

# Expectations for cross-ethnic inclusion by Asian American children and adolescents

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## Abstract

Asian American youth's inclusion decisions were investigated in cross-ethnic peer contexts (Asian and non-Asian). Ten-, 13-, and 16-year-old participants ( $N = 134$ ), enrolled in U.S. schools, decided whether to include a same-ethnic peer with different interests or a different-ethnic peer with similar interests. Findings showed that with age, participants more frequently included a peer who shared interests even when this peer was not of the same ethnicity. Participants expected their peer groups to be equally inclusive of others of both ethnic backgrounds, and expected that in-group parents would be less inclusive of cross-ethnic peers. In addition, adolescents expected parents to have prejudicial attitudes about ethnic out-group members. Views about peer group and in-group parents' inclusivity diverged from adolescents' own inclusivity. These findings point to areas for intervention regarding the promotion of cross-group friendships and the reduction of prejudice.

## Keywords

Asian American youth, inclusivity, prejudice

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Cross-ethnic peer relationships can be difficult to navigate as they often involve concerns for maintaining optimal intragroup dynamics as well as concerns for treating others fairly (Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010; Tropp, O'Brien, & Migacheva, 2014). Such issues appear in children's and adolescents' reasoning about cross-ethnic inclusion and exclusion (Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, & Stangor, 2002), but have mostly been researched with ethnic-majority youth. Less

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is known about the perspectives of ethnic-minority youth, who also benefit from cross-ethnic relationships (Bagci, Rutland, Kumashiro, Smith, & Blumberg, 2014; Graham, Munniksmma, & Juvonen, 2014).

In this study, the focus was on how Asian American students perceive inclusion and exclusion of same-ethnic and cross-ethnic peers. Asian Americans are the fastest growing pan-ethnic minority in the United States and are ethnically diverse (Kiang, Tseng, & Yip, 2016; Yip, Douglass, & Shelton, 2013). This group includes individuals whose ancestry stems from Asia, of which the largest group is Chinese (24%), followed by Indian and Filipino (20% each), then by Korean, Vietnamese, and Japanese (together 24%), with the remaining groups representing 13 different Asian countries (Lopez, Ruiz, & Patten, 2017). In the current study, the Asian American sample was majority Korean (73%), which reflects the Asian representation in the region in which this study was conducted (the mid-Atlantic region of the U.S.).

Little research on Asian American youth's views on cross-ethnic inclusion and exclusion has been conducted, despite the oft-reported observation that Asian American youth display preferences for same-ethnic friendships, alongside other ethnic groups studied (e.g., African American, Latin American; for review, see Graham, 2018). Cross-ethnic inclusivity, such as including a peer from a different ethnic background in peer group activities, is an important first step to building cross-ethnic friendships, given ample literature linking cross-ethnic contact with actual cross-ethnic friendships (Tropp et al., 2016; Tropp et al., 2014). The main goal of the current study was to investigate how children and adolescents of Asian descent in the U.S. make decisions about including same- and cross-ethnic peers into their friendship groups.

While familial role and obligation are valued across the diverse ethnic groups of Asian Americans, adolescents often perceive differences between their own views of these values and their parents' views (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). Therefore, many Asian American youth find themselves balancing between their family roles and

their social life with peers (Fuligni, Yip, & Tseng, 2002). For example, compared to their African American and Latin American counterparts, Asian American adolescents report lower average levels of support from both same- and cross-ethnic friends (Way & Chen, 2000). In addition, relative to parents of Latin, African, and European American adolescents, parents of Asian American adolescents report sharing fewer messages about preparation for bias and are more likely to report promoting mistrust of other racial/ethnic groups (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015). In contrast to messages about preparation for bias, messages promoting mistrust toward ethnic out-groups rarely include suggestions for coping strategies needed to deal with bias when it does occur (Hughes & Johnson, 2001).

In general, both peers and parents are important socializing agents when it comes to cross-ethnic peer relationships (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson et al., 2006; Mähönen, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Liebkind, 2011; Nesdale, 2011). Yet little is known about Asian American youth's *own* perceptions of parental and in-group peer values regarding cross-ethnic peer relationships. The extent to which Asian American youth's own cross-ethnic inclusivity aligns with their perceptions of peers' and parents' inclusivity has also not been examined. Therefore, another aim of this study was to investigate age-related differences between youths' own cross-ethnic inclusivity and expectations for peer group inclusivity and parental inclusivity in similar contexts.

## Developmental Differences in Attitudes and Perceptions

Examining developmental differences in cross-ethnic inclusivity addresses a gap in the existing developmental peer relationships and intergroup research on Asian American children's perspectives regarding cross-ethnic interactions. Specifically, given the increasing importance of peer groups during middle and high school (B. B. Brown, Eicher, & Petrie, 1986), most research on same- and cross-ethnic friendship preferences amongst Asian American youth has been conducted with adolescents (Benner & Wang, 2017;

Chen & Graham, 2015, 2017). For example, Chen and Graham (2015) found that cross-ethnic friendships in Asian American early adolescents are more likely to be with European American peers and are associated with greater intent to engage in activities with members of that particular ethnic group (Chen & Graham, 2015). Less is known about cross-ethnic inclusivity of Asian Americans during middle childhood.

Additionally, little is known about the trends in cross-ethnic inclusivity across middle childhood, early adolescence, and middle adolescence (for exception, see Killen et al., 2002). Among ethnically and racially diverse samples, it is found that cross-ethnic friendships decrease as children get older, both during childhood (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy, 2003) and during adolescence (B. B. Brown, Herman, Hamm, & Heck, 2008; Hamm, Brown, & Heck, 2005). Given that cross-ethnic inclusivity can be a gateway to cross-ethnic friendship (Tropp et al., 2016; Tropp et al., 2014), it was important in the current study to capture age-related trends in Asian American youth's reasoning and cross-ethnic inclusivity during childhood, early adolescence, and middle adolescence.

### **A Social Reasoning Developmental Framework for Individual Inclusivity**

Within peer groups, children and adolescents construct their own social rules about the inclusion of same- and cross-ethnic peers based on different social criteria. These various criteria can include biases and stereotypes based on ethnic group membership, interests in activities, and matching competence to group goals (Mulvey, Hitti, & Killen, 2013). Less is known about the criteria that Asian American youth in particular use to make judgments about peer-based inclusivity. Research from a social reasoning developmental model (SRD; Rutland et al., 2010) offers insight into developmental patterns related to children's and adolescents' own attitudes and reasoning about cross-ethnic inclusion by peer groups.

The SRD model posits that children and adolescents weigh both moral concerns for inclusivity, fairness, and others' well-being with concerns for group identity and optimal group functioning (i.e., making a group work well) when making decisions involving intergroup relationships (McGuire, Rizzo, Killen, & Rutland, 2019). For example, research using this framework showed that, across development, race- or ethnic-based exclusion is rejected because it is unfair. However, youth also recognize and understand the tension between the unfairness of rejection based solely on intergroup categories (such as gender, race, ethnicity) and the desire for a group to maintain its identity. Thus, exclusion is justified when it is perceived to promote group functioning.

