
CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Race, Racism, and the Developing Child

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THE AUTHORS who contributed chapters to this volume are among the foremost authorities on how race influences children and child development. We have compiled, we believe, a dream team of scholars representing the breadth of perspectives, theoretical traditions, and empirical approaches in this field. The team of authors includes senior scholars who have committed their careers to this field of research, and junior scholars who have shown unusual creativity early in their careers. Each author provides a general summary of an area of research focused on race and child development and describes recent trends in research that foreshadow important future developments.

The breadth of the authorship for this book signals the diversity of perspectives used to understand how children's development and their social world are influenced by race. This area has a rich tradition, beginning with the Clarks' seminal doll research that helped influence the Supreme Court to order the desegregation of schools (K. Clark & M. Clark, 1939; 1940). The long tradition of research in this area has yielded important—sometimes surprising—findings, many of which run counter to popular beliefs. For example, children who have been racially stigmatized do not, contrary to widespread belief, experience low levels of personal self-esteem (Crocker & Major, 1989). Moreover, research suggests that the popular notions that children are naturally naïve to race and that they are taught to be racist by parents turn out to be simply wrong (e.g., see Chapters 3 and 4 of this volume). Clearly, the psychological study of how children are influenced by race has made and will continue to make important contributions to popular and scientific understanding of children. Reflecting the broad recognition that race and racism is highly consequential to societies, to inter-group contexts within societies, and to individual members of society, the field has captured the interest of several allied disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, developmental psychology, social psychology, education, and public policy.

Unlike many areas of scholarship that involve uneven development, there has been sustained academic interest over more than 50 years into topics associated with race, racism, and the developing child. This body of work has been consistently

responsive to social movements that span historical periods (e.g., the civil rights movement in the U.S.). For example, in Chapter 8 of this volume Cross and Cross draw from a rich theoretical tradition of racial identity theory that originated during the 1960s and the civil rights movement. Furthermore, the field reflects longstanding parallel sociocultural dynamics across nations. For example, international contributors to this volume teach us that the processes that give rise to children's prejudice (Chapter 13), and through which prejudice affects children's well being (Chapter 14) share important similarities around the globe. Teichman and Bar-Tal (Chapter 18, this volume) show us, on the other hand, that the development and consequences of children's prejudice can follow a different course in the context of lasting, intractable conflict.

Scholarship in the area reflects the highly creative integration of psychological theories that were not developed to understand interracial dynamics with theories and models that were developed to understand specific interracial contexts. For example, in Chapter 4, Aboud draws from Piagetian theory of cognitive development to understand the development of children's racial attitudes. Similarly, in Chapter 5 Barrett and Davis draw from the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978 Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) to account for children's racial attitudes across different sociocultural contexts. Moreover, the field represents an interesting nexus between developmental and social psychological theories. This nexus is particularly intriguing given the substantial differences between developmental psychology, which attempts to explain trajectories within individuals across context and time, compared to social psychology, which often attempts to account for individual and group dynamics that are products of social situations. The integration of these areas of scholarship allows for the investigation of developmental prerequisites of social psychological processes (see Chapter 2, this volume) and allows for an investigation of how children at different developmental levels adapt to specific social contexts (see Chapter 8, this volume).

SCOPE OF RACE, RACISM, AND THE DEVELOPING CHILD

Coverage of this book is topically broad, and contributors come from Australia, Canada, the European Union, Israel, the Netherlands, and the United States. These contributors have documented the development and consequences of racial cognitions and racism in a variety of interracial contexts and for a variety of ethnic and racial populations. The authors search for consistencies across racial groups, as well as identify those dimensions that are specific to a racial group. For example, in Chapter 11, Hughes, Rivas, Foust, Hagelskamp, Gersick, and Way review the consistencies of parent socialization strategies in White, Asian, Latino, and African American families and identify some trends that are specific to particular groups, such as differences in the emphasis given to promoting mistrust of others. Similarly, in Chapter 2, Quintana finds considerable consistency in the sequencing of levels of racial understanding across racial groups, but finds racial differences in the content (i.e., knowledge of specific characteristics associated with a racial group) of children's racial understandings.

