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> CHAPTER FOUR

Social Exclusion Based on Group Membership is a Form of Prejudice

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Abstract

Children around the world are affected by bias, prejudice, and discrimination. In this chapter, we argue that intergroup social exclusion—exclusion of peers on the basis of group membership—is a form of prejudice. As such, research efforts should be directed at uncovering the negative intergroup attitudes that sustain these behaviors,

and encouraging the development of children's capacity to resist biases in favor of inclusion and just treatment of others. In order to interpret what is known about intergroup social exclusion in childhood, as well as identify compelling issues for current investigation, we introduce our integrative social reasoning developmental model, which emphasizes how children weigh moral and social concerns in everyday peer contexts. This chapter emphasizes three areas of research that have contributed to understanding social inclusion and exclusion decisions in childhood which include the roles of: (1) intergroup contact and friendship, (2) peer group norms, and (3) messages from parents and teachers. While providing a background on the state of research to date, this chapter also pinpoints recent work, shedding new light on the complex interplay of moral reasoning and intergroup attitudes in children's inclusion and exclusion decisions.

1. INTERGROUP SOCIAL EXCLUSION AS A FORM OF PREJUDICE

Children around the world are affected by bias, prejudice, and discrimination (Killen, Rutland, & Ruck, 2011). National and international policies on child well-being focus on promoting the rights of all children regardless of religion, nationality, race, gender, sexual orientation, or (dis)ability. Unfortunately, exclusion on the basis of group memberships like these is a common experience in children's social lives (Killen & Rutland, 2011). While many laws have changed to promote freedom from prejudicial attitudes and behaviors, the psychological attitudes that reflect discriminatory and biased viewpoints are still ubiquitous in our society (Verkuyten, 2011). In fact, social exclusion in childhood and adolescence is not limited to issues of large-scale inequalities in access to resources and opportunities for certain social groups. Many children regularly face exclusion from peer groups in everyday life due to stereotypes, biases, and prejudice that children themselves hold, and perpetuate, in their peer world. Thus, understanding the origins of these attitudes is essential for promoting change.

This is important because children who are excluded by peers due to their social group membership are at risk for negative psychological outcomes. For example, children and adolescents who are the targets of prejudice and discrimination, including exclusion, report elevated rates of anxiety, depression, and substance abuse, as well as decreased academic motivation (Douglass, Yip, & Shelton, 2014; Neblett, White, Philip, Nguyên, & Sellers, 2008; Seaton, Yip, Morgan-Lopez, & Sellers, 2012). Though most research has focused on the detrimental impact of exclusion on children who are the

targets of prejudicial attitudes, in fact, children who reject friendships with others because of their own biases and stereotypes also face negative consequences. Positive participation in diverse social groups has both individual and societal benefits, as it promotes academic success and productive work experiences in adulthood (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006; Tatum, 2003; Wilson & Rodkin, 2011).

Social exclusion is harmful, both for children who are excluded and for children who perpetuate stereotypes and biases through daily interactions. In this chapter, we argue that intergroup social exclusion—or social exclusion on the basis of group membership—is a form of prejudice. As such, research efforts should be directed at uncovering the negative intergroup attitudes that sustain these behaviors, as well as highlighting children's capacity to resist biases in favor of inclusion and fair treatment of others (Abrams & Killen, 2014; Rutland & Killen, 2015). Children are both the victims and the perpetrators of social exclusion. Yet they are also moral agents with developing abilities to reason about equity, justice, and inclusion, and developing capacities to act on their convictions.

From early childhood through adolescence, children must navigate a social world with conflicting messages about inclusion and exclusion. They hear disparate messages from peers, parents, teachers, and the media on a daily basis, while also forming their own conceptions of group identity, group membership, and friendship based on personal interactions (Killen, Elenbaas, & Rutland, 2015; Killen, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2015; Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010). In fact, children's capacity to weigh positive messages about equality against negative messages about status and group-specific stereotypes is the focus of our ongoing research in this area.

In this chapter, we will outline our perspective on intergroup social exclusion as a form of prejudice, highlighting closely related work on the detrimental impact of discrimination on child development. Because our empirical research program examining intergroup social exclusion also spotlights children's capacity to *include*, we will introduce the integrative theoretical model that has guided our work in this area, bridging research on children's social development and moral development. Many aspects of social life revolve around determining who will be included or excluded in various personal, group, community, and institutional contexts. This model provides a framework for interpreting what is known in this area thus far, and for identifying the most robust constructs and necessary considerations for investigation regarding children's everyday decisions about inclusion and exclusion.

In particular, we will emphasize three areas of research that have made major contributions to understanding social inclusion and exclusion decisions in childhood and adolescence. We aim to present a broad and balanced perspective on the role of intergroup contact and friendships, the role of peer group norms, and the role of parents and teachers in contributing to inclusion and exclusion in childhood. While providing a background on the state of research to date, each of these three sections will also pinpoint very recent research in this area. These studies, emphasized later, shed new light on pressing issues of inclusion and exclusion, and complex interplay of moral reasoning and intergroup attitudes in children's decisions.