Further, according to the SRD model, with age, children's priorities regarding moral and group concerns change (Rutland et al., 2010). For example, optimizing group functioning becomes increasingly important during adolescence when peer groups and cliques are central to social relationships (B. B. Brown et al., 1986). In addition, growing awareness of ethnic group stereotypes, group status, and increased understanding of ethnic group identity begin to influence inclusion judgments during adolescence (Elenbaas, Rizzo, Cooley, & Killen, 2016; McGuire et al., 2019). Studies have shown that, for instance, in the absence of individuating information regarding an out-group peer (e.g., competence, activity preferences), adolescents are more likely than children to justify exclusion of an out-group member using stereotypic assumptions (Horn, 2003). However, knowledge about an individual's shared interests often promotes adolescents' inclusivity. Therefore, according to SRD, with age, children are more likely to weigh individuating information along with group information to make decisions about inclusion.

#### *Stereotypes About Similarity*

While interest-based homophily and ethnic-based homophily are pervasive in friendships throughout development, these two factors are often confounded due to stereotypic

assumptions about different ethnic groups (e.g., Asian Americans like math; Stark & Flache, 2012). This is particularly the case among adolescents, both ethnic majorities and minorities, who are more likely than children to approve of interracial exclusion based on lack of shared interests (Killen, Henning, Kelly, Crystal, & Ruck, 2007). Research with ethnic-majority children and adolescents, however, has shown that when peers share the same interest in activities, this similarity often outweighs ethnicity considerations (Hitti & Killen, 2015; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008).

From an SRD perspective, group status also impacts children's decisions about intergroup interactions. While ethnic-minority youth are more likely than their ethnic-majority peers to reject race-based exclusion (Killen et al., 2007), no studies to date have focused specifically on Asian American youths' evaluations of cross-ethnic situations involving Asian Americans. Rather, most studies focus on African American and European American cross-racial contexts. In addition, no studies guided by the SRD framework have examined expectations about parental cross-ethnic inclusivity. Thus, the current study aims to extend the SRD model in two ways: (a) examining inclusion judgments of an understudied ethnic-minority group (Asian American youth), and (b) learning about their perceptions of in-group parent inclusivity.

### **Expectations Regarding Peer Group and In-Group Parent Inclusivity**

Parents and peers serve as socializing agents throughout development (Smetana, 2011). How their messages regarding intergroup attitudes are perceived, however, has not been thoroughly examined, particularly among Asian American youth. For example, one study examined ethnic-majority children's and adolescents' perceptions of peer group inclusivity and found that they expected their in-group to prioritize shared interest in activities over ethnicity (Hitti & Killen, 2015). Other studies have shown that, compared

to European American early adolescents, some ethnic-minority (African American) youth are less likely to perceive their in-group peers as valuing cross-ethnic friendships (Tropp et al., 2014).

While perceived peer norms of inclusivity have been found to influence African American and Latin American youth's own inclination to interact with cross-ethnic/racial others (Tropp et al., 2016; Tropp et al., 2014), children and adolescents do not always agree with the ways in which they expect their peer groups to respond in relation to inclusivity (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Mulvey, Hitti, Rutland, Abrams, & Killen, 2014). In fact, studies have demonstrated that, unlike children (9–10 years), adolescents (13–14 years) are able to differentiate their own views about cross-group interactions from how they expect their in-group would behave (Hitti, Mulvey, Rutland, Abrams, & Killen, 2014; Mulvey et al., 2014). Thus, examining age-related differences regarding expectations about individual inclusivity compared to peer group inclusivity will provide clarity on some of these contrasting findings.

While parents are gatekeepers to their children's friendships during childhood, their influence in this domain wanes in adolescence when adolescents begin to assert their autonomy from authority figures (Hunter, Friend, Williams-Wheeler, & Fletcher, 2012; Smetana, 1988). Ethnic-minority parents, however, continue to socialize their children about cultural values and norms throughout adolescence, including discussions about cross-ethnic relationships (Hughes et al., 2006). Findings indicate that older adolescents from both ethnic-majority and minority backgrounds often expect parents to show ethnic bias regarding their children's cross-ethnic relationships, especially those of an intimate nature (i.e., dating; Edmonds & Killen, 2009).

In the U.S. context, research on interracial exclusion indicates that children and adolescents often disagree with parents who condone race-based exclusion (Killen et al., 2002). This same research also shows that ethnic-minority children and adolescents (Latin American and Asian American) are more likely to be influenced by parental attitudes than their European American

counterparts. However, a meta-analysis examining correlations between child and parent intergroup attitudes showed a different pattern, such that children's attitudes aligned with their parents' and this correlation was stronger for adolescents, but attitudes of ethnic-minority youth were less likely to be aligned with parental attitudes compared to ethnic-majority youth (Degner & Dalege, 2013). Therefore, it is difficult to discern whether Asian American youth's decisions about social inclusion would align with their expectations about parental inclusivity.

What is known is that some parent-adolescent conflict among Asian American youth can be attributed to endorsement of conflicting cultural values (Zhai, 2017). Additionally, in attempting to help their children navigate a dominant culture, Asian American parents do convey messages of mistrust of out-group members (Hughes et al., 2006). Consequently, given the research findings outlined before, it is plausible that during both childhood and adolescence, Asian American youth may expect in-group parents to be less inclusive toward out-groups. However, the extent to which these expectations align with children's and adolescents' own inclusivity is less clear.

## The Current Study

This study had three central aims: (a) to investigate Asian American youth's inclusion preferences for peers when ethnicity is pitted against shared interest in activities across three age groups (10-, 13-, and 16-year-olds), (b) to compare individual inclusivity with expectations of own peer groups' and in-group parents' cross-ethnic inclusivity, and (c) to examine age-related differences in the extent to which participants' individual preferences aligned with expectations about peer groups' and parents' inclusivity.

Using a paradigm established in previous research (Hitti & Killen, 2015), participants heard a vignette about an inclusion decision that their ethnic in-group had to make. The group had a choice of either including an ethnic out-group peer who shared the same interest in activities as the group, or an ethnic in-group peer who liked

activities that were different from what the group liked. This was done to examine whether participants gave priority to shared interest in activities or to ethnic group membership in their inclusion decisions, effectively disentangling what is often stereotypically confounded in cross-ethnic relationships (Stark & Flache, 2012). The ethnic out-group peer was portrayed as a member of the ethnic-majority group in the community where data were collected (i.e., European American). Related research also indicates that this is the ethnic group that Asian American youth are most likely to befriend when they do form cross-ethnic friendships (Chen & Graham, 2015). Participants were asked to choose and reason about which peer their group would include, they themselves would prefer, and an in-group parent would want the group to include.

Three age groups were used to test for developmental differences in children's inclusion assessments: 10-, 13-, and 16-year-olds. These age groups were chosen based on prior research indicating that 9- to 10-year-olds are aware of group dynamics (Abrams & Rutland, 2008), and that during adolescence, concerns for optimal group dynamics and knowledge of how groups work increase (Rutland et al., 2010), providing a basis for hypotheses regarding age-related differences.