We have organized chapters by two very broad themes. The first part, which includes Chapters 2–11 contains work that helps explain age-related changes in children's thinking about race and racism, and age-related changes in children's own

racial attitudes. The chapters in this section seek to answer two general questions: (1) How does children's thinking about race change with age? and (2) What endogenous and social contextual mechanisms drive those changes? The second section, which consists of Chapters 12–18, includes work that helps explain the consequences of race and racism for children's development across a number of interrelated outcome domains, including mental health, academic achievement, self-esteem, and occupational aspirations. In making this distinction, we sought to focus the volume on two distinct themes in the literature—the factors that give rise to and propagate children's thinking about race and racism, and the impact of race and racism on children's lives. The reader will note, as we do, that these two themes overlap substantially. Nonetheless, children are both participants who construct culture's shared narrative about race and are the targets of long-standing, frequent, and consequential social processes that arise from that narrative.

A variety of theoretical traditions are represented in this book, including cognitive developmental, peer and parental socialization, lay theories, social psychology, moral development, social identity theory, and racial identity models. These theories are used to explore consequences of racial bias on children's peer relations (Chapter 17), occupational aspirations (Chapter 16), academic achievement (Chapter 15), mental health (Chapter 12), and self and identity (Chapter 8). The chapters provide coverage from early childhood (e.g., Chapters 3 and 4) and chart the trajectory of conceptions of race into later childhood and adolescence (Chapters 2 and 8). Many chapters bring together more than one theory. For example, in Chapter 13, Nesdale has constructed a theory, Social Identity Development Theory, identifying factors that make prejudice more likely. In Chapter 14, Verkuyten brings together research on ethnic identity, self-esteem, and discrimination. Teichman and Bar-Tal, in Chapter 18, integrate several strands of developmental and social psychological theory to explain endogenous and social contextual influences on children's prejudice in the context of intractable conflict. This is one of the first scholarly handbooks to elucidate some of the unique developmental and social features of race and racism in children's lives.

RACE

The book focuses on the psychological experience of race and the impact of race and interracial dynamics on psychological development and adjustment. Historically, the term *race* has denoted genetic and biological differences associated with racial heritage (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Like others (e.g. Gould, 1981), we question the biological integrity of racial classifications purportedly representing distinct categories of humans. Whether race accurately draws boundaries between genetically similar groups or not, the *idea* of race as a biological dividing line between people is commonly held, and powerful in its consequences. The conception of race as a bright-line biological boundary between groups has no doubt amplified intergroup tensions, magnified social distance (indexed by intermarriage rates and residential segregation), and has been used to justify discrimination towards "inferior" races. For example, racial disparities in academic achievement are often attributed to differences in inherited intelligence (Rushton & Jenson, 2005). This explanation of the achievement gap can be used to justify inaction to redress this problem. The chapters in this volume treat race mainly as a socially constructed lay theory of the boundaries

between people; furthermore, the chapters in this volume all imply that the factors that give rise to prejudice and the consequences of those prejudices are not genetic inevitabilities, but could be altered through the creation of settings that diminish intergroup tensions and their consequences. For example, in Chapter 15, McKown and Strambler explain disparities in ethnic achievement based on differential exposure to factors that promote academic achievement (e.g., effective instruction) and those factors that suppress academic achievement, such as the negative effects of stereotype threat.

Given a shared definition of race as a socially constructed lay theory, the ideas of race and ethnicity become quite similar. Ethnicity is usually defined in demographic terms based on national origin and the cultural characteristics associated with national origin (e.g., language preference, customs, social norms). Hence, ethnicity is differentiated from race in that the former is associated with ethnic heritage and the latter with racial heritage. However, like “race,” “ethnicity” has socially constructed meanings associated with it. As with race, children are influenced by culturally shared explanations about the meaning of ethnic heritage and group membership. For example, children of Mexican descent are negatively affected by ethnic prejudice and bias. The impact of racial prejudice appears similar to ethnic prejudice (e.g., Pahl & Way, 2006). Prejudice is likely to influence children through the frequency of the exposure and the way it is expressed, rather than if it is focused on racial or ethnic heritage.

Recent research supports the similarities between ethnicity and race in how each influences development and adjustment. Some research has found that whether children’s sociocultural identity is focused on racial or ethnic terms does not matter (i.e., predict psychological outcomes). Instead, research has found that children’s psychological investment in the identity—whether it is ethnic or racial identity—has considerable influence (Fuligni, Wikko & Garcia 2005). Specifically, Fuligni et al. found that the strength of adolescents’ identifications was more important than if the identity was based on cultural (e.g., Chinese), ethnic (e.g., Latino), or racial (e.g., Black) labels. In Chapter 2, Quintana has found that the same sequencing of development occurs across ethnic and racial groups. Children’s psychological experience of race appears to be similar to their experience of ethnicity in many contexts.

