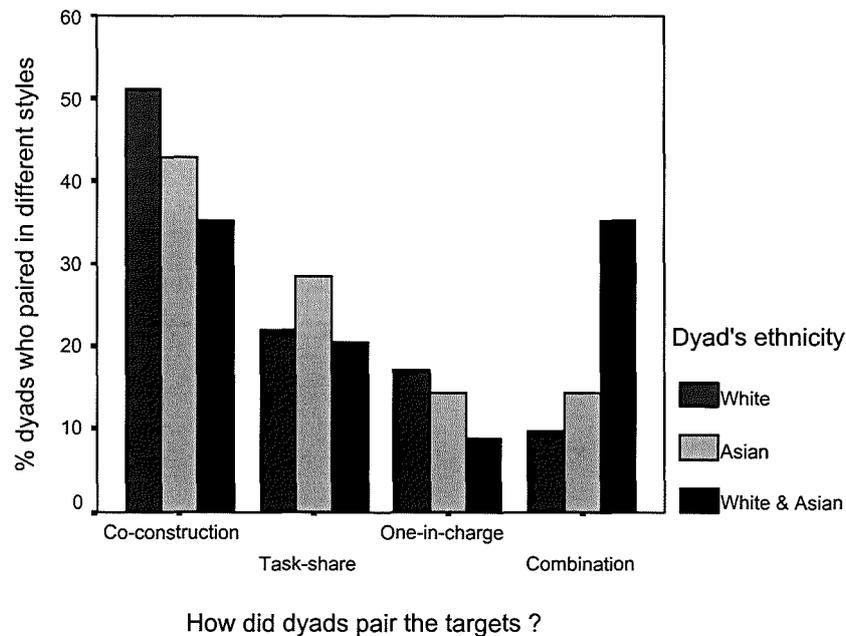
Figure 4.16 depicts the percentages of children in each ethnic dyad-type who arranged the

targets into pairs in the four different styles as exemplified in Table 5. The only between-

ethnic-dyad-type differences in the prevalence of playmate pairing style were that mixed

dyads were significantly more likely to complete their pairing task with a combination of

techniques than both white ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 7.22, p < .01$) and Asian ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.10, p < .05$) dyads.

Mixed boy-dyads, as further tests within each sex of dyads separately showed, were more

likely to work on their pairing with a combination of styles than were white dyads ($\chi^2_{(1)}$

$= 7.22, p < .01$); this result should be viewed with caution as the numbers of same-ethnic

dyads within each sex who paired with a combined style were small. No between-gender

differences in the use of different pairing styles were found.

4.4.3.5 Reasoning for pairing patterns

Classification of the dyads' reasoning for the ways they paired the target children was focussed on the same aspects implicated by the children's comments, as in the previous two studies, except for the focus on the target's appearance. The latter was due to the fact that children did not refer to the targets' appearance without associating it either to some similarity principles or to some trait or personality the dyad perceived of them. The three categories of reasoning devised from the dyad's comments which adequately summarised their justifications for their pairing arrangements are listed in Table 4.6, with transcribed data as examples sampling each category.

TABLE 4.6

Categories for the reasons dyads used to justify their target pairing

Categories	Definition	Examples
Ethnicity	This category of reasons was defined by explicit references to any aspect of the targets' ethnicity, including their assumed origins, religion, colour, or language.	"Say she's from India yes," Child A points at photo in a pair. "And she's from India." "And these two're from India..." Child B continues.
		"I've put the dark people together... and the light people together, " said Child A. "...Sometimes I just don't get on with the dark people...but I get on with most of the dark girls..."
		"Cos both of these boys are Muslims and both of these girls are Muslims," Child A. (Experimenter, "Really?") Child B continues, "And these are... Christians." "These are white," Child A pushes the four photos aside, "And these are Muslims," placing the other four to the other side.

Other similarities (ethnicity not emphasised)	Apart from ethnicity as a common factor shared by some target pairs, children also mentioned some other similarity factors (which could be psychological or physical), which they proposed that the pairs shared and which were seen to be a significant determining factor for the pairing.	"They've got the same funny smile!" Child A says. "Yeah, they've got that same look!" agrees child B. "I think those two both do skipping," Child A suggested. "Yeah they're the skipping kind of girls," says Child B. "And these two are definitely into… football" "Or Stuck-in-the-Mud!" "Cos, they're like us?" Child A asks. "Yeah, they'll both play Had, or they may just make up games."
Perceived traits (ethnicity not specified)	This category describes the various individual personality traits which the dyad assumed both or just one target in the pair to share or possess and which were viewed to be important for the pairing to be made.	Child A, "They do look like friends." "…And this two may sit together in class," adds Child B "Cos they may understand each other more." "Cos they're both nice people?" asks Child A. "They may all play together but those two will be better together, and those two will play together,"

Figure 4.17 depicts the percentages of children in each ethnic dyad-type who reasoned with the four categories described in Table 4.6. The only between-ethnic difference was that Asian dyads were significantly more likely to reason by ethnicity issues than both white ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 8.55, p < .01$) and mixed ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 7.10, p < .01$) dyads. Further test separate for the sexes revealed that Asian-girl dyads were more likely to reason by ethnicity than both white-girl ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.06, p < .05$) and mixed-white-and-Asian girl ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 5.81, p < .05$) dyads. Asian-boy dyads, on the other hand, were more likely to reason by ethnicity than white-boy dyads only, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.79, p < .05$. No gender differences in tendency to reason with any of the three factors were found.

FIGURE 4.17

Percentages of white, Asian, and white-and-Asian dyads who used different reasons for

target pairing
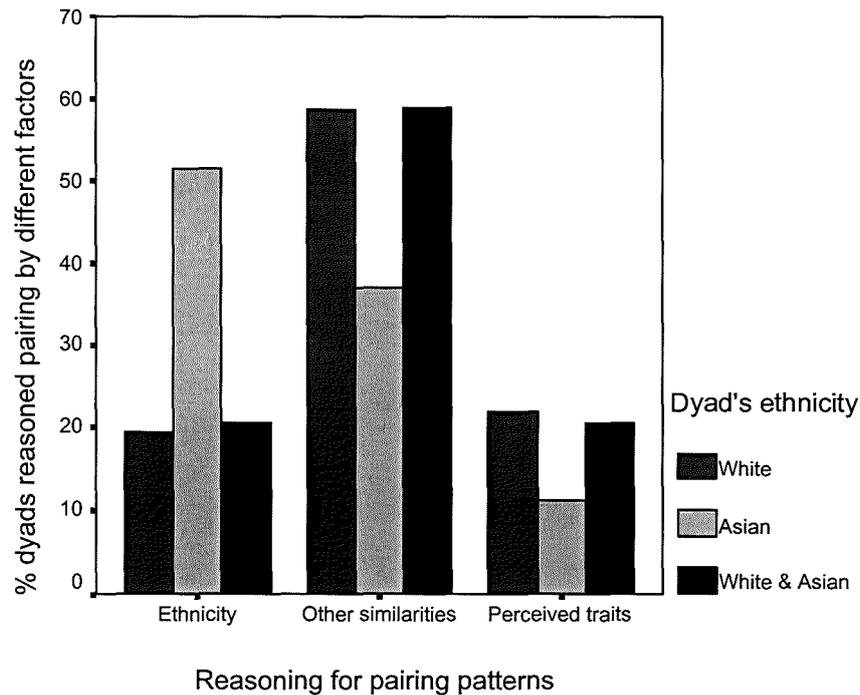
4.4.4.1 Summary of results

The overwhelming proportion of both same-ethnic dyad-types to sort targets into same-ethnic playmate pairs was also accompanied by the comparably higher proportion of mixed dyads in sorting mixed-ethnic pairs. The latter was particularly so when mixed girl-dyads were compared both with white- and Asian-girl dyads, and mixed boy-dyads with white boy-dyads. Mixed dyads resolved less efficiently and did so more often by a combination of techniques than did same-ethnic dyads. Asian dyads were more likely to

reason for their pairing by ethnicity than white and mixed dyads. This was particularly so for Asian-girl dyads compared with white-girl and mixed girl-dyads and Asian-boy dyads with white-boy dyads.

4.4.4.2 Discussion

The finding that same-ethnic dyads paired children of the same ethnicity (and gender) in most cases as well as more than did mixed-ethnic dyads confirms the first hypothesis that children would infer their own ethnic ingroup preferences upon the targets. The ease with which such dyads applied such inferences is reflected in the way in which they undertook the task and the kind of reasoning they provided afterwards. The majority of same-ethnic dyads resolved in ways that involve no or little conflict (engaging in one style rather than a combination where a change of styles was often preceded by a disagreement of views) or shared inferences (co-construction) leading to a joint decision with relative ease. The prevalence of reasoning by similarities (including ethnicity) for their pairings indicates their expectation that others would prefer one another that are alike. However, it could not be ascertained that children were applying a common-sense knowledge that 'similar things go together' or category-based inferences (that category members are assumed to share deeper properties or 'essences'; Gelman, 1989; Gelman & Markman, 1986, 1987). The similarities that children addressed contained a mixture of both superficial (such as appearance or expressions) and character-based (play activities). The high incidence of Asian dyads making ethnicity an explicit reason for their playmate-pairings can point to its higher salience for minority ethnic children (Goodman, 1964; Katz, 1976).

The finding that mixed white-and-Asian dyads were more open to mixing the ethnicity of the target pairs compared with same-ethnic dyads confirmed the tentative proposition that the mixed-ethnic composition of such dyads might encourage their children to resolve by pairing others according to their own ethnicities as a dyad. This may be reflected by the efficiency and styles in which they resolved this task compared with same-ethnic dyads. Their using a combination of styles towards resolution implies the way they had to infer their positions upon the appropriate ethnic targets and pair them according to their own ethnic composition, which would have been a more complicated operation than simply inferring same-ethnic preferences upon all the targets. There were several notable cases (one presented in the Results section) observed of such dyads verbalising such a pattern of inferences particularly among mixed girl-dyads, which might explain the prominence by this subgroup in mixing the targets' ethnicity. Many who arranged mixed-ethnic target pairs did so tacitly however, and their reasoning for such pairing did not elaborate on this.

The peak level of categorising and labelling others by both majority and minority ethnic children at the age of 7 after development of perceived own similarity (e.g. Aboud, 1987, 1988) may underlie the finding that the vast majority of children here paired others along ethnic (and gender) dimensions, as well as in various cases reasoned with it (particularly when compared to the last two studies. This shows that at least they possess a great deal of familiarity with, or perhaps a conceptual understanding of, ethnic group memberships and would utilise this information to infer about others in the context of play.

4.5 General Discussion

4.5.1 Summary of findings

The current phase has explored white and Asian children's own ethnic preferences, and what they infer as others' preferences for themselves and for each other, and the ways in which they as same- or mixed-ethnic dyads might arrive at their choices and justify them. Same-ethnic dyads were more likely to prefer an ethnic ingroup playmate, to infer that an ethnic ingroup target would prefer them (than an ethnic outgroup target). They were also more likely to arrange others into same-ethnic than mixed-ethnic play pairs. White-girl dyads were particularly more likely to prefer a white than an Asian playmate. Same-ethnic dyads resolved their decisions on both own preferences and others' preferences for themselves often by their shared ethnic ingroup choices from the outset and sorted others into pairs using styles that involved little or no conflict compared to mixed-ethnic dyads. For own preferences and inferring others' preferences for themselves mixed-ethnic dyads were more likely to fail, or took longer, to resolve as each partner was likely to insist on their ingroup choices underlying conflict, compared to same-ethnic dyads. Mixed-ethnic dyads also took longer to arrange playmates into pairs and in manners that involved more conflict than same-ethnic dyads. However, they were also more likely to arrange targets into mixed-ethnic play pairs than same-ethnic dyads. In all three tasks, both-Asian dyads were more likely to justify their decisions explicitly with ethnic reasons than both-white and mixed-ethnic dyads.

