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Moral Judgments About Jewish–Arab Intergroup Exclusion: The Role of Cultural Identity and Contact

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Prejudice and discrimination as justifications for social exclusion are often viewed as violations of the moral principles of welfare, justice, and equality, but intergroup exclusion can also often be viewed as a necessary and legitimate means to maintain group identity and cohesion (Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010). The current study was guided by the social reasoning developmental perspective (Killen & Rutland, 2011) to examine the moral judgments of social exclusion encounters, and the degree to which cultural identity and actual contact with members of other cultural groups is related to social evaluations. Surprisingly, no research has examined how intergroup contact bears on moral judgments about Jewish–Arab encounters in the United States. The current study surveyed 241 Jewish and 249 non-Arab/non-Jewish (comparison group) 14- and 17-year-olds to assess their cultural identification, intergroup contact, and moral judgments regarding intergroup peer social exclusion situations between Jewish and Arab youth in peer, home, and community contexts. Participants overwhelmingly rejected exclusion of an outgroup member explicitly because of their group membership. Context effects emerged, and exclusion was rated as most acceptable in the community context and least acceptable in the peer context. Three factors of identity (i.e., exploration, commitment, and concern for relationships) were explored. Generally, higher identity commitment and lower identity concern for relationships were related to more inclusive evaluations. Interactions between the identity factors and intergroup contact and cultural group, however, differentially predicted evaluations of intergroup exclusion.

Keywords: moral judgments, intergroup exclusion, cultural identity, intergroup contact

Moral judgment includes the understanding and application of fairness and justice principles to social interactions and relationships (Piaget, 1932; Turiel, 2002). Prejudice and discrimination as justifications for social exclusion are often viewed as violations of such moral principles, but intergroup exclusion can also often be viewed as a necessary and legitimate means to maintain group identity and cohesion (Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010). Over the past 15 years, one line of research in moral development has focused on when group-based exclusion is or is not viewed as morally wrong, or on how the context (e.g., situational, cultural, historical, national) in which social exclusion occurs might relate to this evaluation. This approach is part of a broader area of research on developmental intergroup attitudes, which examines the origins of prejudice and intergroup bias and has been the focus of integrative research between social and developmental psychologists (Dunham & Degner, 2010; Killen & Rutland, 2011; Quintana & McKown, 2008). In the current study, we brought together the fields of intergroup contact (Allport, 1954), cultural identity (Phinney, 1992; social identity theory: Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and moral development (social reasoning developmental perspective: social domain theory integrated with social identity theory: Rutland et al., 2010) to examine moral judgments in the context of Jewish–Arab peer encounters and conditions (intergroup contact and cultural identity) under which it is viewed as wrong or legitimate to exclude a peer on the basis of cultural identity (see Figure 1).

Recent research has documented the negative intergroup attitudes between Jewish and Arab youth and adults in the Middle East (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Brenick et al., 2007, 2010), yet little is known about how these negative intergroup biases manifest in cultural communities in the United States. The U.S. context is unique in that it provides an opportunity to study intergroup attitudes about Jewish–Arab relations in a cultural setting removed from the daily stress and tension of an intractable conflict, the existence of highly segregated communities, and an overarching national ideology arguably supporting an ethnocratic state (Yiftachel, 2006).

As in the Middle East, cultural stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination toward Muslim and Arab groups as well as negative intergroup tensions between Jews and Arabs exist in the United States (Alliance of Civilizations, 2006; Anti-Defamation League, 2011; Panagopoulos, 2006). Although little is known about U.S. children's or adolescents' attitudes toward peers of Arab descent,

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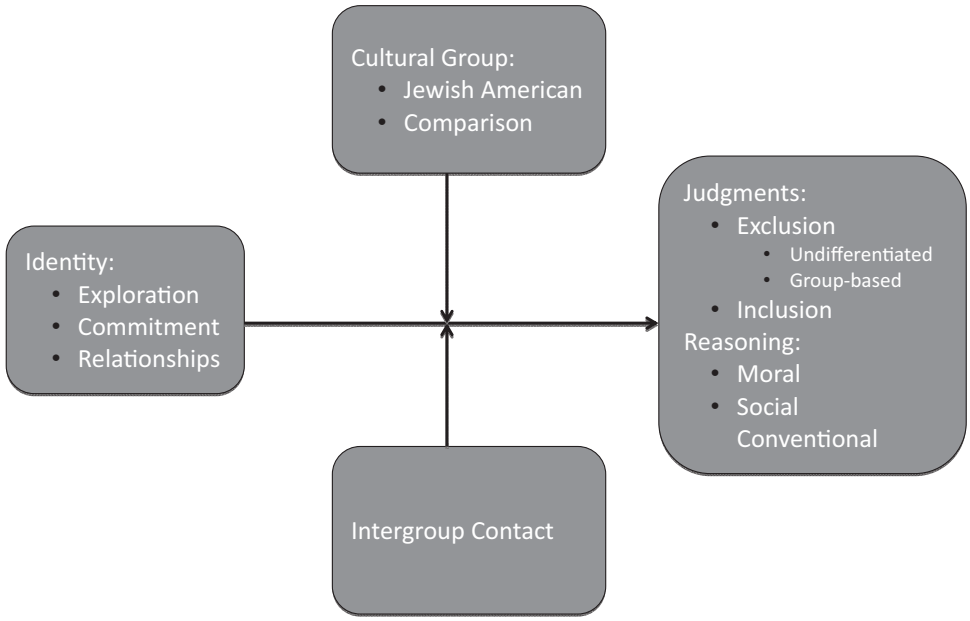