Highlighting the overlapping meaning of race and ethnicity, there is a strong correlation between race and cultural practices, social norms, and linguistic practices. For example, there are important ethnic and cultural features to African Americans’ racial identity, and there is growing interest in investigating the ethnic foundation to African Americans’ identity (see Cokley, 2005). In Chapter 8, Cross and Cross argue that what has been considered racial identity is more accurately labeled racial-ethnic-cultural. Clearly, there is much in common when considering racial and ethnic influences on children and their development.

Despite similarities in the lived experience and consequences of race and ethnicity, we recognize that reasonable scholars may disagree about which term and which associated group labels are most appropriate. Some may prefer to use the language of ethnicity because they believe the idea of race as a biological fact is false, and using racial terminology to describe groups reifies an erroneous conception. Others may prefer to use the language of race because they believe that even if biological conceptions of race are incorrect, how people think about groups and how intergroup dynamics unfold and affect people rests on a commonly held, if erroneous, assumption

that race reflects true biological boundaries. Although we have highlighted the similarities in these labels, we recognize the ongoing tensions in their meaning and usage. We have taken the position that race and ethnicity are in their lived experience and in their consequences more similar than different. Our decision to only include “race” in this book’s title was based more on editorial considerations than on a desire to exclude considerations of ethnicity and culture.

This book reviews research and theory that generalizes across racial groups, while also attempting to understand those processes that are specific to a racial group or sociocultural context. Many of the theories associated with race and racism are not specific to a particular racial group. Racial identity models (Cross, 1971) originally developed for African Americans have been found applicable to other racial and ethnic groups (Atkinson, Morton, & Sue, 1981). The impact of racism appears similar for African American and Latino youth (Pahl & Way, 2006). Indeed, many of the theories associated with race and racism in children’s lives are applicable to nonracial contexts involving intergroup relations. Barrett and Davis (see Chapter 5) apply Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978) to racial and national identity across different racial and national contexts. Similarly, children’s understanding of racial groups appears to be an outgrowth of their cognitions associated with the physical world (see Chapter 4), social perspective-taking (see Chapter 2), or their innate drive to understand different social groups (see Chapter 3). In this context, it is not surprising to identify similarities across racial groups and across different interracial contexts in children’s understanding of race.

The chapters in the book also identify features specific to a particular interracial context. Herman (see Chapter 10), for example, identifies differences in racial identity among multiracial youth depending on the particular combinations of racial heritage. To illustrate, she finds particular challenges with social acceptance among biracial youth with Black and White racial heritages due to the large social distance between Black and White racial groups in U. S. society. Similarly, Hughes et al. (see Chapter 11) identify socialization strategies that are similar among racial and ethnic minorities, but different in racial majority families. For example, African American, Latino, and Chinese families tend to provide similar levels of cultural socialization for their children, but higher levels of cultural socialization than occur within White families. Interestingly, Black, White, and Latino families promote egalitarian notions associated with race at similar levels, but at significantly higher levels than among immigrant Chinese families. Despite these mean differences, the effect of particular processes, such as exposure to racism, appears similar across racial groups. Exposure to racism has a different impact, depending on the racial group, because some groups are exposed to racism more frequently or more intensely than others. We hope this book encourages work to continue developing models that can be generalized across racial groups, yet are sensitive to the specific features that vary across different interracial contexts.

RACISM

A portion of this volume is dedicated to examining the now mature body of research on how children develop racial attitudes. One of the reasons this question is so critical is that between birth and adulthood, children become racialized beings, some of whom endorse hostile racial attitudes, many of whom endorse egalitarian values, but all of whom are to some degree beholden to the psychology of intergroup

cognitions and relations. We rapidly and automatically categorize and judge others on the basis of their group membership, and from this deeply human tendency flow many consequences. Although there are many times when our captivity to the psychology of race relations is invisible to us, contemporary social science findings suggest that we may never escape its influence sufficiently to guarantee a world free of the kind of ethnic hatreds that bred the Holocaust, the Rwandan genocide, ethnic cleansing in the Balkans, and the contemporary horrors that continue to unfold in the Sudan and elsewhere around the globe. While hope of eradicating the psychology of race may be slim, there is every reason to believe we may come to a much greater understanding of that psychology. To understand the psychology of racism as it dawns in human consciousness is a step toward freedom from its most untoward manifestations and consequences. Through greater understanding of racism's birth and development in the human mind, we may learn to prevent and reduce entrenched hatreds and quieter forms of intergroup divisions. The contributions in this volume thus hold critical lessons for addressing the world's most pressing problems.