## Hypotheses

H1 (individual inclusion preferences and reasoning): Based on the SRD model (Rutland et al., 2010), it was expected that older age groups of Asian American youth would prioritize shared interest in activities (individuating information) over ethnic group membership when indicating their *own* inclusion preferences, given the perceived importance of shared interests for group functioning. Likewise, it was expected that participants' reasoning would reference shared interest in activities when justifying individual inclusion choices, thus prioritizing individual characteristics over group-level characteristics (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Hitti & Killen, 2015).

H2 (peer group inclusion expectations and reasoning): It was an open question as to whether Asian American youth would expect their own peer *group* to be inclusive (given a lack of previous research in this area). It was expected, however, that participants who perceived their peers to be ethnically exclusive would reference ethnicity and stereotypes in their reasoning, and these references would be more prevalent among adolescents (Rutland et al., 2010).

H3 (parent inclusion expectations and reasoning): Based on related research revealing socialization messages focused on promotion of mistrust of out-groups (Else-Quest & Moore, 2015), it was expected that participants across all age groups would perceive in-group *parents* to be somewhat ethnically exclusive. Along these lines, participants' reasoning would differ by age group, and references to ethnicity and stereotypes to justify these expectations would be more common among older Asian American youth (Rutland et al., 2010).

H4 (comparing individual inclusion to expectations of peer group and parent inclusion): Based on social exclusion research, youth were expected to be more individually inclusive toward an ethnic out-group peer than they expected their in-group peers to be (Mulvey et al., 2014). This difference would be greater for adolescents compared with children (Mulvey et al., 2014). However, given the stronger influence of peers during early adolescence, 13-year-olds' group expectations and individual preferences were not expected to differ as much as 16-year-olds'. It was also expected that Asian American adolescents would be more individually inclusive toward their ethnic out-group peer than they expected their in-group parents to be (Smetana, 1988). Given the conflicting literature on correlations between children's and parents' attitudes about intergroup relationships, it was not clear whether 10-year-olds' own preferences would align with their expectations about parental inclusivity.

## Method

### *Participants*

Participants were Asian American youth enrolled in fourth, seventh, and 10th grades ( $N = 134$ ; 64% female) that were recruited from local public elementary, middle, and high schools in a school district serving a middle-income population. Participants were selected from a larger study, which also included youth of non-Asian descent. Based on a power analysis conducted in G\*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009), the sample size is considered adequate for detecting odd ratios at a magnitude of at least 1.68 equivalent to a 0.28 Cohen's  $d$  (based on formulas referenced in Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, & Rothstein, 2009) at 80% power. Representation of students of Asian descent varied from 15.7% to 34% across schools. Percentages were slightly higher than population representation for the US, which was 15.5%.

The sample consisted of three age groups: 29 children (10-year-olds; 72% female;  $M = 9.83$  years,  $SD = 0.31$ ), 50 early adolescents (13-year-olds; 64% female;  $M = 13.14$ ,  $SD = 0.38$ ), and 55 middle adolescents (16-year-olds; 60% female;  $M = 15.86$ ,  $SD = 0.53$ ). The majority of participants were of Korean descent (73%), with a smaller proportion of Southeast Asian backgrounds (e.g., Filipino, Thai; 14%) and Chinese descent (13%). The majority of the sample (68%) reported being born in the US (32% reported being born outside the US), and the majority of the sample reported that either one or both of their parents were born outside of the US. Given that no statistically significant effects were found for generational status or national origin, the samples were combined.

### *Procedure*

The protocol titled "Relationships, Culture, and Social Groups" (Protocol No. 347203-12) was approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Maryland. As part of a larger study, schools that agreed to participate were provided an honorarium for their participation.

Parental consent forms were distributed with an average of 75% return rate, and all students who had parental consent participated. Students were incentivized to return consent forms indicating “yes” or “no” for participation in order to have their names included in a raffle to win a prize.

Ethnicity of the participants was determined prior to survey administration based on parent reports of child ethnicity sent back with consent forms. All children who were of Asian descent (and had parental consent) were included in the analyses. Trained research assistants read the survey aloud to 10-year-olds (fourth-graders) in groups of four to five students, in a quiet area of the school, and each participant wrote their own response into a paper survey. The survey was modified from a version administered to assess inclusion and exclusion of Arab peers (see Hitti & Killen, 2015). Thirteen and 16-year-olds were administered the same paper survey in their classroom in groups of 20–25 students. Students who did not participate used the time for alternative activities such as reading. Students took between 30 and 40 minutes to complete the survey.

### *Design*

Using a survey protocol established in previous research to examine how children and adolescents evaluate peer inclusion and exclusion (Hitti & Killen, 2015), participants were told that they were part of an after-school peer group that had to make some decisions about their group. The scenarios were matched to the gender of the participant and depicted same-gender peer groups. Brightly illustrated pictures were embedded in the survey to depict the groups (see Figure 1).

Participants were first introduced to their own ethnic group and completed a group identification task modified from Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, and Griffiths (2005) to help participants identify with their group. In this task, they were told that they belonged to a group of friends of Asian background (“This is your group”) in the form of an illustration of four peers with East Asian surnames (e.g., Diana Kim, Chris Zhang). Illustrations included the following text to reaffirm the ethnic label of the group for participants

of Asian background: “Your group of friends who are of Asian backgrounds.” Participants were asked to give their group a name, choose an end-of-year activity they would like the group to do, and pick a symbol for the group. In previous research, children were found to identify with their groups as measured by their levels of happiness for being part their assigned group after primed with this task (Nesdale et al., 2005). In the form of three illustrations, participants were shown three types of activities that their group liked to do (e.g., photography, tennis, painting).

Participants were then introduced to an out-group peer with similar interests and an in-group peer with different interests, each seeking entry into the group (e.g., “Ellen Morris, who is not of Asian background, wants to join the group and she likes these activities”). The activities that each target liked were also depicted in the illustrations in the survey (see Figure 1). When the target was an ethnic out-group peer, the activities were similar to those depicted for the group, and when the target was an ethnic in-group peer, pictures of activities were different from those depicted for the group.

