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Sojourner Children's Developmental Understanding of Nationality

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Abstract

A developmental model of children's understanding of nationality (Nationality Perspective-Taking Ability or NPTA) was proposed and evaluated in this study. The NPTA model expands extant definitions and provides a theoretical foundation for the developmental progression of national identity. Children (Mean age = 9.33 years) from Latin American and Asian countries who were sojourners in the U. S. for an average of 20.70 months were administered the NPTA assessment and scored according to the NPTA model. Results indicated children's understanding of nationality was predicted by children's chronological age and by the amount of their cross-national exposure. Additionally, the relative importance of children's identification with their national, racial and linguistic status was explored. A developmental trend revealed that children's identification with nationality increases across age while identification with racial status declines across age.

Keywords: children, nationality, identity, development, race

How children conceive of their nationality has received relatively little attention even though there has been considerable interest in children's attitudes toward members of their own nation and other nations. There was growing interest in investigating children's conception of nationality in North American and Western European countries during the 1950s and 1960s, with renewed interest in nationality identity for children in the recently formed European Union (e.g., Barrett, Whilsoon, & Lyons, 2003; Barrett & Oppenheimer, 2011; Bennett, 2004). To review, Piaget and colleagues (Piaget & Weil, 1951; Inhelder & Piaget, 1967) extended Piagetian cognitive developmental theory to identify the sequelae of egocentrism, concrete operations, and formal operations for children's conception of nationality. Piaget and Weil found that this developmental progression begins with a stage dominated by egocentrism, in which children's understanding of nationality is determined by their impressions and perceptions of the local environment. The next stage, sociocentricity, involves children's tendency to identify more strongly with their nationality—this identification usually reflects personal, familial, and local bias or loyalty toward their home country. The final stage involves children's abstract awareness of their country.

Piaget's early work was extended by investigation of children's views of foreigners (Lambert and Klineberg, 1967). As in Piaget's research, there were several trends identified in Lambert and Klineberg's research. Young children tended to exaggerate the positive attributes of their own group as well as the negative characteristics (e.g., strange, unfriendly) of foreigners. Additionally, young children's descriptions tended to be focused on observable characteristics. Early forms of ethnocentrism was followed by an increase in the complexity of children's reasoning about foreigners and an increase in their openness concerning the positive characteristics of foreigners. The third phase in this development reflected children's tendency to describe their own group as well as foreigners in more subtle and subjective features (e.g., personality traits), but these descriptions also reflected less favorable attributions toward foreigners than at the previous developmental phase.

More recent research has supported and also extended this early, seminal research into children's conception of nationality. Nugent

(1994) examined Irish children's understanding of nationality and found general support for the trend of young children's understanding of nationality to be dominated by egocentrism and focused on observable features of their country and that older children develop more abstract, realistic conceptions of nationality. More generally, Nugent interpreted his findings as being supportive of a developmental progression of perspectivism. Namely, this development begins with young children who are unable to have objective views of their country or to be aware of perspectives on their country other than their own. This phase is followed by another phase in which children become aware of alternative perspectives on their country. During this second phase, however, there remains a tendency for children to lack objectivity about their country, resulting in a 'defensive patriotism.' More advanced forms of development were interpreted by Nugent as reflecting greater levels of cultural or national perspectivism in which older children demonstrated ability to integrate different perspectives, compared to younger children. Nugent applied this interpretative framework in an apparent post hoc manner based in an exploratory, qualitative research design.

More recent work across a variety of local contexts in the European Union has supported a general developmental progression (Bennett, 2004): (a) during early to middle childhood, children develop the ability to make classifications into national groups, including self classification, and they associate behaviors (e.g., like football, are friendly) with differences across nationality to (b) during middle to late childhood, children are able to identify belief systems (e.g., religious beliefs, national creed) associated with cross-national differences.