Another portion of this volume is dedicated to examining the effects of racism on children's development. Race is consequential in children's social world and development. Race will determine how a child is perceived by others, including peers, but also by authority such as police and teachers. Race will determine, to some degree, who will befriend and influence the child, and, as the child ages, with whom the child can and will be romantically involved.

We believe it is important to identify the multiple pathways through which racism and bias influences children. Most research on the impact of racism on children has implicitly employed a model in which racism directly influences the child. Within this model, there is an assumption that individuals are likely to be most influenced by the racism for which they are the direct target. In this model, racism may come from peers in the form of, for example, name-calling on the playground or social exclusion in activities (see Chapters 6 and 7). Adults may also express prejudice toward children through stereotyping, hostility, or rejection. Additionally, those in authority, such as teachers or police officers, may act on negative expectations, decreased tolerance for behavior and many other racially driven behaviors (Chapter 7). In Figure 1.1¹, we depict the direct influence model of racism.

A significant shortcoming of the direct influence model is that the child need not be personally involved in racism to be negatively affected. Research on PTSD reveals that persons can be traumatized by vicarious exposure (see Horowitz, 1999). Recent research on exposure to violence has revealed many negative effects on children from witnessing violence, including higher incidence of substance abuse and internalizing disorders (e.g., Kliewer, Murrelle, Mejia, & Angold, 2001). Similarly, it seems logical that children can be influenced by racism that they witness, but does not occur to them individually. Hence, vicarious racism is another pathway of influence (Chapters 7 and 12). Consider the situation in which a child is riding in a car with her father who is stopped by the police for no apparent reason other than the father's race. The child is likely to internalize the treatment that the father experiences. W. E. B. DuBois (1903) wrote powerfully about children witnessing their parents' victimization due to racial prejudice. The model illustrated

¹Figures 1.1 through 1.4 were first described by Quintana and Johnson (2001).

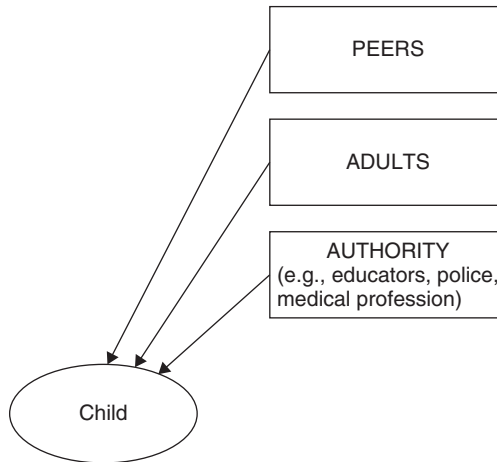


Figure 1.1 Model of Direct Influence of Racism

in Figure 1.2 is meant to represent the ways in which children may be affected by vicariously experiencing racism that is directed toward their peers, relatives, parents, and others.

A third pathway for the influence of racism is indirect effects. In other words, children need not be present in order for racism to be influential. There are likely to be significant indirect influences on children by racism that are experienced by peers, parents, relatives, and others. In the above example of racial profiling, the child need not be in the car when the father is stopped inappropriately by police in order for the