4.5.2 Themes of interaction

One consistent theme which ran through the three studies in this phase of research is that, through interactions in the dyadic setting, children's own senses of ethnic identity as well as perception of different ethnic others became transparent. That same-ethnic dyads were more likely to opt for ethnic ingroup playmate preferences, whether for themselves or for others, has been discussed to be highly consistent with previous research with individual children (see previous subsections and *Introduction* of this thesis). These findings are not surprising in that if both partners of the dyad brought into the interaction their own ethnic ingroup identity there would be no conflict – thus, the interaction itself was characterised by common choices from the outset. Based on the same principle that the individual child would bring their own ingroup identity into this context for the mixed-ethnic dyads, it is, again, easily discernible that there would then be a conflict of identities (at least in Study One and Study Two where the self was engaged in the play scenario). Because each child opted for their respective ethnic ingroup, this required resolution – thus more time, or the failure, to arrive at a joint outcome. On the other hand, the finding that these dyads were more likely to pair others into mixed pairs is interesting and may have certain important implications for a relationship between interethnic peer interaction and play or friendship preferences. If we go by the notion that, if the prevalent same-ethnic socialisation brings forth preferences for, positive attitudes towards, and identification with children's ethnic ingroup (i.e. transmission of group norms; Rotheram & Phinney, 1987), which can lead to further same-ethnic interactions, then the same principle may be in place with mixed-ethnic interactions. Here, whether they were consciously aware of group membership or

applying it into the task, children themselves were able to infer for others interethnic play preferences possibly through their own participation in joint task with a peer of the other ethnicity. Apart from emphasising the theoretical notion of social interaction as a vehicle for the production and reproduction of shared peer culture (cf. Corsaro, 1986; Vygotsky, 1978), it may also have a potential applied value for promoting interethnic relations.

The result that both-Asian dyads were most likely to voice ethnicity as their justification for their ethnic ingroup decisions in all three tasks is consistent with previous research where ethnicity is a more salient dimension for minority children (Goodman, 1974; Katz, 1973), or references to ethnicity may be deemed more acceptable by these children. It is important to note that, although some Asian children in mixed-ethnic dyads articulated ethnicity-based reasoning for their own ingroup preferences, particularly in the case of unresolved conflict (as in the extracts), it is those who were in a dyad with another Asian peer that voiced the bulk of such reasoning. This is where the interaction context may be highly pertinent. In realising the shared group membership between themselves (which might be facilitated by the tasks since preferences for different ethnic playmates were the outcome), these children would subsequently justify their choices with ethnic reasons.

In accordance with social psychological theories (see social identity theory, Abrams & Hoggs, 1990; Tajfel, 1981; or self-categorisation theory, Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994) the current findings and others can serve to support the notion that social categorisation is a dynamic process. It allows perceivers to structure the social context (through their own interaction), to define

their own place within it (according to their group memberships and characteristics), and to give meaning and significance to intergroup relationships. This perspective interprets that human groups and their relevant features can become salient and meaningful only through intergroup comparison as shown in the interaction setting here.

4.5.3 Ethnic preferences, identification, and similarities

An explanation for the small amount of explicitly ethnic reasons, particularly in Studies One and Two may be elements of social desirability. Some investigators have found that children exhibit less negative attitudes in more direct experimental, real-life or scenario-based settings (e.g. playmate choices such as in here) than in projective tests (Goodman, 1964) and that a clear lack of correlation exists between these settings (Hraba & Grant, 1970). But a prevalence of ingroup preferences or ethnocentric inferences accompanied by a relative paucity of explicit references to ethnicity or similar dimensions might be invoked by factors that enhance desirability concerns or demand sets. One such factor may be the presence of a minority-ethnic researcher (Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1980), which was the case in these present studies, or the awareness, sensitivity, or suspicion, that not only negative attitudes or prejudice, but any reference to ethnic categories may be considered undesirable (see Aboud, 1987, 1988).

The unclear evidence for the coexistence of strong same-ethnic preferences *and* equally prevalent explicit references to ethnic categories or overtly voiced ethnic identification with members of one's own group could perhaps be seen in a favourable light as Teplin

(1977) has advised. When choosing between photographs of unknown individuals, it is said that the choices would reflect ethnic stereotypes, for only visual cues are available. But when a child is to choose from a known group, his or her choice is not necessarily restricted by ethnic considerations since additional sources of information relevant to a potential friendship is open to them. A clear association between imaginary photograph-choice and overt ethnic identification would imply that the children's stereotypes were already so inflexible that they were not amenable to the discovery of characteristics that might conflict with their ethnic expectations (Davey & Mullin, 1980). What is perhaps more pertinent here is the ethnic ingroup and outgroup *knowledge* displayed by certain children who also *used* such knowledge for their peer choices (see later).

Whilst identifications may be contrived as all-or-none phenomena (such as by labels), perceived similarity is not. One may be *more* or *less* similar to many people. Almost all of the children here who used some kind of similarity principles in choosing or pairing targets did so for two members of the same ethnicity. However, knowing the degree of such similarity one perceives would be useful when there is a possibility that one might identify with more than one group according to different features (i.e. bicultural or dual identities), similar to Weinreich's idea (1996) of partial identification (see *Introduction* of thesis). This is particularly pertinent to children in multiethnic environments, such as this sample, who are likely to be both acculturated and enculturated, or at least exposed to, both their own and others' cultures. Hence, as a reference for future research, measures should be taken to account for children's separate identification, or perceived similarities, with individuals of more than one group.

Another account that may be pertinent to children's comments expressing some form of similarities, be it categorical (gender or ethnic), physical, or psychological, is that one's matching oneself with other *individuals* along such dimensions does not necessarily tell us definitively about one's 'profound' identification with that *group*. What this tells us may be the child's knowledge of him/herself and target *persons* belonging to that group or their possessing attributes in common with the group, though such is consistent with the development of identification in that perceived features are salient before presumed internal features (Rosenberg, 1979). Also, describing oneself and others in terms of one of these critical ethnic (or other categorical) attributes, and distinguishing oneself from those of other groups along these attributes, have been largely considered as some of the first criteria that an ethnic identification has been made (Aboud, 1987, 1988; Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). Still, the perceptual recognition of similarity might invoke children's preference, inference, or other responses, and only *thereafter*, the affective or cognitive measures of categorisation, labelling, and matched description (Aboud, 1980; Vaughan, 1963). Aboud (1987) further rationalised that, if these processes do underlie it, ethnic identification may be a cumulative process in which a number of ethnic attributes are gradually added to one's own (and others') description.

It is still important to point out that children might categorise, differentiate, or identify ethnic others along a variety of ethnic and non-ethnic dimensions (a multi-dimensional scaling of dissimilarity judgements as an example, by Aboud and Christian, 1979). Thus appearance alone or assumptions made from it may not always be the appropriate critical

attributes to present to children when requesting them to make a preference, evaluation, or identification. Take the examples of English and French Canadians, being defined in terms of their language (Powlishta et al., 1994) versus black people in terms of skin and hair (see Aboud, 1987, 1988). Thus it has to be borne in mind whether or not children's comments by such terms are merely descriptive attributes or are critical in the sense that they define what a person must be *in order to* belong to that group. Here, the children's, particularly the majority of Asian children's, postjustifications for their choice of targets in the different tasks in relation to their religious (Muslim) identity, would pertain to the latter argument and is a highly interesting case. The emphasis they placed on their own religion implies that this construct is not simply a part of, or an entity encompassed by, their ethnic identity, but is one that defines themselves and others (and as a criterion for grouping people), over and above other dimensions. It is an interesting phenomenon not only because of its pervasiveness, but also the age at which this is salient. Religion as an all-encompassing self- and group-identity defining principle (in particular for 'minority' religions) has by far been investigated in older children or youth (e.g. Weinreich, 1996). It is worth extending such research to younger children, in regards the emergence of its salience in view of the current findings.

4.5.4 Ethnic categorisation and ethnic identity

The presupposition that ethnic categories are pervasive in most ways that people relate to each other is said to be taken for granted and in some sense overstated (e.g. Verkuyten & Kinket, 1999; Verkuyten & Masson, 1994). Although stimuli containing ethnic category

members were used in this phase's studies, children were not confronted by a situation that explicitly stressed ethnicity (e.g. ethnic labels), nor were they forced to make sense of or respond to the stimuli in terms of their ethnic categories. In this phase, the relative small number of children who spontaneously used ethnicity for their reasoning is in line with Bennett, Dewberry and Yeeles' (1991) findings, where children were also presented ethnic stimuli (photographs) but were free to use this dimension for categorisation. Not only does this arrangement point to varying ethnic salience between groups but crucially the possibility that alternative forms of social categorisation (by other psychological or physical features) can be used, or the possibility that categories are not used at all.

More recently Sani, Bennett, Agostini, Malucchi, and Ferguson (2000) advocate that the assignment of individuals to socially meaningful categories is not a clear-cut matter and can be based on various classes of information. They suggest that children's conceptions of characteristic attributes are likely to undergo qualitative developmental changes. They cite person perception research which portrays the transition where, prior to 6-7 years, in describing themselves and others children give prominence to external physical attributes (e.g. height, hair colour, and clothing). Further into middle childhood, they then focus on psychological features (i.e. personality traits) much more extensively (see Damon & Hart, 1982; Livesley & Bromley, 1973; McGuire & McGuire, 1987). But by middle childhood there is evidence to suggest that children are already competent 'everyday psychologists' adept in explaining at more abstract levels of dispositions, beliefs, emotions, and desires (Bennett & Galpert, 1993; Harris, 1989; Wimmer & Perner, 1983).

The sample here, according to the above developmental framework, should fall on the transitional period where perceptual focus shifts from the more external to the internal features of social objects. The prevalence of children's reasoning by purely appearance-based features *as well as* by deeper personality or dispositional features inferred from the targets' appearance, the latter particularly in explaining the targets' liking for themselves, conforms to the foregoing theory. Placing this within children's conceptions of features of categorical members, the findings imply that, when thinking about the characteristics of groups, children would move from a tendency to use primarily physical attributes to a position embracing both physical and psychological properties. Such a change, according to Sani et al. (2000), would certainly constitute a milestone shift in children's conceptions of the characteristic features of category members. However, Sani et al. (2000) were also emphatic that, crucially, at *either* physical or psychological level, children's conceptions are essentially individualistic (i.e. focusing on properties of individuals). Their own and other research suggest that, in evaluating other *individuals* or their dispositions, it is not widespread until later in childhood that children move beyond an entirely individualistic conceptions of someone's cause, to one that also recognises the role of supra-individual phenomena. This standpoint would serve to account for the general pattern of children's reasoning in that only a minority (and primarily Asian children due to its higher salience among this group as mentioned earlier) used categorical membership to reason for their preferences or inferences compared to most children at this age. They were effectively postjustifying their choice of some *individual*, although the act of selection might have been enacted by categorical perception and social influence (from their peer).

4.5.5 Inconsistencies between tasks

The slight discrepancies between responses in Studies One and Two (of Asian children's lesser own ingroup preference versus their inferred preferences about the targets, and the absence of group differences in ethnocentrism in Study Two not corresponding to that in Study One) requires explanation. Either of the inconsistencies might be a consequence of different categorisation processes used by children in either task, or different processing altogether (affective vs. cognitive) dependent upon the task nature and demand. Ramsey (1991) for instance discovered that race is a more salient factor when children categorise others than when they classified themselves. What that implies is that categorical features of others were more accessible than that of their own. An obvious reason for it would be that the perceiver readily notices the target's physical features but not their own. This is reminiscent of one of two opposing conceptualisations for the development of schemas representing the self and others. Instead of viewing all schemas as an aspect of the self in earlier frameworks (cf. Martin & Halverson, 1981), an alternative school of thoughts (see Signorella et al., 1993) views schemas of others and of the self as relatively unconnected components. This is supported also in the last phase by the relatively different patterns of inferences about toy and food liking of others in isolation or involving a comparison with their own liking. Thus, in this phase where children had to make decision involving novel ethnic others and themselves, their decision might be based more upon their perception of those others than of themselves. That children's justifications often involved commenting about the targets' attributes (ethnic or not) is an indication of this 'other-focus'.

The other possibility for the inconsistency attributed to the notion that Study One and Study Two were probing the different domains, affective and cognitive respectively, is based on the remit that these two processes possess different origins and hence develop somewhat independently (Ramsey, 1991; Ramsey & Myers, 1990). Ethnicity is likely to be highly salient in children's cognitive responses, particularly in inference making as a means to categorise others and to apply relevant characteristics. Affective responses like that of preferences, whilst impacted by ethnicity, are often also overshadowed by one's idiosyncratic liking for non-categorical traits and outside bias (such as majority norms).

Apart from acknowledging that children's responses to ethnic differences involve a set or maybe a complicated mix of cognitive, affective and behavioural components, it also has to be emphasised that Studies One and Two are not the reverse of, or did not mirror, one another. Study One had been designed so that children themselves were the active agents (to choose one more playmate) as a dyadic unit, whereas in Study Two, they became that object, albeit as a dyad, of a *single* target's evaluation. Thus the interactions involved and the resultant outcomes might have been a function of how children's own ethnic identity, how group or individual attributes featured and how they considered the characteristics of the target members in distinctly different sets of circumstances (Rosenberg, 1979). These considerations resonate with the basic premises of self-categorisation theory (e.g. Haslam & Turner, 1992; Spears & Haslam, 1997) which posits that processes of social perception and evaluation critically depend on the relative social comparison context in which such decisions are made. A change in the intergroup situation will change such decisions even if decisions are based around the same persons.

