Abstract

Title of dissertation: CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS' INTERPRETATIONS
OF PEER BASED SOCIAL EXCLUSION

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Developmental research on intergroup attitudes has identified social exclusion as a complex peer interaction that can often reflect stereotypes and bias (Killen, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2013). Given the complexity of interracial peer encounters, it is necessary to understand the conditions and contexts in which interracial social exclusion occurs and how racial minority and majority children evaluate such types of interactions. The current study investigated African American and European American children and adolescent's evaluations of peer encounters manipulating three factors: 1) the racial composition of the peers involved (interracial vs. same-race), 2) the source of the message (messages from peers vs. parents), and 3) the form of the message (overt vs. covert). Four child-level variables were examined and included: participant race, age, level of interracial contact, and racial identity. European American participants, particularly adolescents, viewed same-race inclusion as more likely than interracial and evaluated exclusion in both contexts to be just as wrong. In contrast, African American participants viewed interracial and same-race inclusion to be just as likely, but evaluated exclusion to be more wrong in interracial than same-race contexts. With age, children viewed interracial social inclusion as less likely and even more so when

interactions involved messages from parents. Interracial contact and racial identity were found to be critical features that contributed to expectations for interracial inclusion occurring in peer encounters. The findings are discussed with respect to peer and parental messages about interracial peer encounters and the conditions that are necessary for prejudice reduction.

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SOCIAL EXCLUSION

by

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my family. Mom and Pops, as loving parents you taught me the importance of knowing one's cultural history in the knowing of one's self. In your careers as public school teachers, you taught me the significance of dedicating one's life to making a difference in the lives of children. To my grandparents who represent compassion and perseverance in the face of adversity and prejudice, your love and guidance is with me every day. To my cousins, aunts, uncles and Snell family, you have been in this life journey with me from the beginning and your love and encouragement fuels my every step. To all my mentors and teachers who allowed me to see my own potential and invested time to supplement and enrich my educational opportunities, without you I would not be in the position to pursue this degree. To my friends and colleagues who imparted the importance of balancing life and work, your care and friendship is deeply felt and ever-present.

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CHAPTER 1

Conceptual Framework

Prejudice and bias affect children and adolescents in the United States and throughout the world (Bigler & Liben, 2006; Killen, Rutland, & Ruck, 2011). Exclusion of others on the basis of race is one of the most recognizable forms of bias. Unfortunately, children who are the victims of prejudicial attitudes (i.e., an act of bias perpetrated based on group membership) have increased anxiety, depressive symptomology, decreased motivation and are at risk for substance abuse (Douglass, Yip, & Shelton, 2014; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Kaiser, Hagiwara, Malahy, & Wilkins, 2009; Kiang, Gonzalez-Backen, Yip, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006; Neblett, White, Ford, Philip, Nguyên, & Sellers, 2008; Seaton, Yip, Morgan-Lopez, & Sellers, 2012). Moreover, given the multi-racial dimension of many societal contexts, children who perpetuate prejudice (either unbeknownst to themselves or more overtly) are at risk for negative social relationships in school and later in the workforce. When it comes to relationships between African American and European American individuals –relationships of deep, historical significance to the United States –the study of the processes and contexts in which prejudice originates and develops has social relevance for many fields of study. For several decades, the examination of the dynamics of prejudicial attitudes has been a focus of policy-based research related to school segregation cases, economic disparities, and school readiness (Clark & Clark, 1947; Frankenberg & Orfield, 2007; Molina & Wittig, 2006; Moody, 2001; Schofield & Eurich-Fulcer, 2001).

Recently, developmental psychologists have closely examined how children conceptualize interracial peer encounters, with a focus on the quality of friendships,

group dynamics and factors related to social exclusion (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy, 2003; Killen & Rutland, 2011; Tropp, O'Brien, & Migacheva, 2014; Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010). This information is fundamentally important for the success of intervention efforts related to the policy goals of school integration, economic equality, and school preparation; yet, with the additional goal of understanding how children's evaluations, judgments and reasoning change over time. Until children are able to develop meaningful relationships with others from different racial backgrounds, reject negative exclusion behavior by their peers, and understand what makes intergroup social exclusion wrong, progress toward true integration will be limited (Killen, Rutland, & Ruck, 2011; Tatum, 2003; Wilson & Rodkin, 2011).

While interracial exclusion (exclusion based on racial group membership) is an act of prejudice, peer rejection refers to exclusion based on interpersonal or individual traits (Killen, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2013; Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006). For instance, exclusion from a swim team because one is not fast enough is different from exclusion from a swim team because one is African American. Yet, peer encounters are often multifaceted. Interpersonal and race-based rationales for exclusion can both exist within a peer encounter (e.g., excluding an outgroup peer because a friend might be uncomfortable). Additionally, bias is often covert (Seaton & Douglass, 2014; Yip & Douglass, 2011) and even at a young age, children apply stereotypes to outgroups (Bigler & Liben, 2006; Pauker, Ambady, & Apfelbaum, 2010). Stereotypical traits often serve as an interpersonal basis for exclusion, masking what is actually an act of interracial exclusion (e.g., excluding an African American peer because he assumed to be aggressive). Thus, especially in interracial contexts, children must weigh the intentions of

the excluder as these alter an instance of peer rejection to an instance of interracial exclusion. Thus, it is essential to fully examine the social criteria and components of exclusion when it occurs in an interracial setting to understand why was right or wrong.

Given the complexity of interracial peer encounters, it is necessary to understand the conditions and contexts in which interracial social exclusion occurs and to examine how attitudes may differ for racial minority and majority children. Measures of these attitudes have include children's judgments, evaluations and social reasoning about the conditions in which inclusion is likely (or unlikely) and in which exclusion may be wrong (or permissible) as well as the attributions of intentions made in complex encounters (Killen, Kelly, Richardson, Crystal, & Ruck, 2010; Newheiser & Olson, 2011; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008). Research has also identified central parameters that contribute to children's interracial attitudes. These include contextual factors in the setting of exclusion, such as the racial composition of the peers involved (interracial vs. same-race), the source of the message (messages from peers vs. parents), and the form of the message (overt vs. covert) as well as child-level factors such as participant race, age, level of interracial contact, and racial identity. The following section describes how the current study examined these parameters within three specific aims, and is followed by definitions of these parameters in the context of current research.

Study Aims

There were three aims to this study. The first aim was to investigate how the racial composition of the encounter (same-race and interracial) effected African American and European American children's evaluations of inclusion and exclusion as well as how their evaluations varied as a function of the form of the peer message (overt

and covert). The second aim was to investigate how evaluations of inclusion and exclusion varied as a function of the source of the messages (parents and peers). The third aim was to investigate the role of interracial contact and racial identity for African American and European American children's expectations about interracial social inclusion as it occurred in their daily lives.

Parameters of Interest

      Racial composition of the peer encounter: Interracial and same-race. Research in intergroup exclusion often focuses on how ingroup and outgroup attitudes contribute to social exclusion based on group membership (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity and nationality), positing that excluders reject members of out-groups to maintain status differences (Killen, Mulvey et al., 2013). This differs from research on peer rejection. Studies in peer rejection often examine exclusion in racially and ethnically homogeneous group compositions; here exclusion is based on the traits of the victim (e.g., a child who is shy, wary or fearful) that incited the rejection from the peer group (Bierman, 2004; Rubin et al., 2006).

      For the current study (which examined race as the group membership), measuring exclusion occurring in interracial and same-race group settings is critical to the study design for two reasons. First, past research has examined children's evaluations of interracial social exclusion without a baseline comparison of their evaluations of same-race social exclusion (Crystal, Killen, & Ruck, 2008). With few studies measuring how children's evaluations of interracial social exclusion compares with their evaluations of same-race exclusion, what remains unknown is the extent to which the interracial nature of exclusion informs these evaluations. Second, comparing judgments about same-race

and interracial peer encounters provides an opportunity to determine whether children differentially interpret individual-based (or trait-based) characteristics (e.g., a character is shy or loud). This provided an opportunity to systematically test whether individual, trait-based exclusion, in an interracial context, was evaluated differently from that which occurred in a same-race context.

Form of message: Overt and covert. Prejudice can be overt and explicit or covert and subtle. While covert forms of prejudice can be more difficult to detect than overt forms, they are often no less harmful to the victims (Brown & Bigler, 2005; Neblett, Terzian, & Harriott, 2010; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Swim & Stangor, 1998). Similarly, intergroup social exclusion also involves different forms of messages (e.g., Cooley, Elenbaas, & Killen, 2012). Yet, no study to date has systematically tested how the form of the message effects children's evaluations of intergroup social exclusion. Limited, recent research suggests that children's group identity may inform the extent to which they are aware of covert forms of prejudice and their perceptions of the wrongfulness of intergroup social exclusion (Brenick & Killen, 2014; Rutland, Cameron, Jugert, Nigbur, Brown, & Watters 2012; Yip & Douglass, 2011). Therefore, directly testing how children evaluate covert and overt instances of intergroup social exclusion is a central component to the current study because little is known about how the covert or over nature of exclusion informs evaluation sand judgments and how individual level factors such as identity enhance the salience of these situations.

Source of the message: Peer and parent. Research has demonstrated that both parents and peers can act as prejudicial socializing agents (e.g., Nesdale, Maass, Durkin & Griffiths, 2005; Pahlke, Bigler & Suizzo, 2012; Seaton et al., 2012). Among research

examining the development of prejudice in childhood, the importance accorded to parents (and, later, peers) as the primary source of children's ethnic attitudes has remained quite mixed (Degner & Dalege, 2013; Nesdale, 2004). While some research has reported low correlations among parent-child prejudicial attitudes others have found associations among implicit bias when children are highly identified with parents.

Surprisingly, there is a dearth of research on how these sources of influence inform children's evaluations of peer social exclusion (Nesdale, 2004; Sinclair, Dunn, & Lowery, 2005). To what extent do children differentiate exclusion that occurred based on parental attitudes from that based on peer attitudes, and is exclusion more wrong (or permissible) when based on either source? These sources of input have different statuses. Children, confronted with discrimination coming from adults and peers, have been found to differentiate these contexts of bias (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009). Additionally, children may also weigh peer and parental attitudes differently with age given increased loyalty to peer social groups (Abrams & Rutland, 2008) and increased autonomy from parents during adolescence (Smetana, 2011). Thus, the relationships status of the source conveying messages about peer encounters is another parameter central to understanding when exclusion may or may not be permissible.

Parameters of Interest: Child-Level Variables

Participant race. Children may experience intergroup social exclusion as a result of their membership in a large number of social groups (e.g., based on one's gender, race, ethnicity, culture, physical or mental abilities, religion, country of birth, or socioeconomic status). Yet, to restrict the scope of this study, we focus on African American and European American children's expectations in interracial (where a

European American friend group excludes an African American peer) and same-race encounters (where characters are matched to the participant's race). We recognize that race is not a binary category and that in the United States race is often circumscribed by socio-economic status (SES)–particularly with regards to African Americans and European Americans (Adelman & Jaret, 1999; Oliver & Shapiro, 1995). In this project, however, to reduce the number of variables, SES will not be a central group membership variable. Instead, individual child SES data (parent educational attainment) was collected to ensure mean SES levels for African American and European American children did not differ significantly across race and age-groups. Data were also collected in racially diverse schools serving middle to low-middle SES communities. The inclusion of both African American and European American children in the current study was also of interest as few studies include both racial majority and minority children in the same study. This comparison provides a unique opportunity to measure how these groups evaluate exclusion occurring in a same-race (matched to participant's race) and in an interracial context.

Age. Research has found much developmental change in children and adolescents' evaluations and judgments of intergroup encounters and social exclusion. Overall, adolescents are found to view exclusion as more warranted, using social conventional reasons, whereas, younger children are found to be less favorable of exclusion, referencing the emotional harm to the rejected child (Recciah et al. 2012). In evaluations of interracial exclusion from the home, adolescents (more so than children) are likely to think that parents may use race as a criteria for social exclusion (Killen Crystal, & Ruck, 2008). These age differences can be attributed to children's increasing

understanding of complex peer group dynamics, as with age children show increasing deference to peer norms, adhering to group loyalty (Abrams et al., 2008; Hitti & Killen, 2015; Nesdale et al., 2005) as well as increased autonomy from parents (Smetana, 2011). However, within an intergorup context these evaluations become complex and age often intersects with other participant-level variables, such as particiapnt race and interracial contact.

Intergroup contact. Intergroup friendships (naturally occurring, direct friendships among children of different social groups) are the most robust component of intergroup contact, leading to prejudice reduction, positive outgroup attitudes, and positive expectations for intergroup interactions (Feddes, Rutland, & Noack, 2009; McGlothlin & Killen, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Wilson & Rodkin, 2011). As a variable, intergroup friendship, more so than school or neighborhood demographics, is important as it indicates intergroup contact at the individual child-level. Ethnically and racially diverse schools do not connote diverse friend groups, as within-school segregation is pervasive even within diverse schools (Wilson & Rodkin, 2011). Thus, school and neighborhood racial composition serve as indicators of children's opportunities for these important relationships, and are necessary yet not sufficient to measure individual, intergroup contact.

Lastly, this parameter is also of interest given that research shows an asymmetry in the role of intergroup contact among racial and ethnic majority and minority children (e.g., Feddes, Noack, & Rutland, 2009; Killen & McGlothlin, 2010; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008), such that effects for contact are rarely found among racial and ethnic minority children (with the exception of Ruck et al., 2014). Rather than assuming intra-group

homogeneity among ethnic minority groups, this null finding for contact could suggest additional factors that affect their outgroup attitudes, such as the role of racial and ethnic identity.

Racial identity. Beginning in childhood is a developing sense of racial and ethnic identity, based on affiliation with parents and peers groups where by the child's environment gives evaluative meaning to his or her orientation to the group (Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012; Ruble, Alvarez, Bachman, Cameron, Fuligni, & Coll, 2004; Seaton et al., 2012; Umaña-Taylor, 2012). Given that racial and ethnic identity development involves learning about social status, group and self, recent research has begun to examine how children's intergroup attitudes may be associated with their developing identities (Brenick & Killen, 2014; Morrison & Chung, 2011; Phinney et al., 2007; Rutland et al., 2012). While few studies have examined *how* identity matters for African American children's intergroup relationships, none have gone further to also examine how racial identity and interracial contact matter for both African American and European American children's expectations for interracial inclusion in their daily lives. Thus, the inclusion of racial identity is important, given that much is known about the role of racial identity in predicting African American (and ethnic minority) children's perceptions of prejudice (Hughes Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009; Neblett et al., 2012).

Theoretical Rationale

Research in intergroup social exclusion often draws from multiple theories. This section will discuss how the social reasoning developmental (SRD: Rutland et al., 2010) perspective which encompasses decades of research coming from social domain theory

(social domain theory: Turiel, 1983), Allport's (1954) and contact hypothesis and social identity theory (SIT: Tajfel & Turner, 1979) has provided a model to test the factors that reduce bias, such as social judgments, reasoning about exclusion, intergroup contact and positive outgroup identification (see Killen, Crystal, & Ruck, 2007; Killen et al., 2010; Newheiser & Olson, 2011; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008). Complementing this work, developmental research in racial and ethnic identity (ERI), has found that strong racial and ethnic identities serve as a buffer negative effects of discrimination for racial and ethnic minority as well as serve as an indicator of their positive outgroup attitudes (e.g., Yip & Douglass, 2011). The current study, grounded in social reasoning developmental perspective (SRD) and ethnic and racial identity (ERI) development, was designed to collect a large corpus of data with different components that provide the means to test aspects the study's three aims (i.e. not all data address all theories; different sections were motivated by the various components of these theoretical frameworks). These theories and perspectives inform the line of inquiry, study design and underlie the methodology and measures.

Social reasoning developmental perspective. The social reasoning developmental (SRD) perspective (Rutland et al., 2010) that guides this study draws on both social domain theory (social domain theory: Turiel, 2002), Allport's (1945) contact hypothesis, and social identity theory (SIT: Tajfel & Turner, 1986) to explore the influences of morality and group processes on prejudice in evaluations of social exclusion. The social reasoning developmental perspective posits that group identity, social conventions, and moral principles all impact evaluations of intergroup social exclusion. This framework also centralizes group identity as a not just a means to define

the self, but as a predictor of self-esteem, and source that guides individuals' attitudes, values, and behaviors in accordance with a set of social group norms. Yet, group identity also creates ingroup-outgroup distinctions. Children, and adults, operate in intergroup settings and make decisions that appeal to a set of group norms and identities, which are sometimes in conflict (e.g., when one's ingroup has a negative norm).

Research motivated by social reasoning developmental perspective has found age related changes in children's awareness of group dynamics, such that with age children are increasingly able to weigh (or learn to negotiate) among competing claims. Yet, children's acquisition varies based on the specific socio-historical context of the groups (e.g., groups of equal vs. unequal social status), and can be impeded by individuals' level of intergroup contact and their adherence to prejudicial attitudes. Thus, the social reasoning developmental perspective theorizes that the way children give priority to group identity, group norms, or moral principles directly relates to intergroup contact, and group threat. While negative social norms such as group homophile (e.g., "we only hang out with people like us") and threat to the ingroup (e.g., limited resources) can promote children's use of group identity, group norms, social conventions, it also can result in children's use of prejudicial reasoning. Conversely, intergroup contact can promote children's use of more inclusive and prosocial moral reasoning. Thus, social reasoning developmental perspective sets forth a framework to understand how children use social information about groups to make intergroup decisions while also examining the nature of the intergroup setting and individual differences that impede or advance children's capacity to make just decisions and hold positive outgroup attitudes. Below are descriptions of the key theories brought together in the perspective and how they inform

our understanding of evaluations of intergroup attitudes and social exclusion.

Social domain theory. As posited by social domain theory, children reason about their social interaction using three domains of social knowledge: the moral domain, pertaining to justice, fairness and rights; the societal domain, pertaining to conventions rules and alterable norms; and the psychological domain, pertaining to personal choices and individual preferences (Nucci, 1981; Turiel, 1983). To demonstrate the complexity of intergroup social exclusion, when testing children's evaluations and reasoning about intergroup social exclusion, research has found children to view it pertaining to moral, conventional and personal domains. In a study with children and adolescents, participants viewed intergroup social exclusion as a moral transgression when considering the psychological harm caused by peer exclusion, and when exclusion is evaluated as unjust and discriminatory (e.g., "it's wrong to exclude him just because he is Black") (Killen & Stangor, 2001).

Research has also found that with age children evaluate instances of intergroup social exclusion as a violation of group conventions, such as when children view exclusion as a legitimate means of preserving group identity (e.g., "It's okay for the boys' club to exclude her because the she doesn't have anything in common with them) (Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, & Stangor, 2002; Killen, Rutland, Abrams, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2013). Lastly, children are found to consider interpersonal attributes and the personal domain, when exclusion occurs on the basis of individual traits or preferences ("e.g., It's okay to exclude him because otherwise his friend will be uncomfortable") (Crystal et al., 2008). Thus, social domain theory is a central theory to the current study as it elucidates

the complexity and developmental changes in children's understanding of these multifaceted situations.

Contact hypothesis and social identity theory. Decades of research grounded in Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis and in social identity theory (SIT: Tajfel & Turner, 1979) has revealed that ethnically heterogeneous environments and interracial friendships are related to prejudice reduction and positive outgroup attitudes among children and adolescents (Aboud & Mendelson, 1996; Bennett, Lyons, Sani, & Barrett, 1998; Cameron, Rutland, Brown, & Douch, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Rutland et al., 2012). Research using these theoretical frameworks has also found children with higher levels of intergroup contact to be less accepting of intergroup social exclusion, evaluating it as more wrong or unjust than children with lower intergroup contact (e.g., Brenick & Killen, 2014; Killen et al., 2010).

The contact hypothesis (Allport, 1945) proposes that certain prerequisite features must be present to successfully reduce intergroup bias. These are: authority support of the goals of mutual respect, equal status, common goals, and intergroup friendships. SIT considers the crucial role of social identity, positing that a person's need for a positive self-identity may be partially satisfied by membership in a high-status social group. These needs motivate social comparisons and differentiation of the ingroup from the outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). While research has found interracial friendships to be an effective means through which children can evaluate intergroup exclusion as wrong from a moral viewpoint, only certain environmental and interpersonal conditions allow for strong sustaining relationships (Wilson & Rodkin, 2011). Unfortunately, these

intergroup friendships decrease with age –even among children who have access to diverse environments (e.g., Aboud et al., 2003).

As an illustration to study this phenomenon, Wilson and Rodkin (2011) examined 8- to 11-year-old children's perceptions of interracial friendships within ethnically diverse, classroom peer-networks. Children perceived peers who had more segregated friendship groups favorably to be more popular than peers with more diverse friend groups. Thus, even in diverse school settings, the homophile of social networks (or group segregation) can become a pervasive social norm (Wilson & Rodkin, 2011). Given that children receive strong messages about the permissibility (or wrongfulness) of interracial friendships from their own peer groups and that contact informs evaluation of exclusion, a central goal of this project is understanding how intergroup contact and features of the intergroup situation contribute to children's evaluations of interracial social exclusion.

Ethnic and racial identity (ERI) frameworks. While much of the research in intergroup attitudes has made a significant impact to the understanding of bias and prejudice reduction among racial and ethnic majority children, less is known about the role of ethnic identity for minority children. Most of the findings have shown that ethnic minority children are more likely to view interracial peer exclusion as unfair than ethnic majority participants, are less likely to invoke stereotypes about what makes racial encounters difficult, and are unlikely to display racial bias when attributing intentions in ambiguous peer encounters (Killen, Henning, Richardson, Crystal, & Ruck, 2011). However, given the findings that ethnic identity buffers the negative experience of racial discrimination, investigating whether ethnic identity bears on how minority children evaluate interracial peer exclusion is warranted.

Moreover, much of the research on intergroup and interracial attitudes examines bias reduction among majority status groups. Little is known about how racial and ethnic minority children evaluate intergroup social exclusion across contexts and how intergroup contact affects their attitudes and judgments. Recent research in identity development points to the role that racial and ethnic identity and awareness of group status has on children's intergroup attitudes and potentially to their perceptions about bias and prejudice (e.g., Douglass et al., 2014).

First, given much overlap across ethnic and racial minority youth experiences with bias, researchers in racial and ethnic identity development have acknowledged this intersectionality by developing a theoretical framework called ethnic and racial identity (ERI) (Umaña-Taylor, Quintana, Lee, Cross, Rivas-Drake, & Schwartz et al., 2014). Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2014) identified this framework as being needed to capture the socio-historical and demographic identities specific to ethnic and racial groups as well as capturing those that are intersectional and develop as a product of being a low-status, marginalized group. Thus, the ethnic and racial identity framework can be used to examine racialized experiences due to the ascription of racial categories such as "Black," "Asian," "American Indian," and "Latino" as well as the particular experiences liked to one's cultural or ethnic heritage (e.g., ethnically being Mexican and racially being Latino or ethnically being Ethiopian and racially being Black). In doing so, the investigators recognize that the constructs of race and ethnicity are distinct but given the long history of racializing social groups in the United States, this theory makes it particularly important to recognize how these categorizations converge to inform children's identities (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). In addition to this theoretical call for

integration, studies have also provided evidence suggests for this overlap between ethnic and racial identities (e.g., Casey-Cannon, Coleman, Knudtson, & Valazquez, 2011). Thus, the current study will use "ethnic and racial identity" to capture this field of study and the processes and experiences that racialized experiences in the context of the United States.

While little research in from this framework has examined identities among racial majority status groups, ethnic and racial identity posits that racial and ethnic minority children develop strong racial identities from parental, cultural messages that also serve as a buffer, protecting youth from some of the negative outcomes of bias (Neblett et al., 2012; Seaton, Yip, Morgan-Lopez, & Sellers, 2012). Early in development, racial minority children gain messages from parents about promoting ingroup pride (e.g., Rivas-Drake et al., 2009). While research in ethnic and racial identity focuses on racial and ethnic minority children and takes a socialization model of the emergence of group identity, research in social identity theory focuses on high status, ethnic majority children and finds peers to be central in creating strong ingroup affiliation to can lead to outgroup dislike (Nesdale, 2004). Little is posited from social identity theory about the role of ingroup affiliation for ethnic minority children. Lastly, research in ethnic and racial identity has examined identity in the context of prejudice, where by ethnic minority children with strong racial identities are more cognizant of covert instances of bias and identify acts of prejudice occurring more frequently in their peer groups (Hughes et al., 2009; Kiang, Blumenthal, Carlson, Lawson, & Shell, 2009; Seaton et al., 2012; Yip & Douglass, 2011). Thus, ethnic and racial identity predicts strong identities to have positive outcomes for ethnic and racial minority children, while SIT posits that, given the

right conditions, strong group affiliations among ethnic majority children can result in ingroup bias and even prejudicial attitudes.

We know from social reasoning developmental perspective that group identity is also central to children's perceptions of prejudice and intergroup social exclusion, yet few studies have used ethnic and racial identity measures of identity to examine how children evaluate intergroup peer decisions. One such study from ethnic and racial identity found that adolescents with African American adolescents with higher Public Regard (a status-awareness dimension of identity in MIBI-T: Scothamm, Sellers, & Nhuyen, 2008) were more aware of covert racism (e.g., inappropriate joking about race) in peer contexts. Identity was found to serve as an important lens though which children evaluated peer interaction and could potentially be important in their evaluations of interracial encounters.

Current Study

The current study examined social reasoning developmental perspective (SRD) and ethnic and racial identity (ERI) development theories in light of the how African American and European American children and adolescents evaluated inclusion and exclusion in interracial and same-race peer encounters, measuring the racial composition of the group (same race or interracial), the form of the message (covert and overt), and source of the message, as well as intergroup contact and identity. In addition, to begin to understand the asymmetry in predictions about group identity and interracial contact, the current study examined the role of interracial contact and racial identity among African American and European American participants to test how dimensions of racial identities and levels of interracial might have predicted variance on children's expectations about

interracial inclusion. While interracial social exclusion and racial identity have been tested previously, no study has examined these parameters central to interracial encounters in one study with a systematic design to measure the impact of each factor on children's evaluations and social reasoning.

Study Impact and Contribution

The current study contributed to a fuller understanding of how children weigh different sources of social information in their evaluations of inclusion and exclusion as well as how group identities and interracial contact benefit African American and European American children's perceptions of the interracial settings they encounter in their daily lives. Children who experience race-based social exclusion are at risk for depression and withdrawal, which sets in a negative cycle regarding relationships in school and work settings. Thus, research examining interracial bias reduction among majority status children as well as that which tests the factors that increase psychological support for ethnic minority youth (e.g., racial identity) is needed to identify ways to enhance children's peer relationships –ultimately promoting healthy developmental outcomes and even academic achievement.

The current study was novel in that it drew from social reasoning developmental perspective and racial and ethnic identity development to enhance understanding of how group identity may inform perceptions of interracial and interpersonal social exclusion for African American and European American children. Further, by examining the effects of participant race, age, level of intergroup contact, and identity on participants' evaluations and reasoning about peer exclusion and the likelihood of peer inclusion, the

findings were expected to move the field towards identifying the significant variables

needed for effective translation of the findings for intervention.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

Intergroup social exclusion and prejudice are complex issues that engage children's moral development, conceptions of group membership and intergroup attitudes (Killen & Rutland, 2011). Generally, developmental psychologists define prejudice as negative actions or attitudes towards others based on group membership (Bigler & Brown, 2005). Thus, intergroup social exclusion is an act of prejudice when the target is excluded based on their group membership. The act of social exclusion is not inherently a moral issue as there are legitimate bases for exclusion when all parties recognize the valid criteria for exclusion and agree on it (e.g., not inviting a new peer to lunch because you like sitting with just your close friends). However, this issue becomes increasingly complex when group-based attributions and stereotypes are at play (e.g., not inviting a new peer to lunch because, based on his race, you assume he won't like the same things as your friends). Thus interracial social exclusion often involves competing claims of the act –as a conventional or personal choice to reject a peer or as a prejudicial act of group-based exclusion (Killen, Margie, & Sinno, 2006; Killen, Mulvey et al., 2013; Killen & Rutland, 2011).

Intergroup social development research has revealed that heterogeneous environments and intergroup friendships are among the ways to reduce outgroup bias and prejudicial attitudes among children of all ages (e.g., Aboud & Mendelson, 1996; Bennett, Lyons, Sani & Barrett, 1998; Cameron, Rutland, Brow & Douch, 2006; Crystal et al., 2008; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). These intergroup friendships and intergroup contact also allow children and adolescents to view intergroup social

exclusion as wrong from a moral viewpoint (e.g., Killen et al., 2010) and can promote positive evaluations of intergroup friendships (McGlothlin & Killen, 2006).

However, intergroup friendships decreases with age even among children who have access to diverse environments (Aboud et al., 2003; Brown & Bigler, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; McGill, Hughes, & Way, 2012; Wilson & Rodkin, 2011). Additionally, while intergroup friendships are shown to be integral to the development of positive outgroup attitudes, research examining the quality of these relationship finds certain environmental and interpersonal conditions allow for strong sustaining relationships (Cameron et al., 2006). In addition to these obstacles in children's intergroup relationships, much of this research centralizes on bias reduction for majority status groups (Beelmann & Heinmann, 2014; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Thus contact matters for European American and majority status youth, but little is known how it may also matter of racial and ethnic minority youth. To do so research must acknowledge how intergroup attitudes differently develop as a function of group social status.