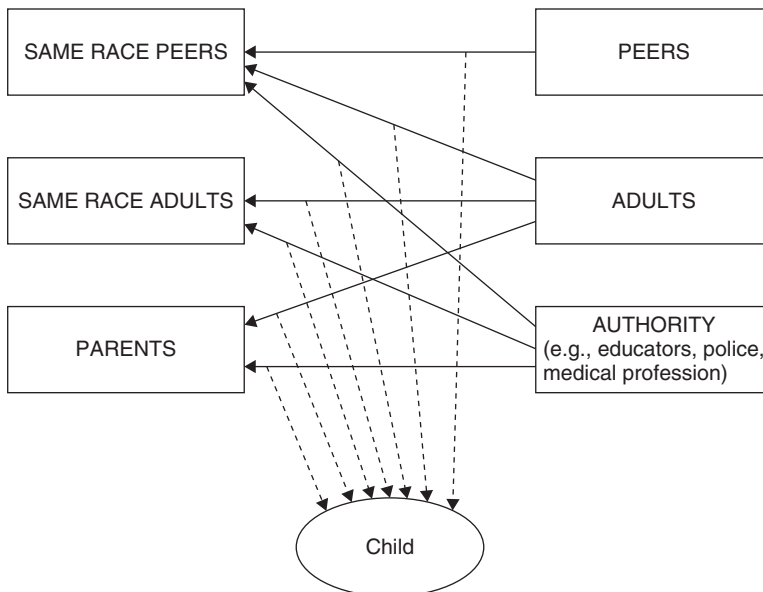


Figure 1.2 Model of Vicarious Influences of Racism

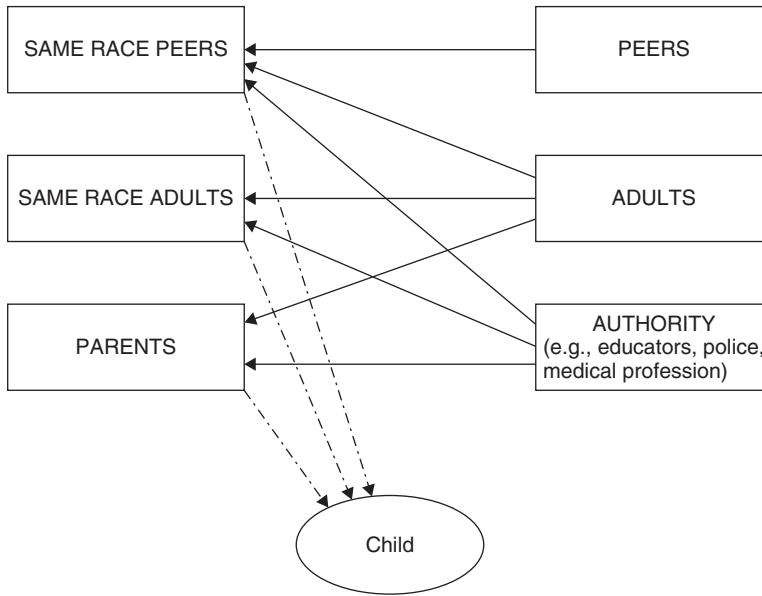


Figure 1.3 Model of Indirect Influences of Racism

incident to have some effect on the child's life. As another example, parents' experience of racism in schools when they were young may have an intergenerational effect. The socialization strategies used by parents, in some cases, to promote mistrust against others may reflect the exposure to racism that parents experienced, while their children are indirectly exposed to racism, with the effect mediated by parental socialization of their children (see Chapter 11). Children may be made aware of specific incidents affecting others by the retelling of these experiences, or may be made aware of generalized incidents through family or folk stories. Given the social dominance of racial minorities through the exercise of institutionalized forms of oppression, such as the misuse of power instantiated in the criminal justice system (Sidanius, Levin, & Pratto, 1998), these "folk myths" may contain more than just a kernel of truth. Figure 1.3 is an attempt to depict the indirect pathway through which children may be influenced by racism.

Figure 1.4 represents an integrated model of the impact of racism on children. That racism has a negative impact on children's development has been generally recognized in psychological research since at least from the Clark and Clark (1950) doll studies. Surprisingly, why racism has negative impact on children's development and adjustment is not well understood. Much of the research on racism, at least among adolescents and adults, has focused on public forms of racism among strangers (e.g., poor service in stores or restaurants or verbal harassment while in public) or has focused on the perception of racism in the society without a direct connection to the participant (e.g., Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002). The integrated or combined model of the pathways for the influence of racism on children depicts the varied ways in which children can be negatively influenced by racism.

These pathways are represented in the book in several ways. Cooper, et al., (Chapter 12) identify the consequences of direct, indirect, and vicarious exposure to

