

The Relationship Between Racial Attitudes and Social-Cognitive Development in Children: An Australian Study

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Positive and negative racial attitudes of 122 Euro-Australian children (60 girls and 62 boys) toward Euro-, Asian, and Aboriginal Australians were examined across the 5–6-, 7–9-, and 10–12-year age groups. Children were more positive toward Euro- and Asian Australians than toward Aborigines. The middle group were less negative toward Aborigines than were the older and younger groups. Greater maturity in the ability to reconcile different racial perspectives and to perceive between-race similarity was moderately related to greater racial tolerance. Although the results support the role of cognition in age-related changes in prejudice between ages 5 to 9, found by A. B. Doyle and F. E. Aboud (1995) in Canadian children, the differences in attitudes to the 2 older groups and the finding that older children's negativity did not differ from that of the youngest group suggest the influence of environmental in addition to cognitive factors in the development of prejudice.

Research on the psychological processes in the development of ethnic or racial prejudice in children of European descent (the majority group of most research in the countries studied) toward minority groups has received considerable attention in multiethnic and multiracial societies such as the United States and Canada. Racial prejudice refers to "an organized predisposition to respond in an unfavorable manner toward people from an ethnic group because of their ethnic group affiliation" (Aboud, 1988, p. 4). These studies have established that most Euro-American (or Canadian) children, by the age of 5, express prejudice, attributing negative characteristics to African Americans and positive characteristics to their own group (Asher & Allen, 1969; Hrabá & Grant, 1970; Williams, Best, & Boswell, 1975). Furthermore, North American studies provide evidence for higher levels of prejudice and racial stereotyping toward African Americans and American Indians among younger compared with older majority-group children (Bigler & Liben, 1993; Doyle & Aboud, 1995; Doyle, Beaudet, & Aboud, 1988; Katz & Zalk, 1978; Williams & Morland, 1976).

Although there is now general agreement on the prevalence of racial prejudice among quite young children, the relative role of cognition versus environmental-learning factors in the development of children's prejudice remains unclear. Research from a social-cognitive perspective has linked qualitatively different types of prejudice at different ages with changes in cognitive structure (Aboud, 1988; Doyle & Aboud, 1995; Katz, 1976; Lambert & Klineberg, 1967), relating the high prejudice

of young children to immature social cognitions (Aboud, 1988; Doyle & Aboud, 1995). Social-cognitive developmental theorists such as Aboud have suggested that young children's immature cognitions "filter and distort environmental input" (Aboud, 1988, p. 22), so that the social environment in which they are reared plays a secondary role in explaining their racial prejudice. These immature cognitions include formation of rigid categories based on concrete information, the tendency to think in global and absolute rather than relative terms, and accentuated perception of racial group characteristics (Katz, Sohn, & Zalk, 1975; Piaget & Weil, 1951; Ramsey, 1987).

Other studies have focused on environmental-learning factors as determinants of children's negative racial attitudes. Davy (1983), in his study of British elementary school children, pointed out that the widespread consistencies in prejudice and discrimination in middle childhood are not rooted in individual motivation but in the social forces operating in children's social environment, such as the shared experience of group membership and relationships between groups. There are indications that, even at the preschool level, children are sensitive to the existing social structure, to the nature of interethnic relationships, and to existing privilege (Katz, 1987; Ramsey, 1991; Vaughan, 1987). Cross-cultural studies of racial bias in young children reported that the racial experiences of American children in the 1970s amplified racial bias above the level expected to develop as a result of noncultural determinants, such as the "natural" bias to see white or light things as good and dark or black things as bad (Best, Naylor, & Williams, 1975; Iwasaki, Sonoo, Williams, & Best, 1978). Boswell and Williams (1975) suggested that this tendency was reinforced by the American color coding practice in which Euro-Americans were called White and African Americans were called Black.

The majority of studies on developmental changes in children's prejudice and related cognitions have been undertaken in North America. More studies of children's racial attitudes in non-American cultural contexts would contribute to our understanding of the relative influence of cognitive development and distinctive cultural learning environments on this develop-

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Table of Contents Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development

1. Understanding the eBook Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development User Reviews and Ratings
 - Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development Free and Paid eBooks
 - Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development Public Domain eBooks
 - Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development eBook Subscription Services
 - Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development Budget-Friendly Options
6. Navigating Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development eBook Formats

- ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
- Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development Compatibility with Devices
- Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
 - Interactive Elements Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
- 8. Staying Engaged with Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
 - Setting Reading Goals Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Relationship Between Social And Cognitive Development
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
- 14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements
 - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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