The role of bias among ethnic majority status groups (often in the form of negative outgroup attitudes and stereotypes) serves to maintain hierarchies, power, and privilege. This contrasts ethnic minority status groups as the recipients of bias. For example, at an early age African American (but not European American) children commonly receive messages from their parents concerning racial bias and discrimination (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007; Hughes & Bigler, 2011). These messages, along with direct experiences with prejudice, can lead African American youth to be both optimistic for and apprehensive of intergroup social encounters. Yet, negative outgroup attitudes held by minority status children; serve

a different set of structural goals (e.g., protection from bias) than held by European American youth (Brown & Bigler, 2005). It is thus important to consider group status to understand ethnic minority children's intergroup attitudes, and specifically how they may also be benefiting from intergroup friendships.

To begin to examine the process by which children weigh multiple sources of input and messages about group and status, a small body of recent research has begun to examine the role of racial and ethnic identity *development* (i.e. ethnic group affiliations and the processes through which children navigate their relationships with self and group), on children's outgroup attitudes (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011; Phinney et al., 2007; Rutland et al., 2012; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002). These findings suggest an "achieved" ethnic identity status or a dual identity (e.g., being "south-Asian English") is related to children's ability to take the perspective of other ethnic groups, and thus in turn can contribute to more open and accepting attitudes toward other groups (e.g., Rutland et al., 2012). Taken together, examining both minority and majority status children, we might expect group identity to predict variance in awareness of covert bias and evaluations of social exclusion.

Roadmap

Holding biases, prejudging others and discriminating based on group membership, as well as rejecting prejudice, suppressing biases, involve judgments about morality, the group, and psychological attitudes about others. Social cognitive development emerges out of children's interactions with peers, particularly in social groups, and from adult-child relationships. These sources of experience are relevant to the emergence of prejudice, as peer groups can perpetuate or reduce bias. This review will examine this

complex area of social development by covering: 1) the overarching theoretical bases of morality in childhood, the development of prejudice, peer group norms, intergroup social exclusion and intergroup contact, building up to the integrated, social reasoning developmental perspective; 2) theories and research in ethnic and racial identity development and how these differs from identity models in SIT; 3) The role of authority figures as both buffers against and sources of bias; 4) overview of the current study aims and hypotheses.

Moral Development

Given that morality develops early (Smetana, 2006), it might be expected that young children would not display prejudicial attitudes or biases towards others based on categories such as gender, race, and ethnicity. If young children hold a value that everyone should be treated equally then one would expect, for instance, that children would not display unequal treatment in the form of exclusion or even view one group to be subordinate to another group. Yet, empirical research has shown that children's reactions to others, social exclusion decisions, and ingroup preferences can reflect varying degrees of bias and prejudice based on gender, race, ethnicity, and cultural group membership (Aboud, 1988; Barrett, Wilson, & Lyons, 2003; Nesdale, 2004). For instance implicit bias research has shown that ethnic majority, high-status children (i.e., White American; White British; Japanese living in Japan) as young as 5- to 6-years-old show implicit ingroup bias to the same magnitude as their majority-group, adult counterparts (Baron & Banaji, 2006; Dunham, Baron, & Banaji, 2006). Other implicit measurement techniques have revealed the same effect in European American 3-year-olds, whose responses were similarly indistinguishable from those of adults (Dunham et al., 2008).

These findings suggest that implicit intergroup biases (i.e., latency in trait assignments) are present at a very young age at least among members of high-status social groups. Lastly, research on ethnic preference using trait attribution measures has revealed a consistent set of findings. These studies indicate that children from 4-years-old onwards can identify their own ethnic group membership and that children from majority, high-status groups show increasingly strong ingroup biases in their assignments of positive and negative traits to in- and outgroup members (see review by Nesdale, 2001). Thus, research in moral development contends with the duality, by examining the role of social interaction and the emergence of moral reasoning in child development. Yet, before addressing the conflicting findings of these different bias measurement techniques it is important to examine the seminal work and early theories that lay the foundation for moral development as it is studied today.

The acquisition of moral principles about fairness and justice is a linchpin of human development, which has been studied by developmental, social, cognitive and comparative psychologists, as well as experimental philosophers and behavioral economists. Drawing on philosophical theories (Nussbaum, 1999; Rawls, 1971), morality has most often been defined by developmental psychologists as principles for how individuals should treat one another with respect to other's welfare, fairness, justice, and rights. Piaget's (1932) seminal book on the moral judgment of the child remains one of the most cited sources for the origins of developmental theory about morality.

Piaget (1932) incorporated philosophical definitions of morality into his psychological inquiry of the origins of moral thinking, demonstrating that children develop a morality independent of authority expectations by illustrating their ability to

critique adult mandates that violate moral norms about fairness or equality. Morality

instead develops from children's early negotiates with peers. Thus, morality is not

defined by the group or by adults, but exists as a set of independent principles by which

to judge and evaluate social actions and events. Piaget (1932) argued that moral norms, if

they exist, must be independent from group norms. This is because many societal norms

are incompatible with notions of fairness, justice, and equality. For example, societal

norms about unilateral power relationships and hierarchies are often in conflict with

theories about fairness, equal treatment, and justice, which Piaget (1932) articulated when

analyzing the child's world of rules and regulations. In his theory, societal norms refer to

broad ideologies held by a nation, or specific norms held by a child's peer group.

 With regards to age-related change, Piaget (1932) argued that it was not until 7- to

8-years-old that children are capable of evaluating rules, social interactions, and social

exchanges on the basis of a set of principles about fairness and rights. Additionally,

Piaget described the parameters of and moral reasoning based limitations of heteronomy,

such that children under 10-years-old are unable to negotiate their own views and with

the perspectives of others –a function that is essential to moral development and

reasoning (Piaget, 1932). However, in the past 30 years, moral developmental extended

from work drawing from Piaget (1932) and Kohlberg (1968) to develop frameworks,

such as Social domain theory, and systematic methodologies to explore how even young

children are able to reasoning based on moral criteria.

 Social domain theory. Social domain theory provides a theoretical framework

for investigating the emergence of prejudice, social exclusion, discrimination, and bias

(social domain theory: Turiel, 1983). Consistent with Piaget's (1932) theory of moral

development social domain theory also posits that morality is distinct from social norms, conventions and authority and develops from children's interactions. The theory identifies three domains of knowledge: the moral domain, which involves issues of fairness, justice, rights and welfare; the societal domain, which is concerned with conventions, customs and traditions; and the psychological domain, which includes issues of personal choice and individual discretion (Nucci & Turiel, 2000; Smetana, 2006; Turiel, 2008). These categories were derived from the foundational work of Piaget (1932) and Kohlberg (1969), yet with a fundamental difference from Kohlberg (1969), regarding about the emergence of morality. Rather than postulating that the young child focuses on the self (selfish desires) and then groups (conformity to rules) and finally morality (justice) (Kohlberg, 1969), social domain theory posits that the self, groups, and morality reflect three distinct domains of knowledge that co-exist.

Through empirical studies, social domain theory has demonstrated that children as young as 3- to 4-years-old use different criteria when evaluating acts which causes harm, for example, from acts that violate a conventional rule. By assessing what children viewed as non-moral social events provided insight into the types of exchanges that were conceptualized as moral, thus confirming that children distinguish between different kinds of acts using epistemological criteria drawn from philosophical theories. This theory posits that individuals conceptualize moral rules as generalizable (any act that involves harming a victim is wrong), unalterable (the rule cannot be changed), non-rule contingent (acts that cause harm to victims are still wrong even if there is no rule), and not a matter of authority jurisdiction (even if the teacher says that it is okay, it is still

wrong). In contrast, individuals view societal rules as context-specific, alterable, rule contingent, and under authority jurisdiction (Turiel, 1983; Nucci, 1981).

These criteria apply to moral acts such as physical harm, psychological harm, and unfair distribution of resources. Acts identified as within the societal domain included customs, conventions, traditions, and regulations for ensuring the smooth functioning of group interactions. The third domain, the psychological, has referred to matters that are not regulated and are viewed as up to individuals to decide, such as what activities to engage in (e.g., leisure time activities), what type of attire to wear, and whom to choose as a friend. Research has demonstrated that individuals across the lifespan view some issues as neither moral nor societal but about personal choice. Moreover, the findings have been generalized to different cultural contexts and across the lifespan, indicating that individuals draw on different domains of social knowledge to interpret complex social events and interactions.

For example, a growing body of research from social domain theory indicates that children and adolescents from a variety of other cultures also identify a personal domain that is beyond the parameter of authority regulation and are found to reason with appeals to personal choice and autonomy (Helwig, Ruck, & Peterson-Badali, 2014; Yau & Smetana, 2003). Herein, Lahat, Helwig, Yang, Tan, and Liu (2009) examined Chinese adolescents' evaluations of stories that entailed conflicts with authorities and parents. Participants appealed to the presence of individual rights autonomy and personal choice, which is substantial considering the general lack of support for civil liberties in Mainland China's political system (Lahat et al., 2009). Similar studies have been conducted with

consideration to the societal and moral domains, supporting the salience of these areas of social knowledge across many cultural contexts.

While early research in social domain theory used prototypic social events to demonstrate the categorical distinctions reflective of the three domains, recent research has also applied the social domain model to complex and multifaceted issues (issues that concern multiple domains), such as intergroup social exclusion, and prejudice. This research uses a range of theories such as social domain theory (social domain theory: Turiel, 1983) and developmental variants of social identity theory (SIT: Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This has been part of a larger area of research on developmental intergroup attitudes, which has investigated the origins of stereotyping, discrimination and bias (Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010).

Development of Prejudice and Bias

A large body of research on prejudice development has examined many facets of the emergence of prejudice, including stereotyping (Ruble, Martin, & Berenbaum, 2006), prejudicial attitudes (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011), discrimination (Brown & Bigler, 2005), implicit bias (Baron & Banaji, 2006; Rutland, Cameron, Milne, & McGeorge, 2005), categorization (Bigler & Liben, 2006), group identity (Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, & Griffiths, 2004) and social exclusion (Hitti, Mulvey, & Killen, 2011; Horn, 2008; Killen & Rutland, 2011). Some research has focus on developmental trajectories and others on the contextual elements informing intergroup attitudes. While not all children develop prejudices, it is necessary to understand the contexts in and processes by which these attitudes arise.

Examining age-related changes in children's ethnic prejudice, Nesdale (2001) proposed social identity development theory (SIDT: Nesdale, 2001), which posits that children who display ethnic prejudice pass through four sequential developmental phases. These phases are: undifferentiated (often during infancy), ethnic awareness (often during early-childhood), ethnic preference (often during early-childhood) and ethnic prejudice (often during middle-childhood, in children who hold such attitudes). Rather than identifying phases by a set age, SIDT characterized stages by the behaviors and events that precipitate change from one phase to the next. Over time, experience with peers, parents and with exposure to social messages (e.g., media), children extract information that enhances the positive distinctiveness of their ingroup. Research in SIDT, often among majority status participants, has found that children's ethnic preference (i.e., their greater liking for the ingroup versus outgroups) changes to ethnic prejudice or dislike when children have strong ingroup identification, and when ingroup norms that promote exclusion and outgroup rejection are present (Nesdale, 2004; Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, Kiesner, Griffiths, Daly et al., 2010). SIDT, thus, highlights middle-childhood as a period when prejudice has the potential to emerge.

Nesdale's (2001) SIDT comes in contrast with Aboud's (1988) claim that ethnic prejudice diminishes in children from 7-years-old onwards. Aboud colleagues conducted a series of studies in the early 1980s on prejudice among children, which lead to new lines of research that integrated social psychological and developmental theories to understand prejudice (Aboud, 1988; Dunham & Degner, 2010; Quintana & McKown, 2008). Among them, Raabe and Beelman (2011) conducted a meta-analysis on the change in prejudicial attitudes across age, and ethnically diverse participant samples.

Overall, results indicated a peak in prejudice in middle childhood (5- to 7-year-olds) followed by a slight decrease until late childhood (8- to 10-year-olds). Findings also revealed age-related differences in the level of prejudice children had toward higher versus lower status outgroups. The authors also noted the positive effects of intergroup contact opportunities on prejudice reduction. Consistent with SIDT, these results also suggest that prejudice changes with age during childhood. In addition to measuring developmental change, research in this field has also focused on the complexity of prejudicial attitudes by examining group dynamics and ingroup bias as distinct from outgroup threat, social exclusion, and discrimination.

Role of Peer Groups Norms

Through reciprocal negotiations with peers, young children acquire skills such as bargaining and compromising and develop an understanding of others (Piaget, 1932). Peers, however, can play a positive and negative role in children's evaluations of group decisions and adherence to group norms. Research investigations have been organized to test age-related changes in peer dynamics. On the one hand, studies have examined how peer groups contribute to prejudicial attitudes –when high levels of ingroup identification and exclusive group norms lead to outgroup dislike (Abrams et al., 2008; Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005). On the other hand, research has shown the contexts in which peer interactions help to reduce prejudice –when norms about inclusivity foster empathy, perspective-taking and a position to challenge stereotypic expectations (Hitti & Killen, 2015; Tropp et al., 2014). This section will examine the positive and negative roles of peer interaction, taking a group dynamics social reasoning approach (Rutland et al., 2010).

Abrams and Rutland's (2008) research in subjective group dynamics examines children's attitudes about both inter and intra-group peer situations. Intragroup dynamics refers to judgments about ingroup members who enhance group identity by upholding group norms in comparison to ingroup members who do not (and deviate from the group norms). In contrast, intergroup dynamics refers to judgments about exclusion (or inclusion) of outgroup members who threaten (or enhance) group identity (Abrams & Rutland, 2008). According to subjective group dynamics theory, group norms are the expectations, beliefs, and values held by one's group. In contrast, group membership is the identifying feature that characterizes the group (such as gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, culture). The importance of these distinctions lies in determining the conditions in which ingroup bias or outgroup negativity is manifested. Adopting a group dynamics conceptual framework to explain peer exclusion has allowed current research to examine additional factors that contribute to children's reasoning about intergroup exclusion, such as children's assumptions about group identity as well as attribution of intentions of ingroup member who exclude (e.g., Killen, Mulvey et al., 2013). Accordingly, group norms (be they positive, negative or exclusionary) are important considerations for children in social decision-making.

Researchers measuring subjective group dynamics in childhood has found that by 8- to 9-years-old children have already obtained an understanding of subjective group dynamics and tend to give priority to group norms over group membership (Abrams & Rutland, 2008). This means that by middle childhood, children will prefer an outgroup member who supports their own ingroup norm over an ingroup member who deviates from the ingroup norm. As an example, in the context of soccer fan clubs, children will

prefer an outgroup member cheering for their own team (loyalty regarding group norm) over an ingroup member who cheers for the other team (group disloyalty). Additionally, by 8-to 9-years of age children are aware that group needs are sometimes distinct from individual preferences. Children understand that if a group has a norm, and an ingroup member rejects that norm then the group may dislike and exclude this ingroup member (e.g., common school group or nationality) (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Killen, Rutland et al., 2013).

As children differentiate the group norm from group identity they view loyalty to the group based on adherence to group norms, not just based on group membership. Thus, when an ingroup member violates the group norms, children are found to consider the nature of the norm and functioning of the group in to their evaluations and judgments. A recent study found that, with age, 9- to 13-year-old participants gave priority to group-specific norms (in contrast to generic norms), and differentiated between their expectations of how the group would make decisions about a member who challenged group norms and their own individual preferences (Killen, Rutland et al., 2013). This increasing ability to understand how the group would evaluate a deviant member, and the ability to distinguish the group's appraisal from their own, individual evaluation, reveals children's complex understanding of group dynamics and group norms. However, few studies to date have examined intergroup social exclusion and inclusion in an embedded group dynamics task.

Hitti and Killen (2015) set out to fill this gap by examining inclusion decisions of non-Arab American pre-adolescents and adolescents in a group dynamics paradigm, in which Arab cultural category was salient. Participants made judgments about whether

their ingroup (an ethnically diverse group of American peers) or outgroup (an group of

Arab American peers) is likely to be inclusive towards outgroup and ingroup targets and

evaluated group members who challenged inclusive and exclusive group norms. Groups

varied in cultural identity and social activity interests (giving participants opportunity to

define membership by culture or activity) and groups had norms of exclusivity

(preferring similar members) or inclusivity (preferring members who are different from

the group). Findings showed that non-Arab American participants perceived Arab

American peers to be less inclusive cross-culturally than they perceived their own

American peers. Additionally, participating 11- to 12-year olds and 14- to 15-year-olds

attributed more positive traits of inclusivity to their own group than they did to the Arab

American outgroup, reflecting an ingroup bias. Non-conforming group members, who

challenged an exclusive group norm, were evaluated more positively than deviant

members who challenged inclusive group norms by advocating exclusivity (Hitti &

Killen, 2015). The authors also posit that children's low-levels of reported contact with

Arab peers may also account for the frequency of outgroup stereotype usage and

perception of outgroup exclusivity. Thus, in addition to negative peer norms, another

obstacle to positive outgroup attitudes are children's opportunities to interact in ethnically

diverse peer environments. Children take this group knowledge into consideration when

evaluating exclusion.

Intergroup Social Exclusion

Over the past decade this developmental research has examined the connections

between group identity and moral judgment to understand the origins of prejudice. These

recent studies on prejudicial attitudes in childhood have demonstrated the complexity of

children's viewpoints social groups and peer decisions (Killen & Rutland, 2011; Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010). By drawing on social domain theory, a burgeoning line of research has systematically investigated the role of moral judgments in the context of intergroup attitudes (Abrams, Rutland, Ferrell, & Pelletier, 2008; Crystal et al., 2008; Gieling, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2010; Horn, 2008; Killen et al., 2010; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2012). The central focus of this research is to address how is it that children who hold moral values also act in ways that violate the underlying principles of these values, particularly with respect to prejudice and discrimination. This approach has found that children and adolescents use different forms of reasoning when evaluating social exclusion, intolerance, and rejection based on group membership, revealing new information about the processes that both hinder and perpetuate prejudicial attitudes (Killen et al., 2002; Recciah, Brehl, Wainryb, 2012).

Social exclusion serves as a means for regualting the fuctioning of social groups, through making decisions about who enhances the groups' goals. However, the criteria with which children use in a decision to exclude can vary greatly. Recciah, Brehl, Wainryb (2012) conduced a narrative study to understand both age-related differences in reasoning about exclusion and how chilren evaluate personal accounts of exclusion. Participants were 7-, 11- and 17-year-olds. Findings revealed that with age participants viewed exclusion as more warranted, using social conventional reasons, whereas, younger children were less favorable of exclusion and reasoned about the wrongfulenss of the act (Recciah et al. 2012). However, within an intergorup context these evaluations become complex and conventional reasons for exclusion can also function to conceal biased intensions.

Children are found to use all three domains of social knowledge in social domain theory when reasoning about intergroup social exclusion. Children and adolescents, have been found to view intergroup social exclusion as a moral transgression when considering the psychological harm caused by peer exclusion, and exclusion is evaluated as unjust and discriminatory (Killen & Stangor, 2001). Intergroup social exclusion has also been evaluated as a violation of group conventions, such as a legitimate means of preserving group identity (Killen et al., 2002; Killen, Rutland et al., 2013). Lastly, research has also found children to also consider interpersonal attributes and the personal domain, when exclusion occurs on the basis of individual traits or preferences ("e.g., It's okay to exclude him because otherwise his friend will be uncomfortable") (Crystal et al., 2008). Thus, children can use conventional reasons to justify interracial exclusion. Yet, many individual differences also inform children's perceptions of these encounters.

However, when testing the role of race and intergroup contact in chilren's evalautions of exclusion, a complex picture emerges. Crystal et al. (2008) examined children's evaluations of the wrongfulness of intergroup social exclusion among 9-, 12- and 15-year-olds. Using the Social Reasoning about Exclusion Interview, participants evaluated exclusion contexts where European American peers did not include an African American peer in a social activity. The exclusion contexts were: personal choice about interracial friendship with no external pressure, inviting a outgroup friend home with external pressure from parental authority, and interracial dating in high school with external pressure from the peer group. Race was made salient in the stories by stating the race of the characters involved. Since the stories were embedded contexts where exclusion could be for racial, personal or conventional reasons, participants were asked

why exclusion occurred and how wrong (or permissible) the act would be if based on racial group membership. Findings suggested interracial contact was significantly related to children's ratings of wrongfulness of race-based exclusion across the three stories, frequency estimations of race-based exclusion across the three stories, and attributions of motive to excluding protagonists in two of the three stories. Additionally with age, participants were less likely to attribute non-racial motives to inviting a outgroup friend home with external pressure from parental authority. Thus, adolescents, more so than children, were more likely to think that parents use race as a criteria for social exclusion.

Examining children and adolescents' judgments about exclusion provides an opportunity to investigate both moral considerations as well as the role of group biases and prejudice when making such judgments. Taken together, these findings confirm the predictions of Raabe and Beelmann (2011) as intergroup contact and age influenced evaluations of social exclusion. Additionally, by examining children's and adolescents' judgments about exclusion, social experience was found to influence the extent to which participants viewed exclusion as wrong from a moral viewpoint (Killen et al., 2010). Measuring intergroup attitudes using evaluations of social exclusion is important because researchers are able to assess children's moral judgments about the act of exclusion as well as the extent to which their ingroup bias and prejudice may weigh on these judgments.

Interpersonal peer rejection. The current approach to understanding social exclusion in childhood is distinct from "peer rejection" based on personality traits and individual differences (Rubin et al., 2006). Peer rejection typically is explained in terms of children who lack social skills and are identified as extremely shy and fearful (and

who become victims), and children who are extremely aggressive (and become bullies). For intra-group (or same-race) peer exclusion, the moral dimension of rejection has to do with the physical and psychological harm that is inflicted on a victim, which the vast majority of children view as wrong and unfair. Social cognitive judgments and attitudes, along with societal structures and expectations, also provide the basis for social exclusion. There are times when personality traits are unrelated to the basis for exclusion. Additionally, there are instances when personality traits are over-attributed based on group membership. In these contexts, the source of exclusion is prejudicial attitudes rather than behavior by the victim that invites exclusion.

The developmental intergroup perspective on social exclusion involves understanding when exclusion is viewed as legitimate or wrong based on group membership, as described above. One study examined evaluations and reasoning across different types of exclusion contexts: friendship-status (exclusion of a friend due to gender or race), club (exclusion of a peer from a music club due to gender or race), and school (exclusion from attending school due to gender or race) (Killen et al., 2002). Judgment criteria included generalizability (would exclusion be wrong in a different culture?), authority jurisdiction (what if parents said it was okay to exclude?), as well as peer influence (what if a peer said it was okay to exclude?).

The majority of participants viewed exclusion from school, based on gender or race, as wrong but exclusion from a club as less wrong, and friendship exclusion as more legitimate (Killen et al., 2002). The reasons for the peer and friendship forms of exclusion reflected a mixture of moral and other categories: for the peer club, reasons based on group functioning were used to justify exclusion; for friendship, reasons based

on personal choice were given to justify exclusion. Thus, evaluations of social exclusion invoked different interpretations; not all forms of intergroup exclusion were viewed as wrong in the same way that an act of physical harm is viewed as wrong from a very early age (Smetana, 1985). Other studies on exclusion based on race have shown that children view it as wrong and unfair, but ethnic minority adolescents view it as more wrong than do ethnic majority adolescents (Crystal et al., 2008). This may be because those who belong to low status social groups experience exclusion more often than those in high status social groups.

Negative outcomes. Prejudice and bias emerge in childhood and can be salient in home, school, and neighborhood contexts. Prejudice can manifest or acts of discrimination carried out by majority status children, which puts minority status children at risk for anxiety, depression, social withdrawal, and decreased academic motivation (Graham, 2006; Killen, Mulvey et al., 2012). The adverse consequences of group membership based rejection have also been demonstrated in many studies, most of which have examined adolescence and young adulthood. Graham and colleagues (2009) examined peer victimization among early adolescents and the role of classroom ethnic diversity on adjustment outcomes (Graham, Bellmore, Nishina, & Juvonen, 2009). Participants were Latino/a and African American and were recruited from middle schools in which the numeric status of students by classroom was varied (a key aspect that has not been studied extensively but contributes to exclusion experiences). In their study, students were either in schools where they were in the numerical majority ethnic group, the numerical minority group, or in an ethnically diverse school. Ethnic minority students experienced more exclusion and social stress when they were the numeric minority.

While a given school may have an ethnically diverse student body, a given child's experience in class may be the contrary given in-school tracking systems and school climates that do not foster intergroup interaction (e.g., Wilson & Rodkin, 2011).

The consequences of experiencing exclusion based on cultural group membership can be quite detrimental to those excluded. Extensive research in the United States with recently immigrated students of Asian and Latin descent has shown the consequences of experiencing exclusion as well as victimization. Among a sample of Asian American, Latino American, and European American adolescents Huynh and Fuligni (2010) examined the frequency of daily discrimination from peers and adults and experiences of exclusion and whether these experiences predicted adolescents' well-being. Reports of discrimination varied by group such that adolescents from Latin American and Asian backgrounds reported more adult and peer discrimination than did their European American peers. Additionally, Latino/a adolescence reported more adult discrimination than their Asian American peers (Huynh & Fuligni, 2010). Overall, frequency of discrimination predicted lower grade point averages, lower self-esteem, and more depressive symptoms, distress, and even physical complaints. Given that the impacts of prejudice and intergroup exclusion are socially, personally and even physiologically detrimental, it is critical to examine the social group contexts and dynamics that incite a peer culture of exclusion and at what age children understand complex peer dynamics.

Intergroup Contact

Examining intergroup contact as a means of reducing racial bias is a concept introduced by Allport (1954). The contact hypothesis holds that contact alone is not enough to allow for reduced prejudice. Several conditions must be in place, such as:

equal status between groups, the contact between groups must be supported by those in positions of authority, the contact must involve the attainment of common goals, and there can be no competition between the groups (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). When these conditions are met, children have reduced negative attitudes toward outgroup peers (Aboud et al., 2003; Killen & McGlothlin, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Some research using Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis has also adopted a social identity theory (SIT: Tajfel & Turner, 1979) perspective to be able to assess how children evaluate their own group as a moderator of outgroup attitudes. SIT posits that individuals' ingroup preference is explained in terms of a process of self-categorization and identification with the group. From this theoretical position, individuals are motivated to make favorable evaluations based on ingroup membership, and thus more susceptible to have outgroup biases. Thus, the intersection of these theories allows for the consideration of group identity in conjunction with context and dimensions of friendships that contribute to evaluations of intergroup exchanges. While the cross-fertilization of Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis and SIT has shown to be quite fruitful, this section will also examine how research in this area has focused on bias reduction among majority status groups (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005), but decentralized the role of identity development and positive outcomes for minority status groups.

Heterogeneous peer environments. School is a context central to social development and is also a setting in which acts of bias often occur. Intergroup contact has been shown to relate to positive intergroup attitudes (Aboud et al., 2003; McGlothlin & Killen, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Studies that have examined school composition and intergroup friendships often find that ethnically balanced classrooms promoted cross-

race friendships because of the greater opportunity for interaction (e.g., Bellmore, Nishina, Witkow, Graham, & Juvonen, 2007; Hallinan & Smith, 1985; Seaton & Douglass, 2014; Shelton, Douglass, Garcia, Yip, & Trail, 2014; Wilson & Rodkin, 2011). Additionally, Moody (2001) found 12- to 13-year-olds and 17- to 18-year-olds in homogeneous schools to have disproportionately fewer cross-race friendships and the number of opportunities for it, than students in heterogeneous schools. However, we must first ask, what are the attitudes and outcomes of these intergroup interactions in diverse school environments and at what ages are children making these race-based or ethnicity-based evaluations?

Building from past findings in both contact theory and social domain theory, McGlothlin and Killen (2006) explored children's judgments about interracial friendships. European American children in racial homogeneous (i.e. majority European American children) and heterogeneous schools were compared on their judgments about ambiguous intergroup interactions. Children's judgments about the potential for interracial friendship significantly differed according to school environment. While over two-thirds of the children who experienced racial diversity in the school environment were optimistic about the potential for friendship between the African American character and the European American character, only half of the European American children, with little intergroup contact, viewed friendship between the pair as possible. Findings suggested that school context has an effect on perceptions of friendship among European American children. These researchers posited that perhaps infrequent interracial friendships in childhood lead to the inference that these friendships are not feasible (McGlothlin & Killen, 2006).

To further understand this dynamic broadly as functions of age, the link between demographic context and interracial friendships attitudes is also examined among very young children. In a study of Anglo-British children in ethnically diverse and ethnically homogenous neighborhoods, Rutland, Cameron, Bennett, & Ferrell (2005) found interethnic contact and racial constancy to be significantly related to preschoolers' racial intergroup attitudes. Anglo-British children, ages 3- to 5-years-old, presented the most bias toward Afro-Caribbeans but less toward Asian-Indians or East Asians. However, children from more ethnically diverse areas did not show any discrimination (Rutland et al., 2005). While this study measured children's emerging awareness of groups, these findings are novel in that they highlight the importance of ethnically heterogeneous environments and contact early in development. Intergroup contact, however, involves more than diverse neighborhoods. Thus, it is necessary yet not sufficient to conclude that children in ethnically diverse schools always have more interracial friendships (see Wilson & Rodkin, 2011).