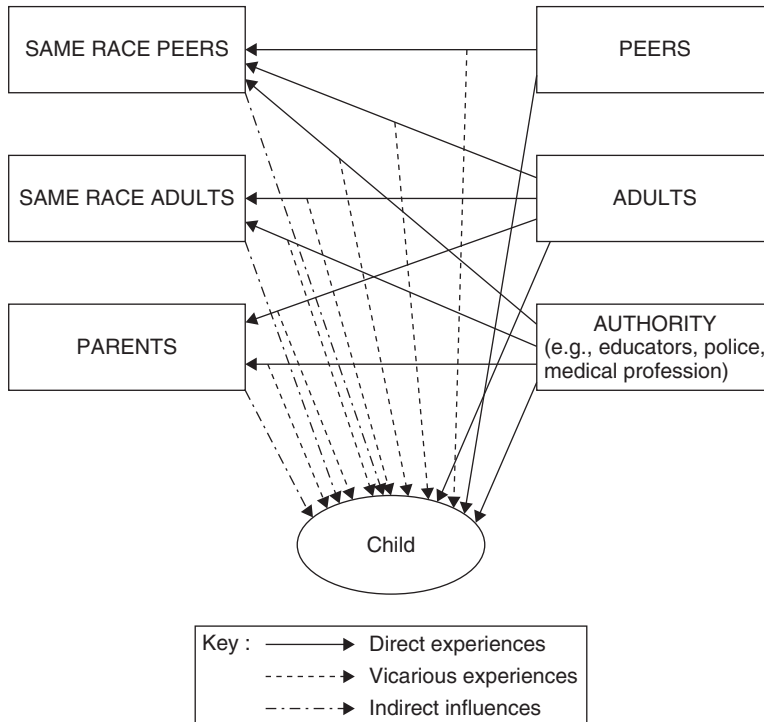


Figure 1.4 Model of Combined Influences

racism. Brown (Chapter 7) and Quintana (Chapter 2) describe developmental patterns associated with children's ability to detect and understand discrimination in its various forms. McGlothlin et al. (Chapter 17) describe how peer relationships are influenced by racial attitudes and social exclusion, and reasons for the relatively small proportion of cross-race friendships. Hughes and Bigler (Chapter 16) describe the consequences of racism on children's occupational aspirations. McKown and Strambler (Chapter 15) indicate the consequences of a variety of forms of racial discrimination on academic achievement for racial minority children and youth. Hughes et al. (Chapter 11) reveal how parents attempt to buffer the myriad ways in which their children are exposed to discrimination. Verkuyten (Chapter 14) offers an explanation for the puzzling observation that children and youth who are racially stigmatized do not have low self-esteem. His work suggests that explicit measures reflect cultural patterns of responding to questions about self-esteem, and that minority youth may reveal lower forms of self-esteem based on implicit or unconscious markers of esteem.

DEVELOPING CHILD

Chapters 2–11 describe the developmental changes in children's racial cognitions and attitudes. Most of these chapters draw from developmental theory to examine how children construe and make sense of their racial world. Hirschfeld (Chapter 3) suggests children's precocious understanding of race reflects an innate drive or motivation to detect differences among groups in their social world. In contrast to

popular myths, children are not naïve with regard to race, but are primed to perceive and detect differences among racial, ethnic, and other social groups. Aboud (Chapter 4) draws from Piagetian and neo-Piagetian theory to understand how the development of children's racial attitudes is influenced by their cognitive development. Nesdale (Chapter 13) applies Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978) to posit a new theory, Social Identity Development Theory, to account for the development of racial prejudice in young children. Quintana (Chapter 2) charts the development of children's understanding of race and race-related processes from early childhood through adolescence, while Cross and Cross (Chapter 8) posit a lifespan model of development for racial identity that begins early in life and continues into adulthood. Brown (Chapter 7) identifies trends in the empirical literature that indicate developmental differences in how children perceive discrimination. Hughes et al. (Chapter 11) reveal different parental socialization strategies, some of which depend on the developmental level of the child.

Authors also identify inter-racial and inter-group dynamics that influence children, but which do not appear to reflect developmental trends. Barrett and Davis (Chapter 5) apply Social Identity and Social Categorization Theories to understand the difference sociocontextual influences on children's racial and national attitudes and identity. They found few differences across ages in racial attitudes. Levy and Karafantis (Chapter 6) investigate the role of individual differences in children's lay theories about human attributes, examining the consequences of viewing human attributes as fixed and enduring versus context-dependent. Levy and Karafantis find that those who emphasize context-dependent explanations for behavior show lower levels of racial prejudice. These differences in lay theories about human attributes do not appear sensitive to changes in age, although it may be that children younger than 10, who are not included in their work, may display age-related changes in their theories, and the impact of those theories on prejudice.