### *Measures*

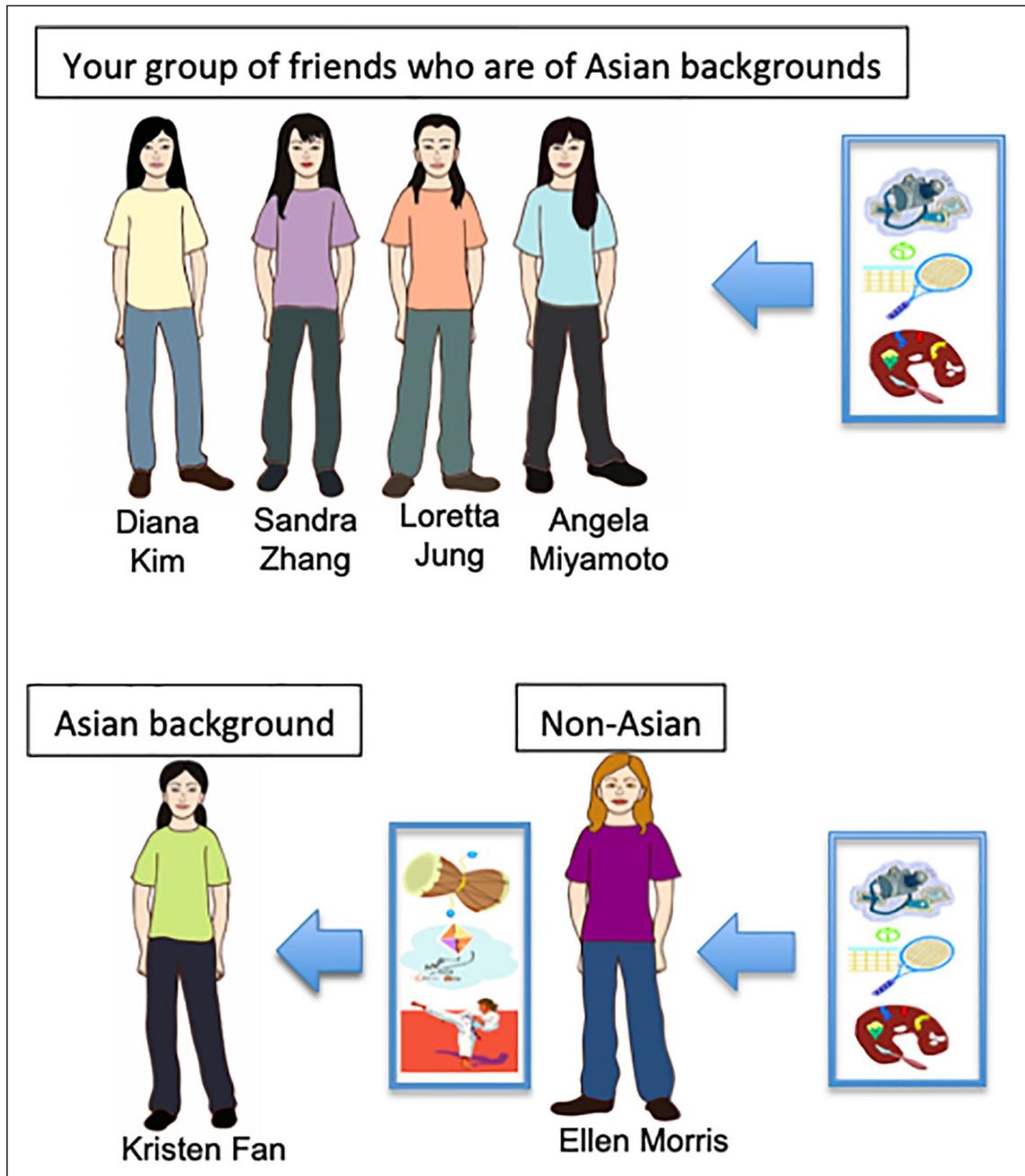
Within the survey, participants read the following: “Your group of friends is going to a movie and they have room for one more person to invite. Both Kristen [Jeremy] and Ellen [Kevin] like going to the movies.” Then they were asked three inclusion questions:

1. Group inclusion expectations and reasoning: For the group inclusion assessment, participants read the following: “Who do you think the group will invite? (Choose only one).” Both names were listed. Then participants read: “Why? (Please fill out the lines with your answer).”
2. Individual inclusion preference and reasoning: For the individual inclusion assessment, which was posed immediately after the group inclusion question, participants read: “Who would you prefer

to invite? (Choose only one).” Both names were listed. Then participants read: “Why? (Please fill out the lines with your answer).”

3. Parent inclusion expectations and reasoning: For the parental inclusion assessment, which was posed immediately after

the individual inclusion question, participants read: “Who would Diana Kim’s [peer group member in illustration] parents want her to invite? (Choose only one).” Both names were listed. Then participants read: “Why? (Please fill out the lines with your answer).”



**Figure 1.** Illustration of in-group and targets of inclusion (female version).  
*Note.* © 2013 Joan Tycko, illustrator.

The three responses were coded as: 1 = out-group target with similar interests or 0 = in-group target with different interests.

### *Reasoning Categories and Coding Reliability*

Participants' written reasoning was coded using a system comprised of categories drawn from the conceptual model (SRD; Killen & Rutland, 2011), previous research using a similar paradigm (Hitti & Killen, 2015), as well as from pilot survey data. There were four substantive categories: (a) activity preferences (e.g., "She likes to do different activities," "He likes tennis just like them"); (b) ethnicity (e.g., "He's Asian which is different from them," "She's the same culture, they would like her"); (c) stereotypes/prejudicial expectations (e.g., "Asian parents don't like people of other races"); and (d) benefits to diversity (e.g., "Learn new things and make new friends," "It's good to have different opinions," "Parents sometimes encourage different friendships"). Please refer to the Appendix for more examples of the reasoning used. There was also a fifth category for uncodable responses: (e) uncodable. Less than 10% of the responses were uncodable.

Responses could be assigned a maximum of two codes, thus responses were coded as 1 = full use of the category; .5 = partial use with another category; or 0 = no use of the category. On the basis of 25% of the surveys, a minimum Cohen's  $\kappa = .80$  for interrater reliability was achieved between the raters. Analyses were conducted using the most frequently used forms of justifications (with a proportion usage of .10 or higher). Less than 10% of participants used two codes. The .10 cut-off was used for two reasons. First, this has been standard practice in the research literature on social and moral reasoning (see Killen, Rutland, Abrams, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2013). The widely used rule is to analyze reasoning categories that are used more than 10% (.10). This is because there may be multiple categories that are used 3%, 4%, which will not result in meaningful findings. Second, the goal is to capture as much

diversity in children's reasoning as possible without compromising the goal of focusing on the most frequently used reasoning.

### *Plan for Analyses*

All analyses were conducted in SPSS Version 21. Initially, to test H1, H2, and H3, chi-square tests were conducted to examine participants' likelihood of choosing the in-group peer or out-group peer for each dependent measure (individual inclusion preferences, group inclusion expectations, and parent inclusion expectations). Next, to examine whether decisions and expectations differed as a function of age (10, 13, and 16 years), logistic regressions were conducted for each dependent measure. Although no gender differences were hypothesized, gender was included as a control variable, given mixed prior findings as to whether females are, on average, more inclusive toward out-group peers than males.