The finding in Study One that a substantial minority of Asian children preferred a white target gives hint to the social norm which donates that the majority still has the favoured place in the social 'pecking order'. However, the comparably higher ethnic ingroup own (and inferred Asian others') preference compared with studies one decade or two before, or earlier (e.g. Davey & Mullin, 1980; Jahoda, Thomson, & Bhatt, 1972; Milner, 1983) proves promising. A possible reason is the increased representation and involvement of minority groups in highly visible and/or high-profile domains in society, from minority ethnic educators (of which many of the schools that provided the children samples here have representations) to public figures in the media. This is accompanied by the higher probability that minority ethnic children will prefer and identify with their own ethnic group. Furthermore, as ethnicity was more often used by both-Asian dyads than other dyads, this supports the notion that being a minority member of a social categorisation system renders that social category a more salient characteristic in viewing oneself and others both in children and adults (e.g. see McGraw, Durm, & Durham, 1989; McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1971).

It is vital to emphasise that that between-ethnic dyad-type and the wider between-ethnic-group differences obtained in these studies may vary depending on the geographic region and subcultural group (e.g. between different Asian groups). Therefore in all cultures and situations, not all children will reflect such differences. The results on the whole must be viewed with certain extra caution, particularly in light of the lack of similar research, the reliability of its measures against other measures, and of its results against those of other

studies, are unknown quantities. Furthermore, the test-retest reliabilities using dyadic (or polyadic) interaction are not available due to the rarity of such methodology being used for assessing ethnic issues. However, the robustness of the overall findings, with similar datasets across the three interrelated studies pointing to similar conclusions derived from previous theorisation and research, suggests reasonable reliability. Clearly more research is needed, perhaps with more diverse samples to replicate the findings and to validate the use of such methodology for assessing complex ethnicity related phenomena. It may also be worth repeating the tasks with higher-order (triadic or polyadic) social interactions to explore more complex relationships between group dynamics and ethnic identity.

4.5.6 Conclusions

Children's own ethnic preferences and inferences about others' ethnic preferences can be influenced by their ethnic identity and social interaction, where a conflict of identities are realised and maybe resolved, in line with basic premises of social psychological theories. The prevalence of same-ethnic preferences not accompanied by ethnic references may be tied to the *degree* of perceived similarity or individual rather than group perception, even though these can be part of the processes culminating in ethnic identification. The lack of correspondence between the findings in the three studies may be linked to the distinction between self- and other-schemas, the differential involvement affective versus cognitive processes invoked and/or the altogether different intergroup comparison contexts. These are considered in both schema and self-categorisation theories and deserve further work, particularly within the social interaction setting.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Summary of findings

The three phases in the present enquiry have been designed to examine different aspects of ethnic identity development during middle childhood. Each phase has followed from the last in such a way that it might substantiate the empirical findings obtained and thus offer theoretical support for the critical themes or principles under investigation. In this sense, a 'triangulation' framework has been built (see Diagram 5.1), both conceptually and methodologically, where research aims and methods go hand-in-hand.

5.1.1 The triangulation framework

One of the themes arisen from phase one has been of particular importance for building a theory towards ethnic identification. Children were observed to predict each other's play practice based on their ethnic identity; a peer belonging to one's own ethnic group was expected to participate in the same activity, but a peer of another ethnic group was not. This suggests that children rely on some abstract ideas of group concepts, called within-group familiarity and between-group differences, that have been extensively studied by Gelman and Markman (Gelman, 1989; Gelman et al., 1986; Gelman & Markman, 1986, 1987), and by Martin et al. (1995), specifically in relation to gender group membership. Children's articulated expectations about members of ethnic in- and outgroup with play parallel the findings in Martin et al.. The observed synonymous phenomenon for ethnic group membership in this ethnographic phase was thus chosen for further study through similar (experimental) means to Martin et al.'s in the next phase of research.

Diagram 5.1

Triangulation framework of the three phases of research
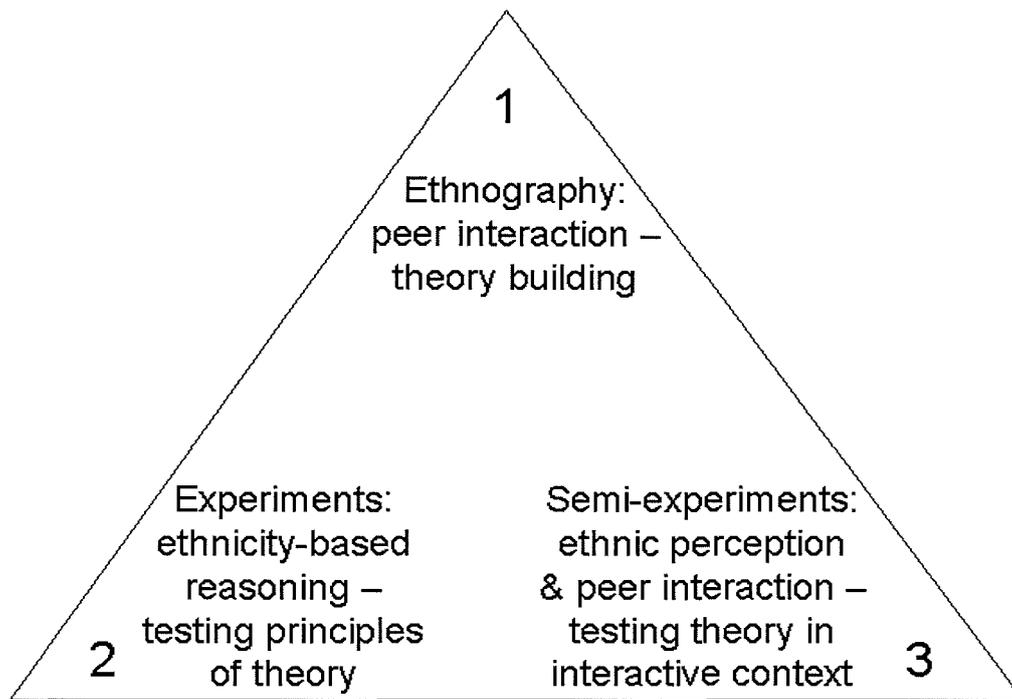
Within the triangulation above, the second phase has provided empirical support for the theoretical premises which evolved from ethnicity-based reasoning in phase one. Middle childhood (6-7 years) seems to be the turning point at which ethnic group membership is salient in children's judgements of others' internal traits (here attitudes towards toys and foods). What children like they expect that others of their own ethnic group will also like to a similar degree and those of another group will like it more differently. This provides substantive evidence for Gelman and Markman's abstract group theories of within-group similarity and between-group differences (refer to the above subsection) in the domain of ethnicity, parallel to that of gender in Martin et al. (1995).

Those discoveries from phase three reinforce the triangulation framework conceptually, as well as methodologically, by means of supporting some of those theoretical principles raised and tested in previous phases. Ethnic preferences as well as the possible processes leading to and children's reasoning for such preferences have been examined in the same setting – that is, their interactions with peers. This setting has been conceptualised as the starting point as well as an essential backdrop for the development of ethnic identities in Phase One from which critical themes (e.g. ethnic ingrouping) are extracted, and pivotal principles (ethnicity-based reasoning) taken to be examined in an experimental setting in Phase Two. Having such themes and principles re-enacted in the same setting as children relatively freely interacted with each other in tasks for which ethnicity is highly salient in this phase, has obvious advantages. Any links between these phenomena which comprise the various components of ethnic identity can be brought into context. An example is the relative complication for mixed-ethnic dyads, compared to their same-ethnic counterpart, when attempting to resolve into joint playmate decisions or some pairing arrangement, as revealed by their interactions. This implies a conflict of ethnic identities, which possibly underlie differences in reasoning. But certain pairing outcomes (mixed-ethnic pairs), and interactions towards and justifications for these, suggest that children attribute their own dyadic makeup towards others. Similarly, task outcomes, interactions, and justifications of both-Asian dyads give an indication of the pervasiveness of some ethnic attributes for self-identification which may be pertinent for their ethnic ingroup preferences (see below for a detailed summary of findings and their theoretical implications).

5.1.2 Summary of Phase One

This first part of my research concentrates on children's social interactions in naturalistic environments (unstructured participant observations in the classroom and playground) to explore themes which reflect the role of ethnicity in their perceptions of both themselves and others. The radical departure from quantitative and experimental methodology used in the majority of previous studies has been deliberate, in allowing children's senses of ethnic identity to unfold with the least adult intervention, so that any theoretical themes evolved from the detailed analysis (with the aim of theory building) are generalisable to their everyday interactive contexts. The prevalence of ethnic preferences and behaviours or interactions that were revealing of children's developing senses of ethnic identity is of particular interest and concern.

The prevalence of same-ethnic play and friendship grouping was clearly identifiable and that is also consistent with previous research (e.g. Coie et al., 1982; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987; Kistner, Metzler, Gatlin, & Risi, 1993, in the US; Boulton & Smith, 1992; Davey & Mullin, 1980; Tomlinson, 1983 in the UK). Of particular pertinence is the observation that there existed cohesive affiliations between Asian children, particularly for girls, and that these affiliations are associated with their co-participation and co-definition of play activities and the unique code of communication (including their mother tongue but also nonverbal behaviour) between ingroup members. Such exclusiveness might have been a salient influence in episodes of playground conflict; that is, the inclusion and rejection of same- and different-ethnic peers, respectively. Children voiced their expectations related

to their own and others' play choices; those of their ethnic ingroup were to participate in the same activity with themselves and those of an outgroup were not. This phenomenon is reminiscent of Martin et al.'s (1995) findings in relation to children's inferences about others' toy choice; those of one's own sex were predicted to like the same toys and those of the opposite sex were not. Closer examination of interactions in the classroom setting further revealed a specific pattern of behaviours among these Asian children, as defined by their prowess for academic achievement, coping style under peer pressures, and also the role that teachers can play in reinforcing such behaviours. These behaviour patterns have also been observed in previous work (e.g. Foster et al., 1996, Smith & Tomlinson, 1989; Tomlinson, 1983). That these and other children's behaviour and interactions are reflective of their ethnic identities at this age group (since 6 years) is testified by other independent examples which go to clearly demonstrate their awareness and notions of, and curiosity for, ethnicity.

5.1.3 Summary of Phase Two

To substantiate the findings regarding children's ethnicity-based reasoning about play in Phase One during middle childhood described above, phase two, with the same design as Martin et al. (1995) was conducted to operationalise such reasoning as inferred liking for toys and foods. This step has been important in that, although the observed phenomenon reflects the possible application of abstract group beliefs and ethnic schemas in relation to play, the degree to which children apply these concepts, or their salience, across the ages and different contexts, was not known due to the limitations of the ethnographic method.

Since Martin et al. found gendercentric reasoning about toys, here by applying the same premises of abstract category theories to ethnic group membership, it was expected that children would predict that those of their own ethnicity would prefer the same toys (and probably foods) as themselves from 6-7 years, the beginnings of middle childhood. This age group is deemed the most critical period during which complex ethnic concepts that surpass the superficial to include behaviour patterns, covert traits, or customary practices (hence the study of toy and food liking) are acquired (e.g. Aboud, 1987, 1988; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987).

Novel and nonstereotyped toys and foods were used to ensure that any influence of social categories (i.e. gender or ethnicity) would be a consequence of children's combining their notions of ethnic and gender group memberships and application of abstract group beliefs rather than existing stereotypes related to familiar toys and foods. That is, children might decide that if they liked or disliked a toy or food, those of their own social ingroup would like or dislike it to a similar degree due to their shared category membership, thus shared dispositions or preferences. Children of the relevant age groups (5, 6-7, 8-9 years; falling before, on and after the turning points of middle childhood) were shown pictures of those toys and foods and unknown children from their gender and ethnic in- and outgroups and were asked to estimate how much they and those target children would like those items.

A few unexpected findings were obtained when target groups' liking was analysed alone (not involving children's own liking). For toys, boys more consistently predict that Asian targets would like the toys less than other ethnic groups. 6-7-year-olds displayed that all

target ethnic groups would like the toys differently from each other whilst 8-9 year-olds predicted that Asian others would like them less than both white and black others. When tallied against their own liking only 6-7-year-olds displayed an ethnocentric pattern; they inferred that same-ethnic targets would be more similar to themselves in their toy liking, compared to other-ethnic targets. But children were gendercentric through the age range; that is, children from 5 to 9 years inferred that same-sex targets would be more similar to themselves in their toy liking compared to opposite-sex targets.