1.1 Recognizing Intergroup Social Exclusion in Childhood

As previously mentioned, many children regularly face exclusion from social and peer groups because of stereotypes, biases, and prejudice. Yet, most of the research on peer relations and exclusion in childhood has focused on instances where children are rejected because of individual personality traits like extreme shyness or aggressiveness. These two research foci, the former on *intergroup social exclusion* (the topic of this chapter) and the latter on *interpersonal peer rejection*, represent different views on exclusion in childhood.

Recently, Killen, Mulvey, and Hitti (2013) outlined the key differences between these two views. Developmental research on interpersonal rejection has documented how patterns of victimization and bullying behavior reflect individual differences in children's temperament, attachment, confidence, and social–cognitive skills like intention attribution (Dodge et al., 2003; Gunnar, Sebanc, Tout, Donzella, & van Dulmen, 2003; Ladd, 2006; Masten et al., 2009). For example, children who are extremely shy, fearful, and wary are more vulnerable to victimization, whereas children who are highly externalizing are at risk for becoming bullies (Hodges, Boivin, Vitaro, & Bukowski, 1999; Olweus, 1993; Rubin et al., 2006). Intergroup social exclusion, by contrast, refers to instances when children are excluded by peers based on their group membership. That is, social exclusion is a form of prejudice and discrimination whereby children face rejection because of their gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or another type of group membership (Horn & Sinno, 2014).

Accordingly, research on intergroup social exclusion has investigated social processes like group identity, ingroup bias, outgroup threat, and stereotypes, rather than individual differences in personality or traits that make certain children more vulnerable to exclusion. In fact, whereas

developmental outcomes for interpersonally rejected children are improved by interventions targeting children's social skills, competence, and resilience (Bierman, 2004; Rubin et al., 2006), intervention programs addressing intergroup social exclusion aim to increase awareness for all children by reducing systemic prejudice and bias (Rutland & Killen, 2015).

Importantly, with age, children and adolescents make this differentiation between interpersonal rejection and intergroup social exclusion when judging the legitimacy of these distinct exclusion contexts. That is, children from multiple cultures and countries (for a review, see Helwig, Ruck, & Peterson–Badali, 2014) reason that intergroup exclusion (based on social groups like gender, nationality, and culture) is unfair, and interpret interpersonal rejection (on the basis of traits such as shyness) either as a conventional issue pertinent to the functioning of the group or in terms of individual choice and autonomy.

1.1.1 Prevalence of Social Exclusion in Development

In many cases, however, intergroup social exclusion is covert or subtle, and decisions regarding whom to include or exclude from a group invoke complex issues at the intersection of fairness, group identity and dynamics, and individual prerogatives. In intergroup contexts, biases can often influence one's decison–making, resulting in the exclusion of children who do not match the group on a dimension like religion, race, or gender.

Exclusive intergroup attitudes, including stereotypes and prejudice, have been examined extensively in adult populations for more than 50 years (Dovidio, Glick, & Rudman, 2005; Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, & Estes, 2010). Yet biases, and exclusion resulting from biases, emerge in childhood and develop in adolescence. In fact, stereotypes and assumptions about groups are reflected in children's peer interactions from as early as the preschool years (Bigler & Liben, 2006; Rutland et al., 2010).

Intergroup social exclusion has been widely documented in countries around the world and is disproportionally experienced by children and adolescents from cultural minority groups as well as by girls and nonheterosexual youth (Møller & Tenenbaum, 2011; Nesdale, 2004; Verkuyten, 2008). Likewise experiences of social exclusion occur from early childhood through adolescence. For instance, even preschoolers have been found to use gender stereotypes about activity preferences to determine whether a boy or a girl should be allowed to join a play group (Killen, Pisacane, Lee-Kim, & Ardila-Rey, 2001; Theimer, Killen, & Stangor, 2001).

1.2 Consequences of Intergroup Social Exclusion in Childhood

Thus, intergroup biases that promote exclusion emerge early in development, in most societies around the world, and often persist across childhood and adolescence. As a result, many children—both excluded and excluders—miss opportunities for positive development through friendships and interaction with others from diverse backgrounds. Most research on the impact of intergroup social exclusion has focused on the detrimental outcomes of discrimination, including exclusion, for children who are members of stigmatized groups. This research highlights both the prevalence and impact of social exclusion as a form of prejudice.

Because participation in peer groups and friendships is an important part of social life, prolonged experiences of exclusion can be very harmful for children's well-being. Children who are the targets of persistent exclusion and prejudicial attitudes are at risk for elevated experiences of anxiety, depression, and substance abuse, as well as decreased academic motivation (Douglass et al., 2014; Neblett et al., 2008; Seaton et al., 2012). For example, in the United States, Asian-American and Latino adolescents report being the target of more instances of discrimination and exclusion than do European-American adolescents (Huynh & Fuligni, 2010). Likewise, higher rates of reported discrimination among these groups are associated with lower grade point averages and self-esteem, as well as higher depressive symptomology, distress, and physical complaints (Huynh & Fuligni, 2010). As another example, Latino and African-American adolescents attending majority European-American schools report more exclusion and social stress than peers from the same racial or ethnic background attending diverse schools, indicating that children from minority racial or ethnic groups are at increased risk for exclusion in more homogeneous social environments (Graham, Bellmore, Nishina, & Juvonen, 2009). Further, females are under-represented in academic, professional, and political positions (Horn & Sinno, 2014).