Quality of intergroup contact. In a meta-analysis of studies drawing from the contact hypothesis, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) reported the largest effect sizes for prejudice reduction were when contact was operationalized as naturally occurring intergroup friendship. Results from Aboud et al., (2003) support these findings by examining the moderating effects of multiple dimensions of friendships on prejudice within a sample of African American and European American 6-, 8-, 10-, and 12-year-olds, from ethnically heterogeneous schools. The authors found that among European American a low prejudice score was correlated with more cross-race friends and high-quality cross-race friendships (providing higher intimacy, emotional security, and

loyalty). These children held more positive outgroup attitudes, whereas those who excluded cross-race classmates held more negative attitudes (Aboud et al., 2003). This set of findings suggests that intergroup closeness leads to more positive intergroup attitudes and interactions. Yet, it was also found that intergroup friendships decrease with age, such that 6-year-olds were found to have more friends with outgroup children than 12-year-olds (Aboud et al., 2003).

To explore this role of time and intergroup friendship maintenance on outgroup attitudes Feddes, Rutland and Noack (2009), examined 7- to 11-year-old children's attitudes, using a longitudinal design. The study was conducted in Germany. Researchers controlled for intergroup diversity in school by sampling children who all attended ethnically heterogeneous schools. Feddes et al. (2009) studied Turkish (ethnic minority group) and German children (ethnic majority group), testing if direct cross-ethnic friendships predicted positive outgroup evaluations over the course of the school year. They found that the duration of friendships was not a significant predictor of attitudes; however, having a direct friendship was positively related to German children's outgroup evaluations at the end of the school year.

Killen et al. (2010) also investigated the role of ethnic school composition and intergroup contact on European American youth's use of stereotypes to explain discomfort in the context of interracial peer exclusion. Participants included European American children and adolescents attending schools with either low or high in ethnic diversity. Participants also varied in the reported number of cross-race friendships. Findings revealed that when evaluating contexts of interracial exclusion, participants enrolled in high diversity schools were less likely to use stereotypes to explain racial

discomfort, they were more likely to view racial exclusion as wrong, and these participants were also more likely to estimate that racial exclusion occurs in society, than were participants enrolled in low diversity schools. Additionally, McGlothlin and Killen (2006) found majority status children, in racially diverse schools, to have more positive attitudes about interracial friendship than majority status children in racially homogeneous schools. Thus, close outgroup friendships and having access to environments that are racially and ethnically diverse are integral mediators of outgroup bias.

However, attitudes and stereotypes can also prevent individuals, who would otherwise have high intergroup contact, from reaching out to outgroup peers. Shelton, Richeson and Bergsieker (2009) demonstrated that a self-other attributional bias impedes interracial friendship development. European American adults were given the opportunity to become friends with a European American or African American participant. European American participants indicated how interested they were in becoming friends but also how concerned they were about being rejected as a friend. They also indicated how interested they thought the other person was in becoming friends and how concerned they thought the other person was about being rejected as friend. Results revealed that while low prejudice European American participants had more interracial friendships, initiating contact proved to be an obstacle given their greater concern for how African American peers would perceive them. These attributions were made by both groups who each assumed friendship would be rejected. Prejudice level did not influence the type of explanations made when the potential friend was European American. These findings highlight the role of misattributions of intent in creating assumptions of hostility and

rejection. Additionally, early intergroup contact is significance, as with age, biases and attributions can prevent interracial friendships to occur later in life.

Taken together, these studies have demonstrated that intergroup friendships promote positive outgroup attitudes (Aboud et al., 2003; Feddes et al., 2009; McGlothlin & Killen, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Specifically, ethnically and racially diverse environments, high-quality friendships in middle-childhood and early adolescence are strongly associated with positive outgroup attitudes and reduced prejudice. However, findings across these and many other studies have group-specific outcomes. Majority status groups are often the only group studied or the primary beneficiaries of heterogeneous schools, neighborhoods, and intergroup friendships (e.g., McGlothlin & Killen, 2006). As highlighted in Pettigrew and Tropp's (2000) meta-analyses of intergroup attitude research, there is an overrepresentation of ethnic majority-minority friendship studies that highlight positive outgroup attitude reduction for just the majority group. This indicates that there is no observed relationship between context, cross-race friendships and outgroup attitudes for minority or low-status groups. Yet, when considering limitations in some of the friendship and contact theory studies, perhaps there is a more complex narrative to uncover, explaining variance of intergroup attitudes among ethnic minority children and other minority status groups.

Social Reasoning Developmental Perspective

Social identity theory, social domain theory, the contact hypothesis and research in group dynamics have been shown to be effective frameworks in the examination of intergroup attitudes and decision making in child development. Thus, the social reasoning developmental (SRD) perspective brings these theories together in the study of children's

intergroup attitudes. Social reasoning developmental perspective theorizes that the way

children give priority to group identity, group norms, or moral principles directly relates

to intergroup contact, and group threat. While negative social norms such as homophile

and inter-group competition can promote children's use of group identity, group norms,

social conventions, it also can result in children's use of prejudicial reasoning.

Conversely, intergroup contact can promote children's use of more inclusive and

prosocial moral reasoning. Thus, social reasoning developmental perspective sets forth a

framework to understand how children use social information about groups to make

intergroup decisions while also examining the nature of the intergroup setting and

individual differences that impede or advance children's capacity to make just decisions

and hold positive outgroup attitudes.

Social reasoning developmental perspective posits that group identity, social

conventions, and moral principles all impact evaluations of intergroup social exclusion.

This framework also centralizes group identity as a not just a means to define the self, but

as a predictor of self-esteem, and source that guides individuals' attitudes, values, and

behaviors in accordance with a set of social group norms. Yet, group identity also creates

ingroup-outgroup distinctions. Children, and adults, operate in intergroup settings and

make decisions that appeal to a set of group norms and identities, which are sometimes in

conflict (e.g., when one's ingroup has a negative norm). Social reasoning developmental

perspective finds age related changes in children's awareness of group dynamics, such

that with age children are increasingly able to weigh (or learn to negotiate) among

competing claims. Yet, children's acquisition varies based on the specific socio-historical

context of the groups (e.g., groups of equal vs. unequal social status), and can be impeded

by individuals' level of intergroup contact and their adherence to prejudicial attitudes.

Research in social reasoning developmental perspective uses social identity theory (SIT: Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1945) to examine intergroup attitudes highlights children's level of ingroup and outgroup identification as a moderator these attitudes. However, the measurement of "group identity" presents a limitation. Children's group identification is commonly recorded at the demographic level (e.g., a child from England checking the box "English" to indicate his or her nationality). Some research has also included items assessing children's level of affiliation with their ingroup (e.g., "Do you like being English?" or "are you proud to be English?") as well as their perceived similarity with the outgroup (e.g., "How similar are you to someone who is from [insert outgroup]?" (see Cameron et al., 2006). However, two issues arise when applying his framework to other group contexts (e.g., examining race and ethnicity in the U.S., rather than *nationality* as examined in studies conducted in Western Europe).

First, the populations sampled across many studies using SIT (many of which are located the United Kingdom) often examine nationality as the group variable, and not race or ethnicity. Presumably, British and Irish children's intergroup attitudes are dissimilar to African American and European American children's intergroup attitudes, given the distinct racial, political and economic histories (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998; Wilson & Rodkin, 2011). By using ethnic identity measures that have been validated in among samples of ethnic minority children in the United States research would be sensitive to the unique features of this intergroup context (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005).

Second, recent research has examined identity with increasing complexity, moving from group labels (identification) to multiple dimensions of children's affiliation with their ingroup (identity). To further illustrate this point, philosopher, Appiah (2005) makes a crucial distinction between identification and identity. The individual's active membership and belonging to a group or groups forms their identity and, by contrast, "the availability of terms and labels shapes identification" (Appiah, 2005 p. 66). The problem, as Appiah (2005) defines it, is not that scholars take this reductionist approach (by assigning singular group affiliations) for the purpose of pigeonholing groups of people but rather, they accept the illusion of a singular identity, one consistent with preexisting frameworks and ridged social definitions of group homogeneity. Appiah (2005) suggests that identification, the socially constructed labels themselves are nominal, and instead, identity, the extent to which one affiliates with a group, should be the metric of group membership. Thus, multiple contexts establish the framework for the individual to synthesize notions of both group and self.

Taken together, developmental research grounded in SIT presents a partial model of identity's role in and intergroup attitudes, given that these many of these studies measure group identification and at times only one dimension of identity (e.g., "how much do you like your group?"). This may not capture how identities develop over time, how they are associated with children's evaluations of intergroup social exclusion and how identity serves as a buffer against bias and prejudice especially for ethnic minority youth (Brenick & Killen, 2014; Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umana-Taylor, 2012). Decades of research in SIT and intergroup contact suggest the relevance of including group identification within the study of children's intergroup attitudes and intergroup contact.

Given that racial and ethnic identity development is a complex process of learning about social status, group and self, recent research has begun to examine how children's intergroup attitudes are associated with their developing racial and ethnic identities (Brenick & Killen, 2014; Morrison & Chung, 2011; Phinney et al., 2007; Rutland et al., 2012).

Additionally, research suggests that majority and minority status children may have different sources of influence associated with intergroup attitudes and evaluations of bias (Beaton, Monger, Leblanc, Bourque, Levi, Joseph et al., 2012). African American and European American adolescents—at the group level—are likely to be affected very differently by the phenomenological processes associated with adolescence (see Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). For instance, African American adolescents are likely to become aware that society in general devalues them because of their racial background. African American (but not European American) youth also often receive messages from their parents concerning racial bias and discrimination during adolescence (Hughes & Bigler, 2011; Hughes & Chen, 1999). These messages, along with direct experiences with discrimination, may lead African American youth to form different attitudes than European American youth. Thus, it is proposed that research on intergroup attitudes and intergroup social exclusion adopt an ethnic and racial identity development perspective to address these research gaps and provide a model that includes outcomes for ethnic minority youth.

Ethnic Racial Identity Development

Prominent scholars studying racial and ethnic identity have examined ethnic and racial identity (ERI) development as a process of ingroup and outgroup exploration

(Cross, 1991; Phinney, 1993). Findings in ethnic and racial identity suggest that well-developed ethnic and racial identities act as a secure base from which individuals are more open and accepting of people from other ethnic groups (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001; Phinney et al., 2007). This section will address the following questions 1) are children group identities linked to positive intergroup attitudes? and 2) given intergroup research's focus on outcomes for majority status children (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) how might these patterns of effects exist among racial and ethnic minority children?

Much of the empirical research addressing these questions is strongly informed by ethnic and racial identity development theoretical models such as those developed by Cross, Phinney and Sellers. These models posit that an internalized ethnic and racial identity may be associated with various attitudes, among them biculturalism or multiculturalism, which reflect openness to other cultures and worldviews, similar to the attitudes associated with an "achieved" ethnic identity (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001; Phinney et al., 2007). Thus, on a theoretical level, ethnic and racial identity that are internalized and "achieved" appear to have benefits for positive intergroup attitudes.

In one of the few studies testing this empirically, Phinney et al. (2007) used the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM: Phinney, 1992), to examine the interaction between group and self in the formation of one's racial identity. The MEIM was developed using both SIT and developmental models (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980) of identity and posits discrete dimensions in identity development. Phinney et al. (2007) tested if an "achieved" ethnic identity is associated with a positive outgroup orientation. A sample of Latino/a and Asian American young adults were measured on stages of identity achievement and other group orientation (e.g., "I like getting to know people

from other ethnic groups other than my own") (OGO: Phinney, 1992). There was no significant difference for identity status and group, yet it was found that participants who had "achieved" identities (the highest level of ingroup affiliation), held more positive attitudes towards other groups than participants with lower status identities. Thus, among Latino/a and Asian Americans, a "well-developed" ethnic identity served as a secure position that allowed individuals to be more open and accepting of people from other ethnic groups (Phinney et al., 2007, p. 489). While this findings suggests a positive association between ethnic identity and intergroup attitudes for minority status young does an achieved identity among majority status adolescents also promote positive intergroup attitudes?

In a recent study using the MEIM (MEIM: Phinney, 1992) among younger participants, researchers found higher identity commitment (i.e. clear feelings of belonging to one's ethnic group with positive attitudes of ingroup pride) and lower identity concern for relationships were related to more inclusive evaluations in intergroup contexts. Brenick and Killen (2014) surveyed Jewish and a comparison group of non-Arab/non-Jewish 14- and 17-year-olds to assess their cultural identification, intergroup contact, and moral judgments regarding intergroup peer social exclusion. Adolescents evaluated social encounters between Jewish and Arab youth in peer, home, and community contexts. Interactions were found among the identity factors, intergroup contact and cultural group membership (Brenick & Killen, 2014). Most notably, regardless of their level of intergroup contact, Jewish participants with high identity exploration were more accepting of a moral justification for outgroup inclusion (e.g., "before judging one should first get to know others who might be different") than were

their low exploration peers. Thus, while research has shown that adolescents often focus on group identity and give priority to social-convention and stereotypic expectations of group functioning (e.g., Verkuyten, 2008), adolescents are also undergoing significant development in identity that yields a more sophisticated understanding of complex moral situations such as intergroup exclusion. This study provides additional evidence for the relevance of identity measures in the examination of intergroup attitudes and exclusion. However, with many studies focusing on identity development in adolescence, little research has examined the emergence of group identification and identity in early- and middle-childhood and how children's conceptions of group membership also inform children's outgroup attitudes.

Middle childhood may be an important age to examine given children as young as 8-years-old understand group functioning (Rutland et al., 2010) and as early as 5-years understand that groups can have a set of goals unique from those of the individual member (Cooley & Killen, 2015). Additionally, at an early age children are also aware of race and racial groups. Research on the "other-race effect" has found infants (from ethnically homogeneous households) to show a preference for same-race faces. Further, as will be discussed later in this chapter, conversation about race for racial and ethnic minority children happen early-on in the home.

One such study investigated the influence of group identities (i.e., ethnicity and nationality) on young children's perceptions of peer acceptance and preference for same-ethnic friendships (Rutland et al., 2012). This study used measured identity using the Strength of Identification Scale (SoIS: Barrett, 2005). Like MEIM, the SoIS also comes out of social identity theory; however, the scale and method was developed to measure

the strength of national, ethnic, racial or religious identification in children and early-adolescents. This measure consists of a short set of questions administered in an interview format to 5- to 11-year-olds (with response options being written on cards and read out to the child) or in a questionnaire format to 10- to 16-year-olds (with rating scales being used instead to capture responses).

In their study, Rutland et al. (2012) interviewed 5- to 11-years-old south-Asian English children. The study's longitudinal analysis demonstrated that children's bicultural identification (i.e., higher south-Asian *and* English identity) was related to higher perceived peer acceptance and less preference for same-ethnic friendships. Age-related findings suggested that older children, with bicultural identities, had higher acceptance amongst peers and showed less preference for same-ethnic friendships, than their mono-cultural peers. This study also builds from findings by Verkuyten and Pouliasi (2002) who had previously demonstrated that Greek and Dutch 9- to 12-year-olds, with bicultural identities, espoused positive outgroup perceptions and evaluations more so than their mono-cultural peers. Here, identity salience was experimentally primed and the researchers examined cultural values and children's identification with friendship groups.

Similarly, Cameron et al. (2006) operationalized "dual identity" as a strong association with one's ingroup and an affinity with the outgroup. Given a context of prejudice against refugees by Anglo-British children, these researchers responded by testing the effects of prolonged intergroup interaction. Children engaged in interviews with, and positive dialogues about ethnic minority groups. In their contact intervention, these group-based *dual* identities were found to moderate positive outgroup attitudes among White British children. The study demonstrated that children as young as five

could have a "dual identity" and positive attitudes towards refugees (Cameron et al., 2006). Taken together, these studies are important demonstrations that group identity can influence peer relationships amongst young ethnic minority and majority status children.

With respect to the mechanism of change in identity's influence on intergroup group attitudes, Bennett et al. (1998) suggest that before categorizing themselves as members of a group (e.g., ethnic or nationality group), children are likely to be exposed to information about their own group. Moreover, the knowledge they acquire is likely to be affectively laden. Bennett et al. (1998) posit that while many children as young as 6- or 7-year-old have yet to categorized themselves at the level of nationality (for example), they will nevertheless have been exposed to a wealth of information that either explicitly or implicitly communicates positive views of their own national group. Given this, and the preponderance of empirical support for social identity theory (e.g., Hogg & Abrams, 1988), subjective identification with one's group may not be a precondition for the emergence of judgments that favor the group of which one is a de facto member (Bennett et al., 1998). Group identification alone does not necessitate intergroup bias. Contextual factors (e.g., low intergroup contact) must be at play for intergroup favorability to result in outgroup disdain (Nesdale, 2004).

To elaborate this point, Pettigrew (1998) contends that the development of intergroup attitudes parallels that of identity development, as both are concurrent with learning about outgroups and can enable children to recognize that stereotypes about that group are inaccurate. While stereotypes from media and other sources and instill negative heuristics and biases, social historical knowledge about groups can be very positive (Pahlke et al., 2012). Thus, group identification makes an independent contribution to

children's ingroup evaluations. An appraisal of the ingroup can demonstrate to children that the norms, customs, and lifestyles of other groups can operate as effectively as those of the ingroup. Subsequently, there can be a changing of behavior to be accepting of a outgroup members, which can be followed by a positive change in attitudes (Pettigrew, 1998).

While these SIT-based identity models have been validated among ethnic majority and minority status groups, children's development takes place within a particular set of historical, political, economic and societal circumstances that determine the relative position and status of a child's in group in relation to outgroups. Given that African Americans and many members of stigmatized ethnic minority groups experience high levels of racial discrimination their racial identities are likely to be more readily activated than the racial identities of members of non-stigmatized majority groups (Seaton & Douglass, 2014). Thus, a long line of research has also examined how this macro-context influences ethnic minority children's beliefs, attitudes.

Cross's (1991) original model of African American identity posited developmental stages of identity and variance in racial attitudes or worldviews. The key process of development in this model is internalization; "a person's conception of Blackness tends to become more open, expansive, and sophisticated" (Cross, 1991, p. 211). Internalization is characterized by a sense of confidence and control and is seen as providing the basis for bridging other ethnic or racial groups. However, recent identity development research suggests fluidity and variability in the age of racial identity salience. The foci of identity research moves from one grounded in age to one based in shifting contexts.

One such measure taking this approach is Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous' (1998) Multidimensional Indicator of Black Identity (MIBI). This scale examines the complexities in African American identity by operationalizing various dimensions of identity and status awareness. Sellers et al. (1998), like Cross (1991,1971), recognized the varying salience of racial identities across locale and, rather than examining identity as a stage-based model. Sellers et al.'s (MIBI: 1998) also provides a general framework for studying ingroup variation across cultural experiences. The MIBI assumes ingroup heterogeneity and allows for the parallel development of sub-categories of identity (Sellers et al., 1998).

Research coming out of this framework has also examined identity development in adolescents by using the modified "MIBI–Teen" (MIBI–T: Scothamm, Sellers, & Nhuyen, 2008) validated among 13- to 18-year-olds. Among the several identity dimensions in MIB–T, the Public Regard subscale (measuring the extent to which the individual feels that other groups feel positively or negatively toward their group) is highly predictive of awareness of peer discrimination and intergroup interactions.

In addition, the MIBI–T Public Regard subscale, defined above, as recently been modified and used reliably with diverse samples (e.g., Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005; Kiang, Gonzalez-Backen, Yip, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006; Rivas-Drake, 2011; Yip, 2014). Rivas-Drake (2011) demonstrated that Public Regard to be a central mediator in Latino/a young adult's preparation for intergroup bias. Additionally, Yip and Douglass (2011) found that adolescents with higher Public Regard, were more aware of covert racism (e.g., inappropriate joking about race) in peer contexts. Though never examined among a middle-childhood sample, Public Regard could present an important dimension to capture

of children's awareness of covert instances of intergroup social exclusion. Together, research in ethnic and racial identity and Social Identity Theory create a complex interaction among self, group status and society where by ethnic and racial minority youth are found to benefit from strong identities and majority status groups benefit from awareness of intergroup histories and pluralistic identities.

Summary. Research and theories coming out of ethnic identity development have suggested that well developed ethnic identities are associated with positive outgroup attitudes and evaluations of intergroup inclusion (e.g., Brenick & Killen, 2014; Phinney et al., 2007). However, few studies have examined how children's emerging awareness of group and group identification informs these attitudes. Given that very early in development children are able to self-categorize, and that children also experience peer rejection and intergroup social exclusion, it is unknown how identity informs evaluations and reasoning about intergroup exclusion in middle-childhood. Few studies have examined how dimensions of identity (e.g., identification and public regard) may differentially inform ethnic minority and majority status children's evolutions of intergroup exclusion.

Thus far, the research discussed has examined the formation of intergroup attitudes, social exclusion and intergroup contact in peer contexts (e.g., school and peer group setting), however, the role of authority figures in the child's world must not be overlooked. Authority sanctioning of intergroup interaction is one of the criteria that must be met to reduce outgroup bias according to Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis. Research has found that parents and teachers are sources of influence that can promote or discourage intergroup contact. Additionally, parental socialization can provide a buffer

for experiences of discrimination. Thus, the following section examines the complex role of adults in children's ingroup socialization and intergroup attitudes.

Authority Figures and Parent Racial Messages

Individuals in positions of authority have often been those who have perpetuated stereotypic expectations, constituted structures of discrimination, and propagated prejudicial attitudes. Unfair treatment sanctioned by authority figures include instances when teachers use rules that are perceived as unfair by children, such as punishing a class for the misbehavior of one child. Even more damaging, perhaps, are the findings revealing that teachers often unknowingly hold stereotypic beliefs, disadvantaging students (Steele, 1997). Furthermore, parents can show preferential treatment based on gender, such as granting more autonomy to sons than to daughters (Killen, Park, Lee-Kim, & Shin, 2005). This raises several questions: does morality in intergroup contexts grow out of respect for authority? And if so, how is the child's developmental trajectory reconciled with the fact that authority expectations are not always based on fairness or justice (Helwig, 2008)?

To test the role of authority in intergroup exclusion, Møller and Tenenbaum (2011) examined Danish (majority status) children's reasoning about peer and teacher statements regarding exclusion stemming from increasing overt discrimination against Muslims (minority status) in Denmark. Children were presented with vignettes about peer and teacher exclusion based on gender and ethnicity (ex: "Shahar wants to play Ludo, but the teacher says that she cannot play because there are already three Danish boys and girls playing. Instead, the teacher says that a Danish classmate can play."). Changes in reasoning were expected by age, school, type of exclusion (ethnic or gender-based) and

perpetrator (peer versus teacher). Majority children found it less acceptable for a teacher to exclude a child protagonist than a peer-to-peer instance of exclusion. Overall, children were sensitive to the role of authority in moral transgressions as well as group status, judging it less acceptable to exclude a less powerful group member. Children and adolescents are critical of teachers who treat students differently because of their group membership such as culture and religion. At the same time, the legitimacy of peer exclusion based on cultural membership raises concerns about the existence of underlying biases.

Adults can also foster a learning context that promotes positive intergroup contact. Verkuyten and Thijis (2002) examined how social exclusion amongst Dutch, Turkish Dutch, Moroccan Dutch and Surinamese Dutch pre-adolescents related to school (de)segregation and multicultural education (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). They surveyed 10- to 12-year-olds from 178 classrooms in 82 elementary schools across the Netherlands. A multilevel-analysis showed that personal experience and perceptions of ethnic name-calling, teasing and exclusion in the playground were determined independently by classroom settings and structure. In particular, children experienced less exclusion if they believed they could tell the teachers about unfair behavior towards them and that the teacher would take action. This is a significant demonstration of how children, who have recourse to report on the unfairness of exclusion, were less likely to be victimized.

Dutch children also reported more awareness of ethnic exclusion if they said their classes spent more time discussing multicultural issues (e.g., the need to be fair to others from different countries and recognize different cultures within the class and society).

Other studies have also shown that 10- to 13-year-old Dutch and Turkish Dutch children reporting higher levels of multicultural education in the classroom showed less ethnic intergroup bias (Kinket & Verkuyten, 1999; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2001). Findings from Verkuyten's research also indicate that youth are aware of the role of power between victim and perpetrator. Here, the wrongfulness of the transgression varied when the perpetrator was from the majority status group and the victim was from the minority status group. When the perpetrator is from the majority status group than exclusion reflects societal-level patterns and the asymmetrical power balance, in contrast to when the perpetrator is from the minority status group (Verkuyten et al., 2011). This research has focused on how teachers as authority members in the school context can help to reduce the experiences of prejudice.

Parental socialization as a buffer. Parental discourse about intergroup relationships also can contribute to the acquisition and maintenance of prejudicial attitudes as well as egalitarian notions of social groups. Very little of the research on morality in the context of intergroup relationships has addressed the critical role that parents play (for an exception see Pahlke, Bigler & Suizzo, 2012; Verkuyten, 2011).

Research on racial socialization (e.g., Hughes, 2003), however, has examined what ethnic minority parents, (specifically African American parents) do to prepare their children for the world of potential discrimination as well as for diversity, while other studies in this area have demonstrated that parents often convey negative messages about cross-race friendships, dating, and marriage. Yet, research on racial socialization has identified a parental socialization paradox. While African American parents discuss egalitarianism to their children, they are also preparing their children for a world of bias

and discrimination; that is, a world in which individuals are not acting in an egalitarian manner (e.g., Neblett et al., 2008). Ethnic minority parents have the difficult task of communicating the importance of egalitarianism coupled with preparing children for, and explaining why it might be that the larger societal context is not consistently acting in accordance with those same moral principles. For example, when parents teach that everyone should treat others with fairness and equality and then indicate that some individuals do not do so, the natural question is, "Why not?" This response requires an explanation of the history of groups and patterns of unfair treatment and explanations about the power of groups, hierarchies, and status. Thus, this discussion potentially reflects an array of social cognitive concepts including morality, society, and psychological knowledge (such as the intentions of others and the lack of information about connections between acts and consequences).

Most of the developmental intergroup research has focused on how majority group individuals (e.g., those high in status based on gender, race, or ethnicity) perpetuate exclusion, ingroup favoritism, prejudice, bullying, and racial and ethnic discrimination. The rationale for this focus has been to determine how to reduce bias among *majority* groups in order to treat individuals from minority groups in a fair and just manner. In contrast, research in ethnic and racial identity (ERI) development and racial and ethnic socialization examine how ethnic minority parents prepare their children for experiences related to bias and discrimination; the goal is to provide a buffer for creating and developing resiliency and adaptive strategies for combating prejudice (Lane, Wellman, Olson, LaBounty, & Kerr, 2010). In these lines of research, "majority" and "minority"

indicate dimensions of power, distinguishing socially privileged from disenfranchised groups.

This research has not drawn from intergroup attitudes research, which is heavily based on social psychological theory because the goal is more focused on socialization practices and parenting. Yet, these lines of research are complementary, designed to reduce prejudice and bias as well as to enhance prosocial inclusive attitudes of individuals from different backgrounds.

Messages about discrimination. Racial and ethnic parental socialization can act as a protective factor for racial minority youth, promoting resilience in the context of social exclusion and victimization (Neblett, Terzian, & Harriott, 2010; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003). To investigate how parental messages for ethnic minority children bear on their healthy social adjustment (such as resiliency to depressive symptomology), Neblett et al. (2008) conducted a longitudinal study among African American adolescents. Parental egalitarian messages were examined (messages that encourage adolescents not to use race in determining how they will interact with other people such as, "all people are equal regardless of their race"). These researchers also examined psychological adjustment in the context of racial discrimination among African American adolescents. Adolescents who reported receiving more egalitarian messages from their primary caregivers had a more positive group identity (as measured using MIBI-T), which led to more healthy psychological adjustment.

In addition to these gains, racial socialization has also been found to act as a mechanism to reduce stress and even reduce the risk of substance use among African American youth (Neblett, Terzian, & Harriott, 2010). While findings from these studies

are critical to enhancing research in social, moral, and racial identity development, these studies and others commonly use children and adolescents' self-reports about parental messages, indicating how children and adolescents have perceived and internalized parental messages.

Another key factor, however, is how might parents themselves evaluate messages they send to their children. White-Johnson, Ford and Sellers (2010) examined parenting messages in a sample of African American mothers. These researchers found three patterns of racial socialization experiences among mothers: multifaceted (discussing racial identity), low race salience (not referring to race), and unengaged (little parent-child interaction). The multifaceted socialization pattern was correlated with mother's own experience with discrimination and their frequency of openly talking about race with children. The results of this dynamic were that parental racial socialization messages reflecting pride and knowledge about African American culture were positively associated with African American youths' self-esteem. Thus, racial socialization in the context of ethnic minority parents and children present a positive case for children's identity development.