A different picture emerged with the findings for food choice. White children predicted that boys would like unfamiliar foods less than girls and that Asian targets would like the foods more than white and black targets. But Asian children predicted that black targets would like such foods more than white and Asian targets. Ethnocentric inference making about targets' food liking is apparent in both 6-7- and 8-9 year-olds; the former predicted that same-ethnic targets would like the foods similarly to themselves compared to other-ethnic targets and this pattern is even more visible at 8-9 years. Gendercentric inferences were absent through the age range for these food choices.

5.1.4 Summary of Phase three

The final phase of studies combine elements from both Phase One (peer interaction) and Phase Two (ethnicity-based reasoning), by examining white and Asian peers' own ethnic preferences and what they inferred as others' preferences and the way in which as dyads they arrived at and justified their decisions. This was aimed to investigate how different

components of children's ethnic identities (e.g. ethnic preferences, reasoning, attitudes and/or preferences) could be invoked by and become transparent in the context of their interaction with others. White and Asian children, of the critical age (7-8 years), having arrived at middle childhood, as same- or mixed-ethnic dyads, discussed: 1) with which one of several photographed novel targets they would most like to play; 2) which target would most like to play with them; and finally, 3) which target would most like to play with which else arranging the targets into dyads like themselves. The dyads' interaction towards their resolution of a joint decision in each task and their justifications for it was videotaped and analysed. Due to their common ethnic identity it was expected that those in a same-ethnic dyad would be more likely to prefer an ethnic-ingroup target, and infer that an ethnic-ingroup target would prefer them, and arrange all targets into same-ethnic pairs. Because of their conflicting identities, different-ethnic dyads were expected to be more likely to fail to resolve; however, their own dyadic composition might encourage them to arrange others as mixed-ethnic pairs.

It was found that mixed-ethnic dyads were more likely to fail, or spend longer, to resolve in all three tasks. Same-ethnic dyads, particularly white girls, were more likely to prefer a ethnic ingroup playmate, with the majority of the dyads sharing initial preferences for the target. Same-ethnic dyads were also more likely to expect that a same-ethnic target would prefer themselves, without between-ethnic or gender differences and the majority of them shared initial inferences about this target's preferences for themselves. For pairing others, same-ethnic dyads tended to arrange pairs of the same ethnic group. Mixed-ethnic dyads were more likely to arrange the targets into mixed-ethnic pairs, claiming that the pairings

resembled themselves (without explicitly referring to ethnicity). The reasoning provided by only a minority of children were explicitly related to ethnicity, most of whom were in both-Asian dyads for all three tasks who emphasised the religious or cultural background through which they identified with the chosen targets or which the paired targets shared.

5.2 Theoretical implications

Apart from constructing and augmenting a conceptual and methodological framework the present work represents a multilevel as well as multiperspective approach to the study of the development of ethnic identity in middle childhood. As a developmental phenomenon ethnic identity has been examined with a focus on both the individual and the group. As a developmental process it has been reviewed with an emphasis on the cognitive as well as the social. The implications of the findings from this research to those various theoretical perspectives are discussed in the following.

5.2.1 Cognitive perspectives

Much of this investigation has focussed on children of the age group that runs across the turning point of middle childhood; that is roughly 6-7 years of age. Inspired by Piaget's original theory (e.g. Piaget, 1932), it is estimated to be a period of substantial cognitive changes where children acquire important competences to manage information in their environment (e.g. Aboud, 1988; Katz, 1976). First of all the once egocentric child, who used to focus on its own perspective, decentres to handle multiple perspectives. In this

case, the child realises that others may have different points of reference because of their different positions or situations – and a source of such differences is their different ethnic identity. In the same way, the child can envisage that others who possess the same ethnic identity can also share similar points of reference. Thinking that used to be dominated by perceptual cues like *racial* characteristics is now concerned with the subtle and complex distinctions and commonalities in behavioural and dispositional characteristics between *ethnic* others. That is, the child emphasises categories of people such that individuals are viewed as members of those categories (Nesdale, 2000, 2001). It is from this standpoint that middle childhood has been seen as the critical time when children change how they perceive, interpret and apply ethnic information (Aboud, 1988; Katz, 1976).

The data in the present research has given clear support for the above themes concerning cognitive changes associated with ethnic identity development during middle childhood. Observational data from the first phase has given rise to the notion that children perceive others' play choice according to their ethnic group membership. It suggests that children sharing group characteristics (ethnicity) should also share the same disposition (play). A link is established by children, between the *external* racial cues and *internal* ethnic traits. The emergence of this phenomenon is verified experimentally, in the second phase, to lie at that turning point (6-7 years) of middle childhood, in line with hypotheses driven from cognitive-developmental theories that this time is when ethnic categories are most salient. At these particular ages, children are particularly likely to make predictions about others' (toy and food) decisions, based on these others' ethnic group membership.

More importantly, children also made inferences about others based on their ethnic group membership *in relation to their own*. The ethnocentric reasoning pattern in children's toy and food liking parallels gendercentric reasoning in Martin et al. (1995) as children make inferences about others' judgements based on their social group memberships. Members of one's own group were expected to share certain critical attributes as oneself and those of other groups were not. These abstract beliefs, linking the self and proposed constructs of ethnic (like gender) schemas on the *individual* level of perception, lend support to that pattern observed as a *group* phenomenon within the context of peer interactions in Phase One. Together these give weight to the validity of the theories of within-group similarity and between-group differences (Gelman, 1989; Gelman & Markman, 1986, 1987) being pertinent for ethnic identity development. From the critical age (6-7 years) children tend to speculate that if others share their ethnic group membership, they may also hold other deeper, internal dispositions ('essences'), including their preferences for important social stimuli like toys and foods, similar to themselves.

Children's patterns of inferences about toy and food liking further correspond with those predictions driven by schematic processing theories. These prescribe that category-based (such as ethnicity- and gender-based) reasoning, including stereotypical, ethnocentric and gendercentric inferences, derives, at least in part, from a generalised readiness to process social information on the basis of category-linked associations constituting the 'category schema' (Bem, 1981; Martin & Halverson, 1981). The ethnocentric (and gendercentric) inferences found particularly in this research would be a consequence of the self-concept becoming assimilated into children's ethnic (like gender) schema. Hence, ethnic schemas

here encompass those aspects of children's critical attributes which define oneself in line with others of one's own ethnic group and hereby influence children's processing of, and decision making about, social objects (toys and foods) in relation to group memberships.

It is said (by Bem, 1981) that as children develop the contents and structures of schemas, they learn that critical attributes are supposedly linked with their category memberships, thus with themselves. This does not necessarily entail learning that each group member is purported to stand on each dimension or attribute (such as, "boys are stronger" and "girls are weaker", "white children are well-behaved" and "black children are trouble-makers"), although certain ethnic (and gender) stereotyped schemas have been observed also in this and previous research. But the learning involves a 'deeper' lesson that these dimensions themselves are differentially applicable to the different category members. The child is to learn to apply this schematic selectivity to the self and to choose from the many possible dimensions the set of attributes that define him/herself and his/her own group members. Such attributes thus become eligible for organising the 'diverse contents of self-concept' (Bem, 1981) and in particular those contents subsumed under his/her social (here ethnic) group memberships. Some of the more specific attributes have been identified in context (particularly the case of religion or culture for the Asian subgroups) in the third phase of research (see section below). This tendency for these children to use this specific schema is likely to derive from the way in which their socialisation history stresses the functional importance of the attributes concerned (religion is a salient self- and group-defining trait, for instance), similar to the kind of environmental contributions towards greater tendency for gender schematic processing (Bem 1981; Martin & Halverson, 1981; Martin, 1993).

5.2.2 Social perspectives

If a part of ethnic identity constitutes a set of ethnicity-based self-defining characteristics and attributes (see Rotheram & Phinney, 1987) some of such ethnic definers on the group level were firstly observed and dissected in the first phase within the context of children's everyday socialisation. Those cohesive friendships among some Asian girls were notable and the tenacity of organisation in girls' groups identified as one possible (gender-based) influence underlying such cohesiveness. Ethnic ingroup preferences, particularly among girls, are also in line with the existing research literature (see *Introduction* for a review).

Of paramount importance is the manner in which Asian girls consistently co-constructed and co-participated in their own brand of activities and communication. This is important because their salient features, as mutually shared ideas and practices, describe and define the grouping into which they are socialised and thus form part of their developing social representations (see Moscovici, 1973, 1976). Such representations can be seen as those structures which function to provide collectivities with intersubjectively shared means for understanding and communication, and thus are the process through which structures are constructed and transformed by children themselves (Duveen & Lloyd, 1990).

Instead of being an individual activity confronting one's social world, Asian children's particular set of group-defining characteristics here have become transparent in their co-participation in a shared peer group culture. Thus like gender, ethnicity can be perceived

as a 'semiotic system' in which particular values, ideas and practices are associated with different ethnic designations (such as 'white' and 'Asian', versus 'boys' and 'girls', etc.). These elements can be in turn registered as signifiers of their ethnicity and thus provide the resources which individuals employ to express a 'social ethnic identity' - as they do social gender identity (see Lloyd & Duveen, 1992). In this way the semiotic system acts as one means of communication for an ethnic group – which operates through the above intersubjectively shared representations of group members.

Although ethnic stereotypes were once linked with incorrect, negative overgeneralisation (e.g. Schofield, 1981) or are often equated with prejudice (Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1991), stereotyping needs not be negative, inaccurate, or prejudicial, and can at times be based on a 'kernel of truth' (Foster et al., 1996). Such social expectations can emerge out of interaction with persons from different cultural groups, which appears to be the case at least in part from Phase Two's work. From some of the comments on the Asian targets or their Asian peers, coupled with observations of Asian children implying cohesiveness and 'academic' behaviour in class in Phase One, children's expectations may indeed arise out of their experiences with these peers. As described earlier, social representations could be formed where activities and traits are associated with a social group, but associations can also create culturally defined stereotypes (Serbin et al., 1993). Indeed the expectation of Asian children's lack of appreciation for novel toys, and the accompanying opinions by children appeared symbolic of certain notions, held by children and teachers in previous research about certain Asian cultures as being academically apt and socially conforming (see Foster et al., 1996; Smith & Tomlinson, 1989).

The particular stereotype of an ethnic group, partly derived from children's experiences with its members may lead to a set of expectations and evaluations about another aspect of their behaviour (which may be manifested as their perceived attitudes to toy-playing). Similarly, children's expectations, and particularly comments, about the different ethnic others' food choice were also likely to be reflective of their perceptions and learning as a result of their encounters with each other's culturally related food consumption. Similar to the pattern of, but differing in contents to, the ethnic-typed inferences about toys, both observations as well as stereotypes were appropriated by children in their reasoning about foods. Still, the links between experiences and stereotypes, and the associated response in these different contexts, must be clarified with further research.

Asian children's appreciably higher tendency to articulate their identification with ethnic-ingroup members in Phase Three parallels findings from earlier research with both adults and children where minority-ethnic members tend to describe themselves more frequently by their ethnic group membership (e.g. Powell, 1973; McGuire et al., 1978). This concurs with the view where minority-ethnic children are more sensitive or more precocious with regards to ethnic cues (Katz, 1982). This is again in line with tenets of the distinctiveness hypothesis (e.g. McGuire et al., 1978; Rosenberg, 1979; refer to the *Introduction*) where, with more salient features, the distinctiveness of others, an ingroup-minority target in this instant, would draw children's attention to their own ethnicity.

On the other hand, the substantial subgroup of Asian children concentrating more on the religious dimension of their identity over and above other aspects of ethnicity is a highly interesting phenomenon. The emphasis on religion as a self- and group-defining attribute has been highlighted in other research, though mainly with older children and youth from the Islamic faith (e.g. Weinreich, 1996). Where children specifically identified with their chosen playmate by this critical attribute here points to its pervasiveness in defining both the self and others *at least* during the early days of middle childhood. This carries certain resonance with the strategy for 'distinctiveness maintenance', identified by Turner (1975) and Lemaine (1974), via an emphasis on one's minority culture in order to enhance one's social identity. Still, as Rosengren and Johnson (2000) remark, more research to ascertain the specific role of religion in identity development should be a fruitful enterprise in light of the paucity of research in this area

5.2.3 Contextual factors

Not only the content of ethnic and gender schemas, but much of their context-specificity (i.e. toys versus foods) can be inferred from the pattern of findings in Phase Two. First of all, children's patterns of sex- and ethnic-typed inferences of others are vastly different in relation to toy and food liking. Whilst theories determined by general cognitive processes are short of giving a definitive explanation for this ethnic-gender differential, such studies – examining two types of schemas operating in two different contexts – offer suggestions in regards the relative strength of one (say, ethnic) schema over another (gender), or their differing influence on perception in different situations.