The purpose of the present study is to extend the previous research in several ways. First, we posit and evaluate a developmental model based on perspective-taking ability of nationality (i.e., NPTA, see Table 1). This model represents an extension of a model of ethnic perspective-taking ability (i.e., EPTA) previously evaluated (Quintana, 1998; 2010; Quintana, Ybarra, Gonzalez-Doupe & de Baessa, 1999). Indeed, there seems to be important consistency between the developmental framework of EPTA and previous research on children's understanding of nationality. For example, children's understanding of both ethnicity

and nationality appears to begin with a focus on observable and physical features such as skin color for ethnicity (Quintana, 1998) and the physical environment for nationality (e.g., Nugent, 1994). Mature forms of development in both domains involve awareness of abstract characteristics including personality and cultural features (Nugent, 1994; Quintana, 1998). However, extending EPTA to the NPTA model provides a more detailed characterization of developmental milestones in children's understanding of nationality and grounded in an established theory of perspective-taking (Selman, 1980). The NPTA model (see Table 1) proposed herein suggests development proceeds from a physicalistic and egocentric perspective (level 0) to a literal perspective (level 1) in which children become aware of nonphysical and nonobservable features of nationality, such as psychological preferences for one's own national customs. The level 1 of perspective-taking ability involves children's emphasis of the literal aspects of nationality (e.g., language, customs, traditions, and heritage). The next level is a social perspective level (level 2) in which children describe social features associated with nationality, such as national differences in social norms. Subsequent to this social perspective level, a group perspective (level 3) is theorized which would be associated with children's ability to form a collective identity for their national group and be able to generalize and posit group characteristics. Based on research with EPTA (Quintana, 2010; Quintana et al., 1999), this group perspective is expected to be associated with an increase in stereotyping of other groups.

Table 1

Summary Description of Children's Answers of Perspective-Taking Ability for Nationality

Level 0: *Physicalistic and Egocentric Perspective of Nationality*

Understanding of physical features associated with nationality (e.g. reference to physical features of environment (e.g., "It snows in U.S. but not in my country."))

Egocentric views (e.g. reference to idiosyncratic features such as "I have grandparents back home, but not here.")

Level 1: *Literal Perspective of Nationality*

Literal aspects of nationality (e.g. reference to language, clothes, birthplace, citizenship)

Social Perspective of Nationality

Level 2: Social features are emphasized (e.g. "people here [in U.S.] walk too slow ... don't like to be touched" or "Mothers [in the U.S.] buy more things for their children.")

Level 3: *Group Identification Perspective of Nationality*

Group perspective (e.g. "Latin people have big heart", "We are all sisters and brothers.", or "People in the U.S. think they're the best.")

The present study extends previous research which has been limited to investigations of children who are in their native country and who usually have little, if any, contact with children from other countries (e.g., Barrett & Short, 1992; Nugent, 1994). Research suggests even small amounts of personal cross-national experiences (e.g., vacationing in a foreign country) had a critical impact on children's knowledge and attitudes toward foreigners (Barrett, 1996). Impersonal sources of information about foreigners (e.g., television), the dominant sources of information about foreigners for children in Barrett's study, were associated with stereotyping of foreigners. In contrast to previous research, the sample for the present study had indepth exposure to foreigners. Specifically, we evaluated international children who were sojourners in a foreign country. In this regard, children in our sample have had experiences living in and interacting with adults and peers in at least two countries.

The second major purpose is to evaluate the relative salience of several social identities. Nationality is often confounded with other important forms of social status. In much of the previous research the terms used to denote nationality were confounded with linguistic status (e.g., Spanish, English, and German). A similar problem is found in the research on children's racial attitudes in which the use of racial terms that also have chromatic connotations (e.g., Black, White) has created problems with interpreting research findings: it is unclear if children are

responding to the chromatic or the racial connotations of the racial/chromatic terms (Hirschfeld, 1993). The problem may be pernicious for the study of children's attitudes and understanding of nationality for two reasons: (1) much of the research has used nationality terms with a duplicity or multiplicity of connotations and (2) children have been shown to confuse nationality with other forms of social status such as linguistic, racial status, and local residence (Hirschfeld, 1994; Bennett et al., 1998). Unfortunately, there is a paucity of research investigating the developmental progression in the ability to differentiate among these three forms of status and investigating the relative salience of these forms of social status in children's social identifications. Consequently, we were interested in examining developmental trends in the relative salience of these forms of social status. The children who are the focus of this study were exposed to peers who differ from them based on ethnicity or race, nationality, and linguistic status. Previous research (see Quintana, 2010) suggested that racial status is one of the first forms of social difference that young children can reliably identify, in part because racial status is often marked by physical and observable characteristics. Conversely, nationality status is a form of social status that is more subtle, less marked by physical characteristics, and more abstract than is racial status (Barrett, 1996).