While ethnic minority parents are found to promote positive identity development by discussing ingroup history and social expectations, the same depth of communication is uncommon in ethnic majority families. Hughes (2003) has argued that European American parents, for example, rarely engage in explicit racial socialization. Whereas African American parents frequently address race and racism with their children, beginning in middle school, many European American parents have a colorblind philosophy that holds that the mention of race creates negative racial attitudes. It may be

that European American parents assume that their children do not "see" race and to discuss it would be to create the problem (Pahlke et al., 2012). In fact, a recent study found that when primed with a color-blind mind-set, European American children were less likely to reference intergroup differences between individuals and were less likely to view scenarios of explicit peer, race-based bias as being instances of racial discrimination, than were students primed to recognize and appreciate differences (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Ambady, Sommers, & Norton, 2008). Additionally, it was found that 10- and 11-year-old children performed more poorly than 8- and 9-year-old children because they failed to label individuals' race.

This strong age affect suggests that as early as 10-years-old, European American children appear to view acknowledging race as violating social conventions (Apfelbaum et al., 2008). Thus, this color-blind lens can be detrimental to projects of equity and justice as children raised in this context witnessing instances of race-based bullying, as an example, would be perceived as a typical playground transgression among schoolmates, looking at it devoid of the racial context. Thus the moral valence of the act and perhaps children's likelihood to intervene would vary based on these interpretations as well.

For younger children, Pahlke et al. (2012) found that European American parents took a colorblind approach when reading stories for preschool-aged children that were designed to provide opportunities for direct discussions about race (e.g., a story about a zebra who had black and white stripes), despite the fact that the majority of children in the study displayed racial bias in a separate test conducted prior to the investigation of storybook reading strategies. Among older adolescents, Hughes and Bigler (2011) examined the factors associated with African American and European American

adolescents' views of race-conscious social policies. They found that African American adolescents supported race-conscious social policies more than their European American peers (Hughes & Bigler, 2011). Thus, group status often predicts the extent to which parents are inclined to discuss race and thus, early on ethnic majority and minority status children draw from different socialization messages.

Messages about intergroup relationships. Extensive evidence has demonstrated that intergroup friendships contribute positively to a reduction in prejudice as well as an increase in moral reasoning about intergroup exclusion. Yet, intergroup friendships also significantly decline with age from childhood to adolescence (Aboud et al., 2003; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987; McGlothlin, Edmonds, & Killen, 2007). Researchers have hypothesized that the decline is related to parental expectations about the implications of cross-race dating, which increases parental anxiety about contact with members of outgroups as well as societal messages about interracial relationships (Kennedy, 2003). In sum, parental sources of influence about intergroup attitudes and relationships reflect moral (wrongfulness of discrimination), societal (expectations about societal messages about discrimination), and psychological (psychological adjustment efforts) messages to children.

Increasingly, families, within themselves, are also diverse in many ways given migration, global movement and more interethnic and interracial relationships along with transracial adoption. Thus, broadening the notion of identity away from a singular group affiliation as well as unpacking the racial category of "other" is a fundamental aspect of social and moral development, and one that researchers must continue to examine as the proscribed boundaries of race and ethnicity rarely reflect intragroup diversity and

individuals with multiple and plural group affiliations. A critical examination of moral development and parenting messages in multicultural families will help move the field forward.

Summary. Children are aware of race and ethnicity at a very young age and are often confused about what it means (Pahlke et al., 2012). When parents discuss egalitarian messages, information about the history of intergroup contact, as well as the current social state of affairs and potential for discrimination that exists, children are better prepared for constructing an understanding of equality and fairness, as applied to members of outgroups. However, research studies that test the association between parental strategies and child levels of prejudice are few. One exception was a study conducted with Serbian and Bosnian children, in which parents whom worked to attain more outgroup contact had children with less prejudice (Ajdukovic & Biruski, 2008). Additionally, a direct test of what makes parent-sourced bias, unique from bias in a peer context may be revealing about this connection and children's developing understanding of bias and exclusion in their world. With few studies that have been conducted to determine these parent-peer links, further investigations are warranted (Degner & Dalege, 2013). Parents, however, are just one source of influence and, as reviewed in this chapter, peer relationships are also fundamentally important for children's social cognitive development. Thus, it is necessary to understand how both parent and peer influences affect children's expectations of intergroup situations and eventually understand how these may inform children's own conceptions of social equity and group identity.

Current Study Overview and Aims

This review examined intergroup social exclusion and prejudice from a social reasoning developmental (SRD) perspective as well as the positive and protective role of parents and ethnic and racial identity. Taken together, racial and ethnic bias can be observed at a very young age and can have negative consequences for the child espousing prejudice, for the victim of bias, and broadly, for children's intergroup social interactions (e.g., Crystal, Killen and Ruck, 2008; Mendes, Gray, Mendoza-Denton, Major, and Epel, 2007; Rutland, Cameron, Bennett, & Ferrell, 2005). Also beginning early in childhood is a developing sense of identity based on affiliation with parents, peers and groups where by the child's environment gives evaluative meaning to his or her racial and ethnic identity (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009; Ruble et al., 2004; Spencer & Markstron-Adams, 1990; Yip, 2014). While ethnic minority children gain awareness of their own racial and ethnic group membership they too become aware of prejudice, and all too often by way of being the target or perpetrator of bias. How bias reduction and outgroup attitudes operate among children continues to be explored through the overlapping but rarely integrated theories and empirical work in social reasoning developmental (SRD) perspective and ethnic and racial identity (ERI) development. What is imperative is the examination of how children understand intergroup interactions and understanding the criteria with which they use to identify exclusion as an act of bias.

However, not all bias is overt. How do children identify an instance of peer rejection from race-based social exclusion? While research has examined children's evaluations of interracial encounters (Crystal et al., 2008; Killen et al., 2010), no study has directly tested these with same-race encounters to understand how the interracial

nature of the interaction may change children's evaluations. Additionally, with age children are able to weigh multiple claims to gain understanding of complex peer group dynamics (Graham et al., 2009). Thus, how might children and adolescents differ in their expectations about inclusion and social exclusion? Also, not all exclusion occurs at school in peer settings. Given the wealth of research on parent socialization, much is known about the importance of parent messages (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Pahlke et al., 2012; White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010), yet little has examined how children may differentially weigh parent attitudes in an interracial encounter (e.g., parent attitudes about inclusion of a peer to the home) and how these may compare with peer attitudes (e.g., friend attitudes about inclusion of a peer to a social activity at school). Do children's appraisals of the wrongfulness (or permissibility) of peer exclusion change if the statuses of members involved are adults and if the context of inclusion is more intimate, in to the home. How might older and younger children's expectations about inclusion and exclusion vary based on the complexity of the encounter and status of members involved?

Lastly, while interracial contact is found to predict many positive outcomes for European American and other majority status children (Aboud & Mendelson, 1996; Bennett et al., 1998; Cameron et al., 2006; Killen et al., 2010; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Rutland et al., 2012), intergroup research reveals few within group differences between African American and minority status children (Tropp & Prenovost, 2008). Surprisingly, given that much is known about the role of racial identity in predicting African American children's perceptions of prejudice (Hughes et al., 2009; Neblett et al., 2012), few studies have examined *how* identity matters for African American children's intergroup

relationships (with the exception of McGill, Way & Hughes, 2012; Phinney et al., 2007; Yip & Douglass, 2011). None have examined how racial identity and interracial contact matter for both African American and European American children's evaluation of interracial inclusion.

The current study asked what features of these interactions (i.e. the racial composition of the interaction, the overt or covert form of the message and the peer or parent status) give children optimism about inclusion and the impetus to reject exclusion and what are the individual level traits (i.e. participant race, age, interracial contact and racial identity) that give children a unique purview of these peer encounters? The current was grounded in three specific aims to address these questions. Aim 1 was to examine how African American and European American children and adolescents' evaluations of peer inclusion and exclusion may vary by the same-race or interracial composition of the encounter and how participants' sensitivity to bias my vary when the form of the encounter is covert (vs. overt). Aim 2 examined how children and adolescents differentially weight parental from peer attitudes and how the presence of parent attitudes may influence children's expectations about inclusion and exclusion –an interaction that may also vary by participant age. Lastly, aim 3 addressed the asymmetry in the literature about the role of interracial contact for European American and African American children and drawing from social reasoning developmental perspective and ethnic and racial identity development to examine how racial identity and interracial contact predicted variance in African American and European American children's expectations about interracial occurring in their daily lives. The following are the central hypotheses

under each aim, as informed by the current literature (see Appendix B for specific interactional predictions).

Hypotheses for Racial Composition of the Peer Encounter

    1. Likelihood of inclusion for the overt peer (Bus) story. When presented with the opportunity for inclusion in an overt peer encounter, (where a friend could be uncomfortable) do children expect inclusion to occur? And, how might their expectations vary based on the interracial or same-race composition of the peer encounter, or by participants' age and race? Few studies have measured interracial and same-race social exclusion. Thus, the extent to which the interracial nature of the encounter informs children's evaluations remains unknown. Yet, intergroup research would suggest a bias among European American participants (Newheiser & Olson, 2011) such that European American participants would be expected to evaluate same-race inclusion as more likely than interracial inclusion, with younger European American children driving this effect. African American participants are not expected not differ in their expectations of inclusion by the racial composition of the encounter, but given children's increasing acceptance of exclusion with age (Recciah et al., 2012) younger African American children are expected to be more optimistic in both than their older counter parts. In their justifications, African American children who thought inclusion was likely are expected to use more moral reasoning (Crystal et al., 2008) than European American participants who gave the same, "likely" evaluation and European American participants are expected to use more conventional reasoning overall.

    2. Likelihood of inclusion for the covert peer (Lunch) story. When presented with the opportunity for inclusion in a covert peer encounter (where conflicting

attributions were made about a peer-non friend) are children optimistic about inclusion and how might their expectations vary based on the interracial or same-race composition of the peer encounter, or by participants' age and race? Based on past intergroup research, European American participants are expected to be more optimistic about same-race inclusion than interracial inclusion, with European American children showing a greater distinction, and thus greater bias (Crystal et al., 2008). Adolescents are expected be to be more sensitive to the complexity of this encounter and the negative trait attribution is expected to be more salient (McGlothlin, Edmonds, & Killen, 2007). Thus, age-related differences are also expected, such that children will be more optimistic about inclusion, especially younger European American children. Research on stereotype awareness finds ethnic minority children as more aware of stereotypes (see Pauker, Ambady, & Apfelbaum, 2010). Additionally, it is possible that African American students' previous experiences with discrimination would lead them to view interracial social situations as a proxy for bias or racial prejudice, even when additional, non-race based motives for exclusion may be present (Ruck et al., 2014). Thus, African American adolescents are expected to be less favorable of the interracial covert encounter as stereotypes are present in one of the attributions, and they are expected to use more moral and psychological (autonomy) reasoning than European American participants.

When comparing the overt and covert peer conditions differences by participant race are expected. While subtle forms of bias and aggression can be difficult to detect they are still just as harmful (Neblett, Terzian, & Harriott, 2010). Given that African American children are more often the victims of prejudice (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009), they are expected to be less optimistic about covert inclusion, especially in the interracial

encounter than overt. European American participants are not expected to differ in their likelihood ratings, showing greater optimism about same-race encounters across both contexts.

3. Evaluation of exclusion for the overt peer (Bus) story. When exclusion occurred in the peer overt story, when considerations about a friend's lack of familiarity with a peer, non-friend is involved, do African American and European American children and adolescents find exclusion to be warranted? African American participants are expected to evaluate interracial exclusion as more wrong than same-race exclusion, with younger African American participants evaluating it to be more wrong than their older counterparts (Killen & Stangor, 2001). European American participants are expected to be more favorable of exclusion than African American participants and are not expected to significantly differentiate same-race and interracial compositions. Participants who evaluated exclusion to be wrong will use moral reasoning about the psychological harm of being excluded.

4. Covert peer (Lunch scenario) evaluation of exclusion. When peer contexts become complex and exclusion occurs after competing claims made by friends about a peer-non friend do African American and European American children and adolescents find exclusion to be warranted? Although past research has found, with age, children evaluate exclusion to be more permissible (Killen & Stangor, 2001; Recciah et al., 2012), given the salience of stereotypes in the interracial covert encounter, it is predicted that African American adolescents will evaluate interracial covert exclusion as more wrong than their younger counterparts and more wrong than same-race covert exclusion. European American participants are expected to be more favorable of exclusion than

African American participants and will not significantly differentiate same-race and interracial compositions.

Participants favorable of exclusion are expected to use conventional reasoning appealing to an uncomfortable friend as well as appeals to autonomy in the decision to exclude. Research finds ethnic minority children more likely to view intergroup exclusion as wrong, using more moral reasoning (e.g., Ruck, Park, Killen, & Crystal, 2011). Thus, African American participants who evaluated exclusion as "bad" are expected to use more moral reasoning than European American participants who gave the same evaluation. Lastly when comparing overt and covert peer conditions African American participants are expected to evaluate interracial covert exclusion to be more wrong than same-race and more wrong than the overt context. European American participants will not differ in their expectations about overt and covert peer encounters.

Hypotheses for Source of Message

5. Inclusion and exclusion evaluations for the overt peer and parent (Bus and Sleepover) stories. Children's peer interactions and experiences of discrimination occur in myriad settings and children must negotiate competing needs from individuals of different statuses (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009) and in contexts (e.g., school vs. home) that are varied in intimacy. How might children and adolescents differ in their evaluations of peer settings of inclusion (on the bus and at school) from home settings, when parent claims are also involved? With age children seek autonomy from parents and have a preference of those who are loyal to the peer group (Killen, Rutland et al., 2013; Smetana, 2011), thus adolescents are expected to be optimistic about parent than peer inclusion. However, it is expected that this effect will be driven by European American

adolescents' evaluations of same-race inclusion. African American adolescents will be less optimistic about parent interracial parent inclusion than their younger counterparts. Additionally, in same-race contexts, adolescents are expected be more permissible of peer exclusion than will younger children, while younger children will be more permissible of parent exclusion than adolescents. However, African American children and adolescents evaluate interracial exclusion to be just as wrong across peer and parent contexts.

Also, given increased reliance on social groups and autonomy from parents with age (Smetana, 2011), adolescents who evaluated overt parent exclusion as "bad" are expected to use more psychological reasoning about acting independently from parents, while children who evaluated parent exclusion to be good are expected to use more conventional reasoning about not wanting the parent to be uncomfortable.

6. Inclusion and exclusion evaluations for the covert peer and parent (Lunch and Party) stories. Do children think inclusion of a peer non-friend will be just as likely when peers and parent have made attributions about this target? How might the peer or parent status inform children and adolescents' expectations of inclusion and exclusion? Adolescents are expected be to be more sensitive to the negative trait attributions of the covert context (Graham et al., 2009) and will view inclusion as less likely and exclusion to be more wrong (especially in the parent context) than will children. Younger children are expected to be more optimistic about peer inclusion than parent inclusion.

Additionally, given that African Americans experience and report discrimination with greater frequency (Shelton & Richeson, 2006), African American adolescents are expected to be less optimistic about parent interracial parent inclusion than their younger

counterparts and will evaluate exclusion in the parent context to be more wrong than in the peer context. Adolescents who evaluated about covert parent inclusion as likely as well as those who evaluated exclusion in this context to be "bad" will use more psychological reasoning about acting independently from parents and while children who evaluated covert inclusion as likely will use more moral reasoning about wrongfulness of making negative attributions.

Hypothesis for Interracial Contact and Identity

7. What are the individual-level traits that inform children's expectations of interracial inclusion occurring in their daily lives? Decades of research has pointed to interracial contact as central to European American and majority status children's attitudes and expectations about interracial encounters, yet less is known about how contact may matter for African American and minority status children (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). While no study to date has examined how racial identity and interracial contact matter for both African American and European American children's evaluation of interracial inclusion, extensive research in ethnic and racial identity and its protective role for minority youth's experiences with and perceptions of bias. Additionally, burgeoning research examining identity in an intergroup framework (McGill, Way & Hughes, 2012; Phinney et al., 2007; Yip & Douglass, 2011) highlight racial identity as potentially very important to children's inter group expectations.

Thus, does interracial contact predict African American children's perceptions of interracial inclusion and if not how might racial identity explain additional within group variance among African American children? To address the third aim, it is expected that intergroup contact will predict more variance in European American children's

perceptions of interracial inclusion than in African American children's perceptions. For African American participant's perceptions of interracial inclusion additional variance will be accounted for by racial identity (Public Regard), such that African American participants who find their group to be more favorably regarded will estimate interracial inclusion to occur more often (see Phinney et al., 2007). Lastly, racial group identification will predict variance for both African American and European American participants.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

Participants

The sample ($N = 204$) included 9- to 10-year-olds ($n = 101$; $M = 9.94$, $SD = .45$ years) and 13- to 14-year-olds ($n = 103$; $M = 13.73$ years, $SD = .54$ years) evenly divided by gender, and evenly divided by African-American and European-American (see Table 1 for sample distribution by version × age × race). This sample size was chosen given the analyses of interest. Expecting medium effects at best with the desire to achieve power analyses of .80, the a priori power analysis for a 2-group × 2-tailed Analysis of variance (ANOVA) test indicated a sample of 130 would be needed. In order to have enough power to detect smaller effects, the sample size was increased to 200.

Children and adolescents were recruited from public and private elementary and middle schools in the mid-Atlantic region of the United States serving middle- to low-middle SES (see Table 2 for school demographics). The vast majority of European American participants (86%) attended majority European American schools. African American participants attended schools that reflected a range of racial compositions: majority European American, racially diverse, and majority African American. In this study, school composition was not a variable included in the analyses, as it is an indicator of children's opportunities for contact, but not a precise child-level measure of experience interracial friendships in- and outside of school (see Wilson & Rodkin, 2011). Lastly, due to the lack of variation in school compositions for European American participants, the discussion section proposes a follow-up investigation for the examination of school racial diversity as a factor.

The original sample ($N = 288$) was reduced to $N = 204$ for the following analyses due to the exclusion of participants who were not mono-racial, African-American or European-American, given that the peer stories reflected these two groups. A significant difference was found between the mean levels of parental educational attainment (Likert: 1 = High school diploma/G.E.D, 2 = Some college, 3 = College degree 4 = Graduate degree) by participant race ($M_{AA} = 2.79$, $SD_{AA} = .95$ $M_{EA} = 3.25$, $SD_{EA} = .82$), $t(120) = -2.81$, $p = .49$, $d = .52$. Thus, in the sample European American participants came from higher parental educational attainment backgrounds. Gender information was collected but it was not a variable of interest, and thus was not included in the analyses.

Procedure

Parental consent was obtained for 9- to 10-year-olds. Older participants, 13- to 14-year-olds, completed an adolescent assent form, based on Institutional Review Board guidelines. After each school director expressed interest in the study a consent visit was scheduled where a trained researcher introduced the study to teachers and students, and distributed consent forms to be later collected by the teacher. In individual and small group settings, children and adolescents were given instructions by a trained research assistant and then took the survey. Surveys took between 20 – 25 minutes to complete.

Design

The current study was a between-subjects design where participants were randomly assigned to one of two survey versions that differed in the pictured racial compositions across the four stories. Participants who received Version 1 evaluated two interracial peer stories and two same-race parent stories. Participants who received

Version 2 evaluated two same-race peer stories and two interracial parent stories. As shown in Table 1, the overall study design was a 2 × (Age: 9- to 10-years, 13- to 14-years) × 2 (Group membership: African American, European American) × 2 (Racial Composition: Version 1, Version 2). While not all analyses tested the 3-way interaction of these variables, these were the variables of interest for the study design, thus relatively equal of numbers of participants filled each of these cells (see Table 3). This between subjects design was selected as it reduces the potential for response bias, given the age of participants in the sample. Thus all participants evaluated two interracial and two same-race vignettes.

Measures

      Stories. Participants were presented with four stories modified from the Social Reasoning about Exclusion Interview (Social Reasoning about Exclusion Interview: Crystal et al., 2008) in which a peer does not include a child in a social activity. All characters in stories were gender matched to the participant. Stories were accompanied with professional illustrations of characters and refer to requests for inclusion on the school bus and in the school lunchroom, as well as for a sleepover and at a party.

      For the current assessment race was not mentioned in the story or by the interviewer in any of the descriptions of the interactions. Two stories described instances of overt exclusion where exclusion happens because of a third- party's discomfort around the target while the other two stories describe instances of covert exclusion where two conflicting, and potentially stereotypical attributions are made about the target (see Table 1). In overt exclusion stories (Stories 1 and 3) a new student is presented, there is lack of familiarity by a peer (or a parent in Story 3) and then an opportunity for inclusion is

presented, an open seat on bus (or room for one more at sleepover in Story 3). Extensive

pilot testing has refined the measures for the age groups to be tested (see Crystal et al.,

2008). The same-race and interracial story contexts only differed by the depicted race of

the characters. The story text and character names were identical. Participants also

evaluated single-gender groups, matched to participant gender. Below is an example of

the Bus story (male, overt peer, Story 1):

> Kevin likes sitting next to his good friends on the bus. Kevin sits next to his friend Jason on the bus almost every day. A new boy named Daniel started riding their bus. Kevin only recently met Daniel but he wants to invite him to sit with him and Jason. Jason, however, has not met Daniel. Jason does not usually sit next to children he does not know. That day when Daniel gets on the bus, there is an open seat nearby Kevin and Jason.

In covert exclusion stories (Stories 2 and 4) a neutral act happens, then two peers

(or parents in Story 4) each make a positive and negative attribution about the target,

followed by the opportunity for inclusion at the lunch table (or at a birthday party at

home in Story 4). Below is an example of the Party story (female, covert parent, Story 4):

> Ariana, a girl from the neighborhood, is outside at the neighborhood block party. Ariana shouts at the top of her lungs. Marlene happens to be standing near her parents. They all heard Ariana from the other side of the street. Marlene overhears her parents talking:
> – One parent says: "Did you hear her? She is so loud and angry!"
> – Her other parent says: "No, she's outside and just likes to have fun!"
> Later, Marlene sees Ariana. Marlene's birthday is coming up and there is room for more people to come.

Dependent measures. Following each story, participants responded to the

following items assessing their attitudes, evaluations, judgments and justifications about

inclusion and exclusion: 1) Likelihood of Inclusion. "How likely is it that Karen will

invite Diane?" (1 – 6 Likert-type scale: 1 = not likely, 6 = very likely) and justification

for their evaluation "Why?"; 2) Evaluation of Exclusion. Evaluation of peer decision to

exclude: "Let's say that Karen decides not to invite Diane to sit there because she thinks her friend, who has never met Diane, might be uncomfortable. How good or bad is it for her to not invite Diane?" (1 – 6 Likert-type scale: 1 = very bad, 6 = very good) and justification for their evaluation "Why?"; 3) Estimation of Frequency of Familiarity-based Exclusion. Evaluation of this type of exclusion occurring at participants own school: "How often do you think students your age might not invite someone new to join because their friends will be uncomfortable?" (1 – 6 Likert-type scale: 1 = never, 6 = all the time). In addition to the 3 dependent measures above, the covert exclusion stories have an additional measure about attributions; and 4) Acceptability of Negative and Positive Attributions. "How okay or not okay is it for Lindsay to say that Allison is loud and angry (or for Theresa to think that Allison just likes to have fun)?" (1 – 6 Likert-type scale: 1 = not okay at all, 6 = very okay).

Independent measures. Participants responded to items about their own racial identity, perceptions and experiences of integration and frequency of exclusion occurring in their own school, as listed below.

Strength of identification. This measure assessed the strength of participants' racial and/or ethnic identity. Participants self-identified by selecting among multiple racial and ethnic labels and then, after selecting the most salient group (if more than one), participants responded to items about the strength of that identity (see Rutland et al., 2012). The measure of identity strength was adapted from Barrett's Strength of Identification Scale (SoIS: see Barrett, 2005) used in the U.K. and adapted for the U.S. project. Participants responded to items such as: "How important is it to you that you are [of your racial group]?" (1 – 5 Likert-type scale: 1 = not at all, 5 = very much).

Consistent with previous research, the survey's scale points for younger children were also pictorially represented with balloons of increasing sizes (see Rutland et al., 2012).

Public regard. To assess children's understanding of how other groups view their own racial/ethnic group the Public Regard subsection of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity–Teen (MIBI–T: Scothamm, Sellers, & Nhuyen, 2008) was used. In addition, the MIBI–T Public Regard sub-scale was modified and used reliably with ethnically diverse samples (e.g., Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005; Kiang, Gonzalez-Backen, Yip, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006). Consistent with this research Public Regard items were modified for use with multiple groups by replacing "Black" with references to participant's self-reported racial or ethnic group. Participants responded to items such as: "Most people think that [people of my racial/ethnic group] are just as smart as people from other ethnic and racial groups" (1 – 5 Likert-type scale: 1 = really disagree, 5 = really agree). The youngest age group reported to have used this measure were age 12 and older, thus different points on the response scale were illustrated pictorially with thumbs up and down as indicator of agreement (see Data Analysis Plan for data treatment of this novel, younger age group).

Interracial contact. This measure was adapted from the Developmental Intergroup Contact Survey (Developmental Intergroup Contact Survey: Killen, Henning et al., 2007) and examined the racial and ethnic diversity of participants friendship groups. Participants responded to items such as: "Thinking about your good friends here at school, how many of your friends are from an ethnic or racial group that is different from your own?" (1 – 6 Likert-type scale: 1 = none, 6 = most).

Diverse friend groups at school. This measure assessed participants' perception of interracial contact among their peer groups in and outside of school. For example, "How often do students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds sit together in the lunchroom?" (1 – 6 Likert-type scale: 1 = never, 6 = all the time).

Estimation of frequency of interracial inclusion. These measures were modified from Crystal et al., (2008), and asked participants to estimate how often interracial inclusion happens in peer and parent settings. In the context of the stories, participants reported likelihood of inclusion and permissibility of exclusion, thus this measure (at the end of the survey) ask participants about their own perceptions of race-based inclusion: "How often do students invite someone new to join who is of a different ethnic or racial group?" and "How often do students invite someone new to their house who is of a different ethnic or racial group?" For these items participants will respond on a 1 – 6 Likert-type scale (1 = never, 6 = all the time).

Dichotomous likelihood and exclusion evaluations. These 1 – 6 Likert-type variables were each split into dichotomous variables (called "Dichotomous Likelihood of Inclusion" and "Dichotomous Evaluation of Exclusion") and used as independent variables in the reasoning analyses. Evaluations on the negative end of the scale (1, 2 or 3) were recoded as "0", and evaluations on the positive end of the scale (4, 5 and 6) were recoded as "1". Thus, Dichotomous Likelihood of Inclusion was 0 = not likely, 1 = likely and Dichotomous Evaluations of Exclusion was 0 = bad, 1 = good. These variables were used to measure proportions of reasoning used by children's Likelihood of Inclusion and Evaluations of Exclusion ratings (see Data Analysis Plan).

Coding

Participants' justifications were coded by using coding categories drawn from social domain theory (Killen & Rutland, 2011; Smetana, 2006; Turiel, 1983, 2002) as well as based on the results of pilot testing. The coding system comprised five subcategories of the general codes Moral, Societal/Conventional, and Psychological. One code was identified under Moral: 1) Consequences of exclusion/benefits of inclusion (e.g., "she should invite her otherwise her feelings will be hurt", "it is good because Shawn is thinking of others feelings"). One category was identified under Societal/Conventional: 2) Conforming to peer/parent pressure (e.g., "it's not likely because she would be going against her friends", "not likely because no matter how much you like them, you have to obey your parents", "it [exclusion] is kind of good because that is what her parents would want her to do"). Two categories were identified under Psychological: 3) Autonomy (e.g., "it's your choice what you want to do", "he shouldn't care what his friends think and just do what he wants") and 4) Trait attributions (e.g., "she is weird and seems mean for yelling"). Pragmatic reasoning also emerged: 5) Pragmatics (e.g., "she should invite her because there is an open seat", "he should be included because there is room to invite more"). Lastly for responses that did not explain "why" participants gave their evaluation, an "other" category was created: 6) Other/Uncodeable (e.g., "because I like them better").

Proportional data were used in the analyses for the justification data. Justifications were coded as 1 = full use of the category, .5 = partial use, 0 = no use of the category. Because participants could use all, partial, or none of the justification codes, concerns about the interdependence of the data were not an issue (the data were independent for

coding purposes). Three research assistants who were blind to the hypotheses of the study conducted the coding. On the basis of 25% of the interviews ($N = 51$), Cohen's $\kappa = .88$ for interrater reliability. More than 20% of participants used more than one code.

Data Analysis Plan

   Likelihood of inclusion and evaluation of exclusion. Hypotheses for Likelihood of Inclusion and Evaluation of Exclusion were tested using analysis of variance (ANOVA). The choice of statistical model for testing each hypothesis was contingent on the scale of the variables under consideration. For instance, to test Hypotheses 1 and 2, that inclusion and exclusion will vary based on participant age, race and the interracial (or same-race) composition of the encounter, two 2 (age group) × 2 (participant race) × 2 (racial composition of encounter) ANOVAs were conducted for Likelihood of Inclusion in overt and covert peer encounters. Test differences in children's expectations by the form of the peer message, analyses were run on both peer encounters (peer covert, "Bus" with peer covert, "Lunch") in a 2 (age group) × 2 (participant race) × 2 (racial composition of encounter) × 2 (form of message) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor for Likelihood of Inclusion. The same ANOVA design and analysis procedure was used to test Hypotheses 3 and 4 regarding Evaluations of Exclusion in these peer encounters. Similarly, to test Hypotheses 5 and 6 about parent (vs. peer) status context, age, participant race and racial composition of the encounter, analyses were run to compare peer encounters with the matched parent encounter (e.g., peer overt, "Bus" with parent overt, "Sleepover") in two 2 (age group) × 2 (participant race) × 2 (racial composition of encounter) × 2 (status context) ANOVA with repeated measures on the

last factor for Likelihood of Inclusion. The same ANOVA design and analysis procedure was used to test Evaluations of Exclusion in these peer encounters.