Thus, many of the detrimental impacts of social exclusion on development have been clearly identified; prolonged experiences of exclusion harm children psychologically and physically. Positive intergroup social experiences, by contrast, promote academic success and productive work experiences in adulthood (Buhs & Ladd, 2001; Coie, Terry, Lenox, & Lochman, 1995; DeRosier, Kupersmidt, & Patterson, 1994; Orfield & Lee, 2005; Prinstein & Aikins, 2004).

1.3 Combating Exclusion Through Consideration of Fairness

Because of the prevalence, early emergence, and persistence of intergroup biases throughout development, it is imperative for research to address children's perspectives on intergroup social exclusion in order to understand why, and under what circumstances, children and adolescents exclude peers on the basis of group membership. Until children are able to develop meaningful relationships with others from different backgrounds, detect and discourage exclusive attitudes in their peers, and understand what makes intergroup social exclusion wrong, progress toward true equity in development will be limited (Ruck & Tenenbaum, 2014; Tatum, 2003; Wilson & Rodkin, 2011).

Fortunately, as members of social groups, children often seek a balance between social and group concerns and moral concerns regarding the just treatment of others. That is, children do not always hold stereotypes, enforce exclusive norms, or reject peers on the basis of biases or prejudice. In fact, there are times when children strongly favor of inclusion and equality (Killen, Elenbaas, et al., 2015; Smetana, Jambon, & Ball, 2014). This is because, at the same time that biases and prejudice are emerging and developing, children are also developing their moral concerns for the well-being of others.

In fact, one of the significant developmental processes that enables children to be inclusive, rather than exclusive, is the emergence of conceptions of fairness, justice, and rights (Killen & Smetana, 2015). Alongside research on the early origins of exclusion and discrimination, our work has demonstrated how children balance moral concerns about fairness and others' welfare with social concerns about benefitting their social ingroup or adhering to stereotypic assumptions.

In the following section we will outline the integrative theoretical model that has guided our work in this area, bridging research on children's social development and moral development. Later in this chapter, we will use this theoretical model to review not only how children perpetuate exclusion and discrimination, but also how they reason about fairness and other's welfare, accenting research that reveals children's concerns for equity and justice, and identifying when and why children challenge exclusive attitudes and advocate for intergroup inclusion.

2. SOCIAL REASONING DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL FOR UNDERSTANDING INTERGROUP SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN CHILDHOOD

We have applied our theoretical model, called the social reasoning developmental (SRD) model, to investigate children's judgments, decisions, and reasoning regarding intergroup social exclusion. This research, to date, has demonstrated that, when children make decisions about inclusion and exclusion in intergroup social contexts, they reason about multiple moral and social group considerations, weighing their concerns for fairness with their developing knowledge about group identity and how groups function. The SRD model integrates the social domain theory perspective on moral development (Smetana et al., 2014; Turiel, 2006) with developmental social identity theories (Nesdale, 2004; Verkuyten, 2007) and theories of group dynamics in childhood (Abrams & Rutland, 2008). We will briefly review each of these theories later, in order to provide a background for interpreting the research findings that follow.

2.1 Developmental Social Identity Theories

Research in social psychology from the perspective of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) has long held that individuals are motivated to view their ingroup (i.e., members of the social groups that they belong to) favorably and that this can lead to biases against or dislike of members of relevant outgroups. Children also exhibit preference for ingroup members, seek to present a positive image of themselves to their ingroup (Rutland, Cameron, Milne, & McGeorge, 2005), and sometimes bolster their sense of group identity by excluding outgroup others (Nesdale, 2004; Verkuyten & Steenhuis, 2005).

Preference for one's ingroup, however, does not always lead to dislike for outgroups. Whether or not children exhibit biases against members of out-groups varies as a function of how strongly they identify with their ingroup, whether or not they feel that their ingroup is being threatened, and their perceptions of group norms and expectations around prejudicial treatment of outgroup members (Nesdale, Griffiths, Durkin, & Maass, 2007; Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005; Rutland, Cameron, Milne, et al., 2005).

2.2 Developmental Subjective Group Dynamics

Group norms have also been a focus of research in developmental subjective group dynamics (Abrams & Rutland, 2008). Research in this area has

demonstrated that, with age, children begin to define group membership and identity in terms of a set of shared norms, traditions, and histories, in addition to external, observable characteristics (e.g., skin color for race, hair length for gender) (Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, & Marques, 2003; Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier, & Ferrell, 2009). With age, children expect individuals to endorse these shared norms in order to ensure the smooth functioning of the group, and in order to sustain their group membership (Abrams, Rutland, Ferrell, & Pelletier, 2008), as nonadherence to a group norm can be considered grounds for exclusion (Mulvey & Killen, 2015).