Study Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. Developmental trends in children's perspective-taking ability of nationality and salience of identity statuses were predicted. Specifically, an increase across age in children's NPTA scores and age and NPTA would be positively related to children's tendency to identify more closely with nationality was expected. That is, younger children were expected to identify racial status as salient at higher rates than older children. Nationality status is expected to be more salient for older children compared to younger ones, relative to other identity statuses. A developmental trajectory for salience of linguistic status is more difficult to predict.

Hypothesis 2. Additionally, the amount of cross-national experience was expected to be associated with NPTA and with salience of identity statuses. Specifically, the level of exposure to two countries was expected to be associated with higher levels of NPTA development. The relative salience of racial, linguistic, and nationality status was expected to be associated with the amount of exposure to the two countries, but the direction of the relationship was not hypothesized.

Exploratory Analyses. Finally, differences between the two groups of children on NPTA and salience of social statuses were expected. This study included an Asian (i. e., Korean) and Latin American sample. No significant differences between the two groups of children based on national origin for NPTA were expected as this developmental model has been found to be applicable to a wide variety of contexts and populations. There were no expectations concerning differences based on national origin and salience of identity status.

Methods

Participants

Participants in this sample were a total of 41 sojourner children attending public elementary and middle schools (grades 1 - 7) in the United States. Specifically, there were 21 children from Korea and 20 from Latin America. The first language of children was either Korean, Spanish, or Portuguese and most ($n = 38$) continued to speak their native language in their home in the U.S. These sojourner families were in the U.S. because a parent was attending university in the United States and all families planned to return to their home countries subsequent to the completion of the parent's university education. The children were in the U.S. for an average of 20.66 months, with 20 girls and 21 boys in this sample.

Instruments

NPTA Interview. The interview consisted of questions (20 - 30 minutes to administer) designed to assess children's developmental understanding of nationality. The questions were designed to probe for children's highest level of perspective-taking ability of nationality.

Interviewers, who were native language speakers of the child's home language, probed children's answers to clarify responses when they were ambiguous. The interview referenced visual aids to facilitate inquiry into children's reasoning and to increase children's attention to the interview questions. These aids were illustrations of individual children, groups of children, and families representing the child's nationality as well as citizens from the United States. All answers were audio-recorded, transcribed, and coded. Answers were scored according to criteria based on the NPTA model depicted in Table 1, all of which were modeled after scoring manuals for ethnic and racial perspective-taking ability.

The NPTA interview procedure has been modeled after interviews of children's understanding of ethnicity and race (EPTA; Quintana, 1994, 1998, 2010), which were, in turn, based on Selman's (1980) model of Social Perspective-Taking Ability. The EPTA interview has demonstrated good psychometric properties. Inter-rater reliability has been established at $r = .94$ (Quintana, Ybarra, Gonzalez-Doupe, & de Baessa, 1999). Moreover, validity has been demonstrated with a large validity coefficient ($r_{xy} = .86$) and with significant relationships between scores based on the EPTA interview and criterion variables (ethnic knowledge and social perspective-taking ability; Quintana et al., 1999). The validity coefficient computed for the NPTA for the present study was found to be high ($r_{xy} = .70$).

Salience of Children's Nationality, Racial, and Linguistic Identity Measure. This measure was specifically developed for this study. Children responded to a series of social identity comparisons with each comparison involving two children who differed in nationality, racial status, and/or language usage but who shared at least one of those status with the participant. Racial status was depicted with illustrations of children varying based on racial phenotype (hair, eye, and skin color as well as facial features). Linguistic status was depicted by cartoon-like thought balloons in which the illustrated children were offering a friendly greeting (e.g., "Hi", "Hola"). Finally, national status was depicted with a colorful map of the world's nations and by placing the illustration of a child on a nation to depict nationality. The participant was asked to choose among two options which option was most

similar to the participant. An example for a Korean participant follows:

Option A: English-speaking, Asian child born in Korea

Option B: Korean-speaking Asian child born in the U. S.