Reasoning data. Repeated measures designs are effectively analyzed using ANOVAs because they are robust to the problem of empty cells, as they use listwise deletion. This preserves cell size and statistical power; whereas other data analytic procedures (e.g., log-linear models) require cumbersome data manipulation to adjust for empty cells (see Posada & Wainryb, 2008). Thus, to test reasoning predictions in Hypotheses 1 – 6, analyses were run on the proportion use of coded justifications. Given the repeated measures design, two 2 (participant race) × 2 (age group) × 2 (Dichotomous Likelihood of Inclusion) × 3 (reasoning) ANOVAs were conducted with repeated measures on the last factor on proportions of reasoning –one for each of the 4 stories. The dependent terms in these ANOVA statements were the top reasoning codes (codes used > 10%) for each of the reasoning items. The same ANOVA design and analysis procedure was used to test reasoning for Evaluations of Exclusion. There were no effects for racial composition of the story by proportion of reasoning used, thus racial composition of the encounter was not included as an independent variable in reasoning analyses.

Interracial contact and racial identity. Analyses were conducted to address the asymmetry in the literature about the role of interracial contact for European American and African American children's expectations about interracial occurring in their daily lives, drawing from social reasoning developmental (SRD) perspective and ethnic and racial identity (ERI) development literature. To test Hypothesis 7 that racial identity will predict variance in African American children's estimations of frequency of interracial inclusion and interracial contact will significantly predict variance for

European American children factor loadings were tested to insure validity of these measures for the given sample. Based on data from similar populations these scales were anticipated to have significant loadings (Kiang et al., 2006; Rivas-Drake et al., 2009). Next, correlational analyses followed by hierarchical multiple regression was conducted. Correlational analyses were run to test the direction and significant associations among Frequency of Interracial Peer- and Parent-Inclusion, Strength of Identification, Public Regard and Interracial Contact. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were then used to examine the unique associations of the participants estimations of Frequency of Interracial Peer- and Parent-Inclusion with their Strength of Identification, Public Regard and Interracial Contact for African American and European American participants.

Chapter 4

Results

The following results section is organized based on the three study aims and using three section headers based on the central foci of these aims: 1) "Racial composition of the peer encounter" reports results that examined how the racial composition of the encounter (same-race and interracial) effected African American and European American children's evaluations of inclusion and exclusion as well as how their evaluations varied as a function of the form of the peer message (overt and covert); 2) "Source of the message" reports results that examined how evaluations of inclusion and exclusion varied as a function of the source of the messages (parents and peers); 3) "Interracial contact and racial identity" reports results that investigated the role of interracial contact and racial identity for African American and European American children's expectations about interracial social inclusion as it occurred in their daily lives.

Racial Composition of the Peer Encounter

Likelihood of overt peer inclusion (Bus story). The first assessment asked participants how likely or not likely inclusion would be. To measure how likely inclusion of non-friend peer would be, and to test the prediction$_{(H1.1)}$ that participants would view inclusion more likely in the same-race than in the interracial peer counter, and that this effect would be driven by younger European American participants, a 2 (9- to 10-years, 13- to 14-years) × 2 (participant race: African American, European American) × 2 (racial composition of encounter: interracial, same-race) analysis of variance was conducted for likelihood of inclusion in the overt peer encounter. This analysis revealed three significant effects. A main effect for racial composition of the encounter supported the

hypothesis, was found in participants' likelihood of inclusion evaluations in the overt-peer setting, $F(1, 203) = 12.11$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Overall, participants evaluated inclusion to be more likely in same-race encounters ($M = 4.49$, $SD = 1.08$) than interracial ($M = 4.04$, $SD = 0.95$). Consistent with expectations, an interaction effect for racial composition of encounter × participant race, $F(1,203) = 15.85$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, revealed that this greater expectation for inclusion in the same-race encounter was driven by European American participants ($M_{IR} = 3.84$, $SD_{IR} = 1.01$; $M_{SR} = 4.83$, $SD_{SR} = 1.17$); African-American participants did not make this distinction ($p > .05$). Further, as shown in Figure 2, European American participants evaluated inclusion to be significantly less likely in interracial encounter than did their African American peers ($p < .05$) and less likely than same-race inclusion ($p < .001$). When evaluating the same-race encounter (matched to participant race) European American participants evaluated inclusion to be significantly more likely than did African American participants ($p < .001$), while African American participants, however, made no distinction between same-race and interracial peer encounters ($M_{IR} = 4.28$, $SD_{IR} = 0.83$; $M_{SR} = 4.19$, $SD_{SR} = 0.91$) (Figure 2).

As shown in Figure 3, consistent with predictions a 3-way interaction for racial composition of encounter × participant race × age was found, $F(1, 203) = 4.23$, $p = .041$ $\eta_p^2 = .02$. European American adolescents ($M = 5.24$, $SD = 0.97$) were more optimistic about same-race inclusion than were African American adolescents ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 0.98$) and more so than European American children ($M = 4.50$, $SD = 1.07$) ($ps < .001$) (see Figure 3). Thus, consistent with predictions$_{(H1.1)}$, African American children and adolescents did not differ in their expectations of interracial and same-race inclusion.

Overall participants expected inclusion to occur and, consistent with predictions, European American participants expected inclusion to be more likely in a same-race setting than in an interracial setting. While this distinction across the racial composition manipulation suggests a potential ingroup bias, counter to expectations it was European American adolescents who viewed same-race inclusion to be more likely, more so than their younger counterparts. While this ingroup bias effect has been found among younger children, the current effect was stronger among European American adolescents who are often found to be less optimistic about peer encounters (Killen & Stangor, 2001; Recciah et al., 2012). Lastly, inconsistent with expectations, there were no effects for participant age within the interracial peer context.

Reasoning for likelihood peer overt inclusion (Bus). To test children's reasoning in their likelihood of inclusion evaluations, a 2 (Dichotomous Likelihood: Likely, Not likely) × 2 (Participant race: African American, European American) × 2 (Age: 9- to 10-years, 13- to 14-years) × 3 (Reasoning: Exclusion, Pressure, Autonomy) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor was conducted. Consistent with predictions$_{(H1.2)}$, an interaction effect for reasoning × Dichotomous Likelihood of Inclusion was found, $F(2, 388) = 25.16$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$. Participants who thought inclusion was not likely referenced Pressure (e.g., "he won't because his friend will be uncomfortable") ($M = .78$, $SE = .07$) significantly more than did those who evaluated inclusion to be likely ($M = .35$, $SE = .03$) ($p < .001$). Additionally, participants who thought inclusion was likely referenced more Autonomy, (e.g., "she should do what she wants") ($M = .26$, $SE = .03$), at significantly higher proportions than non-likely participants ($M = .06$, $SE = .06$) ($p < .01$). Lastly, there were no significant differences in the proportion use of use

Wrongfulness of Exclusion/Merits of Inclusion (e.g., "you should include kids you don't know") or by participant age or race. While no 3-way interaction with participant race was found$_{(H1.3)}$, as shown in Table 4, children who were positive about inclusion overall highlighted the importance of making decisions independent from external pressure while children who expected inclusion not to occur appealed the needs of the friend group (see Table 4).

Likelihood of covert peer inclusion (Lunch). To measure evaluations in the peer-covert story, when friends have made attributions about a non-friend peer, and specifically test predictions$_{(H2.1)}$ that European American children will be less likely to expect inclusion than will African American adolescents for interracial than same-race peer contexts, a 2 (Age: 9- to 10-years, 13- to 14-years) × 2 (Participant race: African American, European American) × 2 (Racial composition of encounter: Interracial, Same-race) analysis of variance was conducted for likelihood of inclusion in the covert peer encounter.

When evaluating likelihood of inclusion in a covert, peer setting, a main effect for age was found, $F(1, 203) = 5.38$, $p = .021$, $\eta_p^2 = .027$, such that younger participants evaluated inclusion to be more likely ($M = 4.28$, $SD = 1.30$) than did their adolescent counterparts ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.38$). As shown in Figure 4, this effect, however, was driven by younger African American participants, $F(1, 203) = 5.23$ $p = .023$, $\eta_p^2 = .026$, who evaluated inclusion to be more likely than their same-aged European American peers ($p < .01$) and more likely than African American adolescents' expectations ($p < .001$). African American and European American adolescents did not differ in their evaluations of inclusion likelihood (Figure 4). Thus, partially consistent with expectations, there were

age-related differences when children considered covert forms of inclusion messages, such that African American children were more likely to expect inclusion than adolescents. This only partially confirms predictions as the effect was across the racial composition of the interaction, no 3-way interaction with racial composition was found. This suggests that African American adolescents were just as sensitive to the complex attributions made in same-race and interracial peer encounters.

Lastly, and also partially conforming predictions$_{(H2.1)}$, an interaction for racial composition of the encounter × participant race was found, $F(1, 203) = 18.00$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .084$. However, as shown in Figure 5, this interaction revealed that African American participants were more optimistic about inclusion occurring in an interracial situation than were European American participants ($p < .001$) and more so than the same-race encounter ($p < .05$). Unlike in the peer overt setting, African American participants distinguished interracial from same-race exclusion such that they were more optimistic about interracial than same-race inclusion. European American participants were more optimistic about same-race inclusion than were African American participants ($p < .05$) and more so than the interracial inclusion ($p < .001$) (Figure 5).

Reasoning for likelihood peer covert inclusion (Lunch). To measure children's reasoning in their Likelihood of Inclusion evaluations in the covert encounter, and test predictions about how reasoning will vary based on participant race, age, and the complexity of the peer encounter, a 2 (Dichotomous Likelihood: Likely, Not likely) × 2 (Participant race: African American, European American) × 2 (Age: 9- to 10-years, 13- to 14-years) × 4 (Reasoning: Exclusion, Pressure, Trait Attribution, Pragmatics) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor was run. Consistent with above findings in

participant's evaluations, 3-interaction effects were found among the proportion use of reasoning. First, an interaction effect for reasoning × Dichotomous Likelihood of Inclusion was found, $F(3, 585) = 14.60$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Consistent with predictions$_{(H2.2)}$, participants who thought inclusion was not likely referenced more conventional reasoning, discussing Pressure and made Trait Attributions (e.g., "not gonna happen because he's mean [sic]") ($M_{press} = .61$, $SE_{press} = .06$; $M_{trait} = .22$, $SE_{trait} = .04$) significantly more than did participants who were optimistic about inclusion ($M_{press} = .37$, $SE_{press} = .04$; $M_{trait} = .10$, $SE_{trait} = .03$) ($ps < .01$). Participants who were thought covert inclusion was likely referenced Wrongfulness of Exclusion/Merits of Inclusion and Pragmatics ("it's likely because there is an open seat") ($M_{exclu} = .26$, $SE_{exclu} = .03$; $M_{prag} = .14$, $SE_{prag} = .02$) at significantly higher proportions than their "non-likely", evaluating counterparts who did not use these codes ($ps < .001$).

Second, an additional interaction effect for reasoning × age was found, $F(3, 585) = 2.85$, $p = .028$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, such that younger children referenced Pragmatics at significantly higher proportions ($M = .13$, $SE = .03$) than did older children ($M = .01$, $SE = .02$) ($p = .001$). Thus, while older and younger children did not significantly differ in their proportion use of Exclusion, Pressure and Trait Attributions, younger children also discussed the physical opportunity for inclusion (an open seat), while this utilitarian rationale was not used among their older counterparts. This suggests that adolescents based evaluations more on social cues in the interaction while the physical opportunity for inclusion was enough for younger children to base their expectations. This did not interact with the direction of children's evaluations (e.g., younger children using the open

seat as a rationale for inclusion), as no 3-way interaction was found for age × reasoning × dichotomous Likelihood of Inclusion.

Lastly, consistent with expectations$_{(H2.3)}$ an interaction effect for reasoning × participant race was found, $F(3, 585) = 3.29$, $p = .028$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, such that European American participants referenced Pressure *to* conform to the peer group at significantly higher proportions ($M = .55$, $SE = .05$) than did African American participants ($M = .43$, $SE = .04$) ($p < .05$). Similar to younger children, African American participants were higher in their proportion use of Pragmatics, the physical opportunity for inclusion ($M = .13$, $SE = .03$), while this rationale was used significantly less among European American participants ($M = .01$, $SE = .02$) ($p < .05$). This, however, did not interact also with the direction of participants' evaluations. As shown in Table 4, no 3-way interaction was found for race × reasoning × Dichotomous Likelihood of Inclusion (see Table 4). Given the complexity of the situation with competing peer claims, participants overall most frequently cited the pressure to conform to peer expectations in their justifications. Yet, younger children and African American participants also cited the physical opportunity for inclusion as an important consideration in their evaluations of inclusion.

Likelihood of peer overt and covert inclusion (Bus and Lunch). To directly test predictions$_{(H2.4)}$ that African American adolescents will evaluate covert inclusion to be less likely than overt, a 2 (Age: 9-to 10-years, 13-to 14-years) × 2 (Participant race: African American, European American) × 2 (Racial composition of encounter: Interracial, Same-race), × 2 (Form of message: Overt, Covert) between groups ANOVA. As shown in Figure 6, an interaction for form of message × age was found, $F(1, 196) = 6.07$, $p = .015$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, such that younger children did not differ significantly in their

expectations about overt and covert peer encounter (M_{overt} = 4.22, SD_{overt} = 1.07; M_{covert} = 4.28, SD_{covert} = 1.30), while adolescents evaluated inclusion to be less likely in the covert than overt setting ($p < .001$) where a negative attribution about the target of inclusion was made (M_{overt} = 4.30, SD_{overt} = 1.01; M_{covert} = 3.86, SD_{covert} = 1.38). Adolescents were viewed exclusion as less likely in the covert encounter than did younger children ($p < .001$) (Figure 6).

Evaluation of overt peer exclusion (Bus). The next assessment asked participants how good or bad it would be if the target were excluded. To test how wrong (or permissible) children and adolescents found the exclusion of a peer, non-friend when exclusion occurred at school, as well as to test predictions$_{(H3.1)}$, that African American children will evaluate overt interracial exclusion as more wrong than their older counterparts and European American participants, a 2 (Age: 9-to 10-years, 13-to-14 years) × 2 (Participant race: African American, European American) × 2 (Racial composition of encounter: Interracial, Same-race) analysis of variance was conducted for evaluation of overt peer exclusion. This analysis revealed four significant effects. Consistent with expectations, a main effect for age was found, $F(1, 201) = 5.92, p = .016$, $\eta_p^2 = .030$, such that younger children ($M = 2.69, SD = 1.13$) evaluated exclusion to be more wrong than did adolescents ($M = 2.99, SD = 1.15$). While overall adolescents viewed exclusion to be more warranted than did younger children both means were below the 3.5, mid-point indicating that the majority of participants were negative about exclusion.

Next, a main effect for racial composition of the encounter was found, $F(1, 201) = 5.03, p = .038, \eta_p^2 = .02$, indicating that participants viewing same-race exclusion ($M =$

2.71, $SD = 1.18$) evaluated it to be overall less permissible than did participants evaluating exclusion in the interracial context ($M = 2.97$, $SD = 1.09$). Additionally, a main effect for race of participant was found, $F(1, 201) = 21.12$, $p < .001$ $\eta_p^2 = .10$, such that African American participants viewed exclusion to be more wrong ($M = 2.50$, $SD = 1.12$) than did European American participants ($M = 3.15$, $SD = 1.09$). Thus, consistent with expectations, African American participants viewed exclusion overall to be more wrong.

An interaction effect for participant race × racial composition, indicated that African American participants were driving the main effect for racial composition of the encounter, $F(1, 201) = 4.74$, $p = .044$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$ (Figure 7). As shown in Figure 7, African American participants evaluated interracial exclusion to be more wrong than did European American participants ($M_{AA} = 2.17$, $SD_{AA} = 1.19$; $M_{EA} = 3.16$, $SD_{EA} = 1.02$) ($p < .001$) and more wrong than same-race exclusion ($M = 2.80$, $SD = 0.98$). European American participants did not differ in their evaluations of interracial and same-race exclusion.

Taken together with findings from participant's expectations of inclusion, the results show that while African American participants evaluated inclusion as equally as likely for interracial and same-race contexts, they were more perceptive of potential bias in that they viewed rejection in interracial contexts to be more wrong than same-race and more so than did European American children. While there was no 3-way interaction with age this also confirms expectations that African Americans, who are more often victims of bias, would evaluate interracial exclusion to be more wrong than European Americans.

Reasoning for evaluation of peer overt exclusion (Bus). To measure children's justifications for why they evaluated peer overt exclusion to be warranted (or permissible), and to test predictions$_{(H3.2)}$ that African American participants will use more moral reasoning, a 2 (Dichotomous Evaluation of Exclusion: Bad, Good) × 2 (Participant race: African American, European American) × 2 (Age: 9- to 10-years, 13- to 14-years) × 3 (Reasoning: Exclusion, Pressure, Autonomy) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor was run. An interaction effect for reasoning × Dichotomous Evaluation of Exclusion was found, $F(2, 388) = 35.64$ $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$. Participants who evaluated the act of exclusion as bad referenced Wrongfulness of Exclusion/Merits of Inclusion (e.g., "It's bad cause it will hurt his feelings") and Autonomy (e.g., "She should do what she wants") $M_{exclu} = .53$, $SE_{exclu} = .035$; $M_{auto} = .11$, $SE_{auto} = .02$) significantly more than did those who evaluated the act of exclusion to be good $(M_{exclu} = .16$, $SE_{exclu} = .06$; $M_{auto} = .00$, $SE_{auto} = .02)$ $(ps < .01)$. Additionally, participants who thought exclusion was good referenced Pressure (e.g., "It's ok because her friend would have been uncomfortable") $(M = .78$, $SE = .03)$, at significantly higher proportions than participants who evaluated exclusion as bad $(M = .29$, $SE = .03)$ $(p < .001)$. Lastly, there were no significant differences by participant age or race. Overall, children who evaluated exclusion to be wrong highlighted the importance of making decisions independent from external pressure as well as the harm and general wrongfulness of exclusion on the part of the rejected child. As shown in Table 5, children who evaluated exclusion to be good or warranted, appealed to the need for keeping one's friend comfortable, rather than introduce them to a new peer (see Table 5).

Evaluation of covert peer exclusion (Lunch). When exclusion occurred in the peer covert story (when attributions were made about a peer, non-friend), do African American and European American children and adolescents think exclusion was warranted? Do these expectations change when the peer encounter is same-race (race-matched to participant) or interracial? To test predictions$_{(H4.1)}$ that African American adolescents would view covert exclusion to be more wrong than their younger counterparts and European American participants, a 2 (Age: 9-to 10-years, 13-to-14 years) × 2 (Participant race: African American, European American) × 2 (Racial composition of encounter: Interracial, Same-race) analysis of variance was conducted for evaluation of overt peer exclusion. This analysis revealed four significant effects. Contrary to expectations, but consistent with research finding younger children to have an aversion to exclusion, a main effect for age was found, $F(1, 201) = 20.33$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$, such that younger children ($M = 2.16$, $SD = 0.98$) evaluated covert exclusion to be significantly more wrong than did adolescents ($M = 2.78$, $SD = 1.01$). However, no interaction effects by participant race or racial composition of the encounter. Thus hypotheses were not confirmed. African American and European American participants evaluated exclusion interracial exclusion to be just as wrong as same-race exclusion in the covert peer encounter.

Reasoning for evaluation of peer covert exclusion (Lunch). To measure children's justifications for why they evaluated exclusion to be wrong (or permissible) in the peer covert encounter, a 2 (Dichotomous Evaluation of Exclusion: Bad, Good) × 2 (Participant race: African American, European American) × 2 (Age: 9- to 10-years, 13- to 14-years) × 4 (Reasoning: Exclusion, Pressure, Autonomy, Pragmatics) ANOVA with

repeated measures on the last factor was run. Consistent with predictions$_{(H4.2)}$, an interaction effect for reasoning × Dichotomous Evaluation of Exclusion was found, $F(3, 585) = 5.45$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Participants who thought exclusion was bad referenced Wrongfulness of Exclusion/Merits of Inclusion ($M = .46$, $SE = .04$) at significantly higher proportions than their peers who thought exclusion was warranted ($M = .22$, $SE = .12$) ($p < .05$). Participants who gave favorable ratings of evaluated exclusion made appeals to Pressure ($M = .42$, $SE = .10$) significantly more than did participants who evaluated exclusion to be bad ($M = .18$, $SE = .03$) ($ps < .05$). Lastly, as shown in Table 5, there were no differences in the proportion use of Autonomy and Pragmatics by participant evaluation or interactions by participant age or race. While no interactions with race$_{(H4.3)}$were found, when reasoning about why covert exclusion was wrong, children's judgments were grounded in the moral domain, they considered the potential harm of excluding the target. This differed from children who evaluated exclusion to be permissible and focused on conventional reasons –specifically conforming to the needs of the friend group who made mixed attributions about the potentially excluded peer (see Table 5).

Evaluation of peer overt and covert exclusion (Bus and Lunch). Do children and adolescents' evaluation of exclusion vary based on the complexity of the peer encounter? To directly test differences across these peer contexts participants' expectations about the wrongfulness (or permissibility) of exclusion occurring were analyzed in a 2 (Age: 9-to 10-years, 13-to-14 years) × 2 (Participant race: African American, European American) × 2 (Racial composition of encounter: Interracial, Same-race), × 2 (Form of message: Overt, Covert) between groups ANOVA. The analysis

revealed a main effect for form of message, $F(1, 192) = 14.83$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$, such

that participants evaluated overt exclusion to be more permissible ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 1.14$)

than covert exclusion ($M = 2.47$, $SD = 1.04$). This effect was explained by two interaction

effects. First, as shown in Figure 8, an interaction for race of participant × message form

was found, $F(1, 192) = 8.07$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. European American participants were

evaluated peer overt exclusion to be more permissible ($M = 3.15$, $SD = 1.09$) than peer

covert exclusion ($M = 2.54$, $SD = 1.06$) ($p < .001$) (see Figure 8). This partially confirms

predictions$_{(H4.4)}$ of a 3-way interaction, however rather than African American

adolescents driving this effect in their evaluations of covert exclusion as very bad,

findings revealed European American participants were driving the interaction with more

permissible ratings of overt exclusion.

Additionally, as shown in Figure 9, an interaction effect for racial composition of

the encounter × message form was found, $F(1, 192) = 4.73$, $p = .031$, $\eta_p^2 = .024$, such

that participants differentially evaluated exclusion peer overt ($M = 2.96$, $SD = 1.08$) from

covert exclusion ($M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.07$) in the same-race condition ($p < .001$) (see Figure

9). Thus overt exclusion was more warranted when it occurred in the same-race

encounter and children overall evaluated interracial exclusion to be wrong across both

overt and covert encounters.

Source of the Message

Likelihood of peer and parent overt inclusion (Bus and Sleepover). To

directly test differences across peer and parent status contexts two 2 (Age: 9- to 10-years,

13- to-14 years) × 2 (Participant race: African American, European American) × 2

(Racial composition of encounter: Interracial, Same-race) × 2 (Status context: Peer,

Parent) was conducted with repeated measures on the last factor for Likelihood of

Inclusion and Evaluation of Exclusion. It was predicted$_{(H5.1)}$ that European American

adolescents would expect inclusion in the parent context, while African American

children and adolescents would not differ in their evaluations by status context. When

evaluating the likelihood of inclusion, a main effect for peer and parent context, $F(1, 195)$

= 20.99, p < .001, η_p^2 = .10 revealed that participants were more likely to expect inclusion

occurring on the bus with a peer who was unfamiliar with the target (M = 4.27, SD =

1.04) than when it was inclusion in the home with a parent unfamiliar with the target (M

= 3.77, SD = 1.30).

As shown in Figure 10, an interaction effect was found for participant race ×

status context, $F(1, 195)$ = 3.85, p = .05, η_p^2 = .02, such that African American

participants evaluated inclusion to be just as likely in a peer setting as it would in a parent

setting, while European American children evaluated inclusion to be less likely when it

meant potential parent discomfort, than peer discomfort ($p < .001$) (Figure 10). This

confirmed expectations that African American participants would not differ across status

context, yet contrary to expectations, European American participants were more positive

about peer than parent inclusion. Lastly, as shown in Figure 11, an interaction for racial

composition × status context was found, $F(1, 195)$ = 6.96, p =.009, η_p^2 = .03. Participants

evaluated interracial peer messages about inclusion to be the more likely than parental

messages about inclusion (p < .001) and more likely than same-race inclusion ($p < .01$)

(Figure 11). While this did not also interact by participant race, findings are positive in

that African American and European American children had the same expectations about

interracial inclusion.

Reasoning for likelihood parent overt inclusion (Sleepover). To understand children's reasoning in their Likelihood of Inclusion evaluations in the parent overt encounter, a 2 (Dichotomous Likelihood: Likely, Not likely) × 2 (Race: African American, European American) × 2 (Age: 9- to 10-year-olds) × 3 (Reasoning: Exclusion, Pressure, Autonomy) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor was conducted. Consistent with predictions$_{(H5.2)}$, an interaction effect for reasoning × Dichotomous Likelihood of Inclusion was found, $F(2, 390) = 46.10$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .19$.

Similar to the peer overt encounter, as shown in Table 4, participants who thought parent overt inclusion was not likely referenced Pressure ($M = .91$, $SE = .05$) significantly more than did those who were optimistic and evaluated inclusion to be likely ($M = .41$, $SE = .04$) ($p < .001$). References to Pressure were also higher in this parent status context than in the peer context, with Pressure to conform to parent expectations being the most referenced justification. Additionally, participants who thought inclusion was likely referenced more Autonomy, ($M = .30$, $SE = .03$), at significantly higher proportions than non-likely participants ($M = .02$, $SE = .04$) ($p < .001$). Lastly, unlike in the peer overt encounter, a significant difference was found in the proportion use of use Wrongfulness of Exclusion/Merits of Inclusion by participant who expected parent overt inclusion to be likely ($M = .16$, $SE = .02$) and those who thought it not likely ($M = .02$, $SE = .03$) ($p < .01$). While age-related differences in Autonomy reasoning were predicted, results partially confirmed overall expectations. Children who were optimistic about inclusion in to the sleepover highlighted the importance of making decisions independent from external pressure and highlighted the importance of being inclusive, while children who did not expected inclusion appealed the needs of the parent (see Table 4).

Evaluation of peer and parent overt exclusion (Bus and Sleepover). Do evaluations differ when children evaluate exclusion in a peer and parent setting? It was predicted$_{(H5.3)}$ that adolescents would be more permissible of peer exclusion than parent exclusion –an interaction effect driven by European American participants. Findings revealed, a main effect for peer and parent context, $F(1, 193) = 43.93$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .19$, such that when evaluating exclusion, participants evaluated exclusion from a seat on the bus ($M = 2.85$, $SD = 1.14$) to be more wrong than exclusion from a sleepover ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.22$), which did not differ from neutral. No interaction effects for age or participant race were found was found in participants' evaluations of exclusion. Thus, overall children evaluated exclusion from a social activity in a home to be more permissible than a social activity at school. This suggests that African American and European American children did not differ in their evaluations of interracial and same-race exclusion.

Reasoning for evaluation of parent overt exclusion (Sleepover). To measure children's reasoning about why exclusion was wrong (or permissible) in the peer overt encounter, a 2 (Dichotomous Evaluation of Exclusion: Bad, Good) × 2 (Participant race: African American, European American) × 2 (Age: 9- to 10-years, 13- to 14-years) × 3 (Reasoning: Exclusion, Pressure) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor was run. An interaction effect for reasoning × Dichotomous Evaluation of Exclusion was found, $F(1, 195) = 64.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .25$. As shown in Table 5, participants who evaluated the act of exclusion as bad referenced Wrongfulness of Exclusion/Merits of Inclusion ($M = .43$, $SE = .04$) significantly more than did those who evaluated exclusion it to be good ($M = .07$, $SE = .07$) (ps $< .001$). Participants who thought exclusion was likely referenced more Pressure ($M = .82$, $SE = .04$), at significantly higher proportions

than did participants who evaluated exclusion as bad ($M = .35$, $SE = .04$) ($p < .001$). In addition, confirming predictions$_{(H5.4)}$, there was also a significant 3-way interaction for Dichotomous Evaluation of Exclusion × age × reasoning, $F(1, 195) = 4.50$, $p = .035$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Overall, younger children discussed the wrongfulness of exclusion more than older children and African American participants who evaluated exclusion as wrong used more Autonomy reasoning than European American participants who gave the same evaluation. European American and African American participants who were favorable of exclusion did not differ in their proportion use of Pressure and Exclusion codes (see Table 5).