While developmental psychologists and many social psychologists characterize racial identity and identification as stable characteristics, Yip (Chapter 9) and Herman (Chapter 10) indicate that situational and contextual factors determine when and how racial identity is made salient, with Yip investigating the daily fluctuations of racial identity salience and Herman investigating the fluidity of biracial and multiracial youths' identification across one or another focus for their racial identities. Both of these researchers find that situational and contextual factors account for fluidity in racial identity. We hope this book stimulates more cross-fertilization of developmental and social psychology theories and research to further our understanding of how race and racism influences the developing child.

EMERGING THEMES

Several themes run through the contributions to this volume. Many of the chapters make clear the importance of setting-level influences on children's lives. For example, Yip (Chapter 9) extends work on racial identity, demonstrating that not only does racial identity change over the course of development, but it also changes depending on situational cues that make different identities salient. Thus, the immediate setting has a bearing on the nature of racial identity. Similarly, Nesdale (Chapter 13) and Barrett and Davis (Chapter 5) identify ways in which the immediate context shapes children's intergroup attitudes. Teichman and Bar-Tal (Chapter 18) demonstrate that

children's prejudices depends on the political context in which they are formed. Their work suggests that intractable conflict begets hardened intergroup encampments and bitter feelings that may further contribute to the intractability of the conflict. McKown and Strambler (Chapter 15) describe a limited number of social processes, occurring in a few key settings, that may explain ethnic differences in achievement. Furthermore, their model suggests that examining multiple social processes across settings simultaneously may be more profitable than focusing narrowly on single processes or contexts.

Further work on the interplay among settings, attitudes, and functional outcomes will help advance the field. It will be important to address basic issues such as defining what constitutes a setting and identifying the settings most likely to shape children's development. If we take these questions seriously, then we will move beyond the conception of a setting as a physical space or a collection of people, toward an idea of settings that emphasizes the shared subjective experience of participants and the processes through which those participants influence one another. A practical consideration in the measurement of settings is who to ask for the best appraisal of the setting's features. For example, if one were interested in the relationship between classroom climate and children's intergroup attitudes, a critical and consequential decision would involve who to ask about the climate. Perhaps an objective observer is in the best position to appraise the setting's features. Perhaps the teacher, an insider with an adult's capacity for reflection, can reveal insights into the setting's climate that an observer would miss. Or perhaps students are in the best position to reveal the inner workings of the setting. There is, of course, no correct answer to this question, but to the extent that we share an interest in understanding how settings shape intergroup attitudes, how settings communicate intergroup attitudes and beliefs, and how settings influence children's development, careful consideration of these issues is a must.

Another theme touched on in many of the volume's chapters involves the role of identity in children's development, particularly the role of racial identity in the lives of racial minority children and youth. From the broad sweep of Cross and Cross' (Chapter 8) model of racial-ethnic-cultural identity development; to Yip's (Chapter 9) close analysis of situational influences on racial identity; to Verkuyten's (Chapter 14) exploration of the relationship between racial and ethnic identity, discrimination, and self-esteem; to Herman's (Chapter 10) examination of identity development among multiracial youth; several authors have argued persuasively that children's developing ideas about their own race and ethnicity, and its relationship to who they are, plays a critical role in who children become and how they respond to a wide range of situations. Continued work to understand the factors that promote healthy identity development is crucial. Furthermore, the field has not yet clearly specified the role of ethnic identity in protecting youth from the negative consequences of discrimination and other noxious experiences, although the authors in this volume and elsewhere are beginning to clarify these relationships.

Another important theme of this volume is the interplay between age, social development, racial cognition, and thinking about race and racism. Many of the chapters highlight the impact of developmental processes on children's thinking about, and response to, race and racism. For example, Aboud (Chapter 4) argues that normative age-related changes in children's cognitive skills, including their Piagetian conservation skills, affects the very nature of children's prejudices, much less the magnitude of those prejudices. Brown (Chapter 7) demonstrates that normative

changes in children's social cognitive development affect the ways children encode and make sense of discrimination. Others make a strong case that children's racial cognitions are not secondary or epiphenomenal to other, more basic social cognitive capacities. For example, Hirschfeld (Chapter 3) argues that children are driven to understand the "natural kinds" of people that exist in the world, and he argues that this drive is distinct from children's cognitive development and thinking about other things in the world—even things that may appear similar, such as children's thinking about biological kinds. An important area for further inquiry will be to sort out in theory and in fact what racial cognitions reflect unique, domain-specific, cognitive modules (e.g., children's theories of natural kinds), what racial cognitions are related to but distinct from other cognitive domains (e.g., children's awareness of discrimination and their perspective-taking skills), and what racial cognitions are epiphenomenal outgrowths of other cognitive domains.

