



# The Development of National Identity in Childhood and Adolescence

Professor Martyn Barrett  
MA DPhil CPsychol FBPsS FRSA

Professor of Psychology  
Department of Psychology  
School of Human Sciences  
University of Surrey  
Guildford  
Surrey GU2 7XH  
UK

**Inaugural lecture**  
presented at the University of Surrey  
22nd March, 2000

---

# The Development of National Identity in Childhood and Adolescence

Inaugural lecture presented at the University of Surrey 22nd March, 2000

Professor Martyn Barrett MA DPhil CPsychol FBPoS FRSA

In this lecture, I want to tell you about some of the research which I have been conducting in recent years. The focus of this research has been the psychology of national identity. In particular, I have been investigating how people's subjective sense of their own national identity develops during the course of their childhood and adolescence.

People's national identities are clearly an **extremely potent force** in the modern world. In the case of England, for example, the emotional response which sweeps across the nation whenever England plays Germany in a soccer match indicates the considerable importance which many English people attribute to their national identity. Such emotions are not unique to England. Similar emotions are tapped in many other countries as well on major sporting occasions. Witness the national pride which is aroused within a country when an athlete from that country wins a gold medal at the Olympic Games, or when the national soccer team wins the World Cup. And dare I say it, even an event as silly as the Eurovision Song Contest somehow manages to play on our emotions when the entry from our own nation does exceptionally well or exceptionally badly. The strength of national identities is also revealed by the pride which many people take in the historical, architectural and rural heritage of their own nation: in the monuments, the buildings, the cityscapes and the natural landscapes which together constitute the physical embodiment of their country. Many people also take great pride in the unique artistic and cultural heritage of their own nation: in the distinctive music, paintings and works of literature which have been produced by those composers, artists and writers who have lived and worked within the borders of their own country. A further phenomenon which demonstrates the power of national identity is the sheer vehemence with which some people contest the issue of their nation's

membership of a supra-national organisation such as the European Union. The emotions which are aroused by the perceived threats to the continued existence of national institutions are sometimes noteworthy precisely because of their very intensity. And in Eastern Europe, the explosion of nationalisms which has torn countries such as Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union apart demonstrates the sheer power and potency of people's national affiliations and emotions. The terrible human tragedies which have occurred in ex-Yugoslavia show the extremes to which some people will go in the name of their national identities.

One reason why our national identities are so potent may be because they are usually **objectified and reified**. That is, we tend to view our national identity not as an artificial and arbitrary human construction, but as an objective reality which is an inevitable and necessary way in which the world has to be structured. Thus, we tend to view nationality as being somehow "natural" and "normal". So, whenever we meet someone new, we make an automatic assumption that they must have a nationality, just as they must have a mother and a father. We make this assumption partly because the entire land surface of the world, apart from Antarctica, has now been divided up into nation-states. Furthermore, each nation does not gradually merge into its surrounding nations; instead, each nation defines its own territory with great precision (see Giddens 1985 and Billig 1995, 1996, for discussions of the implications of this fact). Because virtually the entire land surface of the world has now been divided up into nation-states in this way, we think it very strange and unusual for someone to not have a nationality that links them to at least one of these nation-states. After all, everyone must have been born somewhere. However, the fact that nation-states and nationalities are not a necessary and inevitable way in which to divide up the physical and social world, but are artificial human constructions instead, is apparent once we realise that the appearance of nation-states is a very recent development in the history of the world: analyses by authors such as Anderson (1983), Gellner (1983) and Smith (1986, 1991) have shown that nation-states as we know them today only arose from the time of the Enlightenment onwards. The apparatus and procedures of passports and border controls are in fact very modern inventions.

A second reason why our national identities are so potent is because they are **extraordinarily pervasive**. That is to say, things that are associated with our national identity permeate just about every aspect of our everyday lives, from the language we speak through to the food that we eat, from the weather forecasts which we watch on the television through to the events which we read about in our newspapers, from the clothes that we wear through to the

lifestyles that we lead, from the types of landscapes to which we feel a curious kind of emotional attachment through to the characteristic architectures of the houses in which we live. The very matrix in which we live our everyday lives is shot through and through with national characteristics and practices.

However, despite this fact, it is also the case that our national identities are **usually invisible** to us in the course of our everyday lives: we simply do not normally think about our own national identity as we go about our everyday business. However, this invisibility does not mean that our everyday lives are not saturated with things which are associated with our national identity. And the very familiarity of our national characteristics and practices is of course brought home to us with particular vividness whenever we visit another country where different national characteristics and practices prevail.

Now, I am a developmental psychologist. As such, most of the research which I have conducted during the course of my career has focused upon the development of children and adolescents. Consequently, in thinking about national identity, my own interest lies in how the sense of national identity is acquired and develops during the course of childhood and adolescence. However, in order to understand the nature of the developmental process, I think it is essential for us first to understand what it is that children are acquiring during the course of that developmental process. The subjective sense of national identity is in fact an extremely complex psychological structure. It consists of an elaborate system of knowledge and beliefs about the national group, and an extensive system of emotions, feelings and evaluations concerning the national group. So, I want to start by saying something about the nature of national identity itself, so that we can appreciate the complexity of what it is that children are acquiring as their national identities develop. And I want to begin here with some of the cognitive aspects of national identity, that is, the knowledge and beliefs which are involved in our sense of national identity.



## The Cognitive Aspects of National Identity

To begin by going back to real fundamentals, in order for someone to have, at the psychological level, a sense of their own national identity, they must have some **knowledge of the existence of the national group**. That is, the person must, at the very least, have some rudimentary awareness that there is a group of people who are categorised together and labelled “English people” or “French people” or whatever. Although this seems a fairly obvious point, from a developmental perspective it is nevertheless an important point, because in early childhood, children do not yet have any awareness of this kind. And how they acquire a knowledge of the existence of the national group is something which needs to be investigated empirically.

Second, to have a sense of one’s own national identity, it is not sufficient simply to be aware of the existence of the national group; it is also necessary for the individual to know that he or she is also included within that group. That is, the individual must also **categorise the self as a member of the national group**. This is a second issue which needs to be investigated developmentally: whether children include themselves within their own national group when they first acquire a knowledge of that group; or whether they first acquire a knowledge of the group, and only later begin to include themselves within that group. For example, it may be the case that children first conceptualise “English people” or “French people”, or whatever, as a group of people who live out there, somewhere else, and it is quite possible that they do not include themselves within this category at the outset.

Third, national identities are, at an objective level, linked to particular geographical territories. For example, England is a real geographical territory, and an important aspect for many English people of their own national identity is their emotional tie to this physical territory. Consequently, from a developmental perspective, we also need to look at how children acquire their **knowledge of the national geographical territory**. It may, of course, be the case that national identities are initially acquired independently of territorial knowledge. Or it may be the case that the concept of, say, “English people” is acquired by English children at the same time as they are acquiring their knowledge of the existence of England as a territorial entity. This is another issue which needs to be explored empirically.

Fourth, and still under the heading of knowledge, there are the various institutions, symbols, customs and traditions which serve as significant emblems or representations of the national identity at a psychological level. For example, in the case of England, the British Queen, the Tower of London, cream teas, and the Changing of the Guards at Buckingham Palace: these all serve as important and significant emblems of England and of Englishness for many English people. There are also certain historical events and historical figures that form a very salient component of the national identity for some individuals. For example, the Battle of Hastings, Henry VIII, Winston Churchill: these too may be important components of their national identity for many English people. So, from a developmental perspective, we need to explore two things here. Firstly, we need to understand how children acquire their **knowledge of national emblems**. And secondly, we need to explore the range of individual variation which exists in the specific contents of the national emblems which are acquired by different groups of children within any given national population. I think it is highly likely that different groups of children acquire different emblems to represent their national identity at a subjective level, depending upon their social class, their ethnic group, and, in the case of multi-lingual countries, their sociolinguistic group as well. I think it is also highly likely that different groups of children acquire different national emblems depending upon where they live within the nation: I am thinking here of the differences between metropolitan and provincial children, and between urban and rural children.

Fifth, there are a large number of different beliefs which can also form an important part of people’s sense of their own national identity. For example, for some individuals, the sense of national identity can involve implicit **beliefs about the common descent and common kinship of the members of the national group**. Thus, the nation is sometimes viewed as a collection of families which are inter-related because they are all descended from common ancestors who are the forefathers of the nation. So, the members of the nation are believed to all belong to a large inter-related kinship network. Sociological analyses suggest that this belief in common kinship and common descent may be more or less pronounced in different individuals, in different national groups, and at different points in historical time (see Connor 1978, Horowitz 1985 and Smith 1991). So, once again, the task for the developmental psychologist is to explore the circumstances under which children might acquire this belief in common

descent and common kinship, and the factors which influence its acquisition.