It is likely that the two different contexts presented the children with differentially salient ethnic and gender 'clues' (Ramsey, 1987). There has been a long history of sex typing of toys in our culture, which may lead to the phenomenon where toys, in general, are more susceptible to being attributed with sex-typed cues and characteristics (see Serbin et al., 1993, for a review). Hence the nature of gender schemas of toys may mean that children have a general readiness to classify and label even new toys (which is also suggested by the children's comments). Coupled with the well-established trend in the developmental literature that sex-role development precedes ethnic-role development, that the former is already well developed during preschool years (Serbin et al., 1993), this may explain the consistent pattern of gendercentric reasoning in inferences about toys. Toys, play or toy-play behaviours have been relatively seldom linked to ethnic labelling and stereotyping, however, which may be part of the reason why ethnicity is not as salient a dimension for categorising and identifying oneself with other own-ethnic group members in this context until the critical peak of ethnic-role development (age 6-7). On the other hand, culturally bound food practices (e.g. Rozin, 1986, 1996) indicate that food itself would invoke more readily ethnic-typed ideas in children. This is evinced by the pattern of inferences as well as comments (e.g. the emerging recognition of ethnic foods by 5-year-olds, and attention paid to food ingredients associating these with perception of or experiences with different ethnic peers). What all this shows is children's general awareness of the well-established relationship between food choice and ethnic group memberships. Similar to the enduring gendercentric inference pattern for toys, ethnocentric inferences for foods ensue beyond its initial emergence at 6-7 years further into middle childhood.

Also illustrated with the patterns of ethnic- and gender-typed inferences and ethnocentric and gendercentric reasoning is the distinction between schemas about others (e.g. beliefs about what others in various groups may act and think in general) and schemas about the self (e.g. whether the self would participate in the same activity and thinking as others in these groups) (see Signorella et al., 1993). Concurring with Signorella et al. (1993), there is basis from the pattern of findings to advocate that it is important to distinguish between what children endorse for themselves and what they endorse for others. Ethnocentric (and gendercentric) reasoning addresses the possible developmental changes for abstract group theories based on assimilating the self into one's ethnic or gender schemas during middle childhood. This developmental change, in both the toy and food contexts is, either vastly different, or is absent, from children's ethnic-typed inferences about others' preferences independent of themselves. This gives support to the view that schemas representing the self and schemas representing others develop separately or that schemas representing the self and others diverge with age into relatively unconnected components (Spence, 1985).

The opposing conceptualisations about the development of schemas are also reflected by the discrepancies in results between Study One and Study Two in Phase Three involving children themselves in the playmate selection scenario. Ethnicity became a differentially salient factor in the different contexts, between what children decided for themselves (in Study One) and what they inferred for others as their playmate preferences (Phase Two). Whilst the dyads' own preferences for ethnic ingroup others are coupled with both ethnic and gender effects (with this preference being stronger in white children and girls), there

is an absence of these effects when the dyads inferred others' preferences for themselves. Insofar that the accessibility of ethnic categorical attributes of others versus self between different contexts is concerned, this interpretation poses difficulties to earlier frameworks viewing all schemas as encompassing both the self and others (e.g. Martin & Halverson, 1981) but lends more support to the more recent conception (by Signorella et al., 1993 in above) concerning separate schemas representing the self and others. Alternatively, there might be differences in the tendency to *use* ethnic schemas for decision making about the self and about others. Clearly, more research is required in this direction.

The variation in gender- versus ethnic-stereotyping and identification through toy versus food liking, and how children infer about others' liking and playmate preferences versus how they decide their own, reflects the importance of the specific comparative context in which categorisation and evaluation is made. This contextual dependency is emphasised also by self-categorisation theory (e.g. Oates et al., 1994; Spears & Haslam, 1997; Turner et al., 1987). That means, changes in the intergroup context in which social comparison is made (e.g. from making choices about others' liking or preference to one's own) can lead to changes in what and how decisions are made. In turn, this implies certain flexibility in both the content and nature of ethnic and gender schemas and this is likely to be the case during middle childhood, when children begin to use social comparison information for self-evaluation (Ruble & Flett, 1988; Ruble & Frey, 1991). Thus, as Ruble and Stangor (1986) remark, the salience of, and the way in which, social categories affect perception can vary across situations. At times it may be the most salient dimensions, at others it is less so, or it may not be relevant at all, against other types of information.

5.2.4 Ethnic identity: relationships between components

The different components of ethnic identity, such as ethnic awareness, ethnic preferences, ethnic attitudes, and ethnic identification, are brought into sharp focus in the final phase of findings. This adds strength to the investigation in supporting the debated notion of an existing reciprocal relationship between the developments of various social group identity aspects (e.g. Aboud, 1987; Rotheram & Phinney, 1987), as these aspects all arose within the context of children's social interaction. From the children's exchanges as well as the task outcomes, one can examine the manners in which preferences and inferences (about others' preferences) concerning ethnic groups are constructed as a 'group' process (from dyadic interaction). Those discourses towards arriving (or failing to arrive) at their group decision and/or the kinds of explanations children provided to account for their decisions give hints to the ongoing ethnicity-based reasoning patterns involved between the peers. These, in turn, reflect their individual and collective attitudes towards, or identification with, different ethnic group members. It can be seen that ethnic ingroup preferences (or inferences about others' ingroup preferences) often go hand-in-hand with indicators of positive ethnic ingroup attitudes or ethnic ingroup identification (such as by identifying that a target shared one's ethnic group membership, some attributes or desirable traits).

It can be seen that children in general do not only prefer someone of their own ethnicity, they also attribute this preference towards others, which adds validity to this already well-established tendency to same-ethnic preferences in peer relations. The higher incidence of

failure or the longer time needed to resolve among dyads comprising children of different

ethnic groups also confirm the hypothesis that each child's different individual perception

and evaluation would lead to conflict. It is uniquely via the involvement in discussions or

debates, or 'intersubjective exchange', where children's senses of their roles in processes

of social construction are realised (Leman & Duveen, 1996). It is within social interaction

that the child's role of the self as a social actor in relation to the other, and in this instant,

their senses of ethnic identity which encompass one or all of the aspects of identification,

preferences and attitudes which can become transparent and consequently influenced the

outcome. It is also through this kind of social interactions that any conflict between their

alternative perspectives (arisen as a result of their differing sense of ethnic identity here)

is realised and perhaps resolved (cf. Doise, et al., 1998). Certain features, like children's

insistence on their own choice aligning it with their own ethnic identity but against their

partner's, of interaction and discourses may intervene to constrain a dyad's development

of a mutually agreeable outcome. This is similar to how they may go to constrain the co-

construction of knowledge found in Mugny's work in social interaction and development

(e.g. Mugny et al., 1984).

Children opting for same-ethnic others as potential playmates and identifying more with

them by some similarity, or less with different-ethnic others by their differences, are also

reminiscent of the early formulation of ethnic identities by Aboud and Christian (1979),

where ethnic identity is dependent on differentiation and integration. Whether or not the

two processes are prerequisites for children's ethnic identity, they clearly have a bearing

on children's self-definition, since they identified more with their chosen targets through

some shared attributes. It is also apparent that the distinctions and commonalities drawn by children are relatively 'social' and psychological and less physical and concrete. The ethnicity-related statements, particularly voiced by Asian children, focus rather more on covert attributes of ethnicity, such as religious beliefs and cultural origins, rather than on the overt racial characteristics such as skin colour, hair, and physical features. This is to be expected according to the cognitive perspectives of ethnic identity development (e.g. Aboud, 1988). That is, during middle childhood, children's ethnic-role information will have developed to include subtle and complex representations of ethnic groups, such as cultural values, customs and practices, with their interpretation influenced by their level of cognitive understanding at this critical age band (Katz, 1976).

Despite noting the critical identity processes, it is still difficult to ascertain precisely the relationships among the different aspects of a child's identity, or the order in which they are invoked and influence each other. For example, it is all too easy to assume, if a same-ethnic dyad preferred an ingroup target, and reasoned that they are of the same ethnicity, that these children's same-ethnic preferences are a result of their categorising themselves and others and identifying with the ingroup. There still remains a possibility that children readily hold a preference for, or positive attitudes towards, their ingroup without *a priori* identification with that group, or even before any process of categorisation. This has been questioned by Bennett et al. (1998) already in the case of national groups, where ingroup favouritism was found even without children's knowing that they belonged to the group, raising doubts to the prerequisite of social categorisation and subjective identification for ingroup bias posited by social identity theory (e.g. Tajfel, 1981; Turner, 1982).

In addition, affective judgements such as attitudes and preferences regarding nations have been found to precede knowledge about the nations by Tajfel's own work some time ago (e.g. Johnson, Middleton, & Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel & Jahoda, 1966). Hence one alternative interpretation of the present results may be that children in this investigation made their preferences or inferences readily depending on ethnic stimuli shown, then post-justified using ethnic self-categorisation and their identification with these stimuli (applicable to both phases two and three). This is particularly likely where at this stage of development children are aptly equipped with ethnic knowledge (e.g. Aboud, 1987; 1988). Underlying such an interpretation is the phenomenon that among other things, favourable judgements of and attitudes towards the ingroup will lead to a heightened ingroup identification (hence, the postjustification by children that they or others shared ethnic group membership or other critical attributes).

In spite of identification not being necessarily a precondition for ingroup bias, the extent of identification is nevertheless associated with ingroup-serving judgements and ingroup favouritism, although this association is moderate (see Ramsay, 1991; Ramsay & Myers, 1990). Thus it is a reasonable proposition that ethnic identification is likely to *contribute to* positive ethnic ingroup attitudes or preferences, although other factors still need to be borne in mind. One of such factors is the fact that children are exposed to a great variety of ingroup-serving social representations, such as those observed back in the first phase, as children participate in their own ethnic socialisation. This way of how representations of ethnic groups are constructed and transmitted via children's socialising experiences is

similar to Billig's (1995b) analysis of so-called 'banal nationalism', where commonplace and unobtrusive practices through which a nation's conception of its pre-eminent status is routinely affirmed. It is in any case well accepted that, as part of their ethnic socialisation, children learn not only that ethnic groups are used for the basis of classification, but also the attitudes or evaluations held towards these groups (e.g. Davey, 1983; Morland, 1969). Coupled with the increased cognitive ability in middle childhood, children's pronounced ethnic ingroup preferences may arise out of an assimilation of the complex and powerful social representations they share with their ingroup, and with or without their identifying consciously with it.

It is also possible that those components of categorisation, identification, attitudes, and preferences were all at work at the same time. In this case, children's responses would reflect any, or all, of the perpetual, cognitive, and affective processes of ethnic identity. The extent of each of these processes being used may also depend on the task involved (own preference for others versus preference inferred about others for self, for example; see *General discussion* in Phase Three or *Methodological and conceptual review* below). This may differ among different ethnic children where components develop and interact in a context which includes children's majority and minority status (Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987). For instance, due to its higher salience for minority ethnic children, as a cognitive process Asian children might tend to classify more using ethnicity. White children, as the majority, on the other hand, show a stronger and more consistent ingroup bias, reflecting their affective responses (e.g. Fox & Jordan, 173; Katz, 1983).

5.3 Methodological and conceptual review

A series of important findings have been discovered from this investigation. However, each of the enquiries conducted has not been without its shortcomings, not least on the methodological front and associated with it conceptual issues which are still unravelled. This section provides a review of both the strengths and weaknesses of the individual phases and studies involved.

Breaking with the conventional literature, the first phase of investigation has attempted to give a more complete and continuous account of children's ethnic socialisation beyond a brief observation or recording of children's responses to tests. This is in order that some themes of interest or importance would evolve within the context of children's everyday interactions for essential theory building since previous research in this domain is fairly atheoretical and findings somewhat inconsistent (Hallinan & Smith, 1985). The strength of the ethnographic method is realised as, on the one hand, the context together with the content of children's social actions have been captured for the interpretative approach to 'make sense' of the possible 'intentional structures of the social actors' (Duveen, 2000). On the other hand, doubts still arise as to whether an ethnograph of this kind amounts to sufficiently indepth and prevalent observations as evidence for the categories proposed.