2.3 Social Domain Theory

Research in developmental psychology from the perspective of social domain theory (Nucci, 1981; Turiel, 1983) has provided evidence that, when reasoning about social contexts, events, and interactions, children consider three central domains of knowledge: moral, societal, and personal (Smetana et al., 2014). The moral domain pertains to issues of fairness, justice, and rights. The societal domain pertains to issues of norms, conventions, and expectations. The personal domain pertains to issues of individual prerogative, choice, or preference. These forms of knowledge are central to social life and are reflected in the reasoning of adults and children considering both straightforward and complex inclusion and exclusion decisions.

When determining how to judge an instance of intergroup social exclusion, or how to proceed when an inclusion decision is needed, children must weigh moral concerns about fairness with societal concerns about norms and expectations as well as personal prerogatives. Children care deeply about acceptance, respect, equality, and fairness, and there are many instances in which they advocate for these principles rather than adhering to stereotypic assumptions about group membership. In the following sections, we will return to these three theories, and their integrated application in the SRD model, in order to interpret recent research revealing the implications of social and moral concerns when children make decisions about inclusion and exclusion in intergroup contexts.

3. CONTRIBUTORS TO INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION DECISIONS: ROLE OF INTERGROUP CONTACT AND FRIENDSHIPS

As mentioned earlier, research in the area of developmental social identity has revealed that children hold ingroup biases (i.e., are motivated to view their ingroup in a positive light), and conversely, dislike of relevant outgroups

can result in intergroup social exclusion (Nesdale, 2004; Verkuyten & Steenhuis, 2005). Considerable research in developmental science has focused on the social and contextual variables that support children of all ages in developing positive intergroup attitudes, including inclusive and tolerant attitudes toward outgroup members. One important social contextual variable is intergroup contact. In addition to reducing prejudice overall (Tropp & Prenovost, 2008), greater opportunities for contact with members of a relevant social outgroup can lead to more proactive attitudes about inclusion for both majority and minority status children and adolescents.

3.1 School Diversity

For instance, school racial and ethnic diversity is a strong predictor of positive learning outcomes, heightened civic engagement, and preparation of students for a diverse workforce (Orfield & Lee, 2005). This is because diversity provides opportunities for intergroup contact and the establishment of friendships across group boundaries (Bellmore, Nishina, Witkow, Graham, & Juvonen, 2007; Shelton, Douglass, Garcia, Yip, & Trail, 2014; Wilson & Rodkin, 2011). For example, racial and ethnic minority students feel safer, less harassed, and less lonely, and report higher self-worth the more racial and ethnic diversity they experience in their classrooms (Juvonen, Nishina, & Graham, 2006). Moreover, children and adolescents reporting intergroup contact in the form of cross-race friendships view interracial peer exclusion as more wrong than do children and adolescents with very low reported contact (Crystal, Killen, & Ruck, 2008). Thus, positive and cooperative interaction with members of other social groups improves not only immediate interpersonal relations but prepares children for diverse workplaces and adult social spaces.

Environmental diversity has an impact on children's inclusive attitudes from very early in development. For example, among 3–5-year-old Anglo-British children, greater intergroup contact with African Caribbean-British, East Asian-British, and Indian-British peers is associated with reduced rates of stereotypes about these outgroups (Rutland, Cameron, Bennett, & Ferrell, 2005). In fact, both racial minority and majority children report more inclusive attitudes in diverse schools. For example, two recent studies found that, whereas younger European-American children in racially homogeneous schools demonstrated implicit negative assumptions about the possibility of friendship between racial majority and minority peers, children at the same age, in the same school district, enrolled in racially diverse schools, held much more positive expectations for intergroup friendship

(McGlothlin & Killen, 2006). Likewise, racial minority adolescents who report greater contact with outgroup peers are more likely than their peers reporting little intergroup contact to rate intergroup exclusion as more wrong and to assert that they would intervene if they witnessed exclusion (Ruck, Park, Killen, & Crystal, 2011).

Thus, frequent positive contact with peers of different racial, religious, or socioeconomic backgrounds can improve intergroup relations for children from diverse backgrounds. Intergroup contact can set the stage for reducing stereotypes and biases, leading to more inclusive attitudes. One key mechanism whereby diversity improves intergroup attitudes is by providing opportunities for friendships across group boundaries, as outlined in the next section.

3.2 Intergroup Friendships

Forming friendships that cross-group boundaries (i.e., cross-group friendships) can be difficult for children, who often worry about being perceived negatively or being rejected by unfamiliar outgroup peers (Shelton, Richeson, & Bergsieker, 2009). For example, a recent study by Hitti and Killen (2015) revealed that non–Arab-American 12 and 16 year olds assumed that a group of Arab-American peers would prefer to befriend another Arab-American peer (choosing their friends on the basis of ethnic match) instead of a non–Arab American peer when making inclusion decisions. In contrast, they expected that their own group (non–Arab-Americans) to be inclusive, choosing new friends based on a match of hobbies and activity preferences and ignoring ethnicity. These findings demonstrate how negative assumptions about social groups perpetuate exclusive attitudes and behaviors.