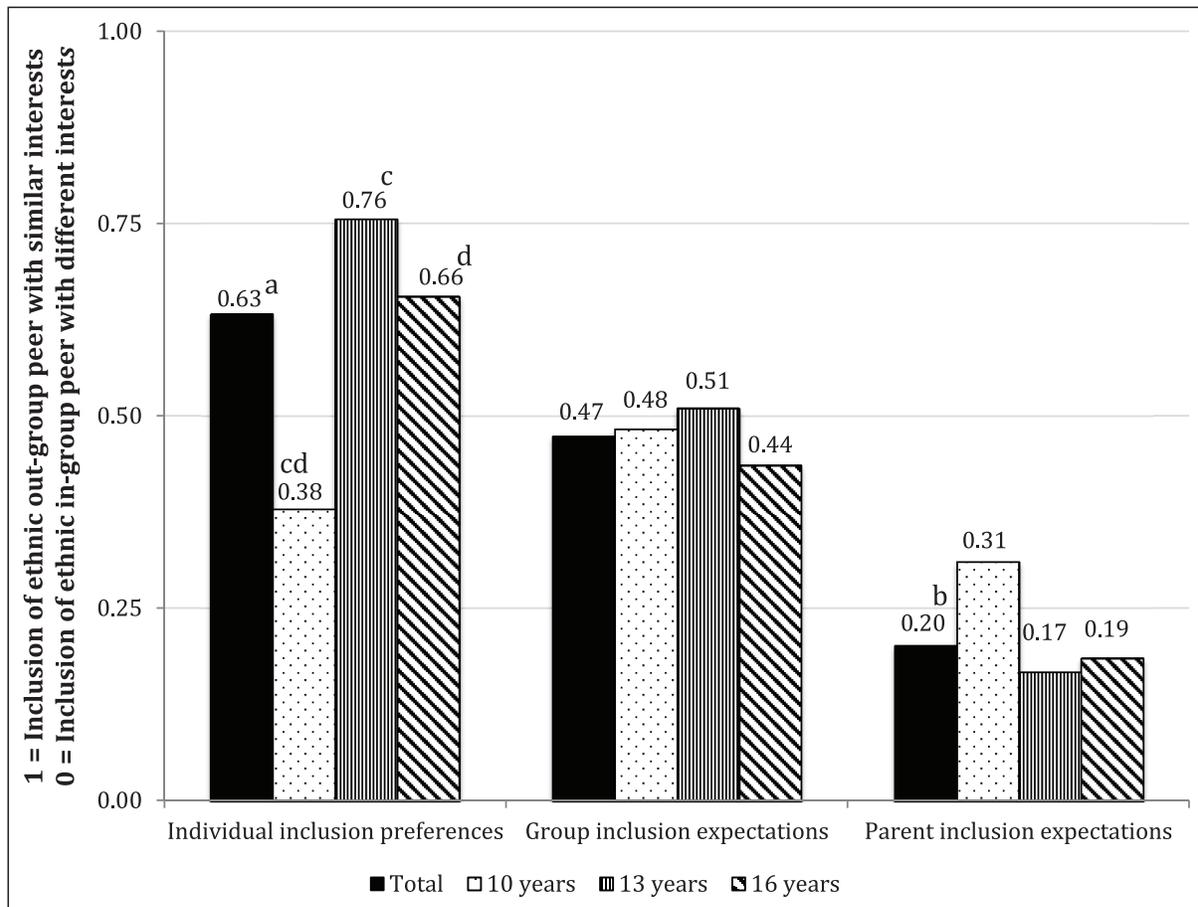
To examine reasoning used for inclusion responses, differences in average use of reasoning (1 = full use of the category, .5 = partial use, 0 = no use of the category) were assessed using repeated measures ANOVAs. Follow-up Bonferroni adjusted pairwise comparisons were conducted to examine statistically significant interaction effects. All reported  $p$  values were adjusted by the statistical software.

To compare participants' responses to individual inclusion preferences with responses to group inclusion expectations, and compare responses to individual inclusion preferences with responses to parent inclusion expectations (H4), separate McNemar tests were conducted for each age group.

## **Results**

### *Individual Inclusion Decisions*

Overall, participants were more likely to include an out-group peer with similar interests than an in-group peer with different interests,  $\chi^2(1, N = 133) = 9.21, p < .002$  (see Figure 2, for responses; 63% selected out-group target), thus prioritizing similar interests over ethnic group memberships.



**Figure 2.** Individual, peer group, and parental inclusion assessments by age.

*Note.* 1 = inclusion of ethnic out-group peer with similar interests, 0 = inclusion of ethnic in-group peer with different interests. <sup>a</sup>Indicates difference from chance at  $p < .01$ . <sup>b</sup>Indicates difference from chance at  $p < .001$ . <sup>c</sup>Columns with this subscript are different at  $p < .001$ . <sup>d</sup>Columns with this subscript are different at  $p < .05$ .

Logistic regression analysis with age group and gender as predictors indicated that the preference for an out-group peer was driven by adolescents, Model  $\chi^2(3) = 11.25$ ,  $p = .010$ ; Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .11$ . That is, age group was a significant predictor of individual inclusion preferences (Wald  $\chi^2 = 10.26$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p = .006$ ). The odds that 13- and 16-year-olds would choose an ethnic out-group peer were, respectively, 4.99 and 3.05 times those of 10-year-olds (Wald  $\chi^2 = 10.01$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = .002$ , and Wald  $\chi^2 = 5.42$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = .020$ , respectively), indicating that inclusivity toward an ethnic out-group peer with similar interests was more prevalent in adolescents than in children. No differences were found for inclusion preferences between 13- and 16-year-olds ( $p = .260$ ), and no gender differences were found ( $p = .702$ ).

*Reasoning.* To examine the reasons behind participants' individual preferences, analyses were conducted on participants' use of the following reasoning categories: activity preferences, ethnicity, and benefits to diversity, as participants used these categories in proportions of 0.10 or higher (see Table 1). A 3 (Age Group: 10 years, 13 years, 16 years)  $\times$  2 (Judgment: ethnic out-group peer, ethnic in-group peer)  $\times$  3 (Reasoning: activity preferences, ethnicity, benefits to diversity) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor was conducted.

A main effect was found for reasoning,  $F(2, 254) = 18.23$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .12$ , indicating, as shown in Table 1, that activity preferences were used most to reason about participants' individual inclusion preferences ( $p = .008$ , when compared to ethnicity reasoning; and  $p < .001$ ,

**Table 1.** Participants' reasoning about individual inclusion preferences by age.

	Activity preferences	Ethnicity	Benefits to diversity
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Out-group target, similar interests	0.62 (0.45)	0.20 (0.36)	0.11 (0.31)
10 years	0.46 (0.47)	0.27 (0.41)	0.18 (0.40)
13 years	0.66 (0.44)	0.18 (0.34)	0.11 (0.31)
16 years	0.63 (0.45)	0.19 (0.36)	0.08 (0.28)
In-group target, different interests	0.42 (0.48)	0.33 (0.45)	0.10 (0.31)
10 years	0.36 (0.48)	0.33 (0.45)	0.17 (0.38)
13 years	0.42 (0.51)	0.33 (0.49)	0.08 (0.29)
16 years	0.47 (0.49)	0.32 (0.45)	0.05 (0.23)
Total	0.55 (0.47) <sup>a</sup>	0.24 (0.40) <sup>a**b</sup>	0.11 (0.31) <sup>a***b*</sup>

*Note.* <sup>a</sup>Indicates differences between use of activity preferences and other types of reasoning; <sup>b</sup>indicates difference between use of ethnicity and benefits to diversity.

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

when compared to benefits to diversity reasoning). Reasoning about activity preferences was consistent with expectations regarding how participants would reason about inclusion preferences. In addition, significantly more references to ethnicity were made compared to benefits to diversity ( $p = .012$ ), when justifying individual inclusion preferences.

Counter to expectations, no age effects or effects related to decision (ethnic out-group peer, ethnic in-group peer) were found. When making their own inclusion decisions, participants across all age groups considered the target's activity preferences, followed by ethnic group membership, and lastly how inclusion of the target might contribute to the diversity of the group.