The strengths of the ethnographic methodology indeed do not derive from the amount of data which can sustain and justify one interpretation (Duveen, 2000). Nonetheless it is the case that influential arguments have been put forward where researchers have engaged in

relatively extensive and longer-term participant observations (e.g. Andereck, 1992; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 1996) for persuasive interpretations from recurrent patterns of events and variety of cases. In comparison, the length of observation of the present ethnography has been rather brief (five days). Despite providing sufficient continuity for some events, the prevalence of phenomena (such as same- and cross-ethnic interactions or friendships) could have been substantiated more by lengthier investigations where evidence could be amassed from more varied sources and situations. Another strength of investing further time into this type of research is that changes and transitions can be observed over time, which would include the direction for some of the friendships or grouping (e.g. how the organisation of the "Club" might have taken shape into another week). Still, for the key purpose of *raising questions* as an exploratory investigation, rather than providing some substantive answers to any issues already addressed, the data gathered suffice in bringing some critical themes into focus, leading to further, more rigorous means of investigation.

The phenomena of ethnic identification, ethnic stereotypes, and ethnic attitudes observed in Phase Two can be considered as indicating children's 'spontaneous' categorisation and application of ethnic and gender information, according to Bennett et al.'s (2000) criteria. Bennett et al. (2000) criticise that previous research on children's social categorisation or perception has relied on techniques that call upon 'controlled' cognitive processes, that is, those under voluntary control. For instance, children have been quite explicitly requested to invoke some form of categorisation strategy to sort gender or ethnic stimuli presented to them. The processes examined, according to Fiske and Taylor (1991), would be called 'controlled' processes, in that they are initiated, monitored, and terminated at will, rather

than the sorts of 'on-line' strategies which would reflect 'automatic' processes, those that are unintentional, involuntary, and effortless. Similar to Bennett et al.'s (2000) technique which replicated Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff and Ruderman's (1978) 'who said what?' method, using target children of both sexes, the studies here could be seen as one approximating a 'who would like what?' task, using targets of both sexes as well as various ethnic groups. This kind of methods allows one to examine, whether in automatic processing of social information, children spontaneously invoke categories as a basis for decision making.

Children's preferences for and attitudes towards novel different-ethnic others have been sought in the final phase of investigation. Although various findings have confirmed the hypotheses, this paradigm can be queried as generalisable to first-impression situations only. Since the suitability of novel peers as potential playmates only was considered by children, the findings become less accountable to everyday social interactions (similar to the ethnographic scenarios in the first phase here) in which children experience both the visible characteristics and the *behaviour* of their peers (Foster et al., 1996). Indeed this is likely to be a factor behind the discrepancy between results by projective tests and those by observational means. This, again, calls into question the context in which both social perception and expectations take place. For future reference, so-called analogue settings in which children, instead of viewing still photographs of peers, may view videotapes or receive narration about different ethnic children who display controlled sets of behaviour. This way, not only the effect of the child's and target's ethnicity, but also the context and behaviour and their relationships with ethnicity, could be investigated in the process (e.g. Lawrence, 1991; Steinberg & Hall, 1981).

One of the recurring conceptual issues in the study of children's ethnic, gender, and other categorical dimensions about themselves and others is whether, and how, they distinguish their knowledge of such categorical memberships (e.g. what is a 'white' or 'black' person like) and their attitudes and feelings towards these categories. In turn, the methodological challenge associated with this issue concerns how these two concepts are operationalised for empirical investigation. It is a difficult, if not impossible, task to conclude that each of the measures primarily gauged only the construct of ethnic identity they were designed to measure (e.g. ethnic typing or identification by inferences about toy/food preferences).

What is more problematic is the meaning of children's spontaneous answers, particularly if these did not always correspond with their numerical responses. Where ethnic schemas are concerned for instance, some have argued that this construct includes all of cognitive, affective, and motivational components (see Signorella & Liben, 1985; Bigler & Liben, 1990). Both ethnic typing and ethnocentric reasoning could be viewed as either a social concept of attitudes, or the cognitive aspect of the child's knowledge about ethnic traits and stereotypes, or both. Although various researchers have made predictions about the possible relationship between them few have addressed the possible distinction between knowledge and attitudes (e.g. Carter & Levy, 1988; Serbin & Sprafkin, 1986). However, the general sense is that mere knowledge is not sufficient to warrant a child's behaviour and response in the relevant (ethnicity-relevant) situation (Signorella et al., 1993).

In the same vein, various components of ethnic identity, such as ethnic awareness, ethnic preferences, ethnic attitudes, and ethnic identification have all been examined together in the final phase of research. While it can be viewed as an empirical strength to address the different facets of ethnic identity illuminated in the same context, particularly one where social interaction is involved, it is also necessary to exercise caution with this sort of data encompassing a multitude of constructs. Aboud (1987, 1988) cautions about the dangers of confusing identification, attitudes, and preferences with each other. The measurement of positive or favourable attitudes towards a group has often been taken for granted as an index of preferences for, or identification with, that group. However, the question exists still as to whether these constructs are conceptually distinct and thus all require separate measures. In Aboud's view, it is only by measuring these constructs independently that one can possibly investigate their interrelationships. The correlations among the various components of ethnic identity have been inconsistent among studies that have attempted to measure them (e.g. Katz, 1983; Milner, 1983; Ramsay, 1991; Ramsay & Myers, 1990; Rosenfield & Stephan, 1981). This is not surprising when the salience of ethnicity varies across tasks (as it is the case between the studies in Phase Two and Three).

In more recent studies by Ramsay (1991; also Ramsay & Myers, 1990) separate measures for investigating the perceptual, cognitive, and affective dimensions of racial perception were used. It was the tendency to categorise racially and explicit references to race that correlated with affective and behavioural responses, although white and black children differed in their pattern of racial salience across tasks. Both findings are synonymous to that in the final phase of this thesis. Children were likely to prefer an ingroup playmate

(and infer that an ingroup playmate would prefer them and an ingroup other) and if so, were also likely to reason by some principles of similarity (including ethnicity). Asian children were more likely to refer explicitly to ethnicity, although their own preference for ingroup others was not as strong as white children, whereas the reverse was true for white children. Hence, whether the components of ethnic identity are independently or collaboratively conceptualised or assessed, one should consider the relationship among identity components, children's ethnicity and the tasks in which components are invoked.

Over and above it could be summarised that *both* the strengths and the weaknesses of the present investigation lie in the range of methodology employed to probe into the different dimensions of ethnic identity across a range of scenarios and contexts. Children's notions of ethnicity have been examined by all naturalistic, experimental, and semi-experimental means. The more 'direct' methods have relied on relatively spontaneous measures (as in Phase One ethnography and children's interactions and reasoning in Phase Three) and the more 'indirect' methods have involved projected measures (as in rating toy/food liking or consulting children's inferences about others' preferences). With the former, for younger, shy, or less articulate children, this requirement is relatively demanding. Where measures were derived indirectly, findings from these operationalised measures would be subjected to many interpretations, or the different dimensions of identity might become confounded and their interrelationships remain unclear. The need for direct and indirect measures and their associated caveats imply that research of ethnic issues will almost inevitably involve complications (such as social desirability) – which in turn highlights the fundamental idea that ethnicity is still a controversial stratification in society (Troyna, 1991).

5.4 Final conclusions

This thesis represents one of the rare attempts to investigate the various aspects of ethnic identity, and how these different components develop in relation to each other as children enter into middle childhood. The age of 6-7 years seems to be the point at which ethnicity is most salient. At this time, children interact more with others of their own ethnic group, expect others of their own ethnic group to play the same things that they do, differentiate ethnic others and identify more with own-ethnic others through their dispositions towards social objects. Children also prefer others of their own ethnic group, and expect that these others will prefer them and other same-ethnic others. These phenomena are likely to be at least partly contributed by an emerging cognition that other members of one's own ethnic group will also have in common with oneself some deeper attributes that different-ethnic members will not share. These concepts are represented within Gelman and Markman's abstract theories as within-group similarity and between-group differences, respectively (see Gelman, 1989; Gelman et al., 1986; Gelman Markman, 1986, 1987).

Children's ethnic-typed and ethnocentric perceptions are also reflective of the workings of ethnicity-related constructs termed schemas (i.e. ethnic schemas), similar to those of gender schemas (e.g. Bem, 1981; Martin & Halverson, 1981). These constructs contain the perceiver's beliefs, knowledge, and expectations about (here, ethnic) categories, and influence the processing of categorical information for person perception and evaluation, inference making, and interpersonal behaviour. Here, children are guided by their ethnic schemas to favour, think in line and seek closer proximity with, same-ethnic others.

The age at which the ethnicity-salient phenomena occur also reflects children's cognitive growth where 7 years is predicted to be the peak for ethnicity to affect perception by the cognitive-developmental perspective (Aboud, 1988; Katz, 1976). This is where children shift their attention from themselves to realising the different perspectives held by others due to their differing (ethnic) categorical membership and from the overt racial cues (like physical features) to covert ethnic characteristics (like traits and beliefs).

It must be noted, however, that the salience of ethnic categories and how they are applied is dependent upon context. Some situations present some groups with more ethnic 'clues' than others. Here these include the particular social objects (toys versus foods) associated with which decisions are made about others and the particular persons about and towards whom decisions are made (self versus others). Social stereotypes also play a part as some groups are tied to certain objects or attributes (such as Asian subgroups and culinary and religious practices). These stress the content and nature of ethnic schemas as changeable along changes in the comparison context which is also emphasised in self-categorisation theories (see Oates et al., 1994; Spears & Haslam, 1997; Turner et al., 1987).

Higher individual or group tendency towards ethnic schematic processing (here, Asian children's subgroups to engage in ethnicity-explicit reasoning) is addressed by certain proponents of schema models (e.g. Bem, 1981) as being influenced by environmental contributions as knowledge inputs for schemas. These can be identified in the way in which children co-participate and co-construct their ethnic ingroup peer culture whose

features are described and defined by their mutually shared ideas and practices for which

ethnicity is pertinent (such as using one's own language). This is in line with Moscovici's

(1976) definition of social representations, wherein the features which signify children's

ethnicity provide them with the resources that they employ to express their 'social ethnic

identity'. This is in line also with Duveen and Lloyd's argument (Duveen & Lloyd, 1990;

Lloyd & Duveen, 1992) for the development of social gender identity, as both ethnicity

and gender can act as 'semiotic systems' which operate through those intersubjectively

shared representations of their group members.

The relationship between peer interactions and ethnic identity is also reflected in the way

in which children as same-ethnic pairs unanimously voice their own and others' ingroup

preference and in particular, Asian children's identification with each other through their

ethnocultural features (i.e. religion). Possibly reflecting the pervasiveness of their beliefs

for distinctiveness maintenance and social identity enhancement (Lemaine, 1974; Turner,

1975), the context of social interactions provides a medium for children to realise senses

of their roles through their discussions and discourses leading to their joint task outcomes

(Leman & Duveen, 1996). Conflict of identities and associated reasoning is also realised

in this context which may in turn prevent the production of a collective judgement (Doise

et al., 1998; Mugny et al., 1984).

Although children's preferences for, and attitudes towards, their ethnic in/outgroups, and

their identification with their ingroup have emerged within the same context, at present it

is still uncertain how these different aspects of ethnic identity are related to each other. It

is plausible that pro-ingroup attitudes and preferences are in place without identification with the ingroup due to exposure to ingroup-serving social representations (Davey, 1983; Morland, 1969), particularly when children interact more with ingroup others as found in Phase One and previous studies (see Foster et al., 1996). But it is also likely that ingroup identification contributes to such ingroup bias (Bennett et al., 1998). Still, the association among the ethnic identity components has often been inconsistent from weak to moderate and is likely tied to the tasks with which these components are invoked (e.g. Katz, 1983; Ramsay, 1991; Ramsay & Myers, 1990). As Rotheram and Phinney (1987) once warned, it is crucial to consider that various components of ethnic identity interact in complex and not well-understood ways.

The present research has explored how children's ethnic identities develop as individual and group phenomena and processes and in different contexts during middle childhood. Future research will benefit from theorisation and methodology which ascertain more precisely the interrelationships between different components of ethnic identity.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I. Microscopic Explorer.

Appendix I. Microscopic Explorer.