Thus, one important reason why diversity promotes more inclusive attitudes is that it provides children with the chance to engage in close friendships with peers of other backgrounds. In fact, considerable evidence indicates that cross-group friendships are a significant predictor of children's intergroup attitudes, including attitudes about inclusion and exclusion (see chapter "Children's Intergroup Relationships and Attitudes" by Bigler et al., this volume; Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011). As one example, among 7–11-year-old ethnically German children attending diverse schools, children who reported more cross-ethnic friendships with Turkish peers also held more positive attitudes about members of this ethnic group (Feddes, Noack, & Rutland, 2009). Beyond mere acquaintance, however, friendship quality also predicts attitudes about inclusion. For example, one study found that 6–12-year-old African-American and European-American children from racially diverse schools who reported closer cross-group friendships (friendships involving a high level of intimacy,

emotional security, and loyalty) also reported more positive attitudes toward peers of other races than did children of the same age who reported more casual cross-race friendships or few cross-race friendships (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy, 2003).

Interestingly, under certain conditions, mere *awareness* of a positive friendship between an ingroup member and an outgroup member (i.e., "extended" intergroup contact) is also effective at improving intergroup attitudes among children who do not have the opportunity to engage in personal friendships with outgroup members (Cameron, Rutland, Hossain, & Petley, 2011). Research on extended contact (through peer networks or book reading) has examined inclusive and exclusive attitudes toward stigmatized groups including disabled individuals (Cameron & Rutland, 2006) and refugees (Cameron, Rutland, Brown, & Douch, 2006), and highlights how, when direct contact is difficult, just hearing about others who endorse positive norms of friendship can still help elementary-aged children reject stereotypes and biases in favor of inclusion.

3.3 Inclusive Policies

In addition to providing opportunities for friendship with peers of other social groups, school policies regarding diversity and tolerance play an important role in children's judgments about exclusion. Extensive research in the area of intergroup contact, as well as developmental social identity and subjective group dynamics, has revealed that certain conditions increase the likelihood that contact will yield positive results. Specifically, bringing groups together as equal in status, in noncompetitive situations endorsed by individuals in positions of authority, with the aim of attaining joint goals increases the likelihood that intergroup contact will result in a reduction in prejudice (Aboud et al., 2003; Allport, 1954; Dovidio et al., 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Along these lines, policies at the school level can promote inclusion in development. For example, adolescents attending schools with safe school practices regarding sexual orientation (e.g., policies, professional development) evaluate exclusion on the basis of sexual orientation as more wrong, and use more moral reasoning in justifying their judgments, than adolescents attending schools without such practices (Horn & Szalach, 2009). Thus, policies of diversity and inclusion can have a positive impact on children's intergroup attitudes by establishing norms about inclusion on an institutional level (Russell, Kosciw, Horn, & Saewyc, 2010).

In short, adults and children alike can promote consideration of equity, justice, and inclusion by facilitating intergroup contact, cross-group

friendships, and explicit support for diversity of perspectives. Beyond simply bringing groups together, opportunities for close friendships across group boundaries and broader policies of tolerance can have positive and wide-ranging effects for reducing stereotypes and promoting equality in development.

4. CONTRIBUTORS TO INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION DECISIONS: ROLE OF PEER GROUP NORMS

In addition to the norms and expectations set at the neighborhood, school, or local level by policies of diversity and inclusion, peer group norms have a significant impact on children's intergroup attitudes, including attitudes about inclusion and exclusion. As mentioned earlier, research in developmental subjective group dynamics has revealed that, with age, children expect individuals to endorse the norms shared by their group (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Abrams et al., 2008). In regard to social exclusion in particular, children are more likely to demonstrate exclusive attitudes toward outgroup members if they believe that such actions are condoned by their peer ingroup (Nesdale et al., 2005; Rutland, Cameron, Milne, et al., 2005).

4.1 Adherence to Stereotypic Norms

Interestingly (and troublingly), shared norms and expectations can also reflect stereotypes about the preferences or traits of certain social groups. Nesdale and his colleagues have conducted a series of studies on the role of school and group norms on intergroup attitudes (Nesdale & Lawson, 2011; Nesdale, Zimmer-Gembeck, & Roxburgh, 2014). Their findings reveal how norms that condone or reject forms of intergroup bullying have an impact on children's attitudes. For example, older children often expect negative outcomes for those who deviate from gender norms about appropriate activities for males and females. One recent study by Mulvey and Killen (2015) revealed that older children and early adolescents personally supported individuals' decisions to challenge groups' gender stereotypic activity preferences by suggesting that the group try a nonstereotypic activity (e.g., a girl in an all–girls group that always does ballet suggests that the group play football instead). However, they expected that individuals who advocated for such changes, especially boys who expressed interest in gender nonstereotypic activities (e.g., ballet), would not be well received by their groups and would likely be excluded.

Likewise, older adolescents evaluate the exclusion of peers due to sexual orientation as more acceptable than other forms of discrimination such as teasing, harassing, or assaulting a gay or lesbian peer, and are more likely to refer to social norms and personal choice in regards to exclusion of a sexual minority peer (Heinze & Horn, 2009; Horn, 2006). Thus, exclusion of an individual because of nonconformity to group or social norms is often perceived as legitimate, particularly among older children and adolescents.