Figure 1. Conceptual model.

one recent exception is a study in which non-Arab American children viewed their own peer group as inclusive, but expected peers of Arab descent to be exclusive and prefer to be with their own cultural group (Hitti & Killen, 2013). Research with U.S. college students has shown that negative attitudes toward Arab individuals manifest across a number of contexts, including being more fearful and suspicious if required to attend an Islamic religious service (than an unnamed religious service) and lacking a willingness or feeling threatened if made to engage in basic social interactions ranging from introducing oneself to dating an Arab (Jenkins, Ruppel, Kizer, Yehl, & Griffin, 2012; Sergent, Woods, & Sedlacek, 1992), and, particularly for Jewish American participants and participants who did not know a Muslim personally, supporting racial profiling of Arabs and Muslims (Kim, 2004).

While intergroup discrimination and exclusion are widely experienced by Arabs, Muslims, and Jews living in the United States, the larger political and historical context in the United States, one that at least in theory emphasizes plurality, is quite different from that of Israel, one that emphasizes ethnocracy (Yiftachel, 2006). The U.S. context is generally more accepting of salient minority identities and allows for more opportunities to engage in positive contact between groups.

Social and developmental psychologists have demonstrated the ways in which intergroup contact (described in detail below) between groups with historic conflict can reduce intergroup prejudice, particularly for the majority group (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), and promote moral reasoning about exclusion (Crystal, Killen, & Ruck, 2008; Gieling, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2011), especially when the contact involves groups who are highly salient to their members (Brown & Hewstone, 2005). Critics of this approach argue that contact interventions tend not to represent contact as it occurs in real life (e.g., friendships, casual unstructured meetings; Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005) and tend to ignore the larger societal standards of status and hierarchy and empowerment of the disadvantaged group (Dixon et al., 2010; Ron, Maoz, & Bekerman, 2010). For the U.S. context, and from a developmental approach, studies have revealed that both approaches have merit and empirical support (Killen, Mulvey, Hitti, & Rutland, 2012), yet to date, only a few studies have examined the relation between moral reasoning about cultural intergroup exclusion with youths' level of identification and intergroup contact (see Verkuyten, 2008), and no research has examined how intergroup contact bears on moral judgments about Jewish–Arab encounters in the United States. Because intergroup contact has been shown to be effective regarding the reduction of prejudice related to race and ethnicity, examining this issue for attitudes about Jewish–Arab relationships is warranted particularly among a salient group: Jewish American youth. Therefore, to investigate this topic from a moral judgment perspective requires examining social and moral judgments about social exclusion and the relation of cultural group identity and intergroup contact to these evaluations.

In the current study, we investigated these three dimensions in Jewish and non-Arab/non-Jewish comparison group (who were mostly self-identified as Christian) adolescents in the United States. Adolescents' evaluations of Jewish–Arab intergroup exchanges as a function of intergroup contact and identity were examined for three contexts: (a) peer; (b) family; and (c) community, representing different subcultures with demands and norms relevant to the lives of adolescents (see Hart & Carlo, 2005).

Social Reasoning Developmental Perspective

The social reasoning developmental (SRD) perspective (Rutland et al., 2010) that guides this study draws on both social domain theory (SDT; Turiel, 2002) and social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) to explore the influences of morality and group processes on prejudice in evaluations of social exclusion. The SRD perspective posits that group identity, social conventions, and

moral principles all impact evaluations of intergroup exclusion. Group identity is viewed as highly important—it serves to define the self, build self-esteem, and guide our attitudes, values, and behaviors in accordance with a set of social group norms. Group identity also creates ingroup/outgroup distinctions. *Group dynamics* refer to decisions regarding group identity and group norms, particularly when group norms come in conflict with group identity or when either come in conflict with moral principles.

Furthermore, SRD perspective theorizes that the way one gives priority to group identity, social conventions, or moral principles directly relates to group norms, intergroup contact, and group threat. That is, exclusive social norms and threat to the ingroup promote the use of group identity, group norms, social conventions, and sometimes prejudicial reasoning, whereas intergroup contact promotes the use of more inclusive and prosocial moral reasoning. Below we describe the key theories brought together in the perspective and how they inform our understanding of evaluations of intergroup dynamics.