### *Expectations for Peer Group Inclusion*

Participants did not significantly perceive their in-group peers to be more inclusive of one target over the other ( $p = .544$ ; see Figure 2, for proportions; 47% selected out-group target). Further, logistic regression analysis showed no statistically significant effects for participant age or gender when providing expectations for in-group inclusion preferences ( $p = .736$  and  $p = .622$ , respectively); Model  $\chi^2(3) = .82$ ,  $p = .844$ ; Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .01$ .

*Reasoning.* The most frequently used categories for reasoning about a peer group's inclusivity were activity preferences and ethnicity (used in proportions of 0.10 or higher). A 3 (Age Group: 10 years, 13 years, 16 years)  $\times$  2 (Judgment: ethnic out-group peer, ethnic in-group peer)  $\times$  2 (Reasoning: activity preferences, ethnicity) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor was conducted. A Reasoning  $\times$  Judgment effect was found,  $F(1, 127) = 7.05$ ,  $p = .009$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .05$ .

As shown in Table 2, participants who expected their peer group to include an ethnic in-group peer referenced ethnicity more so than activity preferences ( $p = .047$ ). Those who expected their group to choose an ethnic out-group peer with similar interests reasoned about both ethnic group membership and activity preferences (no significant differences between the use of these two reasons were found;  $p = .082$ ).

Activity preferences were used more by participants who expected their peers to choose an ethnic out-group peer than an ethnic in-group peer ( $p = .033$ ). In contrast, ethnicity was used more by those who expected their group to include an ethnic in-group peer than an out-group peer ( $p = .005$ ). Contrary to expectations, compared to children, adolescents did not rely more on ethnic group membership and

**Table 2.** Participants' reasoning about their peer group inclusion expectations by age.

	Activity preferences	Ethnicity
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Out-group target, similar interests	0.54 (0.45) <sup>b</sup>	0.33 (0.42) <sup>c</sup>
10 years	0.50 (0.48)	0.43 (0.47)
13 years	0.62 (0.44)	0.28 (0.41)
16 years	0.48 (0.45)	0.31 (0.41)
In-group target, different interests	0.34 (0.44) <sup>ab*</sup>	0.59 (0.47) <sup>***c</sup>
10 years	0.50 (0.50)	0.50 (0.50)
13 years	0.27 (0.42)	0.58 (0.48)
16 years	0.31 (0.42)	0.63 (0.45)
Total	0.43 (0.46)	0.46 (0.46)

*Note.* <sup>a</sup>Indicates differences in reasoning among those who selected the in-group target; <sup>b</sup>indicates difference in use of activity preferences between those who selected in-group target and those who selected out-group target; <sup>c</sup>indicates difference in use of ethnicity between those who selected in-group target and those who selected out-group target.

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

stereotypes to reason about what factors would be considered by their peer group when including a peer to join.

### *Expectations for Parent Inclusion*

Overall, participants expected in-group parents to be exclusive toward an ethnic out-group peer with similar interests as the group,  $\chi^2(1, N = 131) = 45.26, p < .001$  (see Figure 2, for proportions; 20% selected the out-group target). Logistic regression analysis revealed no effects for age group ( $p = .201$ ); however, there was an unexpected gender effect (Wald  $\chi^2 = 4.35, df = 1, p = .037$ ). This finding indicated that the odds of girls expecting parents to choose in-group peers were 2.56 times greater than those of boys, Model  $\chi^2(3) = 6.75, p = .080$ ; Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .08$ .

*Reasoning.* Participants referenced four categories when reasoning about their expectations for parents' choices: activity preferences, ethnicity, stereotypes/prejudicial expectations, and benefits to diversity (categories used in proportions of 0.10 or higher). A 3 (Age Group: 10 years, 13 years, 16 years)  $\times$  2 (Judgment: ethnic out-group peer, ethnic in-group peer)  $\times$  4 (Reasoning: activity preferences, ethnicity, stereotypes/prejudice, benefits to diversity) ANOVA with repeated

measures on the last factor was conducted. A Reasoning  $\times$  Judgment effect was found,  $F(3, 375) = 9.38, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .06$ , as was a Reasoning  $\times$  Age Group effect,  $F(6, 375) = 2.70, p = .025, \eta_p^2 = .04$ . These were qualified by a Reasoning  $\times$  Age Group  $\times$  Judgment interaction,  $F(6, 375) = 2.41, p = .042, \eta_p^2 = .03$ . Findings indicated differences between how children and adolescents reasoned about their views of parents' inclusivity.

*Justifying including an ethnic out-group peer.* As displayed in Table 3, when explaining their expectation that parents would want to include an ethnic out-group peer, 10-year-olds referenced benefits to diversity more than any other type of reasoning (activity preferences and ethnicity:  $p = .017$ ; and stereotypes/prejudicial expectations:  $p = .008$ ), and did so more than 13- and 16-year-olds ( $p = .001$  and  $p < .001$ , respectively).

Thirteen-year-olds, by contrast, relied most on activity preferences compared to other types of reasons (ethnicity [*ns*]:  $p = .181$ ; benefits to diversity:  $p = .008$ ; stereotypes/prejudicial expectations:  $p = .007$ ). The oldest group, 16-year-olds, considered both activity preferences and ethnicity equally to justify why in-group parents might be inclusive toward an ethnic out-group peer (no statistically significant differences between bene-

**Table 3.** Participants' reasoning about their in-group parent inclusion expectations by age.

	Activity preferences	Ethnicity	Benefits to diversity	Stereotypes/prejudice
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Out-group target, similar interests	0.39 (0.49)	0.24 (0.42)	0.26 (0.47)	0.04 (0.19)
10 years	0.11 (0.33) <sup>a*</sup>	0.11 (0.33) <sup>b*</sup>	0.56 (0.53) <sup>abcde</sup>	0.00 (0.00) <sup>c**</sup>
13 years	0.69 (0.46) <sup>f**g***</sup>	0.19 (0.37)	0.13 (0.35) <sup>d***f</sup>	0.00 (0.00) <sup>g</sup>
16 years	0.40 (0.52)	0.40 (0.52)	0.10 (0.35) <sup>e***</sup>	0.10 (0.32)
In-group target, different interests	0.10 (0.28)	0.42 (0.48)	0.03 (0.17)	0.38 (0.49)
10 years	0.23 (0.38)	0.43 (0.47)	0.15 (0.37)	0.15 (0.37) <sup>p*</sup>
13 years	0.09 (0.27) <sup>h*i***</sup>	0.41 (0.49) <sup>hj</sup>	0.01 (0.08) <sup>i***k***</sup>	0.48 (0.51) <sup>ikp</sup>
16 years	0.05 (0.21) <sup>l***m***</sup>	0.42 (0.49) <sup>ln</sup>	0.00 (0.00) <sup>n***o***</sup>	0.40 (0.49) <sup>mo</sup>
Total	0.16 (0.35)	0.38 (0.48)	0.08 (0.27)	0.31 (0.46)

*Note.* Means with the same superscript letter indicate significant differences.

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

fits to diversity and stereotypes/prejudicial expectations were found).