These findings reveal the detrimental impact of stereotypic and exclusive norms on children's decisions about inclusion and exclusion in intergroup contexts. Yet, closely related work, outlined in the following sections, also reveals many instances in which children attempt to subvert, or even take direct action against, restrictive and exclusive customs and assumptions. As outlined in the SRD perspective, children often seek a balance between adhering to group traditions and ensuring that others are treated fairly, emphasizing the frequent intersection of moral and social concerns in everyday life.

4.2 Distinguishing Group and Individual Perspectives

Children are aware of the relevance of peer group norms for inclusion and exclusion decisions from an early age. Yet, at the same time, they recognize that the way that groups work is not always supportive of justice and equality. For instance, a study by Cooley and Killen (2015) revealed that young children personally supported a deviant group member who stood up for equality, while at the same time recognizing that their group might not support this individual. This study was the first one to demonstrate "group nous" in early childhood, which is the ability to understand that what the individual believes is right may be different from the group's perspective.

This same pattern of differential evaluations has also been found in older children's expectations about an after-school club's opinion of an individual who advocated for equal allocation of money between clubs when the usual approach was to seek more for the ingroup (Killen, Rutland, Abrams, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2013; Mulvey, Hitti, Rutland, Abrams, & Killen, 2014). These findings highlight children's developing concerns for fairness, as well as their attempts to assert their own views on equal treatment in situations where bias is the norm. Concurrently, as mentioned earlier, children are increasingly aware that changing group customs is not easy to do, and deviating or dissenting from prevailing norms carries the risk of personal exclusion from the ingroup. Thus, in middle childhood and adolescence in particular, children begin to connect

everyday experiences of exclusion from groups with larger, systemic inequalities in their social environment.

4.3 Impact of Group Status

Along these same lines, several studies have shown that children who are members of groups ranked lower on status hierarchies are more likely to view social exclusion as unacceptable relative to their higher status peers. For example, several studies have revealed that older racial minority children and adolescents are less likely than their racial majority counterparts to view socially excluding a peer as acceptable, particularly in situations like cross-race dating (Killen, Henning, Kelly, Crystal, & Ruck, 2007). Further, in later childhood, girls in many countries around the world have been found to be less accepting of exclusion of any kind than boys (Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, Stangor, & Helwig, 2002; Park & Killen, 2010). These findings suggest that membership in a traditionally excluded group (e.g., by race or gender) can lead children to more negatively evaluate exclusion experienced by others.

Likewise, when evaluating instances of interethnic exclusion, early adolescents from ethnic minority backgrounds (both in the United States and other countries) have been found to attribute more positive emotions (e.g., pride) to ethnic outgroup members who exclude an ethnic minority individual from a group than do early adolescents from ethnic majority backgrounds (Killen & Malti, 2015; Malti, Killen, & Gasser, 2012). Thus, children whose social groups are the targets of habitual exclusion not only evaluate such behavior more negatively than their same-aged peers from majority group backgrounds, but they also assume that the excluding group feels proud of their biased actions.

A recent study by Cooley and Killen (2016) suggests that these assumptions may not be entirely unfounded. As shown in Fig. 1, European-American 13–14 year olds in this study expected that peers of their racial group would be less likely to include an African-American peer than another European-American peer in everyday opportunities for inclusion (e.g., sitting together on the bus), unlike 8–9 year olds who did not differ in their expectations for inclusion by race of the target (see Fig. 1). Underscoring the points made earlier regarding misperceptions of exclusivity, these findings suggest that minority group children often perceive hostile attitudes toward inclusion from majority groups (i.e., believe that majority groups feel good about excluding outgroup members). These attitudes further underscore the cycle of intergroup misunderstanding and cynicism about inclusion that begins in childhood and adolescence.
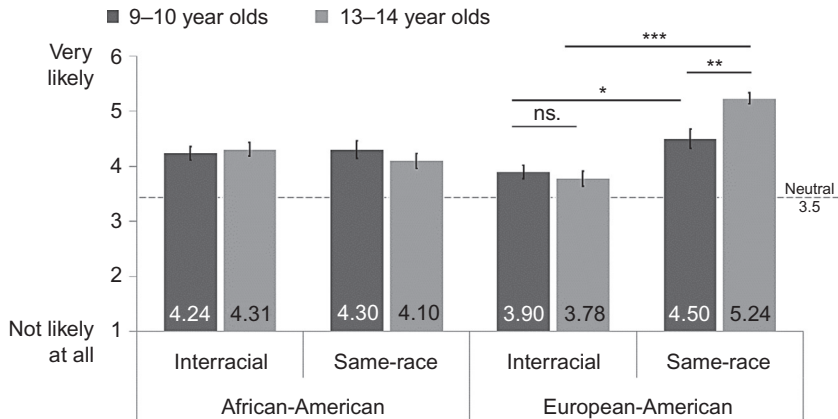
Fig. 1 Likelihood of peer inclusion in interracial and same-race situations by participant race and age (Cooley & Killen, 2016). Higher scores indicate greater likelihood of inclusion. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean. *Horizontal line* indicates scale midpoint (representing neither likely or unlikely).