Which child is most similar to you?

This particular example compares the relative salience of linguistic vs. national status because racial status did not vary across the options. Option A involves the same nationality as the participant, but different native language while Option B involves the same native language as the participant but different nationality. Children choosing Option A were scored as reflecting greater salience of their national identity compared to their linguistic identity. Other items compared salience of nationality to racial status, and linguistic to racial status. There were six comparisons contrasting these three features. An estimate of reliability was computed for this measure using canonical correlations analysis in which the three scale scores from the first three questions were correlated with the second three questions. Even though this is essentially a six-item questionnaire for three identity subscales, results suggested that the split-half reliability was 0.74.

It is important to note that the indices of identity salience are not three separate dimensions because participants responded by choosing one status relative to another (in each item by choosing one was scored such that they could not choose the other). Consequently principal components analyses were performed to reduce the number of indices used to reflect the relative salience of identity statuses and thereby deriving dimensions that were linearly independent. Results from principal components analyses revealed two independent components were extracted (Eigenvalues 1.65, 1.35) that accounted for 100% of the variance of the three indices. The interpretation of the first principal component based on the factor coefficients for race, nationality and linguistic status (-.96, .82, and .22, respectively) suggest that this component indexes the relative preference of nationality over racial status. The coefficients for the second component (-.26, -.57, and .98, respectively) suggest that this component reflects the relative salience of linguistic status over the other two statuses.

Parental Interview. One parent for each participant, typically the mother, was interviewed in order to obtain information about the child's

age, length of stay in the U. S., visits to native country and families' intention of returning to its native country.

Procedures

Participants were recruited by contacting parents from international student organizations and by soliciting volunteers from ESL (English as a Second Language) classes. Parents who expressed interest in the study completed parental consent forms and were subsequently contacted to schedule individual interviews for their children. The interviews were conducted in the families' homes. The child's parent was interviewed to obtain demographic information about the child. All other information was provided by the children. The children were provided with assent forms in writing as well as orally. All interviewers were fluent in the child's native language and were of the same ethnic status as the family. The order of administration of the child measures was randomized to control for order effects.

Results

Descriptive Results

Children departed from their native country, on average, at 91.34 months ($sd = 32.77$). The average current grade level in the U.S. was 3.23 ($sd = 2.56$). All families planned to return to their home country when the parent(s) had finished their schooling in the United States. Nine of the families had visited their native country at least once since arriving in the United States. The mean scores for the salience of racial, national, and linguistic status are reported for descriptive purposes along with the NPTA across the two groups of children in Table 2. The salience scores represent the number of times that each form of social status was selected by each child as being a basis for similarity. The salience scores for each status range from 0 - 4.0. Across the sample, the children tended to choose racial status as an important form of their identity, with this tendency stronger for Korean children than for Latin Americans. Conversely, national status was particularly salient for Latin American children. Results listed in Table 3 suggest that children who scored at NPTA level 0 were among the youngest and that by 8.5

years, children had progressed beyond level 0. The largest portion of children scored at level 1, with a wide age range. There were no children younger than 9 years of age who scored at level 2 and only 3 children (who tended to be the oldest in the sample) were scored at level 3.

Table 2
Descriptive Results

		Korean Children	Latin American Children	All Children
Racial Identity	<u>M</u>	2.67	1.78	2.23
	<u>SD</u>	1.20	1.37	1.35
National Identity	<u>M</u>	1.10	2.58	1.82
	<u>SD</u>	1.14	0.96	1.12
Linguistic Identity	<u>M</u>	2.24	1.65	1.95
	<u>SD</u>	1.89	1.27	1.12
Perspective-taking ability	<u>M</u>	1.04	1.42	1.23
	<u>SD</u>	0.74	0.90	0.83
Age	<u>M</u>	8.41	10.30	9.33
	<u>SD</u>	1.54	2.43	2.22
Months in U.S.	<u>M</u>	24.90	16.20	20.66
	<u>SD</u>	25.48	13.89	20.87

Table 3
Breakdown of NPTA by means of age and months in U. S.