Appendix II. Spirograph.
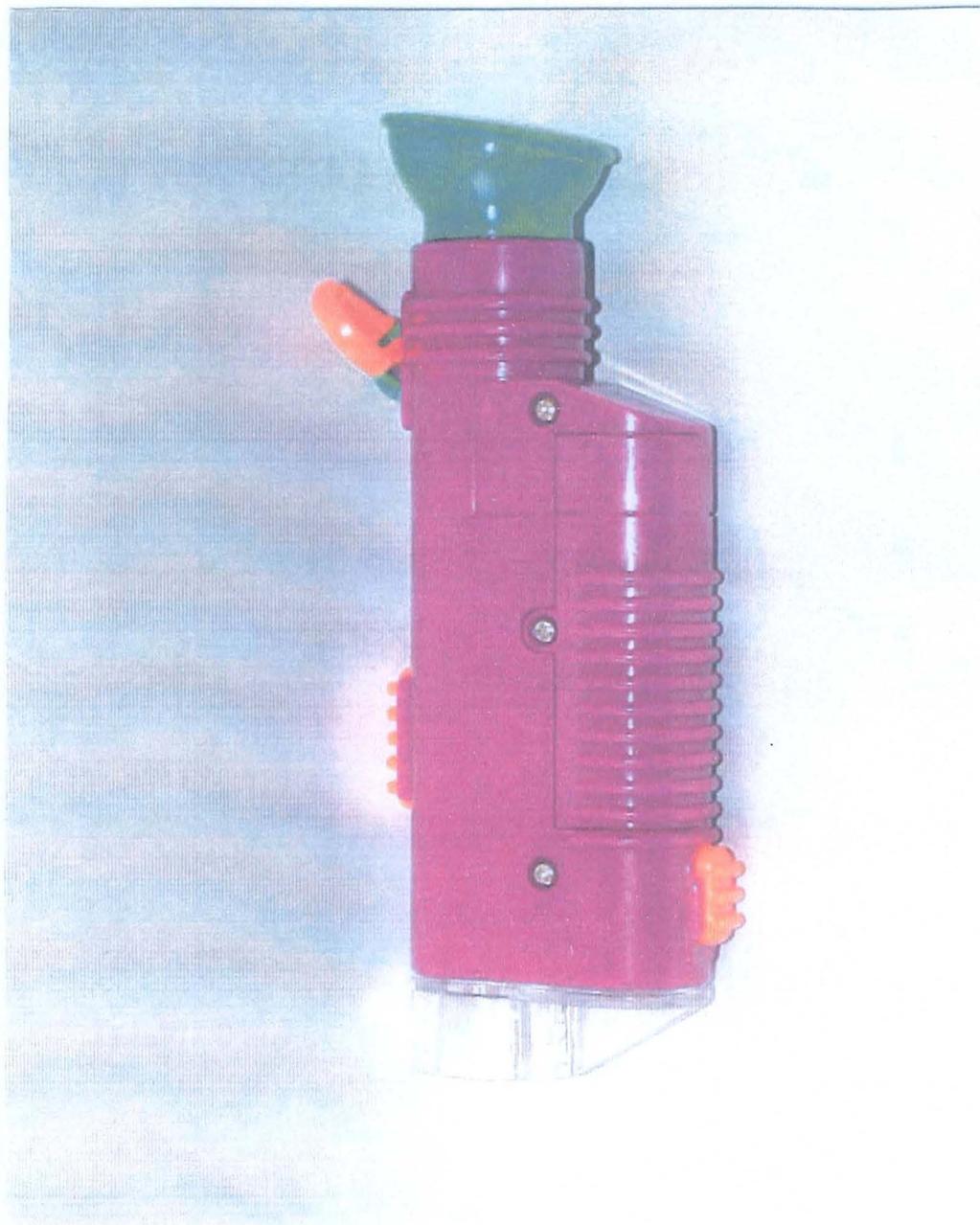
Appendix II. Spirograph.
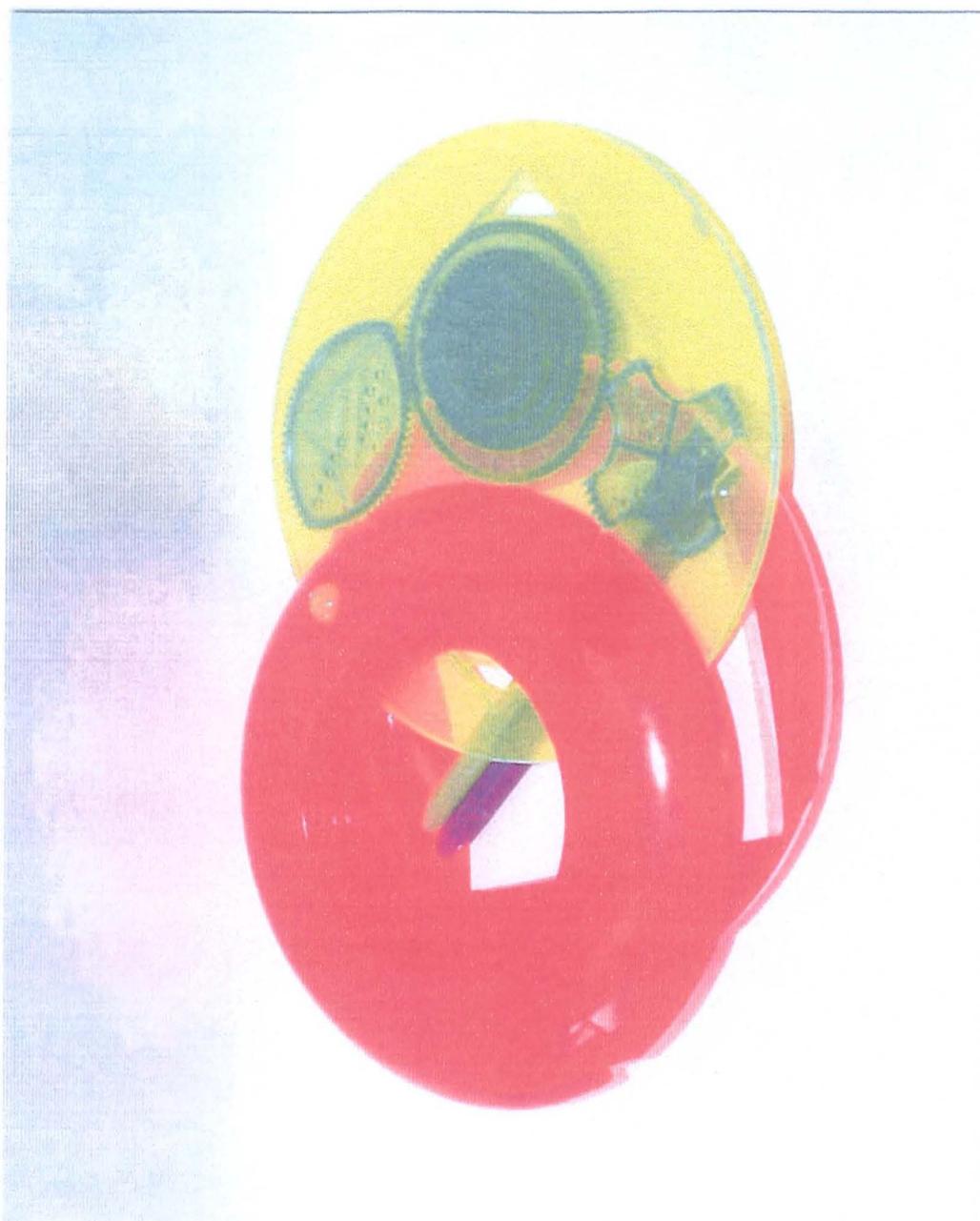
Appendix III. Strawcopters.
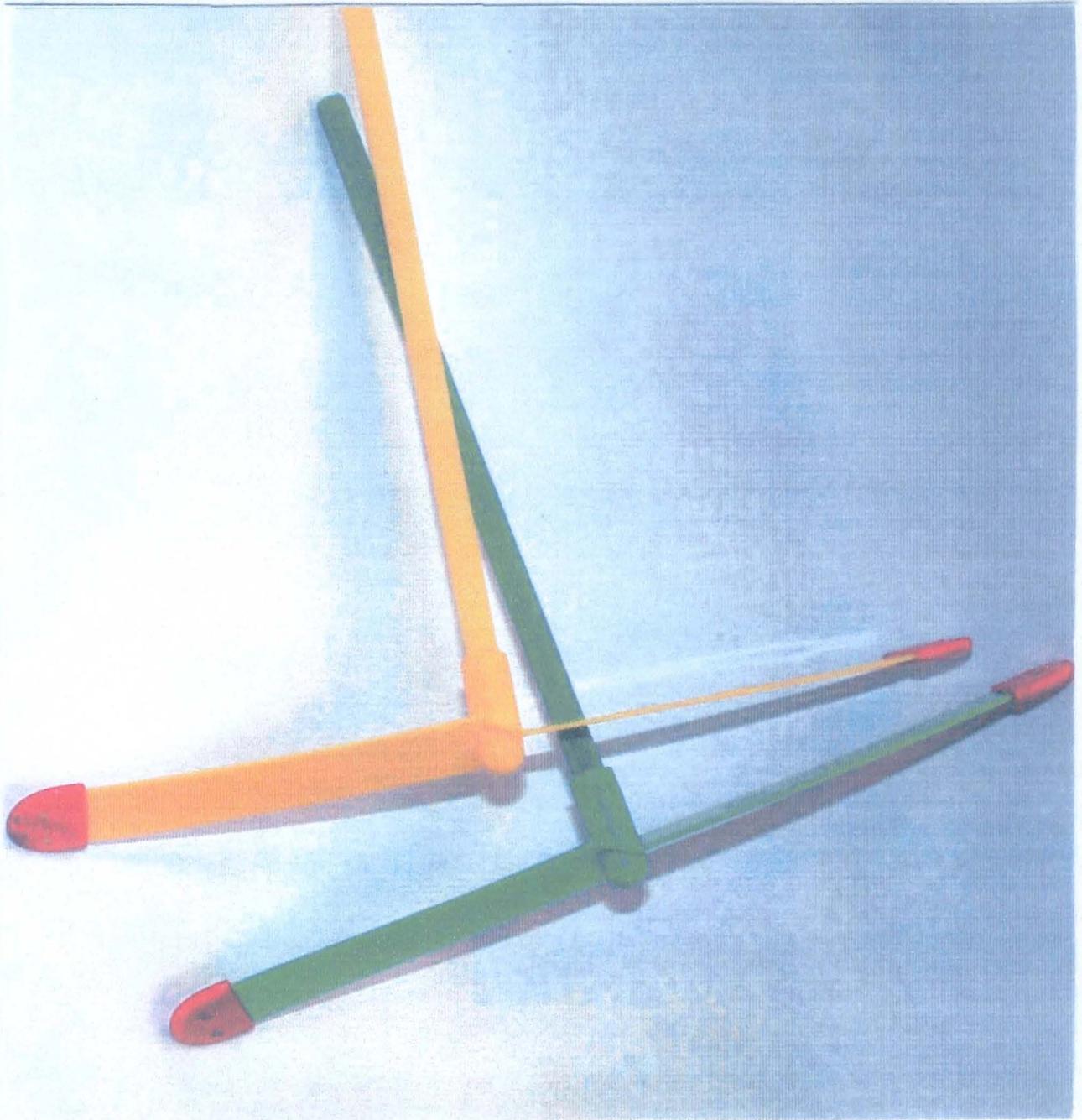
Appendix IV. Yoyo.

Appendix IV. Yoyo.