Sixth, the sense of national identity also involves **beliefs about the typical characteristics and traits of the national group**. For example, English people often speak about the English sense of fair play, the stiff upper lip, the socially reserved nature of English people, and so on. Also, many people have stereotypes of what typically English people look like, as opposed to, say, typical Germans or typical Americans. So, once again, developmentally, we need to investigate how children acquire these kinds of beliefs concerning national traits and national stereotypes. In this context, we also need to investigate the factors which influence **the degree of stereotyping of the national group** which is exhibited by different individuals. Whereas some individuals attribute a great deal of variability to the members of their own national group, other individuals stereotype their national group to a much greater extent and attribute far less variability to the members of the group. Thus, the factors which influence the perceived variability of the national group also require investigation from a developmental perspective.

Seventh, the sense of national identity can also involve implicit **beliefs about the self in relationship to the national group**, particularly about how similar the self is to the national type, or how accurately one's self-concept matches the characteristics and traits which are ascribed to the national group. For example, I can think of myself as being either very English, only a bit English, or not at all English. The important point here is that my sense of national identity may vary quite substantially depending upon how similar I see myself as being to the national type. The term "authenticity" has been used by some identity theorists to refer to this notion (e.g. Gecas 1991, Trew & Benson 1996). If a group identity accurately reflects the sense of self and what a person thinks they "really" are, the identity is said to be an authentic identity. However, if the group identity does not provide a close match to the sense of self, or is even inconsistent with one's own self-description, then the identity is said to be inauthentic. So, we need to investigate the development of this sense of authenticity, this perception of the extent to which one's identity as a national group member matches one's sense of self.

Finally under the cognitive heading, our sense of national identity may well be linked to our **beliefs about how other people, who are not members of our own national group, regard our national group**. For example, we may think that people who live in other countries tend to regard our nation positively and to hold it in high esteem. Or we may believe that people in other countries tend to regard our nation negatively, to denigrate our nation, and to hold it in low esteem. These generalised belief systems about how other people view our

nation could be extremely important in terms of their impact upon how we ourselves think and feel about our own national group. Crocker & Luhtanen (1990, Luhtanen & Crocker 1992) have argued that this sense of "public collective self-esteem" is an extremely important factor in the way in which people construct their social identities. If this is the case, then we need to discover the factors which influence the development of these beliefs about how other people view our national group, and how these beliefs impact upon our own sense of national identity.



## The Affective Aspects of National Identity

I now want to turn to some of the affective aspects of national identity, that is, the feelings, emotions and evaluations which make up the sense of national identity. First, there is the matter of **the subjective importance of national identity** to the individual. For some people, their own national identity is clearly extremely important to them at a subjective level. However, there are other people for whom their national identity is not so important, and for these people, some of their other identities, for example their gender identity or their occupational identity, might be much more important instead. From a developmental perspective, we need to investigate the factors which influence the degree of importance which a person attributes to their national identity.

Second, it may be the case that the importance which an individual attributes to their national identity is related to the value which that person places upon being a member of the national group; for example, whether being English is evaluated in a positive manner, or whether being English is evaluated neutrally or even negatively. Whether or not there is a relationship between **the evaluation of the national identity** and the importance which is attributed to this identity is an empirical issue. And the question of how these evaluations of the national group are acquired during childhood and adolescence is also an empirical matter requiring investigation from a developmental perspective.

Third, people also vary in terms of their degree of attachment to their national identity. Thus, some people may feel that they would never surrender their national identity under any circumstances whatsoever; other people may feel that they could quite easily emigrate to another country and quite happily change their national allegiance. It is possible that **the sense of attachment to the national identity** is related to the importance which is attributed to the national identity, or to the evaluation of the national identity, or to both. The development of this sense of attachment to the national identity, as well as its possible relationship to the importance and the evaluation of the national identity, also requires investigation from a developmental perspective.

Fourth, as I noted before, the sense of national identity often involves a strong **emotional attachment to the national geographical territory**. In fact, these territorial attachments can be so strong that they can cause wars between nations, if the national territory is under threat from another nation. And in these wars, the individual members of a nation may even be willing to sacrifice their own lives in order to maintain national ownership of the territory. Yet despite the very evident power of these kinds of emotions and feelings about national territorial ownership, we actually know very little indeed about how these feelings develop during childhood.

Fifth, there is the way that we feel about the people who make up our own national group. First of all, there are **the feelings which we have towards other specific individuals who belong to our own national group** rather than to another national group; that is, the sense of personal closeness which we have towards our fellow nationals simply by virtue of the fact that they belong to the same national group as ourselves. For example, such feelings may be elicited when we are on holiday in another country and find ourselves amongst a group of people from a number of different countries, when we might gravitate towards (or actively choose to avoid!) those individuals who are from our own country. However, in addition, there are **the feelings which we have about the national group as a whole**, the national group considered at an abstract level rather than at the level of the specific concrete individuals who make up that group. So, for example, I, as an English person, might feel either positively, neutrally or even negatively about the category of "English people" considered in general, regardless of the specific English people who I know or have met.

Sixth, there are **feelings of personal affiliation or belonging to the national group**: the extent to which the individual feels a sense of personal belonging to the national community, that they themselves are a full and equal member of the national group and are not marginalised or excluded from it. There are some extremely important developmental questions to investigate here. For example, how does the individual's sense of belonging to the national community develop through childhood and adolescence? Is this sense of belonging related to beliefs about personal similarity to the national type, to the feelings which one has towards other members of the national group, or to the feelings which one has about the national group as a whole? And how does this sense of belonging interact with the individual's other social

group affiliations, for example, with their social class membership, with their sociolinguistic group membership, or with their ethnic group membership?

It could be the case that these feelings of personal belonging to the national group are related to the extent to which the individual is able to embed himself or herself within a network of other people who similarly ascribe a high value and level of importance to the national identity, who reward the individual for holding that identity, and enable the individual to obtain feelings of personal satisfaction from being a member of the national group. The extent to which an individual is socially embedded in a group membership in this way is called identity “commitment” in the psychological literature (Stryker & Serpe 1982, Burke & Reitzes 1991, Trew & Benson 1996), and such commitment may well be extremely important for fostering a sense of personal belonging. It is also possible that the sense of belonging is related to the extent to which the individual feels that he or she is a worthy, useful and valuable member of the national group, that is, to their “membership self-esteem” (Crocker & Luhtanen 1990, Luhtanen & Crocker 1992). Both **commitment to the national identity**, and **the membership self-esteem which is experienced in relationship to the national group**, require investigation from a developmental perspective, in order to explore their possible relationship to the sense of personal belonging.

The subjective sense of belonging might also be related to the feelings which one has concerning **national solidarity and cohesion**, the feeling that the nation represents an integrated and cohesive whole. This feeling of national solidarity sometimes becomes particularly prominent amongst the members of a nation at times of national crisis or war, when the national group is perceived to be under threat; such circumstances may make the members of a nation particularly receptive to calls from national leaders to rally to the support of the nation as a whole and to ignore within-nation differences and divisions. However, even in an extreme situation of national crisis, different individuals will respond in different ways to calls for national solidarity, depending upon how widespread or profound the within-nation divisions are felt to be. This sense of national solidarity and cohesion also requires investigation from a developmental perspective, in order to ascertain whether it too might be related to the subjective sense of personal belonging to the national community.

Next, there is a whole range of other social emotions which the individual experiences by virtue of his or her membership of the national group: **social emotions such as national pride, national shame, national embarrassment, national guilt, etc.** These emotions may be directly elicited by the national emblems. For example, national pride may be elicited by hearing the national anthem or seeing the national flag. Or national embarrassment may be elicited by thinking about how terrible English food is in comparison to, say, French and Italian food. These social emotions are not only elicited by national emblems, however. They can also be elicited or triggered by specific events. For example, national pride might be elicited when someone from your own nation wins an Olympic gold medal or wins the Eurovision Song Contest. Alternatively, other specific events might elicit national shame or guilt. For example, English football hooligans rioting in the streets of a foreign city: this sort of event can make an English person feel ashamed to be English. In addition, emotions such as national pride or shame may not always require a specific stimulus such as a national emblem or an event to occur. For example, it may be the case that some individuals have a generalised sense of national pride, and feel in a global way that they have a nationality of which they are extremely proud, and that they are members of a national group which is worthy and contributes a great deal to the international community. From a developmental perspective, we need to study these kinds of national emotions. For example, it may be the case that national pride is not experienced by very young children, even though they may already categorise themselves as members of their own national group. Instead, it could be the case that children only start to experience these kinds of emotions later on in the course of their development.