NPTA level	Number of children	Mean Age	Range (age)	Months in U. S.
Level 0	7	7.61	6.92 - 8.42	15.43
Level 1	20	8.70	6.17 - 12.83	20.63
Level 2	10	10.40	9.17 - 13.08	24.55
Level 3	3	13.25	12.92 - 13.58	25.33

Developmental analyses: Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis that perspective-taking ability of nationality and salience of nationality would be predicted by the developmental markers (i.e., chronological age and NPTA) was evaluated with Pearson correlational analyses (see Table 4). Both of these indices

were significantly related to age: $r(40) = .70, p = .001$ for perspective-taking ability of nationality; $r(40) = .51, p = .002$ for salience of nationality. Contrary to expectation, salience of nationality identity was not significantly related to NPTA.

Table 4
Correlational analyses investigating developmental hypotheses

	Age	NPTA
NPTA	.71***	-
Component #1 (Nationality over Racial status)	.51***	.17
Component #2 (Linguistic status over other two statuses)	-.054	.02

Cross-national exposure analyses: Hypothesis 2

The test of the second hypothesis that the amount of cross-national exposure would be associated with perspective-taking ability and the salience scores was tested in a series of regression analyses in which the predictor variables were the amount of time participants were in the United States and the amount of time they were in their native country (see Table 5). It is important to note that there was a strong correlation between chronological age and age at which the child left home country ($r = .77, p < .001$), but the relationship between age and number of months in the U.S. was not significant ($r = .06, p = .70$). Consequently, chronological age and time spent in home country are empirically confounded. Nonetheless, as expected, perspective-taking ability was predicted by the amount of time spent in the U.S. as well as the age at which the child left his or her native country. Similarly, the tendency to identify more closely with nationality relative to racial status was predicted by these two predictor variables. Hence, after controlling for the amount of time spent in the U.S., children who spent more time in their own country tended to identify nationality as an important basis for social identification and, analogously, after controlling for the amount of time the children spent in their home country, the more they spent in the U.S., the more likely they were to choose nationality over racial status as a basis for similarity.

Conversely, salience of linguistic status relative to the other two statuses was significantly predicted by only the number of months the children spent in the U. S. with those children in the U. S. for longer periods of time choosing linguistic status as an important basis for social identification.

Table 5
Predicting NPTA and identity salience from cross-national exposure

Criterion Variables	Predictor Variables	Beta	t-statistic
NPTA	Months in U.S.	0.67	4.81***
	Months in native country	0.86	6.14***
Component #1 (Nationality over Racial status)	Months in U.S.	.48	2.81**
	Months in native country	.62	3.60***
Component #2 (Linguistic status over other two statuses)	Months in U.S.	.39	2.25*
	Months in native country	.09	0.44

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Differences across nationality: exploratory analyses

MANCOVA analyses were performed to evaluate for differences on perspective-taking ability of nationality and the identity salience variables across Korean and Latin American children. Age and time spent in the U.S. were used as covariates because of differences between these groups on these variables. Results indicated that there were significant group differences on these variables ($F(3,35)=3.09$, $p=.040$) even after variance associated with age was controlled. Univariate analyses (analogous to *ANCOVAs*) indicated that both components (salience of nationality over racial status and salience of linguistic status over the other two statuses) were significantly different between the two groups ($F(1,37)=4.19$, $p=.048$; $F(1,37)=4.34$, $p=.044$), with no significant differences for NPTA ($F(1,37)=0.14$, $p=.70$). Salience of linguistic status over nationality and racial statuses was higher for Korean children and salience of racial status over nationality was higher for Latin American children.