Likelihood of peer and parent covert inclusion (Lunch and Party). Do children think inclusion of a peer will be just as likely when peers and parent have made attributions about this target? To directly test differences across these status contexts and predictions$_{(H6.1)}$that adolescents would be less optimistic about parent inclusion and evaluation exclusion in this context to be more wrong than children with younger African American children driving this effect, two 2 (Age: 9- to 10-years, 13- to 14-years) × 2 (Participant race: African American, European American) × 2 (Racial composition of encounter: interracial, same-race) × 2 (Status context: peer, parent) was conducted with repeated measures on the last factor for Likelihood of Inclusion and Evaluation of Exclusion. When examining children's Likelihood of Inclusion for peer and parent status context in covert form of the message conditions, a main effect for status context was found, $F(1, 195) = 26.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$. Consistent with overall expectations, participants were more optimistic about inclusion occurring in at the lunch table, in a peer

setting ($M = 4.07$, $SD = 1.35$), than at a birthday party, in the home ($M = 3.61$, $SD =$ 1.27).

Additionally, as shown in Figure 12, an interaction was found for status context × participant race × racial composition of the encounter. $F(1, 195) = 22.01$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 =$ .10. Both African American and European American participants evaluated parent covert inclusion to be less likely than peer inclusion. However, in the interracial context European American participants did not differentiate peer and parent contexts, while African American participants expected interracial peer inclusion to be more likely than inclusion in the parent setting ($M_{peer} = 4.47$, $SD_{peer} = 1.46$; $M_{parent} = 3.58$, $SD_{parent} = 1.36$) ($p < .001$). This confirms expectations that African American participants would be less optimistic about interracial parent inclusion, as they are evaluating outgroup, European American, parents. In the same-race context, European American participants differentially evaluated the likelihood of inclusion by peer and parent status contexts ($M_{peer} = 4.51$, $SD_{peer} = 1.27$; $M_{parent} = 3.79$, $SD_{parent} = 1.10$) ($p < .001$), while African American participants did not differ significantly in their expectations of same-race inclusion across the peer-parent contexts (Figure 12).

Reasoning for likelihood parent covert inclusion (Party). To test children's reasoning overall in their Likelihood of Inclusion evaluations in the covert parent encounter and test age-related predictions$_{(H6.2)}$ in the use of moral and psychological (autonomy) reasoning, a 2 (Likelihood: Likely, Not likely) × 2 (Participant race: African American, European American) × 2 (Age: 9- to 10-years, 13- to 14-years) × 3 (Reasoning: Pressure, Autonomy, Trait Attribution) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor was run. An interaction effect for reasoning × Likelihood of Inclusion was

found, $F(2, 388) = 36.10$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$. As shown in Table 4, participants who

thought inclusion was not likely referenced *Pressure* ($M = .84$, $SE = .05$) significantly

more than did participants who were optimistic about inclusion ($M = .36$, $SE = .04$) ($p <$

.01). Participants who were thought covert inclusion in the parent encounter was likely

referenced more Autonomy at higher proportions ($M = .14$, $SE = .02$) than their non-

likely counter parts. There were no differences by age or in the proportion use of Trait

Attribution across likelihood evaluations. Where Wrongfulness of Exclusion/Merits of

Inclusion, Pragmatics, Pressure and Trait Attributions were frequent codes in children's

evaluations of peer covert inclusion, frequent coded categories in the parent covert

encounter were Pressure, Trait Attribution and Autonomy (see Table 4). Overall,

participants referenced more moral concerns about the need to be inclusive in peer

settings and used more conventional and psychological reasoning in the parent setting.

Evaluation of peer and parent covert exclusion (Lunch and Party). When

examining participants' Evaluations of Exclusion for peer and parent status contexts in

covert form of the message conditions, a main effect for peer/parent status context was

found $F(1, 191) = 45.66$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .19$. Similar to the overt setting, participants

evaluated peer covert exclusion ($M = 2.47$, $SD = 1.04$) to be more wrong than a parent

covert setting of exclusion ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.22$). Thus, children evaluated exclusion

from a social activity in a home to be more permissible than a social activity at school.

Consistent with predictions$_{(H6.3)}$, an interaction effect for status context $\times$ participant race

$\times$ racial composition of the encounter was found, $F(1, 191) = 4.55$, $p = .034$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. As

shown in Figure 13, in their evaluations of interracial exclusion from the parent context

European American participants evaluated exclusion to be more permissible ($M = 3.32$,

SD = 1.27) than did African American participants (M = 2.80, SD = 1.06) ($p < .01$) and

more so than evaluations of interracial exclusion in the peer context ($p < .01$). African

American participants did not differ in their evaluations of peer and parent interracial

exclusion. Yet, in the same-race composition, both African American (M_{peer} = 2.41,

SD_{peer} = 1.06; M_{parent} = 3.00, SD_{parent} = 1.27) ($p < .05$) and European American

participants (M_{peer} = 2.34, SD_{peer} = 1.01; M_{parent} = 3.25, SD_{parent} = 1.12) ($p < .001$)

differentially evaluated exclusion across peer and parent status, finding exclusion from

the home to be more permissible (Figure 13).

Reasoning for evaluation of parent covert exclusion (Party). To understand

children's reasoning in their evaluations of exclusion in the parent covert encounter and

age-related predictions$_{(H6.4)}$ that adolescent will use more autonomy reasoning than

younger children, a 2 (Dichotomous Evaluation of Exclusion: Bad, Good) × 2

(Participant race: African American, European American) × 2 (Age: 9- to 10-years, 13- to

14-years) × 4 (Reasoning: Exclusion, Pressure, Autonomy, Trait Attribution) ANOVA

with repeated measures on the last factor was run. An interaction effect for reasoning ×

Evaluation of Exclusion was found, $F(3, 573) = 14.24, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$. As shown in

Table 5, participants who thought exclusion was bad referenced Wrongfulness of

Exclusion/Merits of Inclusion (M = .38, SE = .04) at significantly higher proportions than

their peers who thought exclusion was warranted ($p < .001$). Participants who were

favorable of exclusion made appeals to Pressure and Trait Attribution (M_{press} = .60,

SE_{press} = .10; M_{attrib} = .20, SE_{attrib} = .04) significantly more than those who were not

favorable (M_{press} = .35, SE_{press} = .04; M_{attrib} = .07, SE_{attrib} = .03) ($ps < .01$). Lastly, there

were no differences in the proportion use of Autonomy by participant evaluation or interaction by participant age or race (see Table 5).

Interracial Contact and Racial Identity

To test how interracial contact and racial identity are associated with African American and European American participants' Estimations of Frequency in Interracial Inclusion, factor loadings of the Interracial Contact, Strength of Identification and Public Regard measures were tested, given the novel, younger age group in the sample. This was followed by correlation coefficients computed among participants' scores for Interracial Contact, Strength of Identification, Public Regard and Frequency of Interracial Peer- and Parent-Inclusion. Lastly, Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were used to test the unique associations of participants' estimations. Results from these analyses are reported below.

Factor loadings. Factor loadings for the sample were tested for the 4 Strength of Identification items, 4 Interracial Contact items and 3 Public Regard items. As shown in Table 6, these were examined separately using principal components analysis to extract the fewest number of uncorrelated components from the greater sets of variables. Several well-recognized criteria for the factorability of a correlation were used. First, for Strength of Identification all 4 items correlated at .4 or above with at least one other item, suggesting factorability. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .77, above the recommended value of .6, and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant, $\chi^2 (203) = 241.78, p < .001$. The communalities for each Strength of Identification items were all above .3, further confirming that each item shared some common variance with other items, thus no items were removed. Second, for Public Regard, all 3 items

correlated at .3 or above with at least one other item, suggesting reasonable factorability. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was at the recommended value of .6 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant, $\chi^2 (203) = 109.95, p < .001$. The communalities for each Public Regard item were all above .3, further confirming that each item shared some common variance with other items, thus no items were removed. Lastly for Interracial Contact all 4 items correlated at .4 or above with at least one other item, suggesting factorability. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .77, above the recommended value of .6, and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant, $\chi^2 (203) = 241.78, p < .001$ (See Table 6). Thus no items had to be removed from any of the scales and variables loaded significantly across the sample.

Simple correlations. Before proceeding with the primary analyses, correlations among the key variables were examined. Means were computed across variables for African American (Table 7) and European American participants (Table 8) in order to estimate correlations. Frequency of Interracial Peer- and Parent-Inclusion were significantly correlated for both African American participants ($r = .68, p < .01$) and European American participants ($r = .60, p < .01$). Thus, participants who expected race-based inclusion to frequently occur in peer settings were also likely to expect its occurrence in parent settings (i.e. inclusion of outgroup peers in the home). As expected Interracial contact was significantly correlated Frequency of Interracial Peer- and Parent-Inclusion, for African American ($r = .43, p < .01; r = .30, p < .01$ respectively) and for European American participants ($r = .40, p < .01; r = .37, p < .01$ respectively). Also as expected, African American participants' level of Public Regard was significantly correlated with Frequency of Interracial Peer- and Parent-Inclusion ($r = .27, p < .01; r =$

.22, $p < .05$ respectively), while Public Regard was not significantly correlated with Frequency of Interracial Peer- and Parent-Inclusion for European American participants. Lastly, while Strength of Identification was significantly correlated with Public Regard for both African American participants ($r = .29$, $p < .01$) and European American participants ($r = .30$, $p < .01$), inconsistent with predictions it was not significantly correlated with any other variables in this model. Thus, the extent to which children identified with their own racial group was associated with their awareness of group status but not with their expectations about inclusion or the level of interracial contact.

Multivariate analyses. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were used to examine the unique associations of the participants estimations of Frequency of Interracial Peer- and Parent-Inclusion with their Strength of Identification, Public Regard and Interracial Contact. As shown in Table 9, two hierarchical regression models, with one interaction term at a time, were run to test the differential effects of Strength of Identification, Public Regard and Interracial Contact for African American and European American participants' estimations of Frequency of Interracial Peer- and Parent-Inclusion.

It was expected$_{(H7.1)}$ that Interracial Contact would predict variance in inclusion estimations for European American participants, while Public Regard was expected$_{(H7.2)}$ to significantly predict variance for African American participants. Lastly, given that Strength of Identification is used in both majority and minority status children (Abrams et al., 2013), identification was expected$_{(H7.3)}$ to predict additional variance in African American and European American participants' estimations of Frequency of Interracial Peer- and Parent-Inclusion.

The analysis revealed that Strength of Identification, Public Regard and Interracial Contact accounted for 25% of the variance in African American children's estimations of Frequency of Interracial Peer- and Parent-Inclusion, $R^2 = .25$, $F(3, 92)$ 9.93, $p < .001$. This indicates that African American participants with higher Public Regard, stronger racial group identifications and greater Interracial Contact were more optimistic about interracial inclusion occurring at school and in the home. Thus, expectations were partially confirmed. While the dimensions of racial identity were strong predictors, literature would have suggested Interracial Contact, would not have account for variance (e.g., Crystal et al., 2008). Consistent with expectations, Interracial Contact did account for variance in European American children's estimations of Frequency of Interracial Peer- and Parent-Inclusion, $R^2 = .17$, $F(1, 97)$ 19.96, $p < .001$. Strength of Identification and Public Regard did not significantly predict variance in European American participants' estimations and were thus excluded from the model (see Table 9 for all βs). Findings revealed that interracial contact mattered for both African American and European American participants.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The current study addressed three general aims: 1) how African American and European American children and adolescents evaluated peer inclusion and exclusion in same-race and interracial peer encounters, as well as how the form of the peer message (covert and overt) related to these evaluations; 2) how the source of the message, from peers or parents was relevant to evaluations of social inclusion; and 3) how racial identity and interracial contact predicted variance in African American and European American children's expectations about interracial occurring in their daily lives, addressing the asymmetry in the literature about the role of interracial contact for European American and African American children (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). The findings of the study extend current research in social reasoning developmental (SRD) perspective and ethnic and racial identity (ERI) development in a number of novel ways. The main findings under these aims are discussed below.

Racial Composition of the Peer Encounter

A central novel finding of this study was that African American and European American children differed in their evaluations of peer rejection (same-race) and interracial exclusion. African American participants were optimistic about both interracial and same-race inclusion –in that they evaluated both situations as likely. Yet, for these children, the severity of exclusion was amplified in the interracial context, and exclusion was more wrong when it meant the exclusion of an African American peer by European American peers. Thus, the interracial nature of the encounter along with the act

of exclusion, were enough for African American children to find interracial exclusion more wrong than the same-race context of peer rejection.

Previous research has only examined children's evaluations of interracial encounters (e.g., Killen et al., 2008), finding African American (and minority status children) to evaluate interracial contexts of exclusion as more wrong and use more moral reasoning than European American and majority status peers (Crystal et al., 2008). What remained unknown was if this effect was about the salience of race in the interracial encounter heightening the wrongfulness of the act, according to African American children or if African American children evaluate exclusion, overall, to be more wrong than European American children. Findings revealed that the interracial composition of the encounter was being used by African American children in their evaluations, yet more so in when evaluating the wrongfulness of exclusion than the likelihood of inclusion, where racial composition mattered less.

This, however, was not the case for European American participants (especially adolescents), who viewed inclusion as more likely in same-race than in interracial peer encounters, and thought exclusion was just as wrong across the two contexts. Thus, while European American participants thought same-race inclusion was more likely than interracial, when exclusion occurred in both instances, they thought it would be just as wrong for a European American children to exclude an African American peer, as would the exclusion of a European American peer. Past research has documented the difference in how European American and African American children evaluate interracial exclusion. For instance, Killen and Stangor (2001) found African American children to evaluate interracial exclusion to be more wrong and used more empathy in their reasoning, than

did European American children, even when the rationale for interracial exclusion was a conventional and not race-based. This novel, finding can also be explained, in the context of research on discrimination and racial socialization, that finds African American children to develop different intergroup attitudes based on experiences of discrimination and more social messages about their own racial group, than their majority-status peers (Beaton et al., 2012).

While children's reasoning did not also fall along racial lines, novel findings for reasoning were that participants, who rejected exclusion, highlighted the importance of making decisions independent from external pressure as well as the harm and general wrongfulness of exclusion on the part of the rejected child. Children who favored exclusion, appealed to the need for keeping one's friend comfortable, rather than introduce him or her to the new peer. Thus, Hypotheses 1 and 3 were partially confirmed, in that European American participants were more optimistic of same-race inclusion and more condoning of interracial exclusion than were African American children. The external pressure of peers was salient in children's favorable evaluations of exclusion and the moral valence of rejection was most salient for those evaluated exclusion as wrong.

However, not all acts of exclusion are overt. Research has examined how children weigh multiple claims in intergroup contexts, finding that, with age, children gain understanding of complex peer group dynamics and show increasing deference to peer norms, adhering to group loyalty (Abrams et al., 2008; Hitti & Killen, 2015; Nesdale et al., 2005). While adolescents are found to weigh varying social dimensions in their evaluations (Killen et al., 2012) do they take the same considerations across same-race and interracial encounters? What remained unknown was if these differences across peer-

rejection and interracial exclusion persisted in more complex peer encounters –such as when friends make attributions about a peer, non-friend. Thus, the current study addressed this gap by testing how children and adolescents differ in their expectations of inclusion and evaluations of exclusion in covert peer rejection and interracial encounters. It was expected that African American participants, who often experience discrimination, would view interracial social situations as a proxy for bias or racial prejudice, even when additional, non-race based motives for exclusion were be present (Ruck et al., 2014). Given that a stereotypical attributions is made in the peer covert (Lunch) encounter; African American adolescents were expected to view covert interracial inclusion as less likely than their younger counterparts, but like younger children, they would view interracial exclusion as unwarranted. European American participants were expected to be more optimistic about same-race than interracial inclusion and would be more permissive of interracial exclusion, using more psychological (autonomy) reasoning.

A central novel finding was that African American participants were more optimistic about covert interracial than same-race inclusion and viewed exclusion in both compositions to be just as wrong overall. This finding is interesting, in that African American children (who were equally optimistic about same-race and interracial inclusion in the overt context, mentioned above) showed more optimism about interracial inclusion than same-race in this covert encounter. Were African American participants unduly optimistic in the interracial, covert encounter what might explain their making a difference between the racial compositions of the encounter?

This finding is important because while acts of intergroup social exclusion may appear to be interpersonal choice about inter-individual treatment, the acceptance of such

exclusion (especially that based on group membership) can promote the acceptance of exclusion, discrimination, and victimization at the societal level (Killen, Mulvey et al., 2013). In extreme cases of ongoing intergroup conflict, intergroup exclusion can pave the way for outgroup demoralization (Brenick & Killen, 2014). Thus, the covert nature of the encounter may have been too subtle, and participants may not have perceived the stereotypic attribution ("he's loud and angry") as such. To this point, adolescents and children did not significantly differ in their proportion use of Exclusion, Pressure and Trait Attributions. Yet, younger children and African American participants discussed the physical opportunity for inclusion (an open seat), while this rationale was not used as often among their older counterparts and European American children.

Taken together, African American and European American children and adolescents differed in their expectations of inclusion. European American participants were more positive about same-race than interracial inclusion and the opposite was found for African American participants. Yet, ratings of exclusion did not always differ as a function of participant race. Thus, findings for Hypotheses 2 and 4 were partially confirmed. On average, children evaluated covert exclusion from a seat at lunch as bad. The absence of an interaction for participant race in their evaluations of exclusion, in the covert context, is hopeful.

Lastly, findings comparing how children perceive the covert or overt form of the peer message are important, as children's actual peer social interactions are complex (Abrams & Rutland, 2008). Age-related differences in children's evaluations of overt and covert suggested that, with age, children had lowered expectations about the prospect of inclusion occurring. This is consistent with research in subjective group dynamics that

finds adolescents to be more permissible of social exclusion given the frequency of its occurrence and older children's increased capacity to understand the role of group needs social decisions (Abrams et al., 2008; Hitti & Killen, 2015; Nesdale et al., 2005). Thus, this finding about older children being overall less optimistic about inclusion, is consistent with research in social reasoning developmental perspective that shows, with age, children weigh peer group-specific needs over individual preferences (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Killen et al., 2012).

Source of the Message

Children's peer interactions and friendship decisions occur in myriad settings where children must negotiate competing interests of peers and adults and in contexts varied in intimacy (e.g., school vs. home). Given the wealth of research on parent socialization, much is known about the importance of parent messages (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Hughes, 2003; Pahlke et al., 2012), yet little has examined how children may differentially weigh parent attitudes in an interracial encounter (e.g., a parent's attitudes about inclusion of a peer in to the home) from peer attitudes (e.g., a friend's attitudes about inclusion of a peer in a social activity at school).

The novel findings of this study regarding the source of the message, were that while participants thought inclusion to a social activity in the home when parent messages were involved was less likely than inclusion to an activity at school when peer messages were involved, European American participants also evaluated exclusion from an activity in the home was more warranted than peer exclusion. Thus, for European American participants, not only was inclusion in the parent context less likely to occur, but exclusion from such was more permissible. This partially confirms Hypothesis 5, that

African American participants would not differ across status context, yet contrary to expectations, European American participants were more positive about peer than parent inclusion. African American and European American children had the same expectations about interracial inclusion. Children differed in their use of Wrongfulness of Exclusion/Merits of Inclusion. Children who expected parent overt (Sleepover) inclusion to be likely used more moral reasoning than those who thought it not likely. While there were no differences in its use in the peer context. Children who were optimistic about inclusion also highlighted the importance of making decisions independent from external pressure and highlighted the importance of being inclusive, while children who did not expected inclusion appealed the needs of the parent. This is consistent with research in social domain theory, finding children from many different of cultures to identify the personal domain as existing beyond the parameter of authority regulation, and with age are found to reason with appeals to personal choice and autonomy (Helwig, Ruck, & Peterson-Badali, 2014; Yau & Smetana, 2003).

Comparing peer and parent sources of the message, did children think inclusion of a peer, non-friend would be just as likely when parents (vs. friends) have made attributions about this target? In Hypothesis 6, adolescents were expected to be less optimistic about parent inclusion and evaluation exclusion in this context to be more wrong than children with younger African American children driving this effect. Consistent with overall expectations, findings revealed that participants were more positive about inclusion occurring in at the lunch table in a peer setting, than at a birthday party in the home. This confirms expectations that African American participants would be less optimistic about interracial parent inclusion, which may also be attributed to their

evaluations being of outgroup, European American, parents. In the same-race context, European American participants differentially evaluated the likelihood of inclusion by peer and parent status contexts. Overall, participants referenced more moral concerns about the need to be inclusive in peer settings and used more conventional and psychological reasoning about pressure and autonomy in the parent setting (Helwig et al., 2014).

Interracial Contact and Racial Identity

Examining children and adolescents' intergroup relationships is vital to understanding the origins and effects of racial bias and prejudice. High quality, cross-ethnic peer relationships are known to benefit the development of children in many ways. The most frequently documented benefits are in the domain of intergroup attitudes (Aboud & Sankar, 2007; Feddes, Noack, & Rutland, 2009; Killen & McGlothlin 2006 & 2010; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Research support Allport's (1954) hypothesis that equal and personalized relationships are the most robust form of contact to promote harmony due to stereotype reduction and other psychological mediating processes. However, research also shows an asymmetry by racial and ethnic groups (e.g., Feddes, Noack, & Rutland, 2009; Killen & McGlothlin, 2010), such that effects for contact among African American children and ethnic minority groups is rarely found (Ruck et al., 2014). Surprisingly, given that much is known about the role of racial identity in predicting African American children's perceptions of prejudice (Hughes et al., 2009; Neblett et al., 2012). Rather than assuming intra-group homogeneity, among ethnic minority groups, this null finding for contact among minority status children could suggest additional factors that affect their outgroup attitudes, such as the role of racial and ethnic identity.

Yet, few studies have examined *how* identity matters for African American children's intergroup relationships (with the exception of McGill, Way & Hughes, 2012; Phinney et al., 2007; Yip & Douglass, 2011). None have examined how racial identity and interracial contact matter for both African American and European American children's expectations for interracial inclusion in their daily lives.

Thus, the current study tested this research asymmetry in the literature, predicting interracial contact to predict variance in European American participants' expectations of interracial inclusion. Variance was also expected across Public Regard for African American children with racial identification predicting additional variance for both African American and European American participants. Novel findings for the regression models showed African American participants with higher Public Regard, stronger racial group identifications, and greater Interracial Contact to have greater expectations about interracial inclusion occurring at school and in the home. Thus, expectations were partially confirmed. While the dimensions of racial identity were strong predictors, literature would have suggested Interracial Contact, would not have account for variance (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Killen et al., 2007).

Thus, contrary to expectations, findings revealed that interracial contact mattered for both African American and European American participants. Although few studies have document contact effects, one such study found African American students with high levels of interracial contact more likely to acknowledge the wrongfulness of race-based exclusion than their same-race peers with low levels of intergroup contact (Ruck et al., 2014). Consistent with Ruck et al., (2014) contact was associated with interracial expectations and in addition to predicting level of wrongfulness of discrimination (Ruck

et al., 2014) it also predicted optimism for inclusion even more strongly from African Americans high in Public Regard. Another recent study, Shelton, Douglass, Garcia, Yip & Trail (2014), found racial and ethnic minority adolescents who had few European American friends and limited contact with European American peers, felt less understood (e.g., less validated and appreciated) during daily interracial interactions. By contrast, ethnic minorities who had more European American friends and frequent interactions, felt more understood (Shelton et al., 2014). This novel finding documents important within-group differences among African American youth, with regard to the influence of intergroup contact on evaluations of interracial inclusion. Given that, prejudice and bias can be observed at a very young age, there is a necessity for research addressing within-group variability in ethnic minority populations (Cabrera, 2013; Garcia Coll, 2015). This finding beings to address this gap by integrating theories in ethnic and racial identity development (ERI) to further understand *how* these issues matter for African American youth. Thus, in conjunction with recent research, these data demonstrate the beneficial effects of intergroup friendships for African American children and adolescents.

Additionally, consistent with expectations, another novel finding was that Interracial Contact did account for variance in European American children's estimations of Frequency of Interracial Peer- and Parent-Inclusion. This finding is consistent with past research finding that European American and majority status children with interracial friendships to have more positive outgroup attitudes and evaluate interracial exclusion to be more wrong (Crystal et al., 2008; Killen & McGlothlin, 2006; Killen & Stangor, 2001). Research that has shown the contexts in which peer interactions help to reduce prejudice –when intergroup friendships foster empathy, perspective-taking and a

position to challenge stereotypic expectations (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Thus, this finding both replicates and extends the literature by demonstrating that greater interracial contact predicts greater expectations about the frequency of interracial inclusion. Taken together, African American and European American children with greater interracial contact viewed interracial inclusion to be a normative interaction that happens often in and outside of school.

Lastly, Strength of Identification did not significantly predict variance in European American participants' estimations of interracial inclusion. Literature on social identity's role in interracial attitudes is mixed. While some studies have demonstrated that that high levels of ingroup identification and exclusive group norms can lead to outgroup dislike (Abrams et al., 2008; Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005), others have found strong ingroup identification to promote positive outgroup attitudes (e.g., Phinney et al., 2007). Given that no one study has examined how identification may predict variance on children's expectations for interracial *inclusion*, perhaps identification is more relevant to evaluations of the severity or wrongfulness of exclusion than expectations for interracial inclusion –associated but distinct constructs.

Summary and Implications

Even in its midlist forms, bias can have negative consequences for the victim of bias (Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Kaiser et al 2009; Kiang et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2008; Seaton et al., 2012; Szalacha et al., 2003) for the child espousing prejudice, and broadly for children's intergroup social interactions (Crystal et al., 2008; Mendes et al., 2007; Pettigrew et al., 2011; Rutland et al., 2005). Also beginning early in childhood is a developing sense of identity based on affiliation with parents and peers groups where by

the child's environment gives evaluative meaning to his or her racial and ethnic identity (Neblett et al., 2012; Ruble et al., 2004; Seaton et al., 2012; Umaña-Taylor, 2012). African American, and other ethnic minority children, gain awareness of their own racial and ethnic group membership they too become aware of prejudice –all too often by way of being the target of bias (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009).

A large body of research on prejudice development has examined many facets of the emergence of prejudice, including stereotyping (Ruble et al., 2006), prejudicial attitudes (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011), discrimination (Brown & Bigler, 2005), implicit bias (Baron & Banaji, 2006; Rutland, Cameron, Milne, & McGeorge, 2005), categorization (Bigler & Liben, 2006), group identity (Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, & Griffiths, 2004) and social exclusion (Hitti, Mulvey, & Killen, 2011; Horn, 2008; Killen & Rutland, 2011). Intergroup research has identified social exclusion, as a complex peer encounter that can function as an act of bias. Research has tested children's judgments, evaluations and social reasoning about the conditions in which exclusion is legitimate or wrong, as well as how they make attributions of intentions in encounters that involve many possible motives (e.g., Crystal et al., 2008). Yet, no systemic investigation has been conducted to test *how* all children understand intergroup interactions and the specific criteria used discern an instance of social exclusion from an act of bias. What features of these social encounters (e.g., the racial composition of the interaction, the overt or covert form of the message and the peer or parent status) give children optimism about inclusion and the impetus to reject exclusion when it occurs? In addition to the encounter, what are the individual-level traits (e.g., child race, age, level of interracial contact and racial identity concept) that give children a unique purview of these peer interactions?

The current study sought to answer these questions by examining children and adolescents' evaluations of interracial and same-race inclusion and exclusion from a social reasoning developmental (SRD) perspective, finding that while African American children were often optimistic about inclusion, when exclusion occurred they evaluated interracial exclusion to be more wrong. On the whole children evaluated exclusion to be wrong, yet unlike African American children, European American children evaluated same-race and intergroup exclusion to be just as wrong. Thus, race appeared to be more salient in peer contexts for African American participants, as all children evaluated exclusion as more warranted and inclusion less likely in parent encounters –occurring in more intimate home settings. Both African American and European American children shared cynicism when adult attitudes were present. Lastly, interracial contact and identity showed to be critical features that gave children optimism about interracial inclusion in their daily lives. European American children with high contact and African American children with high contact, public regard and identification were more likely to expect interracial inclusion to occur. Findings point to the importance of creating spaces for youth to have meaningful interactions with other of different racial and ethnic groups and also build positive concepts of group affiliation.

This study contributes to research examining the process by which children acquire these acute social skills. Understanding the consequences of one's actions for others is a complex aspect of moral development, and inserting social cognition about peers and parent claims makes the task for the child that much more complicated. Thus, results from this study will provide much needed evidence for creating effective teaching and parenting tools, such as lesson plans around culture and identity to promote the

quality of interracial interactions. Additionally, parents, children and teachers will benefit from this information. Findings from this study highlight the need for providing students opportunities for positive interracial contact and the importance positive parental attitudes endorsing interracial encounters as these may effect children's evaluations and judgments about interracial inclusion and exclusion. The study contributes to the existing literature and to efforts promoting positive peer environments by providing novel information about the contexts that heighten and reduce the permissibility of exclusion and age-related changes there in.