One particular national emotion which has been discussed a great deal in the literature on national identity in adulthood is **national self-esteem**. It has been argued by many authors that the need to achieve a high level of positive self-esteem is an important motivating factor in the way in which people construct their social identities (see, for example, Tajfel & Turner 1986, Hogg & Abrams 1988). So, it has been suggested that people emphasise or accentuate those characteristics or attributes which show the national group in a positive light, and de-emphasise or ignore those characteristics or attributes which show the national group in a negative light. Consequently, much greater attention may be paid to events which elicit national pride than to

events which elicit national shame. And this process enables the individual to achieve a high level of positive self-esteem, as a consequence of including the self as a member of the national group. So, once again, the developmental issue is to discover whether, if this is the way in which adults use their national identities, whether the motivation to achieve high positive self-esteem is also present in children, and if it is not, when and how this motivation is acquired.

And finally under the affective heading, there are the feelings which are elicited when we hear a judgement being made about our own national group by people who do not belong to our group themselves, for example, when a foreign politician praises or criticises our nation or national group. Under these circumstances, some people feel extremely proud that their nation is admired by someone from another nation, or feel outraged that an outsider has the audacity to criticise their nation. However, there are other people who simply do not have these emotional reactions in these situations, and for whom such praise or criticism from outside is unimportant. In the psychological literature, the intensity of the emotional response which occurs when one's group is criticised or praised by other people is interpreted as an index of the degree to which membership of the group has been internalised by the individual (Rosenberg 1979). The stronger the emotional reaction, the more the group has been internalised (so that the praise or criticism of the group is then experienced as if it were praise or criticism of the self). Thus, **the internalisation of the national group by the individual** is another aspect of the subjective sense of national identity which needs to be investigated developmentally, in order to understand the mechanisms which are responsible for this internalisation.



## The Salience of National Identity

So, the point which I am trying to make here is that the subjective sense of national identity is an extremely complex psychological structure indeed. The sense of national identity consists of a substantial system of knowledge and beliefs about the national group, and an extensive system of emotions, feelings and evaluations concerning the national group. It is important to emphasise, however, that the subjective sense of national identity is not a static psychological structure, but a psychological structure which is dynamic in its operation. This point can be seen most clearly by considering the subjective salience of national identity, which is highly context-dependent. Let me explain what I mean here.

We all have a large number of different personal and social identities. So in my own case, I am a man, a University Professor, a middle-aged person, a father, an English person, and so on: all of these are different aspects of my self concept. My identity as an English person is more or less salient to me than some of these other identities. However, the relative salience of these different identities varies considerably depending upon the context in which I find myself. For example, if I am in Italy on holiday, I feel English. If I am at a rock concert surrounded by teenagers, I feel very middle-aged. And if I am home helping my children with their homework, I feel like a father. So the relative salience of my national identity varies substantially from situation to situation. It is a dynamic psychological structure which may or may not be mobilised according to situational and motivational contingencies.

From a developmental perspective, we need to study this context-dependency of national identity. We need to examine the psychological and situational factors which influence the relative salience of national identity in children. And I think it is particularly important to try to identify those contexts in which children are most likely to access and deploy their national identity over and above their other identities. In other words, we need to try to identify those contexts in which children feel especially English, or French, or American, or whatever, and how these eliciting contexts change with age (if indeed they do change with age).



## The Behaviours Associated With National Identity

Finally, I want to re-emphasise here that national identities are not defined solely in terms of their internal psychological cognitive and affective characteristics. National identities are intimately connected with and related to our behaviour. Indeed, it is hard to overestimate the extent of this association between our national identity and our everyday behaviours. I mentioned some of the ways in which our behaviour is related to our national identity earlier on in this talk, when I commented on the sheer pervasiveness of national identity in our everyday lives. I think it is worth reiterating here that national identity impacts upon just about every aspect of our lives: the foods we eat, the clothes we wear, the language we speak, the mass media we use, the education we receive, the lifestyles we adopt, and so on and so forth. Billig (1995) has produced a deeply insightful account of how our everyday realities are shaped through and through by our national identities. If anyone here has any residual doubts about the pervasive impact which our national identity has on just about every aspect of our everyday practices and discourse, I would very strongly recommend that they read Billig's book.



## My Own Research

Having emphasised the behavioural aspects of our national identities, however, I should say that the focus of my own research has been very much upon the internal cognitive and affective components of the subjective sense of national identity, rather than the behavioural aspects. What I am going to do in the remainder of this talk is to tell you something about the research in which I have been involved over recent years. This work has been an attempt to document some of the basic developmental patterns in this domain; in other words, we have been trying to document how the different individual components of the subjective sense of national identity are acquired and develop during the course of childhood and adolescence. We have also been trying to explore some of the relationships between these different components in development. Before telling you about these studies, however, I must first acknowledge the role which has been played in these studies by some of my colleagues.

My principal collaborator in all of this research has been Evanthia Lyons. Evanthia is a social psychologist in the Psychology Department here at the University of Surrey. And I think it is fair to say that much of the creativity in our research activity has been generated by the very productive tension which exists between my developmental-psychological approach and her social-psychological approach. In addition to Evanthia, I also want to acknowledge the contribution to my research which has been made by two other people here at Surrey, Xenia Chrysochoou and Eithne Buchanan-Barrow. Four of my former students have also made important contributions to this research: Janis Short, Teresa Farroni, Hannah Wilson and Stephen Whennell.

An important task in which we have been engaged over the years has been developing ways to measure the different components of national identity in children. Because of the lack of previous research in this field, we have had to develop many of our own methods for assessing these different components. So, I want to begin by telling you about some of the findings from our smaller-scale studies in order to give you a feel for the type of work which we have been doing, and some of the measures which we have developed. Please note that, in all of these studies, the children who we worked with were English white majority

group children. We have conducted other studies with ethnic minority children, especially with Asian Muslim and Asian Hindu children, but I am going to confine myself here to some of the findings which we have obtained with the majority group children.



## The Importance of National Identity

One component which we have tried to measure in a number of different ways is the degree of importance which children attribute to their national identity. One of the simplest ways is by means of the following task, which is designed to assess the relative subjective importance which the child attributes to their national identity, that is, the relative importance of their national identity in comparison to their other identities, for example, their gender and their age.

In this task, the child is first shown a set of cards, each showing the name of a particular identity which applies to the child (e.g. “6 years old”, “girl”, “white”, “Christian”, “person from London”, “English” and “European”). We typically use cards showing the child’s age, gender, ethnicity, religion, city, national and European identities. These cards are spread out on the table. The child is first told that these are all words which can be used to describe them. The child is then asked: “If you had to choose just one of these cards because it was the most important to you, which one would you choose?” That card is removed from the set, and the child is then asked to choose the next most important card. The process is repeated until all the cards have been selected. If 7 cards have been used, each card is then given a score between 1 and 7; a score of 7 is given to the card which is most important to the child, and a score of 1 is given to the least important card. The crucial thing which we are interested in, of course, is the score given to the national identity card, English.

I should mention that in other studies, we have tried out various other ways of assessing the importance which children attribute to their national identity. For example, one method we have tried involves using a rating scale. Here, the child is given a rating scale which bears the labels “very important”, “quite important”, “a bit important”, and “not at all important”, and the child has to point to the position on the scale which shows how important their national identity is to them. Another method which we have tried is the method of paired comparisons. Here, the child is given just two identities at a time, and has to say which of the two is the most important to them. After all possible pairs of identities within a set have been presented, you can then work out the average importance which has been assigned to each individual

identity. What we have found is that all of these different methods produce very similar results which inter-correlate with one another (Wilson & Barrett 1996). However, children seem to enjoy the relative subjective importance task best, so this is the one which we have used in a lot of our studies.

The typical results which we obtain with this task when we administer it to 5-11 year old children are shown in Figure 1. As you can see, the importance which children attribute to their national identity increases significantly with age; the importance which they attribute to their age decreases significantly with age; and the importance which they attribute to their gender remains fairly constant with age. We have found these age trends time and again in our studies (e.g. Wilson 1998, Barrett, Wilson & Lyons 1999), so they appear to be very robust: national identity does indeed become more important through the childhood years.

## The Degree of Identification with the National Group

A second task which we have developed assesses the degree of identification in children, that is, the perceived degree of similarity between the self and the national type. This is a very simple task. The child is shown three cards, one of which says “not at all English”, the second of which says “a bit English”, the third of which says “very English”. The child is then asked to select that card which they think describes them best. The responses are scored in the following way: not at all English = 1, a bit English = 2, and very English = 3. The typical results which we have found with this task are shown in Figure 2. It can be seen from this Figure that as children get older, their degree of identification with Englishness increases.