Discussion

To reiterate, results suggest that there were strong developmental trends in children's perspective-taking ability of nationality (NPTA) and in their identifying more closely with nationality relative to racial status. Moreover, the amount of cross-national exposure was related to children's development of NPTA and to their relative identification with social statuses. Finally, there were significant differences between Latin American and Korean children for identification with their nationality relative to racial status.

The main purpose of the present study was to posit and evaluate the construct of NPTA. Study results provide tentative support for the validity of this construct, but also some of its limitations. The NPTA scores showed a strong developmental trend across age and were also positively associated with the amount of cross-national exposure. Importantly, there were no cross-national differences for NPTA, after controlling for differences due to age and length of stay in U.S. This provides support for the cross-national validity of the NPTA construct. Comparing results from previous research to those of the present study suggest that the perspective-taking ability scores were higher than previous estimates of children's understanding of nationality. For example, Nugent (1994) and Lambert and Klineberg (1967) suggested that children aged 10 years had not progressed beyond a relatively concrete understanding of nationality (roughly NPTA levels 0 and 1), but in the present study most of the children 10 years or older and some children 9 years of age had demonstrated awareness of a more social basis in their understanding of nationality (i.e., NPTA level 2). The differences between this study and previous investigations into children's understanding of nationality may be due to differences in the populations sampled and/or measures used. First, sojourner children in the present study who have extensive cross-national exposure might be expected to have more advanced conceptions of nationality than children in previous research who had little or no cross-national experience. The present study, like studies of racial and social perspective-taking ability, involved samples with considerable exposure to comparison groups. Not surprisingly, the range for perspective-taking ability in the present study is, however, consistent with investigations

of racial and social perspective taking ability in other domains (Alejandro-Wright, 1985; Marini & Case, 1994; Selman, 1980; Quintana, 1998; Quintana et al., 1999). Indeed, in the present study, there was an association between the amount of children's cross-national exposure and their NPTA scores. Previous research (e.g., Barrett, 1996) has also found that personal exposure to foreigners, mostly on a limited basis (e.g., as tourists) was associated with amount of knowledge and attitudes regarding foreigners. Consequently, cross-national exposure seems to accelerate children's understanding of nationality.

Secondly, the children's understanding of nationality in the present study may have been estimated to be higher than in previous research because of methodological reasons. The individually administered NPTA interview was designed to probe children's level of reasoning about nationality, whereas most other research used predominately group-administered measures that evaluated more spontaneously-generated descriptions of nationality. Like in the present study, Barrett (1996) and Bennett (200; Barrett & Short, 1992) also employed an individually-administered interview soliciting open-ended answers from children. Although somewhat difficult to interpret within the NPTA framework, Barrett found 10 year old children, compared to 6 year olds, relied less on concrete or physical terms (analogous to NPTA level 0) when describing nationality and tended to use more sophisticated kinds of descriptors. Unfortunately his coding scheme could not differentiate reliably between behavioral and psychological descriptors (Barrett, 1996; p. 360) and although the scheme for behavioral and psychological descriptors seemed to include primarily NPTA level 1 kinds of descriptors, there were some aspects of this classification that were consistent with NPTA level 2. Hence, it appears that Barrett's (1996; Barrett & Short, 1992) estimates of children's descriptors of nationality may be higher than in most other previous research that did not use individualized interviews. In turn, estimates of these abilities in the present study which included individualized interviewing and children with considerably cross-national exposure were higher than in Barrett's studies. Elsewhere research (e.g., Hirschfeld, 1993) has shown that methodological innovation has been successful in detecting higher levels of children's

cognitive functioning than previously demonstrated.

The extension of the EPTA and NPTA theoretical and methodological framework offers several advantages. First, this framework allows for a comparison and integration of research on children's understanding of nationality with the considerable body of research on children's understanding of race and ethnicity. Second, this framework provides a theoretical heuristic for developing a general model of cultural perspective-taking ability that can be applied across several domains, such as nationality, race, ethnicity, and possibly other forms of social status (social class, gender, etc.). Third, the framework is based on methodology that evaluates explicitly for perspective-taking ability. That is, there is an intensive semi-structured interview designed to evaluate specifically for children's level of perspective-taking ability.