Research in this field is very promising and has opened the doors to the developmental sources of prejudice, and the role that interracial contact, knowledge of group dynamics, parent socialization and racial identity have in enabling individuals to reject acts of bias and discrimination. To determine how best to reduce prejudice is an important goal, and one that moral developmental research can directly address. Therefore, it is imperative the future research continues to examine how children understand intergroup interaction and moral development in this domain before adulthood, whereas change is still possible and rapidly occurring.

The task for developmental research is to understand what factors contribute to children's behavior and judgments that result in prejudicial (and non-prejudicial) treatment as well as the differential role of peers and adults in this process. The challenges are great given that societal messages are often designed to perpetuate the status quo, established hierarchies, and power arrangements. Yet, findings from the current study suggest this field may benefit from including children's evaluations of

parental biases and intergroup attitudes and testing what it is about the intergroup nature

of exclusion that informs children's evaluations.

Tables

Table 1
Sample Distribution

| | Group membership and survey version | | | |
| | African American | | European American | |
Age	Version 1	Version 2	Version 1	Version 2
9- to 10-years	21	23	31	26
13- to 14-years	26	29	27	21

Note. Participants who self-identified as multiracial or were not of African American or European American descent were interviewed but excluded from analyses. Version 1 = interracial peer stories, same-race parent stories. Version 2 = same-race peer stories, interracial parent stories.

Table 2
Sample Distribution by School Demographics

| | Racial composition of schools | | |
Participant Race	Majority European American (> 51%)	Racially diverse school	Majority African American (> 51%)
African American	27 (27%)	23 (23%)	49 (49%)
European American	90 (86%)	5 (5%)	10 (9%)

Note. Numbers indicate the number of participants in each school type. Participants were recruited from schools ranging in racial diversity. The majority of European American participants (86%) attended majority European American schools; African-American participants attending schools with a range of racial and ethnic school compositions.

Table 3
Research Study Design

Source of the message	Racial composition by form of message			
	Interracial		Same-race	
	Overt	Covert	Overt	Covert
Peer	V1–S1	V1–S2	V2–S1	V2–S2
Parent	V2–S3	V2–S4	V1–S3	V1–S4

Note. All participants received both interracial and same-race stories, as well as peer and parent source of the message contexts, for a between-subjects design. Each participant receives Version 1 (V1) or Version 2 (V2) to evaluate 4 stories. S1– S4 = Stories 1– 4: S1 = Peer overt (Bus); S2 = Peer covert (Lunch); S3 = Parent overt (Sleepover); S4 = parent covert (Party).

Table 4
Proportion of Reasoning for Likelihood of Inclusion

		Not Likely			Likely		
		Exclusion M*(SD)*	Pressure M*(SD)*	Autonomy M*(SD)*	Exclusion M*(SD)*	Pressure M*(SD)*	Autonomy M*(SD)*
Race	Age						
African American	9-yrs	—	.88*(.35)*	—	.24*(.30)*	.37*(.30)*	.27*(.43)*
	13-yrs	.22*(.41)*	.78*(.43)*	—	.36*(.42)*	.36*(.46)*	.22*(.30)*
European American	9-yrs	.09*(.34)*	.91*(.44)*	—	.24*(.36)*	.37*(.46)*	.22*(.42)*
	13-yrs	.22*(.47)*	.56*(.43)*	.22*(.36)*	.26*(.38)*	.32*(.43)*	.36*(.40)*

Note. Peer overt (Bus) story *N* = 202.

		Not Likely				Likely			
		Exclusion M*(SD)*	Pressure M*(SD)*	Trait Attrib M*(SD)*	Utility M*(SD)*	Exclusion M*(SD)*	Pressure M*(SD)*	Trait Attrib M*(SD)*	Utility M*(SD)*
Race	Age								
African American	9-yrs	—	.45*(.47)*	.36*(.45)*	—	.18*(.37)*	.17*(.37)*	.08*(.25)*	.45*(.51)*
	13-yrs	—	.56*(.49)*	.26*(.42)*	—	.34*(.47)*	.48*(.50)*	.11*(.28)*	—
European American	9-yrs	—	.72*(.45)*	.13*(.34)*	—	.22*(.39)*	.38*(.47)*	.07*(.24)*	.06*(.23)*
	13-yrs	—	.69*(.46)*	.14*(.33)*	—	.29*(.45)*	.45*(.51)*	.16*(.36)*	.03*(.19)*

Note. Peer overt (Lunch) story *N* = 203.

		Not Likely			Likely		
		Exclusion M*(SD)*	Pressure M*(SD)*	Autonomy M*(SD)*	Exclusion M*(SD)*	Pressure M*(SD)*	Autonomy M*(SD)*
Race	Age						
African American	9-yrs	—	1.00*(.00)*	—	.14*(.14)*	.43*(.49)*	.32*(.23)*
	13-yrs	—	.88*(.33)*	.04*(.04)*	.21*(.21)*	.45*(.49)*	.24*(.41)*
European American	9-yrs	.06*(.24)*	.88*(.33)*	—	.13*(.13)*	.49*(.47)*	.16*(.39)*
	13-yrs	—	.86*(.35)*	.05*(.05)*	.17*(.17)*	.29*(.45)*	.48*(.43)*

Note. Parent overt (Sleepover) story *N* = 203.

		Not Likely			Likely		
		Pressure M*(SD)*	Autonomy M*(SD)*	Trait Attrib M*(SD)*	Pressure M*(SD)*	Autonomy M*(SD)*	Trait Attrib M*(SD)*
Race	Age						
African American	9-yrs	.77*(.42)*	—	.17*(.36)*	.27*(.42)*	.11*(.31)*	.21*(.40)*
	13-yrs	.84*(.36)*	—	.10*(.31)*	.40*(.49)*	.15*(.37)*	.23*(.43)*
European American	9-yrs	.87*(.35)*	—	—	.38*(.48)*	.05*(.22)*	.18*(.38)*
	13-yrs	.90*(.25)*	—	.10*(.25)*	.38*(.47)*	.25*(.42)*	.08*(.24)*

Note. Parent covert (Party) story *N* = 202.

Table 5

Proportion of Reasoning for Evaluation of Exclusion

Race	Age	Bad Exclusion M(SD)	Bad Pressure M(SD)	Bad Autonomy M(SD)	Good Exclusion M(SD)	Good Pressure M(SD)	Good Autonomy M(SD)
African American	9-yrs	.53(.47)	.31(.42)	.16(.36)	.17(.35)	.72(.44)	—
	13-yrs	.44(.44)	.35(.42)	.15(.36)	.13(.23)	.88(.23)	—
European American	9-yrs	.67(.44)	.21(.37)	.03(.16)	.23(.41)	.73(.41)	—
	13-yrs	.48(.45)	.31(.41)	.10(.31)	.14(.29)	.81(.35)	—

Note. Peer overt (Bus) story $N = 202$.

Race	Age	Bad Exclusion M(SD)	Bad Pressure M(SD)	Bad Autonomy M(SD)	Bad Utility M(SD)	Good Exclusion M(SD)	Good Pressure M(SD)	Good Autonomy M(SD)	Good Utility M(SD)
African American	9-yrs	.51(.49)	.17(.33)	.04(.17)	.13(.33)	.50(.71)	.50(.71)	—	—
	13-yrs	.45(.49)	.21(.40)	.07(.25)	.09(.28)	.29(.49)	.29(.49)	.29(.49)	—
European American	9-yrs	.51(.50)	.12(.32)	—	.14(.34)	—	.50(.58)	.50(.58)	—
	13-yrs	.51(.49)	.22(.41)	.12(.32)	.07(.24)	.10(.32)	.40(.52)	.20(.42)	—

Note. Peer covert (Lunch) story $N = 202$.

Race	Age	Bad Exclusion M(SD)	Bad Pressure M(SD)	Good Exclusion M(SD)	Good Pressure M(SD)
African American	9-yrs	.36(.47)	.42(.47)	——	.81(.39)
	13-yrs	.52(.44)	.38(.45)	.06(.22)	.86(.34)
European American	9-yrs	.30(.45)	.39(.49)	.15(.33)	.73(.41)
	13-yrs	.54(.52)	.19(.38)	.07(.25)	.90(.29)

Note. Parent overt (Sleepover) story $N = 203$.

Race	Age	Bad Exclusion M(SD)	Bad Pressure M(SD)	Bad Autonomy M(SD)	Bad Trait Attrib M(SD)	Good Exclusion M(SD)	Good Pressure M(SD)	Good Autonomy M(SD)	Good Trait Attrib M(SD)
African American	9-yrs	.41(.47)	.29(.43)	.09(.26)	.06(.24)	.06(.18)	.44(.50)	—	.38(.44)
	13-yrs	.43(.49)	.46(.49)	.03(.17)	.03(.17)	—	.68(.48)	.11(.32)	.21(.42)
European American	9-yrs	.37(.46)	.17(.35)	.08(.26)	.10(.29)	—	.70(.48)	.10(.32)	.10(.32)
	13-yrs	.29(.45)	.46(.49)	.10(.28)	.08(.27)	.10(.30)	.57(.51)	.05(.22)	.10(.30)

Note. Parent covert (Party) proportion of reasoning for evaluation of exclusion ($N = 199$)

Table 6
Factor Loadings

	Strength of Identification	Communalities
1. How much do you feel [racial group].	.826	.479
2. How proud are you about being [racial group].	.817	.682
3. How important to you is it that you are [racial group].	.809	.667
4. How much do you like or not like being [racial group].	.692	.654

Note. Strength of Identification (*N* = 203)

	Public Regard	Communalities
1. Most people think that [people of my group] are just as smart as people of other groups.	.852	.693
2. People think that [people of my group] are just as good as people of other groups.	.832	.725
3. People from other ethnic and racial groups think that [people of my group] have done important things.	.630	.397

Note. Public Regard (*N* = 203).

	Interracial Contact	Communalities
1. Think about your good friends at school. How many of your friends are from a different ethnic or racial group than you?	.829	.687
2. Think about your good friends at who don't go to your school. How many of your, outside of school, are from a different ethnic or racial group than you?	.776	.602
3. How many students in your school are from an ethnic or racial group that is different from your own?	.621	.589
4. Now, think about your neighborhood. How many people in your neighborhood are from a different ethnic or racial group than you?	.657	.432

Note. Interracial Contact (*N* = 198).

Table 7
Correlations among Variables for African American Participants

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Interracial peer inclusion	–				
2. Interracial parent inclusion	.60**	–			
3. Public Regard	.27**	.22*	–		
4. Interracial Contact	.43**	.30**	.16	–	
5. Strength of Identification	–.01	–.14	.29**	0.16	–
M (*SD*)	4.51 (1.35)	4.46 (1.46)	3.74 (.96)	4.08 (1.02)	4.51 (.65)

Note. ($N = 99$) Identification and Public Regard (Likert $1 - 5$) Interracial Contact, Peer and Parent Inclusion (Likert $1 - 6$). *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

Table 8
Correlations Among Variables for European American Participants

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Interracial peer inclusion	–				
2. Interracial parent inclusion	.68**	–			
3. Public Regard	.17	.13	–		
4. Interracial Contact	.40**	.37**	.01	–	
5. Strength of Identification	.09	–.02	.30**	–.11	–
M (*SD*)	4.69 (1.28)	4.46 (1.38)	4.04 (.82)	3.43 (1.16)	3.80 (.88)

Note. ($N = 105$) Identification and Public Regard (Likert $1 - 5$) Interracial Contact, Peer and Parent Inclusion (Likert $1 - 6$). *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

Table 9

Results of Regressing Frequency of Interracial Inclusion on Interracial Contact, Public Regard and Strength of Identification

Independent variables	B (SE)	β
African American		
Step 1 $\Delta R^2 = .17,\ p < .001$		
Interracial Contact	.490 (.12)	.40***
Step 2 $\Delta R^2 = .21,\ p < .001$		
Interracial Contact	.490 (.12)	.40***
Public Regard	.337 (.16)	.26**
Step 3 $\Delta R^2 = .25,\ p < .001$		
Interracial Contact	.490 (.12)	.40***
Public Regard	.337 (.16)	.26**
Identification	−.428 (.184)	−.22*
European American		
Step 1 $\Delta R^2 = .17, p < .001$		
Interracial Contact	.428 (.096)	.42***

Note. ($N = 203$) *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

Figures
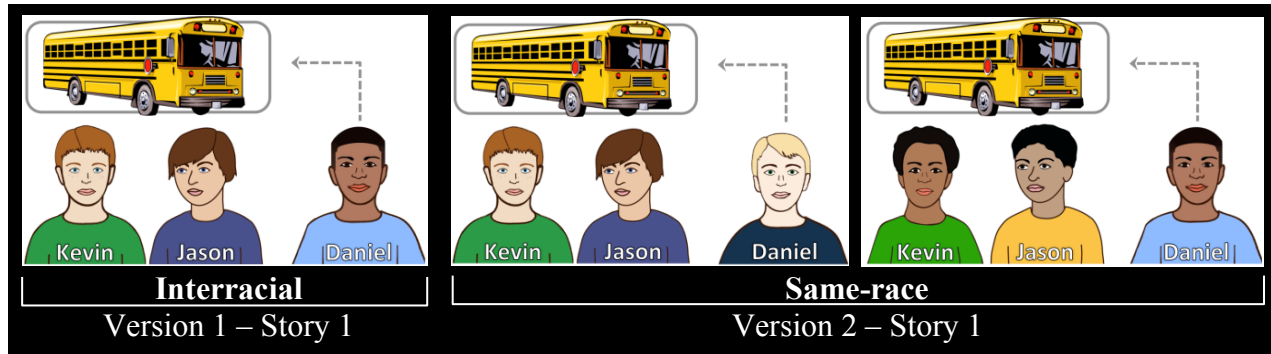
Figure 1. Racial Composition of the Encounter Stimuli. Overt peer (Bus) story stimuli, showing example of version manipulation. © Illustration by Joan M. K. Tycko. © Instrument by Shelby P. Cooley and Melanie Killen
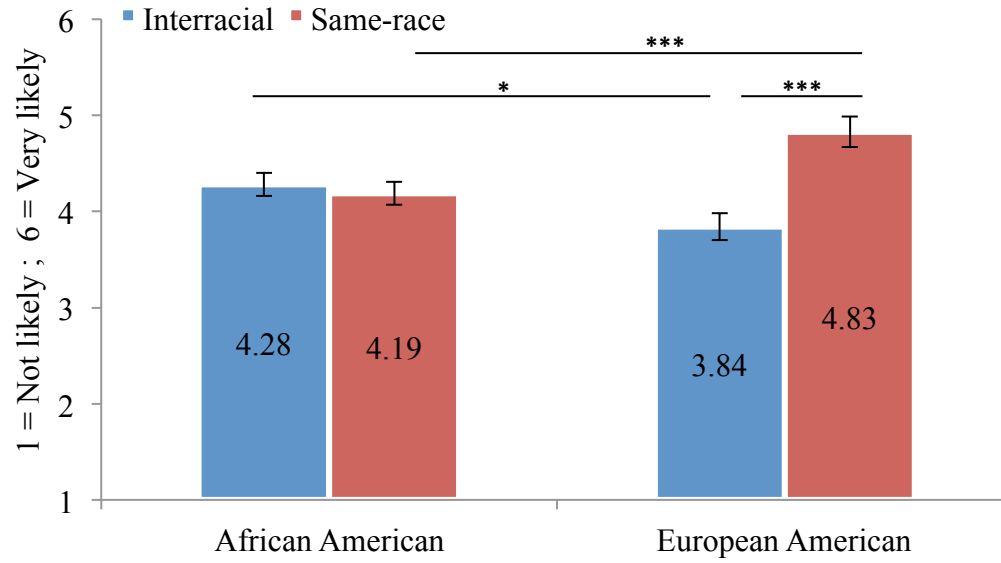
Figure 2. Likelihood of inclusion in peer overt (Bus) story by racial composition and participant race. Higher scores indicate greater likelihood of inclusion. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean and *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
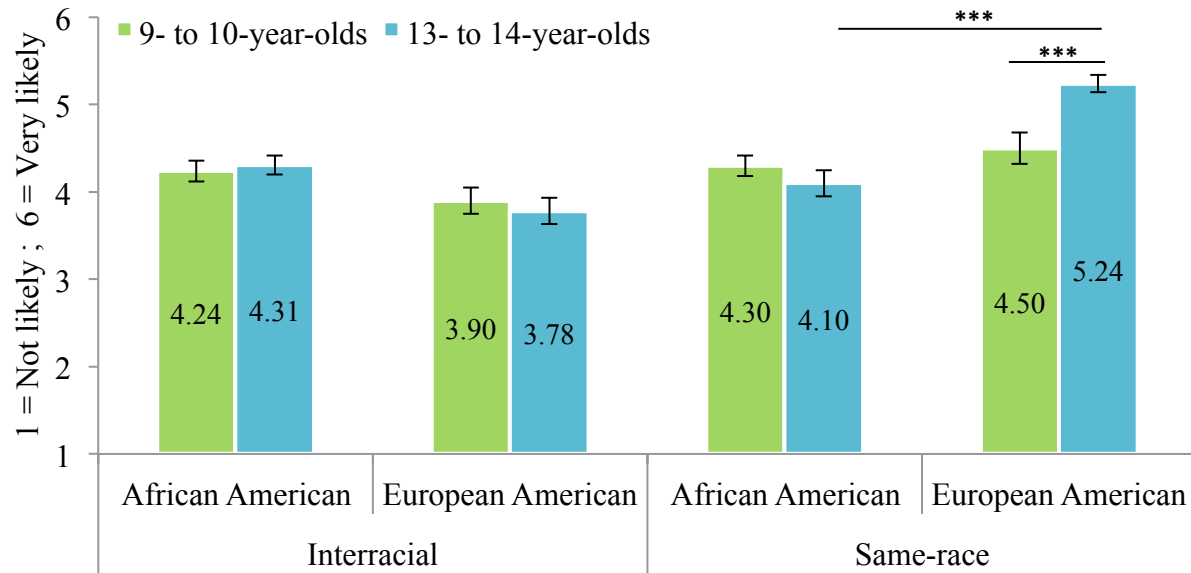
Figure 3. Likelihood of inclusion in peer overt (Bus) story by racial composition, age and participant race. Higher scores indicate greater likelihood of inclusion. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean and *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
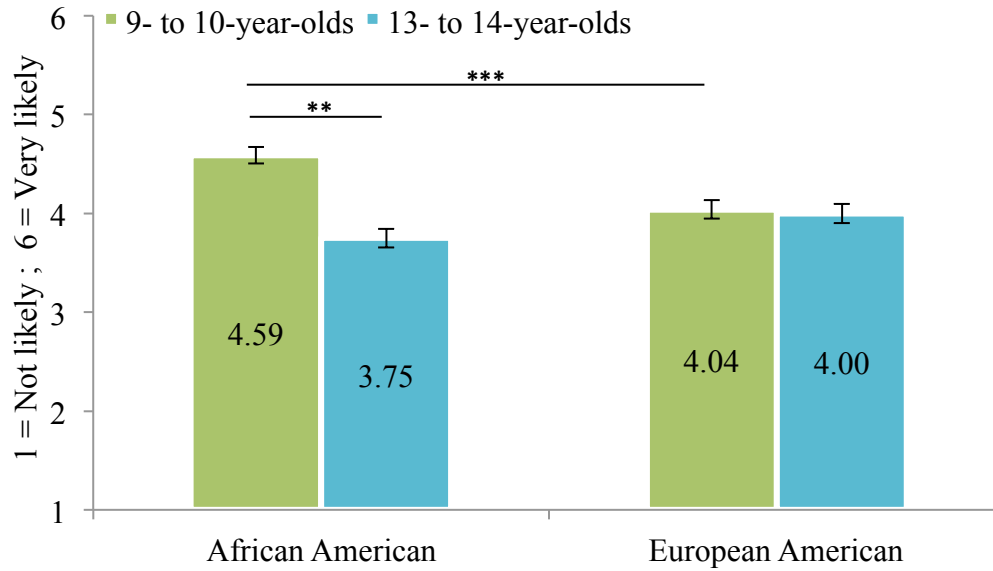
Figure 4. Likelihood of inclusion in peer covert (Lunch) story by age and participant race. Higher scores indicate greater likelihood of inclusion. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean and *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
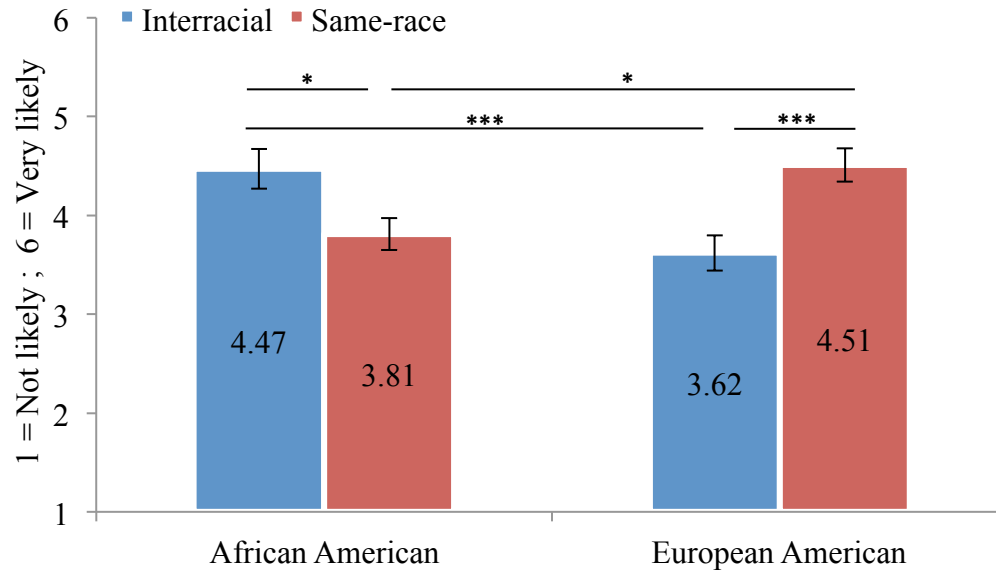
Figure 5. Likelihood of inclusion in peer covert (Lunch) story by racial composition and participant race. Higher scores indicate greater likelihood of inclusion. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean and *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
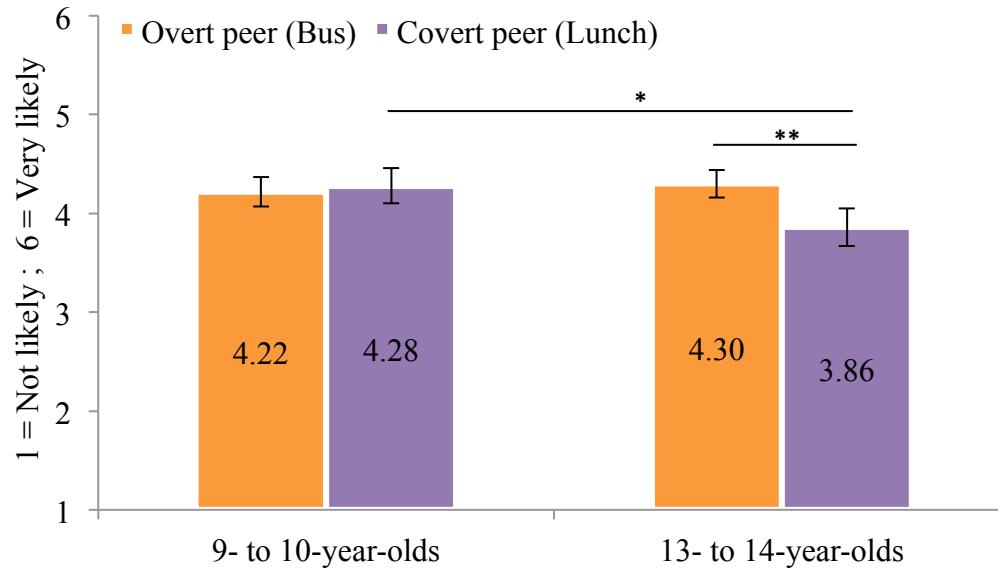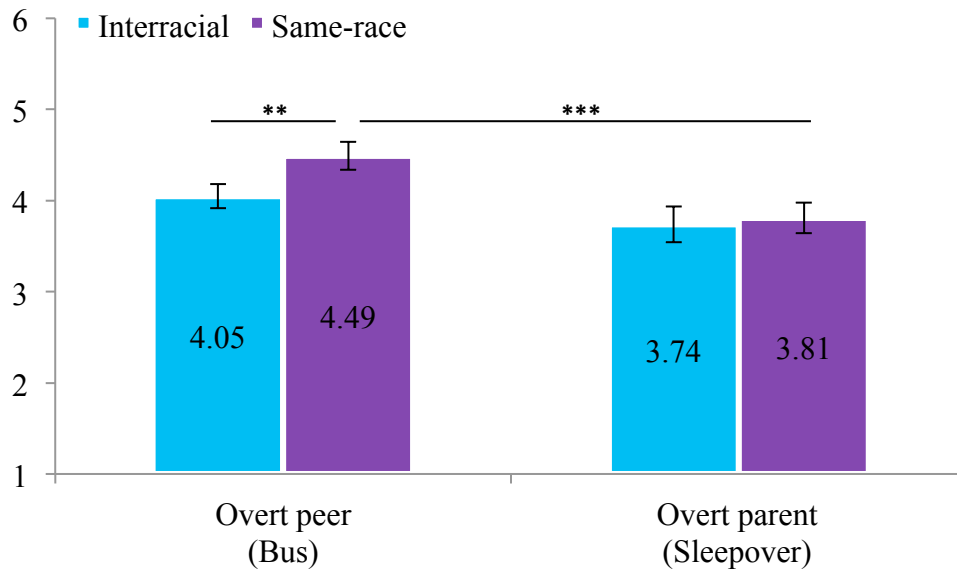
Figure 6. Likelihood of peer inclusion by form of message and participant age. Higher scores indicate greater likelihood of inclusion. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean and *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.
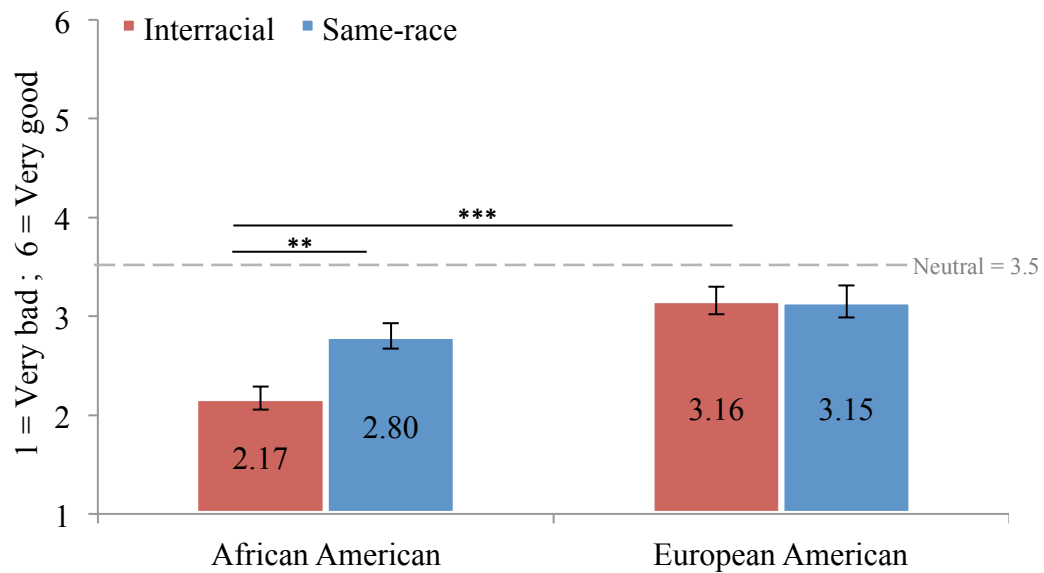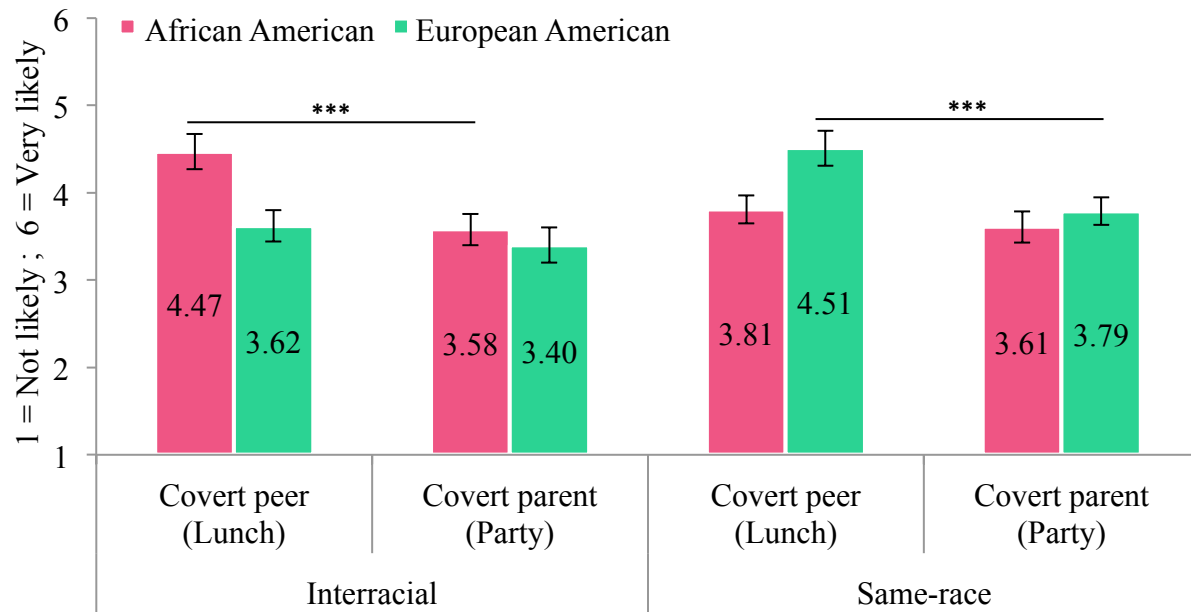
Figure 7. Permissibility of exclusion in peer overt (Bus) story by racial composition and participant race. Higher scores indicate greater permissibility of exclusion. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean and *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$. Horizontal line indicates scale midpoint (representing neutral).
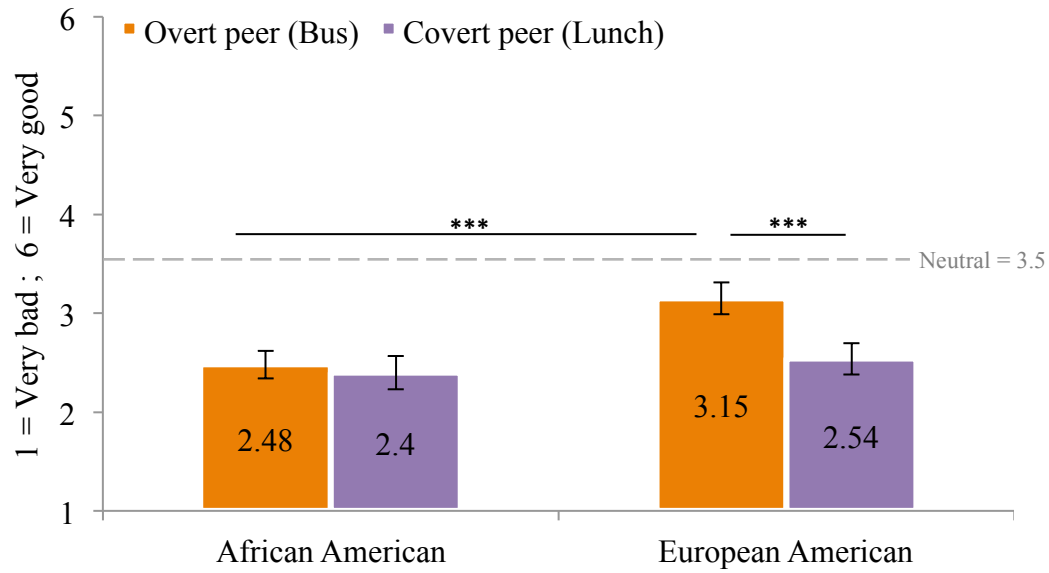
Figure 8. Evaluation of exclusion by participant race and form of message. Higher scores indicate greater permissibility of exclusion. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean and *p* < .05, **p* < .01, ***p* < .001. Horizontal line indicates scale midpoint (representing neutral).
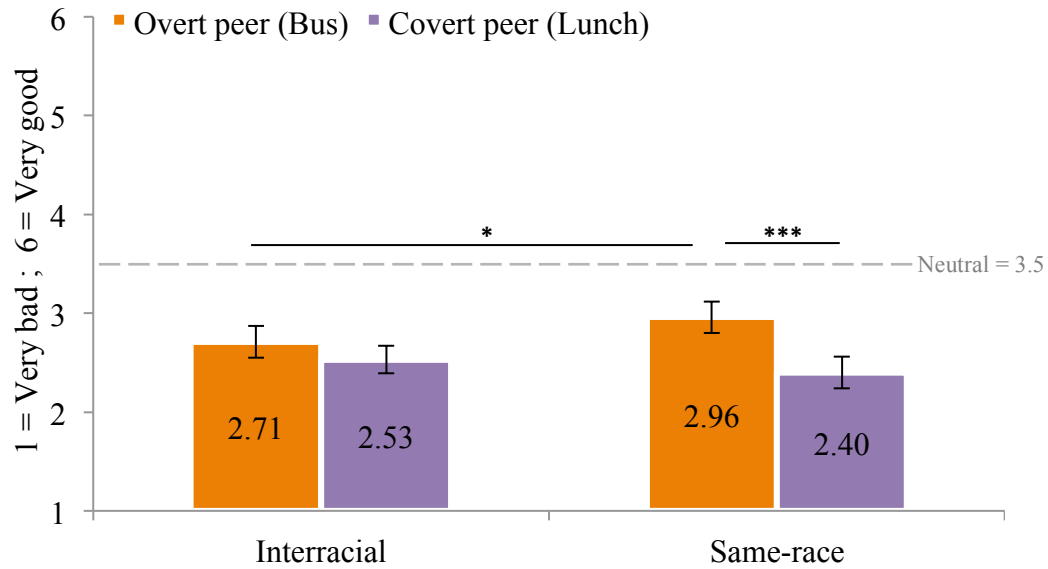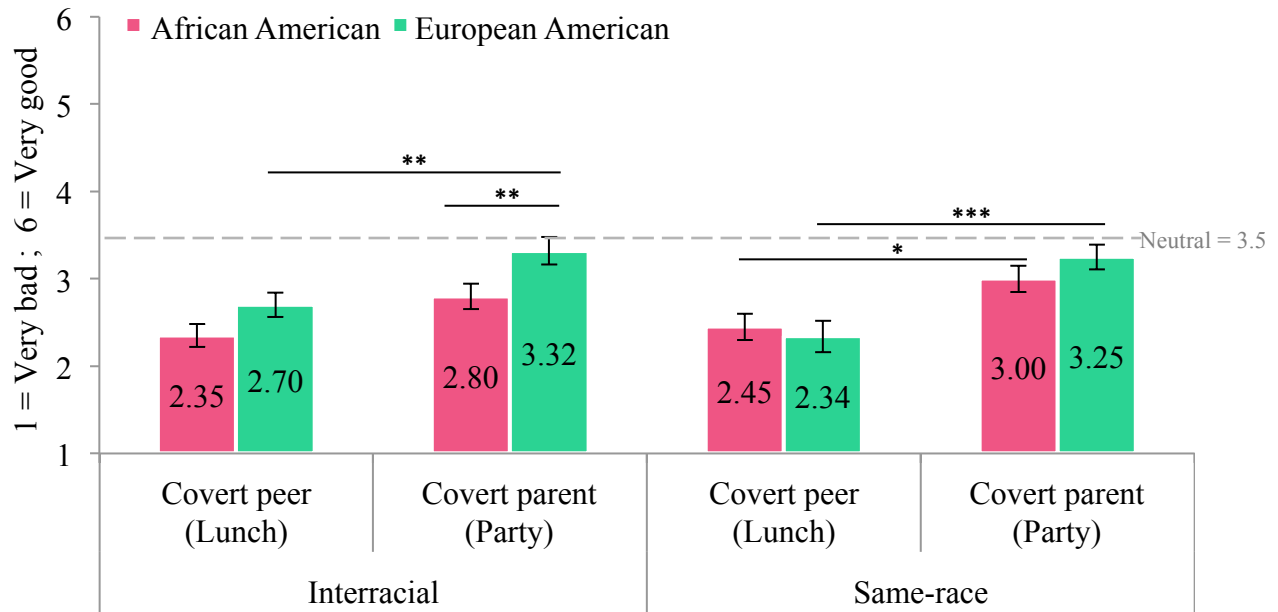
Figure 9. Permissibility of exclusion by racial composition and form of message. Higher scores indicate greater permissibility of exclusion. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean and *p* < .05, **p* < .01, ***p* < .001. Horizontal line indicates scale midpoint (representing neutral).
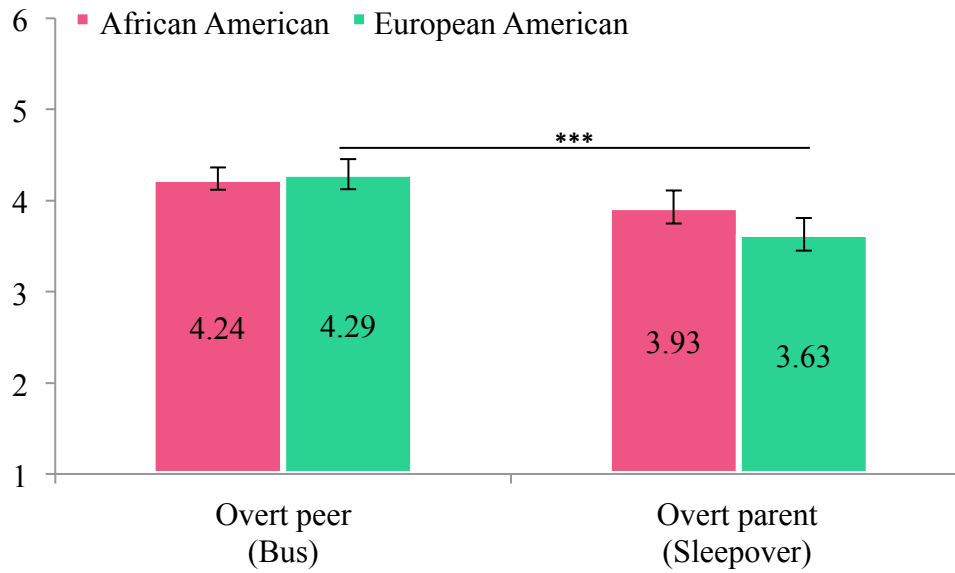
Figure 10. Likelihood of inclusion in overt stories by participant race and peer/parent source of the message. Higher scores indicate greater likelihood of inclusion. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean and *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Figure 11. Likelihood of inclusion in overt stories by racial composition and peer/parent source of the message. Higher scores indicate greater likelihood of inclusion. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean and *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