Figure 1. The Relative Subjective Importance of National Identity

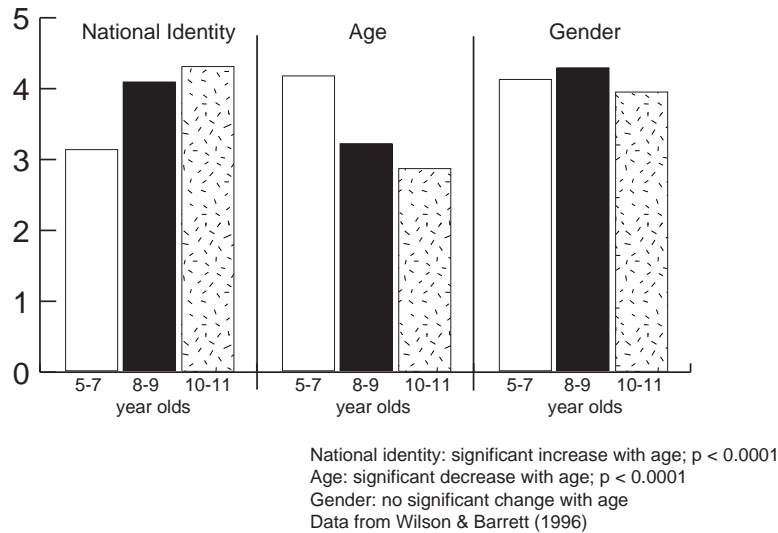
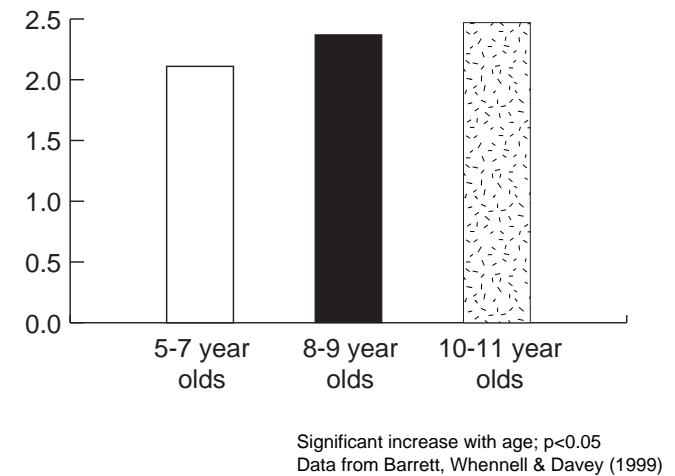


Figure 2. The Degree of Identification with the National Group

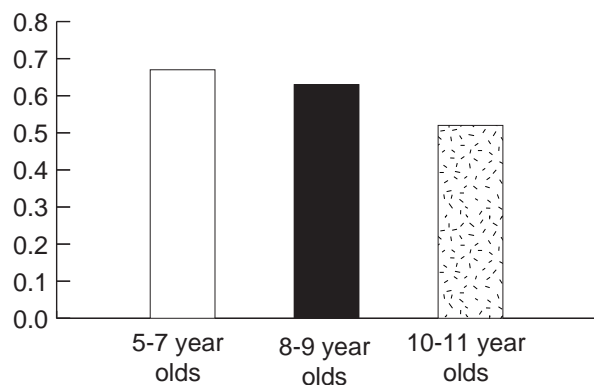


## Representations of the People Who Belong to the National Ingroup and to National Outgroups

Another component which we have measured is children's descriptions of the people who belong to their national group. In one study, we gave 5-11 year old children a box which was labelled "English people". The children were then given a set of positive and negative adjectives ("clean", "dirty", "happy", "sad", "peaceful", "aggressive", "clever", "stupid", "hardworking", "lazy", "friendly", "unfriendly", "good", "bad", "nice" and "not nice"). Each adjective was written on its own card. The children were asked to go through the adjectives one at a time, and to place the adjectives in the box if they thought they applied to English people. The children were told that they could put aside any cards which they felt were not appropriate for describing English people.

Because half the adjectives were positive and half were negative, we could derive a score which measured the positivity or negativity of the children's descriptions of English people. This score ran between -1 and +1. A score of -1 meant that the child produced a very negative description of English people; a score of 0 meant that the child

Figure 3. The Positivity of English Children's Descriptions of English People

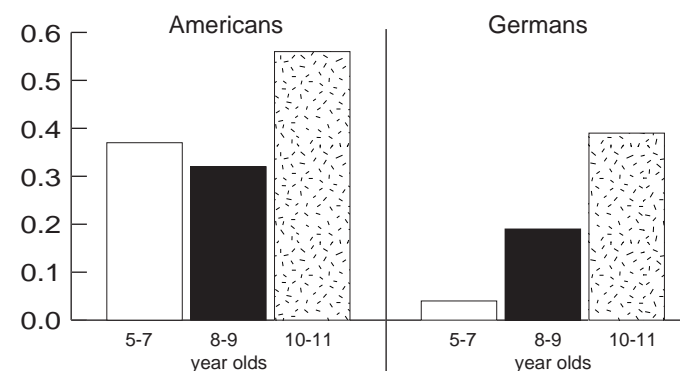


Significant decrease with age,  $p < 0.05$   
Data from Barrett, Wilson & Lyons (1999)

produced a neutral description of English people; and a score of +1 meant that the child produced a very positive description of English people. The scores which we obtained in this study are shown in Figure 3. As you can see, the children's descriptions of their own national group became slightly less positive with age.

In the same study, we also asked the children to assign these adjectives to American and German people as well. The results which we found are shown in Figure 4. As you can see, across this age range, while children's descriptions of their own national group are becoming slightly less positive, their descriptions of other national groups are actually becoming more positive. This is a fairly typical finding which we have obtained in other studies as well (e.g. Barrett & Short 1992, Buchanan-Barrow, Bayraktar, Papadopoulou, Short, Lyons & Barrett 1999). Indeed, we have found that by the age of 10 or 11, English children's descriptions of some national outgroups (such as Americans) may actually be as positive as their descriptions of their own national ingroup.

Figure 4. The Positivity of English Children's Descriptions of American and German People



American people: significant increase with age;  $p < 0.05$   
German people: significant increase with age;  $p < 0.05$   
Data from Barrett, Wilson & Lyons (1999)

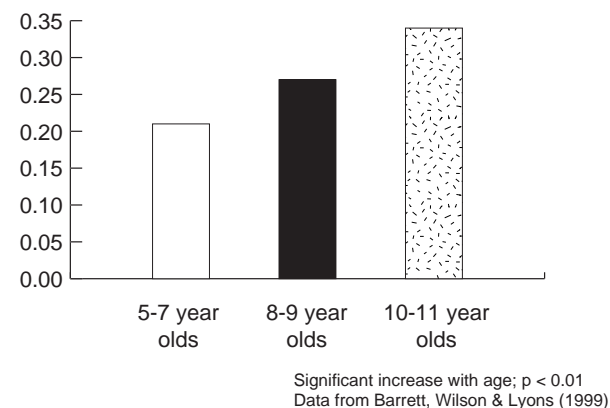
## Perceived Variability Amongst the Members of the National Group

Another aspect of children's descriptions of their own national group which we have measured in our studies is how much variability children think there is amongst the different members of their own national group. What I mean here is: do children see all the members of their national group as being very similar to each other, or do they see the various members of their national group as being very diverse and different from each other? In other words, to what extent do children stereotype the members of their own nation?

Once again, we have tried a number of different ways to measure perceived variability in children, all of which again converge to produce very similar findings (e.g. Barrett & Short 1992, Barrett, Wilson & Lyons 1999). One way in which we have measured variability is using the set of adjectives which I have already shown you. If children only assign very few of these adjectives to English people, then we can say that the children do not perceive much variability in the national group. On the other hand, if they assign a lot of different adjectives to English people, then we can say that they perceive a lot of variability within the national group. So, these adjectives can be used to derive a quantitative measure of perceived variability.

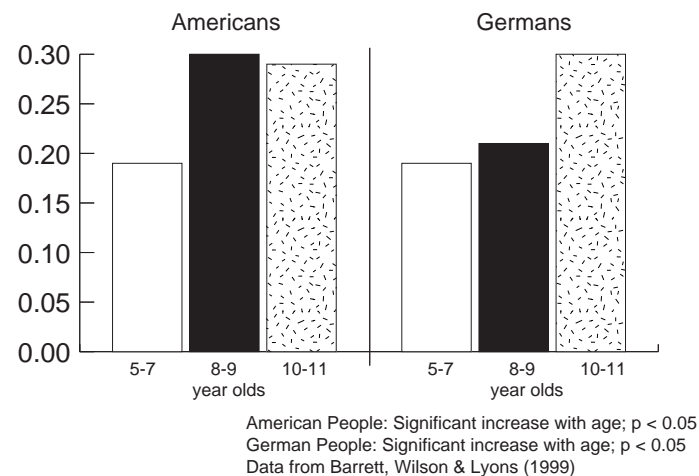
The findings which we have obtained using this particular method are shown in Figure 5. The variability scale here runs from 0, which represents no variability at all, through to 1, which represents maximum variability. This graph shows that across the 5-11 year old age range, the amount of variability which is attributed to English people increases significantly.