4.4 Group Status and Social Inequalities

Further, recent research has examined whether children's awareness of group's status is related to their perspectives on resource allocation. The denial of resources based on group membership (such as race, gender, and culture) is a form of social exclusion. Elenbaas, Rizzo, Cooley, and Killen (2015) investigated whether children would rectify an inequality of resources between racial groups. Younger children (African–American and European–American) demonstrated a form of ingroup bias by selectively correcting an inequality that placed their own racial group at a disadvantage (that is, allocating more resources to their ingroup when their ingroup had been shown to have fewer resources than an outgroup). Conversely, younger children demonstrated more mixed responses toward correcting an inequality when their outgroup was disadvantaged (Elenbaas et al., 2015). With age, children were able to take into consideration immediate inequalities (correcting a disparity of resources between two groups) and also broader societal inequalities. Older children demonstrated awareness of which racial groups (in this case, African–American groups) were more often the targets of discrimination and differential access to resources on a broader societal level (Elenbaas & Killen, in press). Related work by Olson and colleagues has also revealed that older children are able to reject an unequal status quo in favor of rectifying resource inequalities between African–

American and European-American peers, particularly when inequality reflects recognizable societal disparities (Olson, Dweck, Spelke, & Banaji, 2011). These findings indicate that children are aware of social inequalities early, and in certain conditions take corrective action to promote equal access to resources.

The SRD model, then, emphasizes how, from early childhood through adolescence, children must navigate a social world with conflicting messages about inclusion and exclusion, weighing potentially conflicting messages from peers, parents, teachers, and the media, while forming their own conceptions of group identity and fairness based on personal interactions. In the next section, we outline relevant research on the unique roles that adults play in the development of inclusion and exclusion decisions in childhood and focus on recent work examining children's decisions in light of conflicting messages from adult and peer sources.

5. CONTRIBUTORS TO INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION DECISIONS: ROLE OF TEACHERS AND PARENTS

As introduced in Section 3, environmental diversity is more likely to result in positive attitudes about inclusion if increased contact is endorsed by individuals in positions of authority (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). On the other hand, research has also demonstrated that adults (including parents and teachers) play a role in the onset and development of prejudice, bias, and exclusive attitudes (Nesdale et al., 2005; Pahlke, Bigler, & Suizzo, 2012; Seaton et al., 2012). Teachers, for example, can unknowingly hold stereotypic beliefs about academic abilities based on race (Steele, 1997), and parents can show differential or preferential treatment based on gender, such as by granting more autonomy to sons than to daughters (Killen, Park, Lee-Kim, & Shin, 2005).

Equally as important as parents' and teachers' aims in discussing groups and intergroup relations with children are children's own interpretations of these messages, and the impact that this reciprocal process has on inclusion and exclusion decisions at the level of the peer group. Research from the SRD perspective, as well as related work drawing on social identity and socialization perspectives more broadly, has begun to address the roles that parents and teachers can play, both directly and indirectly, in the facilitation of inclusive intergroup attitudes in childhood and adolescence.

5.1 Teachers

Teachers occupy an important and unique position in children's lives. With regard to intergroup relations, they are often the adults charged with implementing any school diversity initiatives at the level of the classroom. More broadly, teachers make many vital decisions regarding how to structure a considerable number of children's daily activities. They also transmit both covert and explicit messages about the importance of inclusion.

For example, one study of Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan, and Surinamese 10–13 year olds living in The Netherlands found that ethnic minority children reported experiencing fewer instances of name-calling, teasing, and exclusion when they believed they could tell their teacher about unfair behavior toward them and their teacher would take action (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). Other studies have also shown that Dutch and Turkish children who report higher levels of multicultural education in the classroom (e.g., discussions regarding the need to be fair to others and recognize different cultures within the classroom) demonstrate more positive intergroup attitudes than their peers who report few discussions along these lines (Kinket & Verkuyten, 1999). Thus, teachers' commitment to addressing issues of intergroup exclusion, as well as engagement in explicit discussions about the importance of inclusion, has a direct positive impact on their students' intergroup attitudes and well-being.

Interestingly, some research shows that children are critical of teachers who do demonstrate intergroup biases or advocate for intergroup exclusion. For instance, one study investigated 8–12-year-old Danish children's reasoning about peer and teacher statements about excluding Muslim peers (e.g., 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). Children found it less acceptable for a teacher to endorse exclusion than for a peer to endorse exclusion and were critical of teachers who allowed exclusion of Muslim children from peer groups (Møller & Tenenbaum, 2011).

5.2 Parents

Parental discourse about intergroup relations can also contribute to the acquisition of prejudicial attitudes as well as concerns for fairness and inclusion between groups. Research on parental racial and ethnic socialization, for example, has revealed that parents of racial and ethnic minority children are faced with the challenge of discussing inclusion and equality while at the same time preparing their children for a social world where they may face biases, discrimination, and exclusion (Hughes, 2003; Neblett et al., 2008;

see chapter "A Transactional/Ecological Perspective on Ethnic–Racial Identity, Socialization, and Discrimination" by Hughes et al., this volume).