However children's racial cognitions are related to children's non-racial cognitions, those cognitions become increasingly sophisticated and consequential with age (see Chapter 2). Very early in childhood, children become aware of race as a category of person (see Chapter 3). Not long after, they develop attitudes and beliefs about members of different racial groups (see Chapter 4), although the immediate (see Chapters 5 and 13) and societal (see Chapter 18) context in which those attitudes form affects their strength and consequences. Through middle childhood, children become increasingly aware of cultural stereotypes that they may not personally endorse (Chapter 7). With this awareness comes the possibility that children's development—for example, their academic trajectories—may be shaped by situational cues that signal that children are devalued because of their race (see Chapter 15). Chronic experiences with racism may also affect children's mental health (Chapter 12), but the relationship between racism and well-being is far from straightforward (see Chapter 14). Parents vary widely in the messages they convey to children about race and those messages change with children's capacity to understand them (Chapter 11). In turn, children, particularly ethnic minority children, develop important ideas about the role of race in their lives and in who they are as people (see Chapter 8). Those ideas are shaped by the immediate context (see Chapter 9), and may be particularly challenging and rewarding for multiracial youth (see Chapter 10). In short, changes in children's understanding of and response to race and racism from birth to adulthood are nothing short of revolutionary.

Another emerging theme in this area of inquiry involves the nature of children's cognitions, including their racial cognitions. In particular, an exciting area of research in social psychology has been the differentiation of implicit from explicit attitudes. Implicit attitudes are unconscious attitudes that are reflected, for example, in how efficiently stimuli can be processed, with the assumption that information consistent with implicit stereotypes is more efficiently processed than information that is inconsistent with stereotypes information (Dovidio, Kawakami, C. Johnson, B. Johnson & Howard, 1997). These implicit attitudes are differentiated from explicit attitudes, with the latter being those attitudes within a person's consciousness and usually measured with reflective self-report methodology. Verkuyten (Chapter 14) applies this framework to consider differences between implicit and explicit self-esteem and suggests that, consistent with popular conceptions, implicit forms of self-esteem may be susceptible to bias, whereas explicit self-esteem is more based on cultural orientations (individualistic valuing of the self). Quintana (Chapter 2) discusses

explicit forms of children's understanding of race through, for example, responses to interviews. In contrast, Hirschfeld's (Chapter 3) investigates implicit forms of understanding that are evaluated through clever experiments that allow children to respond nonverbally in order to reveal their implicit racial cognitions. Most interventions are designed to target explicit understandings and attitudes, but relatively few are designed for implicit attitudes. Continued research is necessary to identify ways to reduce implicit prejudices and to better understand the connection between explicit and implicit attitudes.

One of the most critical themes for this book involves the various strategies for neutralizing or, at least, diminishing the deleterious effects of racism. The consequences of racism are well documented in this book (e.g., Chapter 12). Each chapter discusses various ways to reduce the impact of racism. For some authors, the focus is on reducing prejudice with, for example, extended intergroup contact (see Chapters 12 and 17). For others, the emphasis is on identifying factors that protect racial minority children from discrimination through parental socialization (see Chapter 11), development of ethnic and self-esteem (see Chapter 14), or development of racial identity (see Chapters 8 and 9). Still others suggest systemic, societal changes (e.g., peace accords) are necessary to reduce the negative effects of discrimination in intractable conflicts (see Chapter 18).

The research outlined in these chapters comes at a time of rapid growth in our knowledge about race and racism in childhood. This growth is exemplified in a number of recent compilations of empirical and theoretical work on race, racism, and the developing child, including this volume, a special issue of *Child Development* (Quintana et al., 2006), a special issue of *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology* (Killen & McKown, 2005), a forthcoming handbook integrating developmental and social psychological perspectives (Levy & Killen, in press), and burgeoning interest in deploying strategies to reduce prejudice (McKown, 2005; Paluck & Green, in press; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pfeifer, Brown, & Juvonen, 2007). These exciting works suggest the energetic involvement of the academic community in understanding the nature, prevention, and reduction of children's prejudice. We hold out great hope that, with continued commitment, what we have learned as described in this and other collections of work could be applied to addressing some of the most devastating social problems facing our society and the world.

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