*Justifying including an ethnic in-group peer.* As shown in Table 3, 13-year-olds relied on ethnicity and stereotypes/prejudicial expectations to explain why they expected their in-group's parents to want to include an in-group peer, more so than activity preferences and benefits to diversity ( $p$ s  $< .001$ , except difference between ethnicity and activity preferences,  $p = .011$ ). Thirteen-year-olds also referenced parents' stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes more so than 10-year-olds ( $p < .022$ ).

Sixteen-year-olds also referenced ethnicity and stereotypes/prejudicial expectations more so than activity preferences and benefits to diversity (all  $p$ s  $< .001$ ) when explaining expectations for parental exclusivity. Thus, as expected compared to children, adolescents relied on ethnic group membership and stereotypes to reason about the exclusiveness of parents.

### *Comparing Individual Inclusion With Expectations for Peer Group and Parent Inclusion*

It was expected that individual inclusivity would differ from expectations regarding in-group parents' and peer groups' inclusivity, and these

differences would be greater for older participants. To test these expectations in a repeated measures design with variables that are binary in nature, McNemar tests were conducted. This was done collapsing across all age groups and then for each age group separately. Sample sizes for the McNemar tests may be different from the total sample size due to occasional missing values on one of the measures compared.

As shown in Table 4, when comparing individual inclusion with expectations regarding peer group inclusion with a sample of 133 participants, McNemar's test revealed a statistically significant difference in the proportion of participants who chose an ethnic out-group peer for individual preferences compared to what they expected their peer group would do ( $p = .01$ , power  $[1 - \beta] = .78$ ). This difference showed up in comparison tests for 13- and 16-year-olds ( $p = .029$ ,  $1 - \beta = .55$ ;  $p = .017$ ,  $1 - \beta = .62$ ). No statistically significant difference was found for responses of 10-year-olds ( $p = .581$ ).

Similarly, when comparing individual inclusion with expectations regarding in-group parent inclusion with a sample of 131 participants, McNemar's test revealed a statistically significant difference in the proportion of participants who chose an ethnic out-group peer for individual preferences compared to what they expected an in-group parent would do ( $p < .001$ ;

**Table 4.** Comparison of individual versus expectations of peer group, and individual versus expectations of in-group parents (frequencies).

	Total	10 years	13 years	16 years
Individual (I) versus group (G) choices ( $N = 133$ )				
In-group target (I) and in-group target (G)	29	10	5	14
In-group target (I) and out-group target (G)	20	8	7	5
Out-group target (I) and in-group target (G)	41	5	19	17
Out-group target (I) and out-group target (G)	43	6	18	19
Individual (I) versus parent (P) choices ( $N = 131$ )				
In-group target (I) and in-group target (P)	40	14	9	17
In-group target (I) and out-group target (P)	8	4	3	1
Out-group target (I) and in-group target (P)	64	6	31	27
Out-group target (I) and out-group target (P)	19	5	5	9

*Note.* Frequencies in cells where the target choices do not match are indicative of the size of discrepancy between each measure (individual vs. expectations of peer group and individual vs. expectations of parent; see Duffy, 1984).

$1 - \beta = 1.00$ ). When examining similar comparisons across each age group, it appeared this finding was driven by 13- and 16-year-olds ( $p < .001$ ,  $1 - \beta = .99$ ;  $p < .001$ ,  $1 - \beta = .99$ ). No statistically significant difference was found for responses of 10-year-olds ( $p = .754$ ). These findings indicated that adolescents' own inclusion preferences were more likely to differ from expectations about whom in-group parents would want their children to include.

## Discussion

Cross-ethnic inclusivity is a gateway to cross-ethnic friendship, which is central to the reduction of prejudice in development (Tropp et al., 2014). This study provided novel evidence for Asian American youth's preferences and expectations regarding cross-ethnic inclusivity. Despite some documented preferences for same-ethnic friendships compared to cross-ethnic friendships among Asian American youth (Chen & Graham, 2015), youth in this study prioritized shared interests over ethnicity when considering whom to invite to participate in a group activity. This inclusivity was higher among adolescents than among children, resulting in a greater distinction with age between youth's own inclusive orientation and their expectations for what their in-group peers

and parents would want. In particular, across the elementary, middle, and high school samples, the majority of Asian American participants expected that an Asian parent would want their child to interact with same-ethnic peers. Participants also expected in-group peers to be somewhat mixed in their approach to interactions with ethnic out-group peers.

### *Individual Inclusivity*

Unlike 10-year-olds, adolescent Asian Americans were more likely to prefer to include an ethnic out-group peer who shared interests with the group over an in-group peer who did not. Their reasoning highlighted this focus, as well as an understanding of the benefits of having ethnically diverse friendships, such as exploring new cultures and having several opinions. These findings are consistent with the SRD perspective in that they shed light on the importance of individuating information in promoting inclusion and overcoming stereotypic assumptions (Rutland & Killen, 2017).

Further, according to the SRD perspective, status differences are often taken into consideration by children when making cross-ethnic decisions (Killen, Elenbaas, & Rutland, 2015). In the current study, the ethnic group status of the out-group target was controlled for, and was always

depicted as a majority-status peer. Future research should continue to examine Asian American youth's inclusivity toward other ethnic-minority peers as a further test of the impact of individuating information on reasoning about cross-ethnic interactions. Although the ethnicity of the out-group peer was not manipulated, the findings from the current study can serve as a baseline assessment of inclusivity toward cross-ethnic peers, especially those who share the same interest in activities.

The findings are also consistent with past research showing how ethnic-majority and non-Asian minority youth give priority to shared interests in activities when making inclusion decisions (Hitti & Killen, 2015; Margie, Killen, Sinno, & McGlothlin, 2005). The current study extended these findings with a sample of Asian American youth, and has implications for interventions aimed to promote actual cross-ethnic friendships among this population (Chen & Graham, 2015). In particular, activity-based peer groups can provide the space and opportunity for children from different ethnic backgrounds to interact and engage around activities they all enjoy doing.

### *Perceptions of Peer Groups*

Asian American youth across all age groups were mixed about whether their same-ethnic peer group would want to include a same-ethnic peer with different interests or a cross-ethnic peer with the same interests, and their reasoning mirrored these concerns. Their reasoning reflected perceptions that their peers would be mainly concerned with ethnic group membership and activity preference when making decisions about inclusion. While this is consistent with previous research with other ethnic-minority adolescents indicating mixed expectations about peer attitudes toward cross-ethnic peers (Tropp et al., 2016; Tropp et al., 2014), the current study extends these findings to Asian American youth.

Overall, participants viewed their peer groups to be less inclusive than they personally were, in line with past research (Mulvey et al., 2014). Analyses indicated such differentiation might be

more prevalent among adolescents than 10-year-olds. While this age-related pattern is consistent with expectations drawn from other research (Mulvey et al., 2014), the sample size of 10-year-olds in the current study was somewhat limiting, thus more research must be conducted with younger Asian American samples around these issues.