Appendix V. "Pokemon" bouncyball.
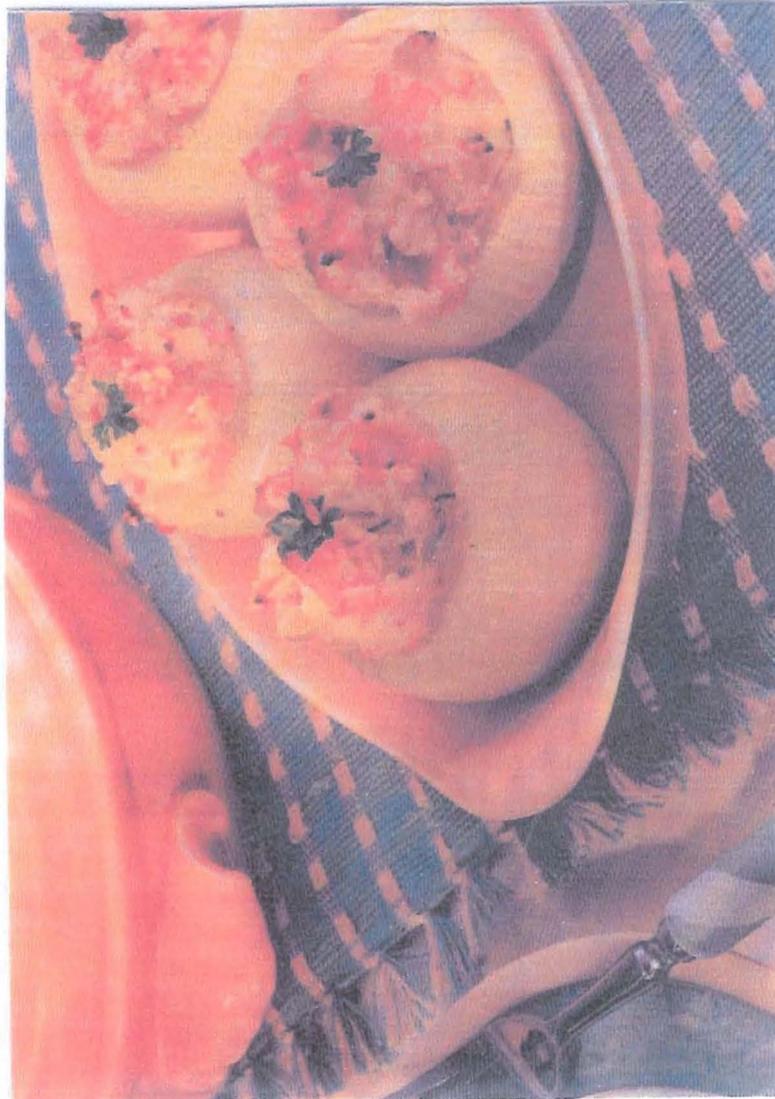

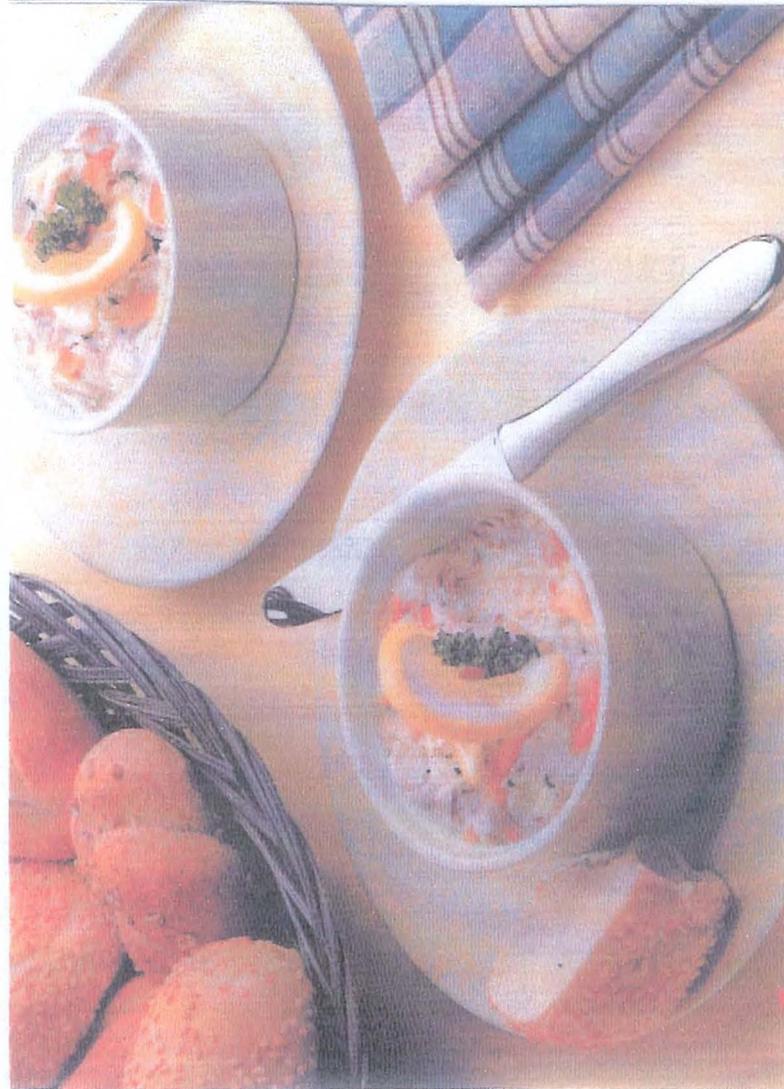Appendix V. "Pokemon" bouncyball.

Appendix VI. "Wallace and Gromit" miniature models.

Appendix VII. Target white, black and Asian children: Phase Two studies.
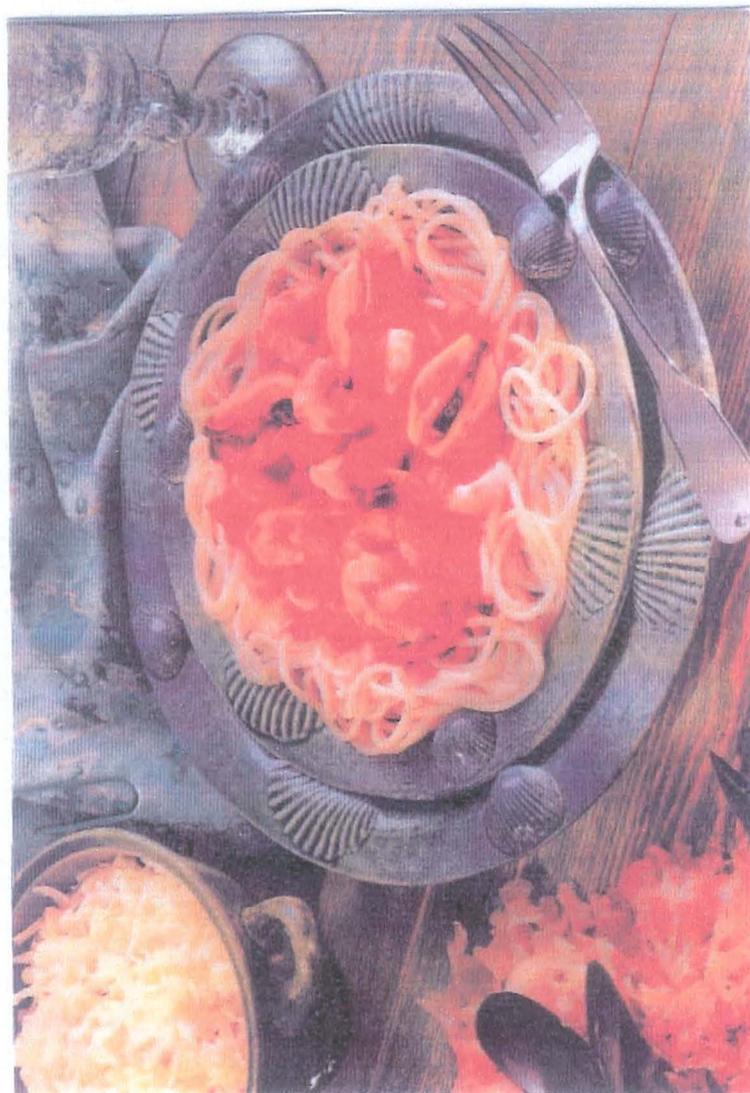
Appendix VIII. Stuffed onions.

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Appendix IX. Seafood starter.
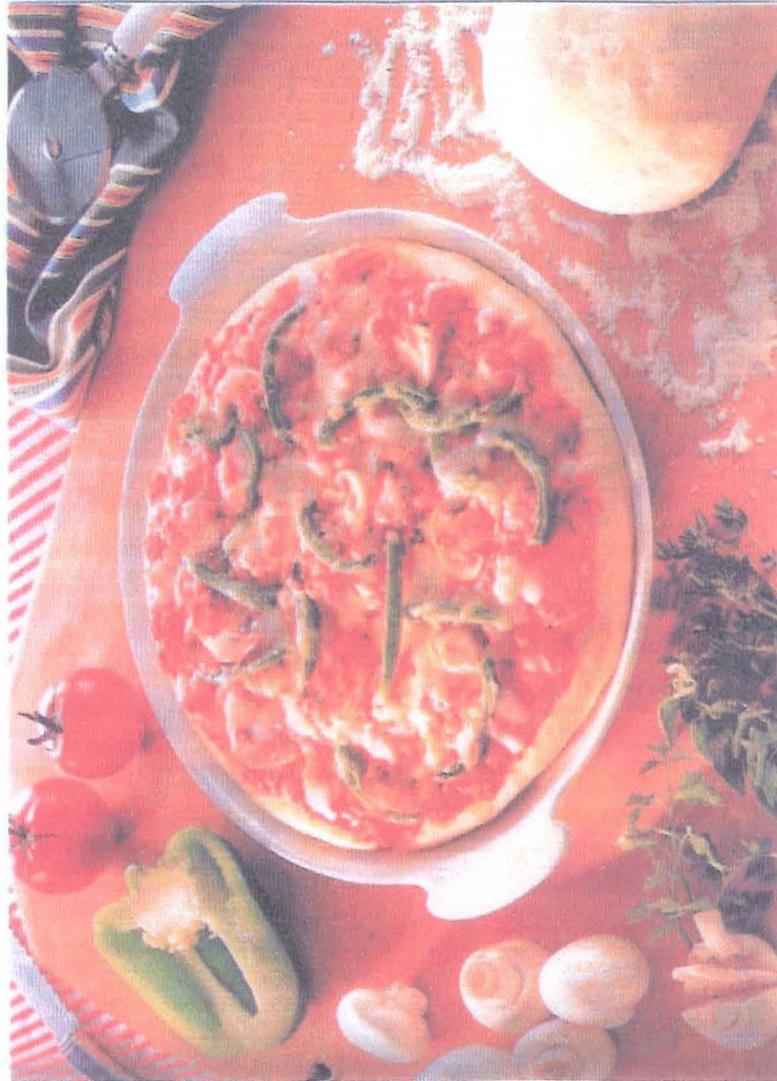
Appendix X. "Crown of ducks".

Appendix XI. Spaghetti.

Appendix XI. Spaghetti.

Appendix XII. Burgers.

Appendix XIII. Pizza.

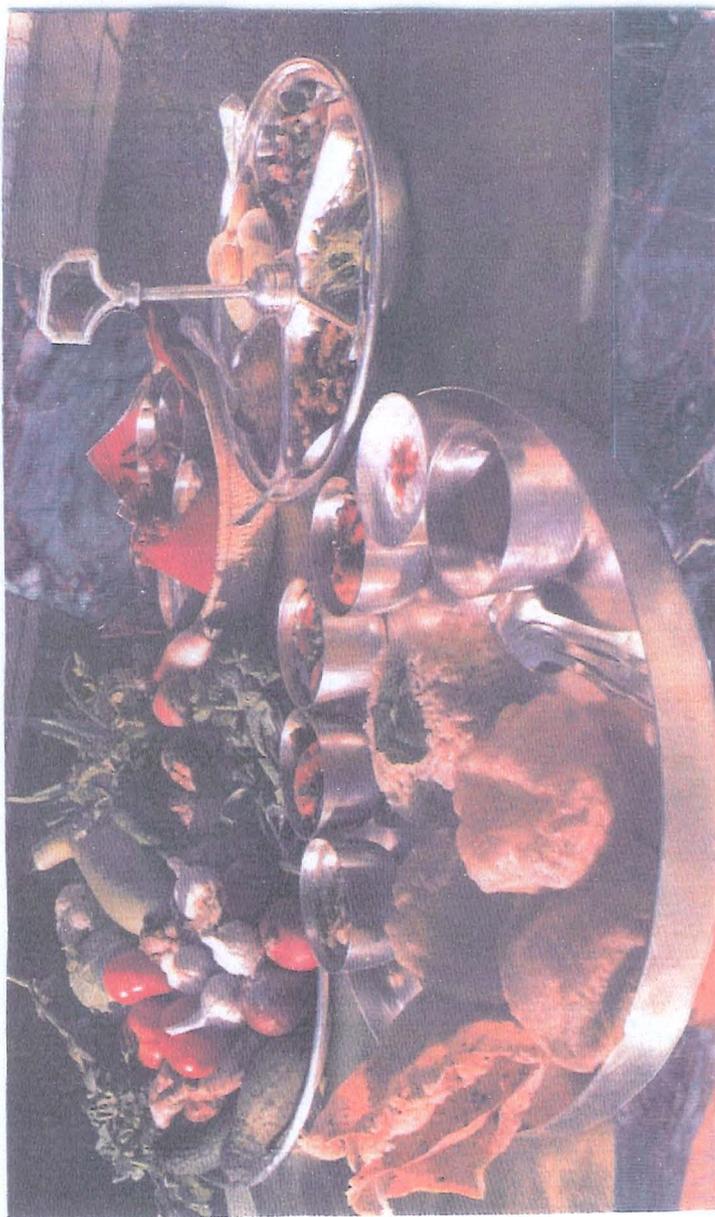Appendix XIV. English meat pie.

Appendix XIV. English meat pie.

Appendix XV. Tropical fruit.

Appendix XV. Tropical fruit.

Appendix XVI. Indian "bullion" buffet.

Appendix XVII. Target white, black and Asian children: Phase Three studies.