Figure 12. Likelihood of inclusion in covert stories by racial composition peer/parent source of message and participant race. Higher scores indicate greater permissibility of exclusion. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean and *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Figure 13. Permissibility of exclusion in covert stories by racial composition, peer/parent source of message and participant race. Higher scores indicate greater permissibility of exclusion. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean and *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$. Horizontal line indicates scale midpoint (representing neutral).

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Email: mkillen@umd.edu

Dear Parents or Guardians:

We are conducting a study on how children from 9- to 10-years old make decisions about peer relationships and friendships. We would like to ask for your permission for your son or daughter to participate in this project on social development.

We are investigating children's and adolescents' evaluations about social relationships, and issues that arise regarding inclusion and exclusion. If you choose to have your child participate, he or she will read hypothetical stories using brightly illustrated pictures and asked about 4 different situations of peer exclusion (e.g., one child in the story excludes another from a lunchroom table or from sitting near them on the bus and we ask children what they think about this decision). Participating children will be asked why they think exclusion happened and their interpretations of the hypothetical character's intentions. We vary the ethnicity of the children in the stories. All children evaluate same-gender story characters. Prior to the survey, we tell all children that there are no right or wrong answers and that we are interested in children's ideas about peer interactions. This study is not clinical or diagnostic and data is reported in aggregate, examining age-related changes in evaluations of these peer dynamics.

Trained research assistants from the University of Maryland will administer the survey. The survey administration will be planned so that your child does not miss any classroom instruction. The survey is a one-time administration and will take about 20 minutes to complete. All surveys will be completed in small group settings and participation is strictly voluntary. All information is confidential.

Children who have participated with us in the past have found our surveys to be a fun experience. **Please look over the description on the <u>reverse side</u> of this letter. If you are willing to have your child participate in the project, please fill out the information and return the form to the director.**

The information from our past research and our work with children and schools has helped teachers, policy makers, counselors and school administrators design curriculum and interventions to promote mutual respect among children and positive social environments for all children. This research project has been approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Maryland. We thank you, in advance, for reading this letter, and for your willingness to allow your daughter/son to participate.

Sincerely,

Melanie Killen

Melanie Killen, Ph.D.
Professor of Human Development and Quantitative Methodology
Associate Director, Center for Children, Relationships, and Culture

Project Title	Children and adolescent's interpretations of peer-based social exclusion [Approval 10-10-13: [513424-1]
Purpose of the Study	This research is being conducted by Dr. Melanie Killen at the University of Maryland. We are inviting your child to participate in this research project because he/she is between the ages of 9- to 10-years-old. We are conducting this project to better understand how children interpret intentions in peer social interactions. We are also interested in the role of groups, on how children justify or reject the decisions hypothetical peer groups to exclude others, and how children's social experience contributes to their evaluations of such exclusion.
Procedures	Trained research assistants from the University of Maryland, College Park, will administer the survey and will be available to answer any questions. Sessions will be conducted with groups of 4-6 children at a time, during school hours in a quite, private room as identified by the school administrator (e.g., an available library classroom). Teachers will identify the best times for your child to be taken out of the classroom. This minimizes classroom disruption and ensures that your child is not missing important instruction. Your child will be told hypothetical stories using brightly illustrated pictures and asked about 4 different situations of peer exclusion (e.g., if one child excludes another from a lunchroom table or from sitting near them on the bus?). Your child will be asked why they think exclusion happened, their interpretations of the hypothetical character's intentions and why. We will vary the ethnicity of the children in the picture cards and children will be evaluating same gender characters. There are no right or wrong answers. We are learning about children's interpretations of peer interactions with age and how children are reasoning the evaluations they make. Additionally, to ensure the racial and ethnic diversity of participants in the study, children will also be asked demographic information such as their gender, as well as their racial and ethnic identity.
Potential Risks & Discomforts	There are no known risks to participating in this research project.
Potential Benefits	This research is not designed to help your child personally, but to help us learn about children's use of justifications and reasoning to make decisions in peer contexts. This is a form of social knowledge, and will help us learn more about what think about social relationships and how this might change with age. We hope that in the future, teachers, parents and childcare workers will be able to learn from this research and use it to help improve children's social experiences.
Confidentiality	We will do our best to keep your child's personal information private. Your child's name will not be attached to the survey. Your child will be given an ID number. We will not share your child's answers with anyone, including teachers, principal, or parents. When we write a report or article about this research project, your child's identity will be protected as much as possible. Your child's survey will be stored in a locked file and data on a password-protected drive, to which only current, trained research assistants will have access. Surveys will be destroyed in a University paper shredder after 5 years of the project's completion. Your child's information may be shared with representatives of the University of Maryland, College Park or governmental authorities only if your child or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law.
Medical Treatment	The University of Maryland does not provide any medical, hospitalization or other insurance for participants in this research study, nor will the University of Maryland provide any medical treatment or compensation for any injury sustained as a result of participation in this research study, except as required by law.
Right to Withdraw & Questions	Your child's participation is completely voluntary. Your child can ask any questions at any time. Your child may decide to stop participating at any time and it will not affect his or her grades and he or she will not be penalized or lose any benefits. Participation is not a school or class requirement. If you decide to have your child stop taking part in the study, if you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or if you need to report an injury related to the research, please contact the investigator, **Dr. Melanie Killen**, a professor in the Department of Human Development at the University of Maryland, College Park. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Dr. Killen at: **Department of Human Development & Quantitative Methodology • 3304 Benjamin Building, College Park, MD 20742-1131 • 301-405-3176 • mkillen@umd.edu**
Participant Rights	If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or wish to report a research-related injury, contact: University of Maryland College Park Institutional Review Board Office 1204 Marie Mount College Park, Maryland, 20742. E-mail: **irb@umd.edu;** Telephone: **301-405-0678**. This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.
Statement of Consent	Your signature indicates that you are at least 18 years of age; you have read this consent form or have had it read to you; your questions have been answered to your satisfaction and you voluntarily agree to allow your child to participate in this research study. You will receive a copy of this signed consent form. If you agree to allow your child to participate, please sign below.

| **Signature & Date**

*Questionnaire items 6 – 8 are optional | **1. Child's Name** [Print]

2. Child's Birthday ___ / ___ / _____ <br> month day year

3. Parent's Name [Print]

4. Parent's Signature

5. Today's Date ___ / ___ / _____ <br> month day year

6. Language(s) spoken at home* | **7. Race/ethnicity of <u>CHILD</u>, check all that apply***
☐ Black • African American
☐ White • European American
☐ Latino • Hispanic
☐ Asian American • Pacific Islander
☐ Native American
☐ Multiracial • Multiethnic
☐ Other _____

8. Parental Education, highest degree attained*
Mother Father
☐ ☐ High school diploma or G.E.D
☐ ☐ Some College
☐ ☐ College Degree (B.A., B.S)
☐ ☐ Graduate Degree (M.A., Ph.D.) |

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

DATE: October 14, 2014

TO: Melanie Killen
FROM: University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB

PROJECT TITLE: [513424-3] Children and adolescent's interpretations of peer-based social
                    exclusion
REFERENCE #:
SUBMISSION TYPE: Continuing Review/Progress Report

ACTION: APPROVED
APPROVAL DATE: October 14, 2014
EXPIRATION DATE: October 10, 2015
REVIEW TYPE: Expedited Review

REVIEW CATEGORY: Expedited review category # 7

Thank you for your submission of Continuing Review/Progress Report materials for this project. The
University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB has APPROVED your submission. This approval is
based on an appropriate risk/benefit ratio and a project design wherein the risks have been minimized. All
research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

Prior to submission to the IRB Office, this project received scientific review from the departmental IRB
Liaison.

This submission has received Expedited Review based on the applicable federal regulations.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the project and
insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form. Informed consent must
continue throughout the project via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Unless
a consent waiver or alteration has been approved, Federal regulations require that each participant
receives a copy of the consent document.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by this committee prior
to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

All UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS involving risks to subjects or others (UPIRSOs) and SERIOUS and
UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported promptly to this office. Please use the appropriate
reporting forms for this procedure. All FDA and sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed.

All NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this project must be reported promptly to this
office.

This project has been determined to be a Minimal Risk project. Based on the risks, this project requires
continuing review by this committee on an annual basis. Please use the appropriate forms for this
procedure. Your documentation for continuing review must be received with sufficient time for review and
continued approval before the expiration date of October 10, 2015.

Generated on IRBNet

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of seven years after the completion of the project.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRB Office at 301-405-4212 or irb@umd.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

Appendix B

Hypotheses for Racial Composition of the Peer Encounter

Overt Peer (Bus) Likelihood of Inclusion

Hypothesis 1.1 Accept	In evaluations of the likelihood of inclusion for the overt peer encounter, an interaction effect for participant race × age × racial composition of the encounter is predicted, such that European American participants will be more positive about same-race inclusion than interracial inclusion, with European American children showing a greater distinction. African American children and adolescents are not expected to differ in their evaluations across same-race and interracial compositions. Younger African American children are expected to be overall more positive in both while African American adolescents are expected to be closer to neutral in their expectations of inclusion
Hypothesis 1.2 Accept	In reasoning about likelihood, an interaction effect for dichotomous Likelihood of Inclusion × reasoning is expected. Children who are more positive about inclusion are expected to use more moral reasoning about merits of inclusion while children who are less positive are expected to use more conventional reasoning about preserving appealing to an uncomfortable friend.
Hypothesis 1.3 Reject	The effect for moral reasoning is expected to be driven by African American participants. An interaction effect for dichotomous Likelihood of Inclusion × participant race × reasoning is expected such that, African American children who thought inclusion was likely are expected to use more moral reasoning than European American participants who gave the same, "likely" evaluation. African American and European American participants who evaluated inclusion as "unlikely" are not expected to differ in their proportion use of conventional reasoning.

Covert Peer (Lunch) Likelihood of Inclusion

Hypothesis 2.1 Partial	In evaluations of the likelihood of inclusion for the covert peer encounter, an interaction effect for participant race × age × racial composition of the encounter is predicted. Similar to predictions in the peer overt encounter, European American participants are expected to be more positive about same-race inclusion than interracial inclusion, with European American children showing a greater distinction. Yet, while African American children are expected to be just as positive across both racial compositions, African American adolescents are expected to be less favorable of the interracial covert encounter as stereotypes are present in one of the attributions.
Hypothesis 2.2 Accept	In reasoning about likelihood, an effect for dichotomous Likelihood of Inclusion × reasoning is expected. Children who are more positive about covert inclusion are expected to use more moral reasoning about merits of inclusion as well as psychological reasoning about acting independently from a peer group, while children who are less positive are expected to use more conventional reasoning about preserving the friend group.

Hypothesis 2.3	An additional interaction effect for dichotomous Likelihood of Inclusion × participant race × reasoning is expected such that, African American children who thought inclusion was likely are expected to use more moral and psychological (autonomy) reasoning, than European American participants who also rated inclusion as "likely". African American and European American participants who thought inclusion was unlikely are not expected use autonomy reasoning or to differ in their proportion use of conventional reasoning.
Accept	

Overt and Covert Peer (Bus and Lunch) Likelihood of Inclusion

Hypothesis 2.4	In examining likelihood of inclusion in overt and covert peer encounters, an interaction effect for form of message (over vs. covert) × participant race × racial composition is expected, such that African American participants will be more positive about overt inclusion than covert. European American participants will not differ in their expectations about overt and covert encounters, and they are expected to be overall more favorable of same-race encounters than interracial in both forms of the message contexts, than African American participants.
Partial	

Overt Peer (Bus) Evaluation of Exclusion

Hypothesis 3.1	In evaluations of the wrongfulness (or permissibility) of overt peer exclusion, an interaction effect for participant race × age × racial composition of the encounter is predicted, such that African American participants will evaluate interracial exclusion as more wrong than same-race exclusion, with younger African American participants evaluating it to be more wrong than their older counterparts. European American participants are expected to be more favorable of exclusion than African American participants and are not expected to significantly differentiate same-race and interracial compositions.
Partial	

Hypothesis 3.2	In reasoning about exclusion, an interaction effect for dichotomous Evaluation of Exclusion × reasoning × participant race is expected. Participants who are more favorable of exclusion are expected to use conventional reasoning appealing to an uncomfortable friend as well as appeals to autonomy in the decision to exclude. Participants who evaluated exclusion to be wrong will use moral reasoning about the psychological harm of being excluded, with African American participants using more than their European American peers.
Partial	

Covert Peer (Lunch) Evaluation of Exclusion

Hypothesis 4.1	In evaluations of the wrongfulness (or permissibility) of covert peer exclusion, an interaction effect for participant race × age × racial composition of the encounter is predicted, such that African American participants evaluate interracial exclusion as more wrong than same-race exclusion. However, given the salience of stereotypes in the interracial covert encounter, this effect will be driven by African American adolescents evaluating it to be more wrong than their younger counterparts. European American participants are expected to be more favorable of exclusion than African American participants and are not expected to significantly differentiate same-race and interracial compositions.
Reject	

Hypothesis 4.2   In reasoning about exclusion, an interaction effect for dichotomous Evaluation of
Exclusion × reasoning is expected. Participants who are more favorable of exclusion
are expected to use conventional reasoning appealing to an uncomfortable friend as
well as appeals to autonomy in the decision to exclude. Participants who evaluated
exclusion to be bad will use moral reasoning about the psychological harm of being
excluded.

Accept

Hypothesis 4.3   Given the presence of stereotypes in this vignette an additional interaction effect is
expected for Dichotomous Evaluation of Exclusion × reasoning × race of
participant. African American participants who evaluated exclusion as "bad" are
expected to use more moral reasoning than European American participants who
gave the same evaluation. African American and European American participants
who evaluated exclusion to be good are not expected to differ in their proportion use
of conventional reasoning.

Reject

Overt and Covert Peer (Bus and Lunch) Evaluation of Exclusion

Hypothesis 4.4   In examining evaluations of exclusion in overt and covert peer encounters, an
interaction effect for form of message (over vs. covert) × participant race × racial
composition is predicted. African American participants are expected to evaluate
interracial covert exclusion to be more wrong than same-race and more wrong than
the overt context. European American participants will not differ in their
expectations about overt and covert encounters, and they are expected to be overall
more favorable of same-race encounters than interracial in both form of message
contexts, than African American participants.

Partial

Hypotheses for Source of the Message

Peer and Parent Overt (Bus and Sleepover) Likelihood of Inclusion

Hypothesis 5.1   In examining likelihood of inclusion in peer and parent overt encounters, an
interaction effect for status context (parent vs. peer) × age × racial composition ×
participant race, such that adolescents will be overall more positive about parent
inclusion than peer inclusion, however this effect will be driven by European
American adolescents participants evaluating same-race inclusion. African
American adolescents will be less positive about parent interracial parent inclusion
than their younger counterparts.

Partial

Hypothesis 5.2   In reasoning about the likelihood of inclusion in the overt parent context, an effect
for dichotomous Likelihood of Inclusion × reasoning × age is expected.
Adolescents who are more positive about overt parent inclusion are expected to use
more psychological reasoning about acting independently from parents, while
children who evaluated parent inclusion to be not likely are expected to use more
conventional reasoning about not wanting the parent to be uncomfortable.

Partial

Peer and Parent Overt (Bus and Sleepover) Evaluation of Exclusion

Hypothesis 5.3   In evaluations of the wrongfulness (or permissibility) of exclusion between the peer and parent overt encounters, an interaction effect for status context (parent vs. peer) × age × racial composition × participant race is expected. In the same-race context, adolescents will overall be more permissible of peer exclusion than will younger children, while younger children will be more permissible of parent exclusion than will adolescents. This age-related pattern is expected in the interracial context for European American children and adolescents. However, in the interracial context African American children and adolescents evaluate exclusion to be just as wrong in peer and parent contexts.

Reject

Hypothesis 5.4   In participants' reasoning about exclusion in the overt parent context, an effect for dichotomous Evaluation of Exclusion × reasoning × age is expected. Adolescents who evaluated overt parent exclusion as "bad" are expected to use more psychological reasoning about acting independently from parents, while children who evaluated parent exclusion to be good are expected to use more conventional reasoning about not wanting the parent to be uncomfortable.

Accept

Peer and Parent Covert (Lunch and Party) Likelihood of Inclusion

Hypothesis 6.1   In examining likelihood of inclusion in peer and parent covert encounters, an interaction effect for status context (parent vs. peer) × age × racial composition × participant race, is expected. Opposite to expectations for overt parent inclusion, adolescents are expected be to be more sensitive to the negative trait attributions of the covert context. Overall adolescents will be less positive in both parent and peer. Younger children are expected to be more positive about peer inclusion than parent inclusion. Additionally, African American adolescents will be less positive about parent interracial inclusion than their younger counterparts.

Accept

Hypothesis 6.2   In reasoning about the likelihood of inclusion in the covert parent context, an effect for dichotomous Likelihood of Inclusion × reasoning × age is expected. Similar to expectation for the overt parent context, adolescents who evaluated about covert parent inclusion as likely are expected to use more psychological reasoning about acting independently from parents and while children who evaluated covert inclusion as likely will use more moral reasoning about wrongfulness of making negative attributions. Both children and adolescents who evaluated parent inclusion to be not likely are expected to use more conventional reasoning about conforming to parent desires.

Partial

Peer and Parent Covert (Lunch and Party) Evaluation of Exclusion

Hypothesis 6.3   In evaluations of the wrongfulness (or permissibility) of exclusion between the peer and parent covert encounters, an interaction effect for status context (parent vs. peer) × age × racial composition × participant race is expected. Consistent with likelihood of inclusion, adolescents are expected be to be more sensitive to the complexity of this encounter and negative trait attribution is expected to be more salient. Overall, adolescents will evaluate exclusion in the parent context to be more wrong than in the peer context. This effect is expected to be driven by African American adolescents, less positive about parent interracial parent inclusion than their younger counterparts.

Partial

Hypothesis 6.4   In participants' reasoning about exclusion in the covert parent context, an effect for dichotomous Evaluation of Exclusion × reasoning × age is expected. Adolescents who evaluated covert parent exclusion as "bad" are expected to use more psychological reasoning about acting independently from parents, while children who evaluated parent exclusion to be good are expected to use more conventional reasoning about conforming and parent attributions.

Partial

Hypotheses for Interracial Contact and Racial Identity

Hypothesis 7.1   Consistent with research in social reasoning developmental perspective, including findings in intergroup contact literature, an asymmetry in the role of intergroup contact and participant race status, it was predicted that Interracial Contact would predict more variance in European American children's Frequency of Interracial Inclusion estimations than in those of African American participants. Additionally, correlational analyses will reveal a positive association among Interracial Contact and inclusion estimations, such that children with more interracial contact will expect interracial inclusion to occur more often than children with lower reported contact.

Partial

Hypothesis 7.2   In examining the role of racial identity on children's intergroup perceptions, it is expected that Public Regard will predict more variance in African American children's Frequency of interracial inclusion estimations than in those of European American participants. Additionally, correlational analyses will reveal a positive association between Public Regard and Frequency of Interracial Inclusion, such that children with more positive expectations for group stats will expect interracial inclusion to occur more often than children with lower Public Regard.

Confirm

Hypothesis 7.3   To understand the role of identity using a social reasoning developmental perspective measure, Strength of identification will also be included in the model. It is expected that Strength of identification will predict more variance in both African American and European American children's Frequency of interracial inclusion estimations.

Partial

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