Although supporting the utility of the NPTA construct, study results also suggest some limitations. Specifically, NPTA was not associated with any of the identity salience scores. Interestingly, although the tendency to identify more closely with nationality than with racial status was associated with chronological age, it was not associated with NPTA. Clearly, there are other forms of development unrelated to NPTA that influence the relative salience of various social statuses. Future research may find that the relative salience of identities is more related to attitudinal dimensions than to cognitive-developmental dimensions, such as perspective-taking abilities.

The second main purpose of this study was to investigate the relative salience of racial, nationality, and linguistic status. In this regard, we found the anticipated trend of older children identifying more with nationality than with racial status. The developmental pattern appears to be as children age, the salience of race declines while the salience of nationality increases. This finding is consistent with much previous research that establishes that children can distinguish racial differences at an early age (e.g., Aboud, 1994; Quintana, 2010). As mentioned previously, nationality status is not as easily identifiable as is racial status to young children, which may account for why the salience of nationality increases over time (Barrett, 1996). The present study appears to be the first to examine specifically the developmental

increase in children's identification with nationality relative to racial status. In addition to age, children's exposure to U. S. culture was associated with less emphasis on racial status relative to nationality. That is, identifications based on racial salience were lower for children with greater exposure to the U. S. There may be socialization differences between the children's experiences in the U. S. compared to these other countries that may account for this relationship. Specifically, these international children tend to live a racially-diverse community within the U. S. that attempts to promote acceptance of racial differences compared to the children's experiences in their home country in which there appeared to be less exposure to racial diversity and less emphasis on racial tolerance. Although this finding may be limited to sample characteristics, it suggests that exposure to a community of diversity and tolerance may have an impact on racial attitudes or salience of racial status. Moreover, the amount of time that children spent in their home country was significantly associated with the salience of nationality over racial status in children's identifications of similarity. Not surprisingly, those children who lived longer in their home country tended to identify more closely with their nationality. Nonetheless, this somewhat intuitive finding demonstrates some of validity for the salience of identification measure employed in this study.

It was also found that children from Latin America identified more closely with their nationality relative to their racial status than did Korean children. During interviews, Korean children seemed to express favorable attitudes toward the U. S. Conversely, during the interviews Latin American children tended to express somewhat ambivalent attitudes toward the U. S. This group difference in salience of nationality may be associated with geo-political events (e.g., U. S. involvement in Korean Conflict, U. S. policies toward Latin American countries). Also, Korea tends to be more racially homogenous than is the U. S. or Latin America. It may be that Korean children identify more closely with their racial status in part because of the relative racial homogeneity of their country.

Conversely, linguistic salience was not associated with chronological age but was predicted by the amount of exposure to the U. S. The failure to find a significant relationship with age was

expected because linguistic status is easily detected by young children but may also connote for older children an abstract basis for social affiliation. The findings that (a) the amount of time spent in the U. S. was positively associated with salience of linguistic status and (b) that the amount of exposure to the child's home country was not significantly associated with linguistic status were somewhat unexpected. The more exposure to the child's linguistic group would be associated with identification with linguistic status was found for salience of nationality (those who had more exposure to their own country identified more closely with nationality). However, during interviews it appeared as if newly arrived sojourners were optimistic, even naïve, about the ease of overcoming linguistic barriers. During these interviews, children who had been in the U. S. for greater lengths of time although they seemed to acculturate in several important ways to U. S. norms, they prided themselves in maintaining their native language. Given that this was the first study of its kind on children sojourners, future research may be needed to clarify the nature of the relationship between linguistic status and cross-national exposure.

There are several caveats related to this study's methodology. The salience measure was newly developed and although it appeared to reflect adequate reliability and validity, more research will be needed to investigate its relationship to other measures of racial, linguistic, and nationalistic identities. Additionally, given that this study was the first one to examine sojourner children's understanding of nationality and to introduce the NPTA framework, this study's findings should be regarded as preliminary until more research is completed comparing sojourner children with children who remain in their home country using the NPTA interview. Moreover, this study's design did not allow for comparisons across specific countries and a different sampling of children within various countries would provide more information about children from specific countries.

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