Figure 5. Perceived Variability Amongst English People



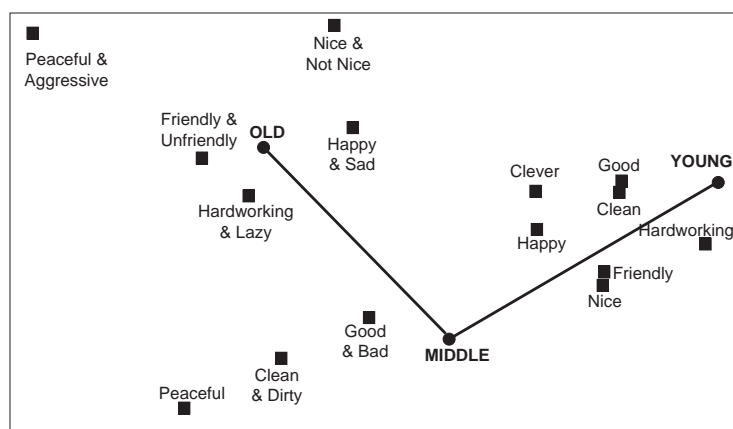
The comparable findings which we have obtained for the perceived variability of American and German people are shown in Figure 6. Here too, perceived variability increases with age. So, between 5 and 11 years of age, as their description of the national ingroup becomes less positive, and as their descriptions of national outgroups become more positive, the amount of variability which is attributed to all national groups tends to increase.

Figure 6. Perceived Variability Amongst American and German People.



To make these findings a little more concrete, Figure 7 shows the plot of the children's responses on the adjective task which have been analysed using a statistical technique called correspondence analysis. In this plot, the geometric distance between the point representing a group of children and the point representing a particular adjective or pair of adjectives represents how closely those adjectives are associated with that group of children. As you can see, the young children were more likely than the other two groups to use just positive adjectives on their own. By contrast, the old children were more likely than the other two groups to assign both positive and negative adjectives to English people. And the middle age group were midway between the other two groups. This plot therefore gives you an idea of how children's stereotypes of English people develop over time. It also shows how perceived variability increases with age, and how the initially very positive description of the national ingroup becomes less positive as children get older.

Figure 7. Correspondence Analysis of English Children's Descriptions of English People



Data from Barrett, Wilson & Lyons (1999)

## Children's National Geographical Knowledge

In addition to examining children's representations of the people who make up their own national group, we have also conducted several studies investigating children's knowledge of national geography (e.g. Barrett 1996, Barrett & Farroni 1996, Barrett & Whennell 1998). There are a number of reasons why the relationship between national identity and national geographical knowledge might be an especially important one. Smith (1991), for example, has argued that one of the core aspects of the sense of national identity is the very special relationship which exists between the people who make up a nation and the national geographical territory. He draws this conclusion from the following observations.

Firstly, the national territory cannot be just anywhere: it is, and must be, the "historic" land or the "homeland". Secondly, the homeland is a repository of historic memories and associations, the place where "our" forefathers, kings and queens, heroes, writers and musicians lived, worked and fought, and where historical events of great national significance took place. Thirdly, the natural and man-made features of the homeland (rivers, coasts, lakes, mountains, cities, etc.) become places of "veneration" by the people, who have a special emotional attachment to these places. Fourthly, the homeland's resources are considered to be for the exclusive use of the national group; they are not for "alien" use and exploitation: the land and its surrounding seas belong to us, not to other national groups. And fifthly, attachment to the homeland can be so strong that the members of a nation may be willing to sacrifice their own lives in order maintain ownership of the national territory. Thus, Smith argues that knowledge of, and attachment to, the national territory is a core component of the sense of national identity in adults. So in our work we have tried to explore whether knowledge of the national territory is related to the sense of national identity in children.

In one study (Barrett & Whennell 1998), we again looked at 5-11 year olds. The children were tested individually on a number of different tasks. Firstly, we assessed the relative subjective importance of their English national identity. Secondly, we assessed their degree of identification with Englishness; we used the "very English, little bit

English, not at all English” task to assess their degree of identification with Englishness. Thirdly, we assessed their geographical knowledge of England and the UK. The geographical measures which we used were designed to distinguish between the children’s landmark knowledge and their configurational knowledge. Landmark knowledge is the knowledge that certain specific geographic locations exist (so it would include, for example, knowing that London exists, that there is a river called the River Severn, that there are some hills called the Pennines, and so on and so forth). Configurational knowledge, by contrast, is knowledge of the spatial relationships which exist between the different landmarks in terms of the direction and distance between them. We used a battery of different tasks to assess the children’s landmark and configurational knowledge of England and the UK.

Not surprisingly, we found that the children’s landmark and configurational knowledge, as well as their total geographical knowledge, increased with age. However, the core thing that we were interested in was the relationship between the two national identity measures and the geographical knowledge measures. The results are shown in Figure 8. Here you can see the correlations between the measures, with the children’s age partialled out. So, national geographical knowledge was not related to the importance which the children attributed to their Englishness. However, it was related to their degree of Englishness. In other words, the more English the children felt, the more geographical knowledge of the national homeland they possessed. We are currently in the process of conducting some further studies along these lines, but incorporating some new measures for assessing the emotional attachment which children have to the national territory and to national landscapes.

Figure 8. *The Relationship Between National Identity and Geographical Knowledge.*

	Landmark knowledge	Configurational knowledge	Total geographical knowledge
Importance of Englishness	no significant correlation	no significant correlation	no significant correlation
Degree of Englishness	$\tau = 0.19$ $p < 0.005$	$\tau = 0.12$ $p < 0.05$	$\tau = 0.19$ $p < 0.005$

Kendall tau b correlations with age partialled out  
Data from Barrett & Whennell (1998)

## The Cross-National Project

What I want to do now is move on to a larger and much more substantial study which I have been engaged in over recent years. Before I begin to tell you about this study though, I must once again acknowledge the contribution which other people have made to this work. Amongst those with whom I have been collaborating on this project are the people shown in Figure 9. One reason why the set of collaborators is so large and so geographically distributed is that, over the last few years, I have been coordinating a transnational research network funded by the European Commission. This network has been conducting a cross-national study of the development of national identity not only in childhood but also in adolescence.

One of the things to observe about the research network is that two of the teams collected their data in the capital cities of two different countries: London and Rome. Two of the teams collected their data in provincial cities in two different countries: Málaga and Padua. And two of the teams collected their data in provincial cities in which there are prominent nationalist-separatist political movements: Scottish nationalism in Dundee, and Catalan nationalism in Girona.

Because the children lived in these different locations, one of the

Figure 9. *Collaborators*

- University of Surrey, England, Great Britain**  
Evanthia Lyons, Xenia Chrysochoou, Eithne Buchanan-Barrow  
(data collected in London)
- University of Dundee, Scotland, Great Britain**  
Mark Bennett, Fabio Sani
- University of Málaga, Andalusia, Spain**  
Almudena Giménez de la Peña, Pablo Berrocal, Jesus Canto
- University of Girona, Catalonia, Spain**  
Ignasi Vila, Santi Perera, Arantza del Valle, Pilar Monreal
- University of Rome, "La Sapienza", Italy**  
Annamaria Silvana de Rosa, Anna Silvia Bombi
- University of Padua, Italy**  
Luciano Arcuri, Anna Emilia Berti

principal aims of the network was to try to describe the different patterns of development which are exhibited by children who are growing up in different socio-political contexts. One of our basic assumptions was that there would be considerable variation in development, depending upon the context in which the children were growing up. Therefore, a basic goal of the network was to try to map out what remains constant in development irrespective of the child's context, and what varies in development as a function of the child's context.

The network collected data from 1,700 children in total. A cross-sectional design was used to study children who were aged 6, 9, 12 and 15 years old at each location. A breakdown of the sample is given in Figure 10. Once again, these were all white majority group children who lived in these locations.

All of these children were interviewed and tested individually using a range of questions and tasks. Identical or analogous questions and tasks were used with all of the children. The methods which were used included open-ended questioning, forced-choice questioning, adjective sorting tasks, map interpretation tasks, and picture identification tasks. By means of these various methods, we attempted to obtain measures of many different variables, including: the children's self-categorisations at a variety of levels (for example, as Catalan, Spanish and European); the relative subjective importance of the

Figure 10. The Network Sample

The number of children interviewed and tested at each location in the network

	AGE				Total
	6 yrs	9 yrs	12 yrs	15 yrs	
London	59	60	62	59	240
Dundee	49	51	60	60	220
Málaga	60	60	66	60	246
Girona	124	130	131	130	515
Rome	60	59	60	60	239
Padua	60	60	60	60	240
Total	412	420	439	429	1700

children's various self-categorisations; the children's geographical knowledge of their own country and of other European countries; the children's knowledge of national emblems, including flags, currencies, traditions, foodstuffs and famous people; the children's beliefs about the typical characteristics of national and regional ingroups and outgroups; the children's feelings about national and regional ingroups and outgroups; and the children's sense of national pride.