Considerable research has revealed that, by preparing their children for potential exclusion, parents can promote resilience and adaptive strategies than enable their children to thrive and combat the detrimental effects on discrimination psychological health and well-being (Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007; Neblett, Terzian, & Harriott, 2010; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003). Likewise positive messages about cultural pride and knowledge have been shown to be positively related to self-esteem and identity development among racial and ethnic minority adolescents (White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010). As another example, African–American adolescents who report hearing more egalitarian messages from their parents (e.g., all people are equal regardless of their race) also report more positive group identity and more positive psychological adjustment on a range of measures (Neblett et al., 2008).

Racial and ethnic minority children are able to integrate these messages from parents with their own experiences in peer groups, drawing progressively stronger connections between their own daily experiences and overarching societal biases with age. When evaluating the exclusion of an African–American child from a group of European–American peers, for example, African–American children and adolescents have been found to reason about the wrongfulness of this action in the larger context of society by elaborating on the negative consequences of discrimination (Killen et al., 2002; Killen & Stangor, 2001).

By contrast, racial and ethnic majority (e.g., European–American) parents often adopt a colorblind approach to discussing intergroup relations with their children, perhaps because of worries that discussing discrimination, or even pointing out differences, may create biases where there were none before (Pahlke et al., 2012). This is not the case, however. Awareness of and alertness to the possibility of prejudice helps younger children overcome intergroup biases (Pahlke et al., 2012), helps older children detect instances of discrimination in everyday peer interactions (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Ambady, Sommers, & Norton, 2008), and helps adolescents recognize the importance of social policies promoting inclusion for underrepresented groups (Hughes & Bigler, 2011).

5.3 Weighing Adult and Peer Messages

Further, children may weigh peer and parental attitudes regarding inclusion and exclusion differently with age, as they focus increasingly on loyalty to

peer groups in later childhood (Abrams & Rutland, 2008), and seek increased autonomy from parents in adolescence (Daddis, 2011; Smetana, 2011). With age, children often face challenges in weighing larger school- and neighborhood-wide norms against unique peer group norms. Peer group attitudes, for example, can come into conflict with overarching insti- tutional policies, such as when a school is racially diverse and teachers pro- mote equality, but cross-group friendships are not valued by certain segments of the student population.

For example, a recent study by McGuire, Rutland, and Nesdale (2015) assessed 5–11 year olds decisions about inclusion of outgroup peers in a con- text of conflicting norms put forth by their school and their peer group. In this study, children were participants in a drawing competition; the school- wide norm for the competition was presented as inclusive, in that teachers advocated for friendliness between the two teams, but the team-level norm was presented as either inclusive (i.e., You have to like and include all the members of the other team) or exclusive (i.e., You cannot like or be friendly to any members of the other team). Results revealed that the inclusive school-wide norm promoted more positive attitudes toward the outgroup relative to no stated norm, except when children were held accountable to their team which held an exclusive norm. That is, an inclusive school-level norm was found to be most successful when peer-level norms were also inclusive. When messages from adults and peers were mismatched, however, unfair or exclusive attitudes at the level of the peer group undermined the success of a large-scale adult-initiated attempt at acceptance and inclusion.

6. INTERGROUP SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN CONTEXT: CONCLUSIONS

Children who are excluded because of their religion, nationality, race, gender, sexual orientation, or (dis)ability (among other types of group mem- bership) are at risk for a range of negative psychological and physical out- comes. Likewise children who reject friendships with others because of biases and stereotypes also face long-term negative consequences. In this chapter, we have outlined our perspective on intergroup social exclusion as a form of prejudice, using our integrative SRD model to highlight many of the factors that contribute to consideration of fairness, justice, and inclu- sion in development (Killen, Elenbaas, et al., 2015; Rutland et al., 2010).

Children's biases, adherence to group norms, and discriminatory actions contribute to the cycle of social exclusion that begins early in development.

Everyday choices about restricting access to peer groups reflect the social hierarchies of children's worlds, and these are no less damaging than the discriminatory behaviors that permeate adult social relations. Yet, as members of social groups, children often seek a balance between preserving group customs, equal and just treatment of others, adherence to societal norms, and expectations from both peers and parents. Children display genuine concern for justice and others' welfare in intergroup contexts, from early in development. In fact, these different orientations coexist within individuals throughout the life span. With age, children must weigh stereotypes and motives to ensure fairness, consider ingroup vs outgroup identity, balance adherence to social norms with promotion of inclusion and equality, and consider others' welfare as well as the consequences of deviating from exclusive norms.

While the detrimental impacts of social exclusion are evident in the psychological and physical harm of discrimination, the origins of thinking about intergroup interactions, status, and inclusion are often less apparent. In this way, developmental science makes a vital contribution to understanding why and how social exclusion exists and persists in society. Fortunately, as outlined in this chapter, recent research points to the ways in which diversity in children's social environments, including schools and peer groups, inclusive norms on several levels, and messages regarding the wrongfulness of prejudice from adults can promote positive and inclusive intergroup attitudes and behavior. The ongoing challenge for research in this area is to uncover the negative intergroup attitudes that motivate exclusive behaviors and encourage the development of children's capacity to resist biases in favor of inclusion and fair treatment of others.

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