In addition, Asian American youth's perceptions of their peer group norms regarding inclusion criteria should be systematically examined by using other questions to further probe responses regarding preferences for ethnic homophily and interest homophily. A next step for studies in this area could be to fully experimentally contrast ethnicity and activity preference, in order to examine age differences in inclusivity as a function of similarity at both levels. This would require some conditions where ethnicity is held constant and activity preferences differ (i.e., both peers are Asian American but do different activities) and some conditions where activity is held constant and peer ethnicity differs. Additionally, although a forced-choice inclusion paradigm was used in this study to allow for a critical analysis of children's reasoning behind their ultimate inclusion decisions, future research could also examine children's desire to invite each peer separately, which may allow for a more nuanced understanding of children's and adolescents' developing responses to inclusion contexts more generally.

### *Autonomy Versus Affirming Parental Values*

The findings in this study indicated that Asian American youth are picking up on parental messages about racial and ethnic out-groups, and view their parents as having exclusive orientations toward ethnic out-groups. Unexpectedly, girls viewed their parents to be more exclusive than did boys. Ethnic socialization research shows no consistent gender differences in how parents socialize their children about race or ethnicity, especially when it comes to messages about promoting mistrust toward an out-group (Hughes et al., 2006). However, some research indicates gender

differences in how parents prepare their children for bias by providing coping strategies (Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009). This research found that adolescent boys (African American, Latin American, and Chinese American) perceived more preparation for bias from parents than girls. It is unclear however if messages about mistrusting out-groups are being perceived differently by girls and boys. To gain more clarity, future research should continue to include gender of the participant as a factor when examining perceptions of parental inclusivity.

Inconsistencies in the literature exist around the extent to which children's attitudes regarding cross-ethnic relationships align with their views of parental intergroup values. While some research evidenced high correlations between children's and parents' intergroup attitudes, which increased with age (Degner & Dalege, 2013), other research from moral development perspectives indicated that children often disagree with parents or authority figures and particularly when they act in ways that children view as unjust (Turiel, 1983). In the current study, we found support for the latter, that adolescents' cross-ethnic inclusivity did not align with their views of parents' cross-ethnic inclusivity. Adolescents expected that Asian parents would prefer that their children have same-ethnic friendships, while their personal choices were not aligned with this perspective.

Likewise, adolescents in particular often expected that Asian parents would have stereotypes about out-group peers or have prejudicial attitudes. This is in contrast to participants' own views that they would personally focus on activity preferences rather than ethnicity to make inclusion decisions. Younger children were less inclusive than 13- and 16-year-olds were, which suggests that younger children might be more compliant with (or less critical of) parental attitudes of same-ethnic preferences in friendships.

A high proportion of adolescents used stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes to explain why they expected Asian American parents to prefer in-group peers. It may be that as Asian American children get older and begin to balance between their own ethnic norms and values and their dominant culture, parental socialization messages

about cross-ethnic relationships shift from being adaptive to being viewed as prejudicial. This shift requires further examination, especially given some challenges faced by Asian American youth that relate to cultural socialization (Yip, Douglass, & Shelton, 2013; Zhai, 2017). For the first time, the current study provides insight regarding developmental differences in these perceptions, and this has implications for strategies to improve adolescent-parent relationships. One way could be to encourage parents to express more inclusive messages about peer relationships. Given that cultural socialization might vary based on the generational status of an immigrant youth and their country of origin (Kiang et al., 2016), future research should also examine how perceptions might change across generations of Asian American youth and youth from different Asian backgrounds.

Additionally, the findings of perceptions of parental inclusivity toward cross-ethnic peers extended the SRD perspective by emphasizing the role of parental socialization in children's decisions regarding cross-ethnic interactions. Reports of actual friendships of Asian American youth from other studies (Chen & Graham, 2015) align more with their expectations of in-group parents and peers' inclusivity. It is possible that although they are inclined to be inclusive toward ethnic out-group peers who share the same interests as them, in actuality the messages they are receiving from parents and other in-group peers may be impediments for cross-ethnic interactions.

However, children reasoned about parental inclusivity citing benefits to diversity more so than adolescents. Although not the most common form of reasoning, benefits to diversity were used by some youth to justify both individual inclusivity and perceptions of parent inclusivity, adding to our understanding of what values and messages children are noting. Studies with larger samples of young children of Asian descent should investigate the role of such messages in children's evaluations of cross-ethnic interactions. This will add to the SRD perspective by providing a better understanding of why children might prioritize some concerns over others in their inclusion decisions. In addition, future

research should measure children's perceptions of their own parents' cross-ethnic attitudes, along with perceptions of ethnic socialization messages, to directly examine the impact of such perceptions on children's friendship choices.

### Conclusion

In summary, Asian American youth were inclusive toward ethnic out-groups, but their views about in-group peers' and parents' inclusivity varied. Asian youth disagreed with what they viewed as less inclusive peer groups and ethnically exclusive in-group parents. These divergent views may contribute to the challenges that Asian youth experience regarding peer and parent relationships (Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008), but also attest to their willingness to embrace ethnic diversity despite the expectation that their peers or parents may not always want to. This willingness to be inclusive toward ethnic out-groups despite peer group and parent expectations highlights the role of fairness judgments in ethnic-minority youth's intergroup decision making. It is possible that their own experiences with discrimination and exclusion could make them more attuned to the harm of ethnic-based exclusion (C. S. Brown, 2017; Hitti, Mulvey, & Killen, 2017), however, more research is needed to directly examine the impact of actual experiences with discrimination on Asian American children's views on diversity and exclusion.

The findings extend the SRD model (Rutland et al., 2010) by highlighting the importance of individuating information for Asian American youth in cross-ethnic peer group interactions. The findings also emphasize the importance of social messages from parents, a perspective that not yet been studied empirically from a SRD framework, but is an essential part of the cross-ethnic experiences of ethnic-minority and majority youth. Overall, the study contributes to an understanding of how minority youth might be interpreting the social cues and messages they are getting from peers and parents. Future studies would benefit from more systematic research to pinpoint the messages that are being received from both parents and peers when it comes to

cross-ethnic peer relationships. The current research findings provide a new avenue for understanding cross-ethnic peer relationships in childhood and adolescence.

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## Appendix

### Examples of reasoning used

	Out-group target, similar interests	In-group target, different interests
Activity preferences		
Individual preferences	“She is similar. How they look doesn't matter.”	“She likes the different things I like.”
Group expectations	“Because they could agree on a movie easier because they have a lot in common.”	“Kristen because not a lot of people knows how to do the stuff Kristen likes.”
Parental expectations	“They like the same things.”	“He is different.”
Ethnicity		
Individual preferences	“I also like people who are different from me.”	“Because I like to have friends who have Asian background like me.”
Group expectations	“Because he is non-Asian which is different.”	“Because Kristen is the same background.”
Parental expectations	“They would want to invite Ellen because she is a different race from anybody else in the group.”	“They will feel comfortable with someone with an Asian background.”
Benefits to diversity		
Individual preferences	“Getting to know different types of people is a good thing.”	“I would invite Kristen because I want to try new activities.”
Parental expectations	“So that they could expose her to new people who have things in common with her.”	“Diana's parents want her to invite Kristen because Diana can learn new thing from her.”
Stereotypes/prejudicial expectations		
Parental expectations		“Because the parents side to the Asian.” “Because his parents are Asian and they only like other Asians.” “Because she's racist.”