Now, I haven't got time this evening to describe all of the data which we collected (see Barrett, Lyons, Bennett, Vila, Giménez, Arcuri, & de Rosa 1997, Vila, del Valle, Perera, Monreal & Barrett 1998, Bennett, Lyons, Sani & Barrett 1998, Barrett, del Valle, Lyons, Vila, Monreal & Perera 1999, and Giménez, Canto, Fernandez & Barrett 1999, for some detailed reports). Instead, what I am going to do here is focus upon just three specific aspects of the data which we collected. And I'm also only going to talk about the British and Spanish data here, as I haven't got time to go through the Italian data as well.





## The Relative Subjective Importance of National Identity

One of the tasks that we used in the study was the task that I've already told you about which measures the relative subjective importance of the child's national identity. This task was used with the English children to measure how important their British and English identities were to them; it was used with the Scottish children to measure how important their British and Scottish identities were to them; and analogous tasks were used with all the other children. I will just show you a couple of the sets of findings from this part of the interview.

Figure 11 shows the data which we obtained from the English and Scottish children as far as their British identity was concerned. You can see that in both groups of children, the age trend which we picked up in our other studies, namely for national identity to become more important during the childhood years, has been replicated. However, notice also that being British is significantly more important for the English children than for the Scottish children.

Figure 11. *The Relative Subjective Importance of Being British to the English and Scottish Children*

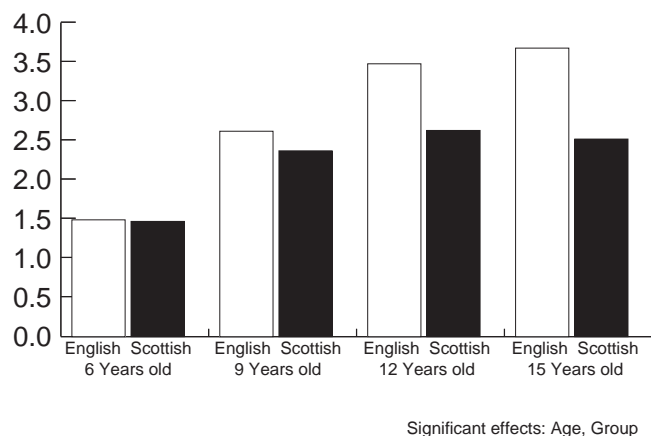
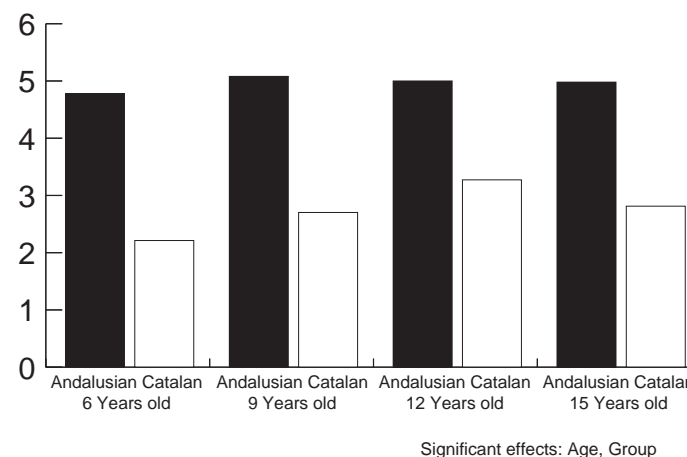


Figure 12 shows the comparable data for the Andalusian and Catalan children. Once again, in both groups of children, being Spanish initially becomes more important during the childhood years (although the increase is fairly minimal in the case of the Andalusian children because of the considerable importance which these children attribute to Spanishness even at 6 years of age). And notice that Spanishness is far more important to the Andalusian children than to the Catalan children at all ages.

Figure 12. *The Relative Subjective Importance of Being Spanish to the Andalusian and Catalan Children*



## The Degree of Identification with the National Group

Let's look at some other findings now. A second task which we used was the degree of identification task. In one version of the task, the cards for the English children said: not at all British, a little bit British, very British. And in a second version of the task, the cards said: not at all English, a little bit English, very English: Analogous tasks were given to all the other groups of children.

The results which we obtained from the British children using the British identity task are shown in Figure 13. Here, you can see that in both groups of children, the degree of identification with being British increases initially between 6 and 9 years of age. Once again, this replicates the findings which we have obtained in our other studies using this task. And notice that the English children see themselves as being more British than the Scottish children at all ages.

Figure 13. *The Degree of Identification with Being British in the English and Scottish Children*

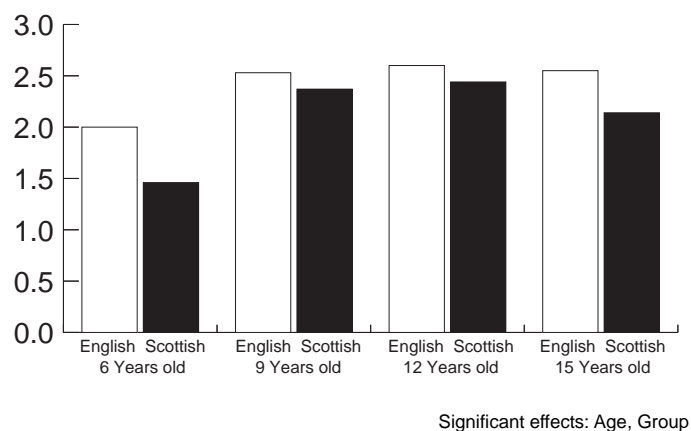
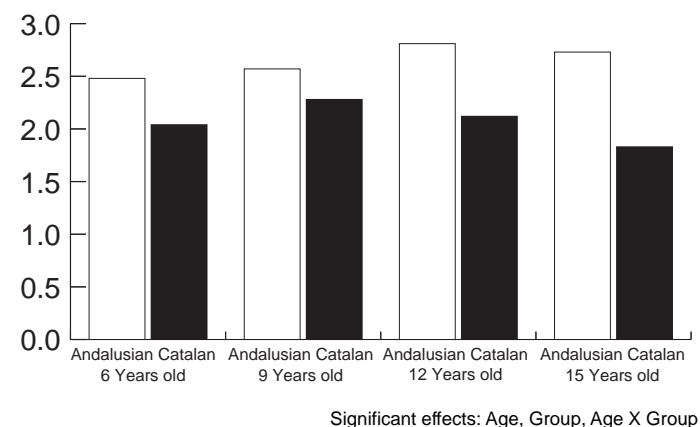


Figure 14 shows the comparable data for the Spanish children. These data also show an initial increase in the degree of identification during childhood: between 6 and 12 years for the Andalusian children, and between 6 and 9 years for the Catalan children. However, notice that the Catalan children also show a significant reduction in identification during adolescence, unlike the Andalusian children. And notice that the Andalusian children see themselves as being more Spanish than the Catalan children at all ages.

Figure 14. *The Degree of Identification with Being Spanish in the Andalusian and Catalan Children*



## Affect Expressed Towards the National Group

I now want to show you some of the data from a third task which we used. In this third task, we asked the children to tell us how much they liked various groups of people. For example, we asked the English children “Do you like or dislike British people?” And depending upon what the children said, they were then asked “Do you like/dislike them a lot or a little?” The children’s answers were then turned into a five point scale, where 1 = dislike a lot, 2 = dislike a little, 3 = neutral, 4 = like a little, and 5 = like a lot.

Figure 15 shows the findings which we obtained with this task from the English and Scottish children as far as their liking of British people is concerned. In both groups of children, liking goes up between 6 and 9 years of age. Notice that in this case, there were no significant differences between the English and the Scottish children.

Figure 16 shows the comparable data for the Spanish children. Notice that there was a big group difference here: at all ages, the Catalan children liked Spanish people significantly less than the Andalusian children.

Figure 15. English and Scottish Children’s Liking of British People

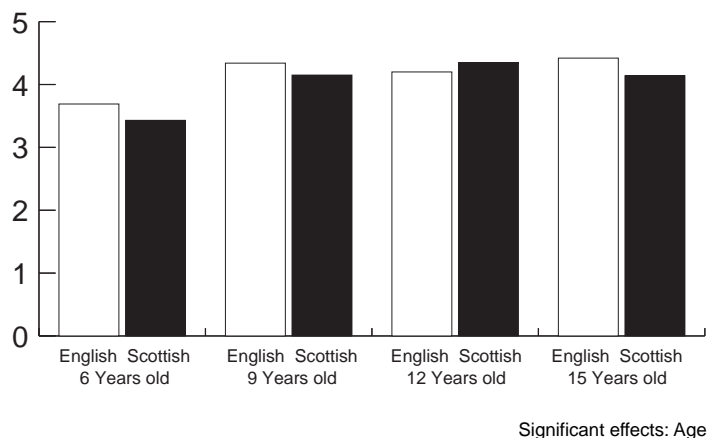
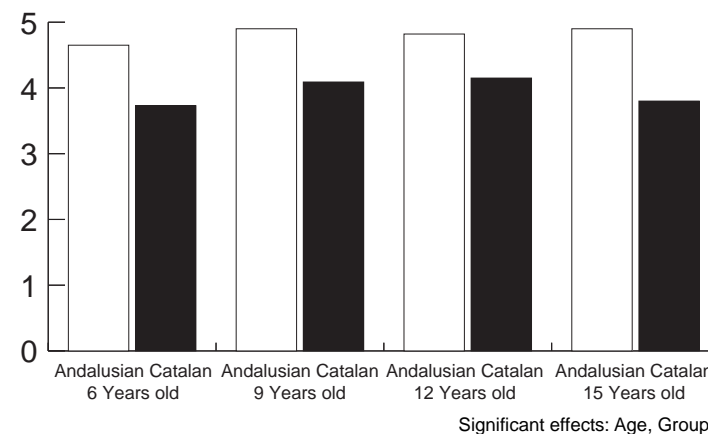


Figure 16. Andalusian and Catalan Children’s Liking of Spanish People



I’d like to go into a little more detail with the findings of this task. Figure 17 shows how much the English children liked English people, and how much the English children liked Scottish people. The thing to notice here is that the children liked their own national group more than the other group. In other words, the children displayed ingroup favouritism at all ages.

Figure 17. English Children’s Liking of English and Scottish People

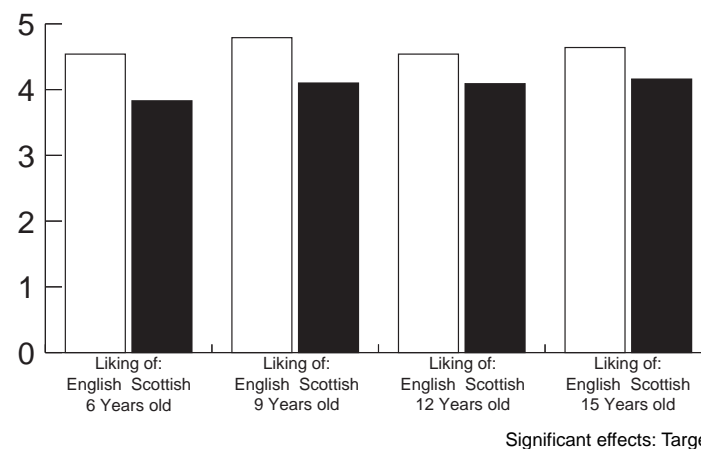


Figure 18 shows the comparable data for the Scottish children. This shows how much the Scottish children liked English people, and how much they liked Scottish people. Once again, these children also displayed ingroup favouritism at all ages. But notice that, in this case, the discrepancy between the liking of the ingroup and the outgroup became larger during adolescence.

Figure 18. Scottish Children's Liking of English and Scottish People

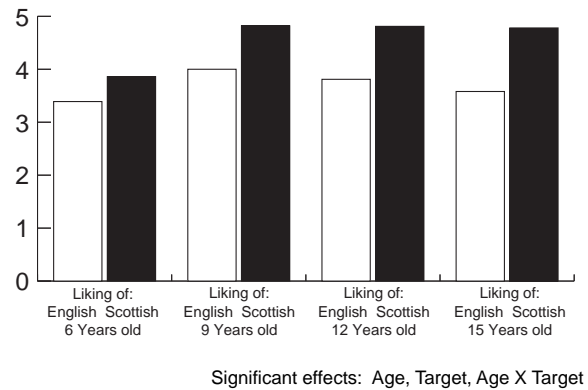
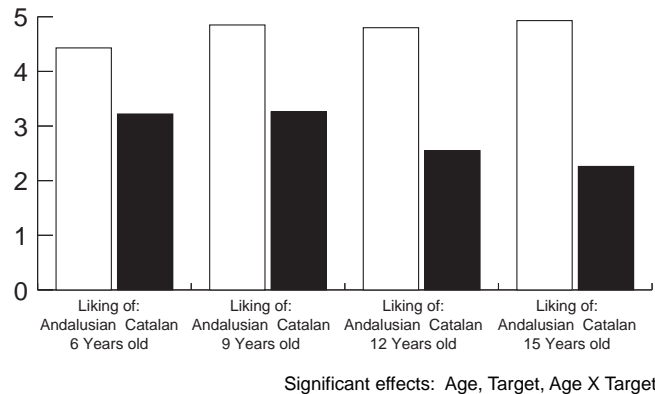


Figure 19 shows the data on the Andalusian children's liking of Andalusian and Catalan people. Again, there was ingroup favouritism

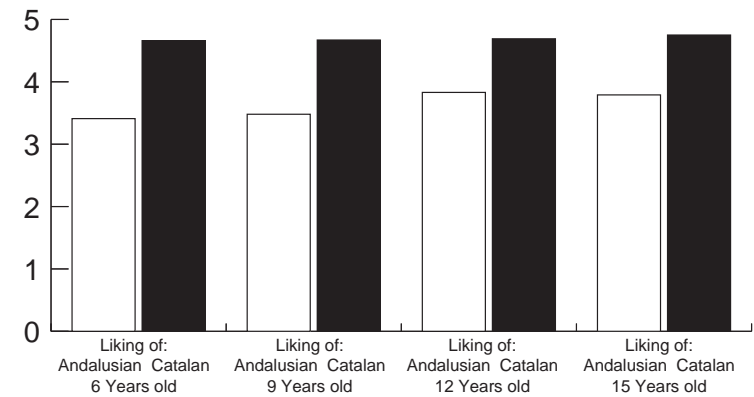
Figure 19. Andalusian Children's Liking of Andalusian and Catalan People



at all ages. And in this case, the negative bias against the outgroup became very much more pronounced during adolescence.

And finally, Figure 20 shows the data for the Catalan children. Once again, these data also showed ingroup favouritism at all ages. However, notice that the effect here was not as pronounced as it was in the case of the Andalusian children, and it did not get larger with age.

Figure 20. Catalan Children's Liking of Andalusian and Catalan People



Significant effects: Age, Target



## General Conclusions

There are four general conclusions which I want to draw from these various graphs. Firstly, ingroup favouritism was a very widespread phenomenon in our data. This is one finding which has emerged time and again from our studies: children express more positive affect for their own national group than for any other national group, at all of the ages which we have studied. Secondly, this cross-national study replicated some of the age trends found in our other studies with 5 to 11 year old children. For example, the British and Spanish national identities did indeed become more important to the British and Spanish children during childhood. And the degree of identification with Britishness and Spanishness also increased during the childhood years. Thirdly, however, these general age trends were exhibited to a different extent by the various groups of children, apparently as a function of the specific sociocultural situation in which the children were growing up. And fourthly, these differences between the different groups of children typically became more pronounced during adolescence.

So, on many different measures, the English children were different from the Scottish children; the Andalusian children were different from the Catalan children; the Catalan children were different from the Scottish children, despite both groups of children growing up in separatist regions of multi-nation states; and the Andalusian children were different from the English children. In other words, there is a great deal of variability in development in this domain, which becomes more accentuated during adolescence, as a function of the specific sociocultural context within which children live.



## Theoretical Implications

I think these conclusions have important implications for research in this field. As far as the theoretical implications are concerned, it should be noted that previous theoretical explanations of children's identity development have been polarised. On the one hand, there have been cognitive-developmental theories (e.g. Piaget & Weil 1951, Aboud 1988). These theories have postulated that children's identity development is driven by deeper, underlying cognitive-developmental changes. That is, it has been argued by some authors that it is the changes which occur to the way in which the child is able to conceptualise and reason about the social world that drive the developmental changes to the child's identity system. On the other hand, there have been socialisation theories (e.g. Spencer 1988, Lloyd & Duveen 1990, Emler, Ohana & Dickinson 1990, Cross 1991, Sheets 1999). These theories have instead postulated that the child's identity development is driven by influences from the child's social environment, especially parents, schooling and the mass media.

Now, I do not have sufficient time here today to enter into these theoretical issues in any depth. However, suffice it to say that I think that both of these theoretical approaches are oversimplistic. I think there is no question that identity development is driven *both* by the changes which occur to the way in which the child is able to conceptualise the social world at different ages, *and* by social influences. For example, I think that many of the changes which occur between 5 and 11 years of age are a consequence of the child's increasing ability across this age range to conceptualise large-scale social groups, and the child's increasing ability to understand that these large-scale social groups contain a wide mix of different types of people. I think that it is these underlying cognitive changes which drive the changes in the degree of identification with the national group, and the changes in the perceived variability of national groups. At the same time, however, I think that the way in which even these cognitively-driven changes are expressed within any given child is modulated and affected by the specific sociocultural setting within which the child lives. It is for this reason that we find significant differences in the development of children who belong to different social groups on many different measures.

In short, I think that the correct unit of analysis for understanding children's development in this domain is not the child per se; nor is it the social environment per se. Instead, the correct unit of analysis is the child-plus-sociocultural-setting. In other words, I think we need to conceptualise the cognitively-developing child as being situated within a particular social niche, which itself changes continuously as the child grows older.

The child's social niche changes over time, firstly, as a function of the child's own cognitive development: the child's cognitive level and motivational state at any given moment in time determine the type of social information which the child actively seeks out in the environment. Secondly, the child's social niche also changes over time as a function of the different social discourses and practices which are applied to the child at different ages by the various socialisation agents that are present within the child's sociocultural setting. Thirdly, however, those socialisation agents can only exert their effects if the child's cognitive system is sufficiently developed for the child to be able to attend to and assimilate that kind of influence. I believe that it is only by thinking about children's development in this more complex kind of way that we will be able to provide an adequate explanation of the child's identity development.



## A New Line of Research

Our finding that there is a great deal of variability in children's development in this domain has another important implication: it means that we have to be very careful about extrapolating from findings which have been obtained in one sociocultural setting to children who live in another setting. Instead, our findings suggest that we need to examine children's development in a range of different cultures, to see how the specifics of different cultures impact in different ways upon the cognitively-developing child. This means, of course, that the research agenda is much larger than we first anticipated, and a great deal of further cross-cultural work is needed if we are to get an accurate understanding of the full range of developmental variation which is possible in this domain.

So, for this reason, we are now beginning to extend our previous project in order to study children's development in other countries. We have recently begun a new project in collaboration with colleagues in Russia, Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaijan. Our collaborators in this project are shown in Figure 21. This new research network, which I

*Figure 21. Collaborators in the New Project.*

**Institute of Psychology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia**

Tatiana Riazanova, Margarita Volovikova, Elena Sergienko, Sergey Grigoriev, Ludmila Dikevich, Natalia Gorodetchnaia

**Kharkov State University, Kharkov, Ukraine**

Valentina Pavlenko, Olga Ivanova, Iryna Kryazh

**Institute of Psychology, Tbilisi, Georgia**

Giorgi Kipiani, Makvala Charshiladze, Ketevan Kobaladze, Marina Gogava, Tamuna Grigolava

**Azerbaijan Pedagogical Institute for Russian Language and Literature, Baku, Azerbaijan**

Rauf Karakozov, Rena Kadirova

am coordinating, is currently collecting further data from children who are growing up in very different cultures from the ones which we have studied so far. In these countries, of course, issues of national identity are closely entwined with issues concerning ethnic and religious identity. And the political and economic circumstances of these countries are very different from those which prevail in Western Europe. So in this new project, we have expanded the focus of our interests to include ethnic and religious identity development as well as national identity development. And we are using qualitative as well as quantitative measures in order to explore the subjective meanings which the children ascribe to their national, ethnic and religious identities. I am very excited indeed by the prospects which are held out by this new project. But I am afraid that the reporting of the findings from this new project will have to take place in another venue at another time.

Thank you very much indeed for your attention.



## References

- About, F. (1988). *Children and Prejudice*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.
- Barrett, M. (1996). English children's acquisition of a European identity. In G. Breakwell & E. Lyons (eds.), *Changing European Identities: Social Psychological Analyses of Social Change*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Barrett, M., del Valle, A., Lyons, E., Vila, I., Monreal, P. & Perera, S. (1999). Bilingual children and the sense of national identity: the case of children living in Catalonia. Paper presented at the *Eighth International Congress for the Study of Child Language*, San Sebastian, Spain, July 1999.
- Barrett, M. & Farroni, T. (1996). English and Italian children's knowledge of European geography. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *14*, 257-273.
- Barrett, M., Lyons, E., Bennett, M., Vila, I., Giménez de la Peña, A., Arcuri, L. & de Rosa, A.S. (1997). *Children's Beliefs and Feelings about Their Own and Other National Groups in Europe*. Final Report to the Commission of the European Communities, Directorate-General XII for Science, Research and Development, Human Capital and Mobility (HCM) Programme, Research Network Contract No. CHRX-CT94-0687.
- Barrett, M. & Short, J. (1992). Images of European people in a group of 5-10 year old English school children. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *10*, 339-363.
- Barrett, M. & Whennell, S. (1998). The relationship between national identity and geographical knowledge in English children. Paper presented at the *XVth Biennial Meeting of the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development*, Berne, Switzerland, July 1998.
- Barrett, M. Whennell, S. & Davey, K. (1999). Children's sense of national identity and its relationship to national territorial knowledge and attachment. Unpublished paper, Department of Psychology, University of Surrey.
- Barrett, M., Wilson, H. & Lyons, E. (1999). Self-categorization theory and the development of national identity in English children. Paper presented at the *Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development*, Albuquerque, New Mexico, USA, April 1999.
- Bennett, M., Lyons, E., Sani, F. & Barrett, M. (1998). Children's subjective identification with the group and ingroup favoritism. *Developmental Psychology*, *34*, 902-909.

- Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.
- Billig, M. (1996). Nationalism as an international ideology: imagining the nation, others and the world of nations. In G. Breakwell & E. Lyons (eds), *Changing European Identities: Social Psychological Analyses of Social Change*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Buchanan-Barrow, E., Bayraktar, R., Papadopoulou, A., Short, J., Lyons, E. & Barrett, M. (1999). Children's representations of foreigners. Paper presented at the 9th European Conference on Developmental Psychology, Spetses, Greece, September, 1999.
- Burke, P. & Reitzes, D. (1991). An identity theory approach to commitment. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 54, 239-251.
- Connor, W. (1978). A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group, is a ... *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1, 378-400.
- Crocker, J. & Luhtanen, R. (1990). Collective self-esteem and ingroup bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58, 60-67.
- Cross, W.E. (1991). *Shades of Black*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Emler, N. Ohana, J. & Dickinson, J. (1990). Children's representations of social relations. In G. Duveen & B. Lloyd (eds), *Social Representations and the Development of Knowledge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gecas, V. (1991). The self-concept as a basis for a theory of motivation. In J. Howard & P. Callero (eds), *The Self-Society Dynamic: Cognition, Emotion and Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gellner, E. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Giddens, A. (1985). *The Nation-State and Violence*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giménez, A., Canto, J.M., Fernandez, P. & Barrett, M. (1999). La identificación social como regulador del estereotipo lo que piensan los niños de Andalucía. *Boletín de Psicología*, 64, 81-99.
- Hogg, M.A. & Abrams, D. (1988). *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes*. London: Routledge.
- Horowitz, D. (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lloyd, B. & Duveen, G. (1990). A semiotic analysis of the development of social representations of gender. In G. Duveen & B. Lloyd (eds), *Social Representations and the Development of Knowledge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Luhtanen, R. & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 18, 302-318.
- Piaget, J. & Weil, A.M. (1951). The development in children of the idea of the homeland and of relations to other countries. *International Social Science Journal*, 3, 561-578.
- Rosenberg, M. (1979). *Conceiving the Self*. New York: Basic Books.
- Sheets, R.H. (1999). Human development and ethnic identity. In R.H. Sheets & E.R. Hollins (eds), *Racial and Ethnic Identity in School Practices*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Smith, A.D. (1986). *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Smith, A.D. (1991). *National Identity*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Spencer, M.B. (1988). Self-concept development. In D.T. Slaughter (ed), *Perspectives in Black Child Development*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Stryker, S. & Serpe, R. (1982). Commitment, identity salience and role behavior: theory and research example. In W. Ickes & E.S. Knowles (eds), *Personality, Roles and Social Behavior*. New York: Springer Verlag.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worchel & W.G. Austin (eds), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Trew, K. & Benson, D.E. (1996). Dimensions of social identity in Northern Ireland. In G. Breakwell & E. Lyons (eds), *Changing European Identities: Social Psychological Analyses of Social Change*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Vila, I., del Valle, A., Perera, S., Monreal, P. & Barrett, M. (1998). Autocategorización, identidad nacional y contexto lingüístico. *Estudios de Psicología*, 60, 3-14.
- Wilson, H. (1998). *The Development of National Identity in 5 to 11 Year Old English Schoolchildren*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Surrey.
- Wilson, H. & Barrett, M. (1996). The development of national identity in children: a study to investigate the relationship between child and parental attitudes. Paper presented at the *British Psychological Society Developmental Section Annual Conference*, Oxford, September 1996.