Social and Moral Reasoning

SDT has identified three categories of reasoning that have been demonstrated to reflect social evaluations of a broad range of events (see Turiel, 2002). The categories are the moral (fairness, equality, rights), societal (conventions, social norms, traditions, authority), and psychological domains (personal choice). Prior research with the SDT has demonstrated that individuals reject intergroup exclusion decisions by reference to the unfairness as well as wrongfulness of discrimination and prejudice (moral domain); however, multifaceted social situations may reflect intergroup exclusion that is normative and necessary or that is based on prejudicial beliefs (Killen & Rutland, 2011). It is in these instances reasons appealing to conventions (societal domain) or group norms and group identity are given priority.

Cultural Identity

Rutland and colleagues (2010) have highlighted the importance of extending the SDT to incorporate intergroup categories relating to social and group identity in social reasoning. SIT states that group identification and belongingness form a core component of the self-concept and, likewise, self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986); this may be particularly so in adolescence when the importance of defining and developing a sense of cultural identity is heightened (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1990). Previous research on cultural identity in adolescence has shown that cultural identity is often associated with heightened negative intergroup attitudes (see Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Sergent et al., 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1986); however, most previous research has not used the more complex and multifaceted assessments found in the developmental psychology literature (Nesdale, 1997; Phinney, 1992). Children and adolescents must define their social context and differentiate ingroups from outgroups in ways that protect against threats to the identity and promote self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), or simply provide coherence and meaning to the self (Rutland et al., 2010); as a result, negative intergroup bias and ingroup favoritism may emerge.

Below we provide examples of how evaluations of group-based exclusion reflect the coordination of these theories. Adolescents judge straightforward interracial exclusion (e.g., Is it OK to exclude the outgroup member?) as unfair and wrong based on moral reasons, but a multifaceted situation in which the decision involves inclusion as well as exclusion, referred to as a *forced-choice inclusion decision* (e.g., Who should the group include, the ingroup or the outgroup member?), is often evaluated differently. In forced-choice inclusion situations, the ingroup member is more likely to be included on the basis of appeals toward group identity reasons that are viewed as less justified in straightforward exclusion scenarios (Verkuyten, 2008). Further, older individuals tend to incorporate concerns about group identity and group functioning into their evaluations of exclusion, which reflects both a more sophisticated and coordinated perspective as well as one that has the potential to lead to ingroup bias (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Brenick, Titzmann, Michel, & Silbereisen, 2012). When intergroup exclusion is explicitly based on group membership (e.g., Is it OK to exclude the outgroup member because of their group membership?), individuals view it as less acceptable and appeal to the unfairness.

The findings have demonstrated that the type of exclusion decision, such as straightforward exclusion or forced-choice inclusion, contributes to the degree of stereotypic expectations and conventional reasoning used to justify the status quo. Further, research has shown that the immediate social context makes a difference. Thus, in the current study, both exclusion and forced-choice inclusion decisions were examined in three contexts: peer, family, and community.

Intergroup Contact

As highlighted above, SRD perspective proposes that intergroup contact can promote moral reasoning about intergroup relations. Allport (1954) first conceptualized intergroup contact as a means to effectively reduce stereotypes and prejudice when certain conditions are met (intergroup contact, alone, is not enough). These conditions included authority sanctioning of mutual respect, equal status, common goals, and intergroup cooperation (Tropp & Prenovost, 2008). Recent meta-analyses have demonstrated that cross-group friendships—a voluntary and naturally occurring context in which optimal contact can be established (Pettigrew, 2008)—are an effective means of reducing majority group prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). These effects are strengthened when the contact involves groups who are highly salient to their members (Brown & Hewstone, 2005).

This relation has been found in the handful of developmental studies on the effects of intergroup contact in children and adolescents' stereotypes and intergroup attitudes (Feddes, Noack, & Rutland, 2009; Jugert, Noack, & Rutland, 2011; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008), but this research has primarily focused on the outcome of reducing outgroup negativity, and not yet on promoting positive and inclusive attitudes toward the outgroup. Furthermore, moral judgment was not included as a variable in these studies, but only in a series of studies using a media-based indirect, rather than direct, contact intervention (Brenick et al., 2007, 2010). Brenick and colleagues (2007, 2010) examined how Israeli-Jewish and Arab children in the Middle East evaluated intergroup situations, prior to and following the viewing of a Sesame Street television show designed to promote mutual respect through displaying Jewish and Arab Muppets and children interacting positively. After

viewing, more prosocial and moral justifications were provided regarding intergroup exclusion, demonstrating that children's negative judgments were reduced as a result of the indirect contact media intervention. However, research has yet to examine the extent to which direct contact (friendship) is related to evaluations of Jewish–Arab intergroup exclusion in a culturally similar adolescent U.S. sample.

The Current Study

Only a few studies have examined the relation between moral reasoning about cultural intergroup exclusion with youths' level of identification and intergroup contact (see Verkuyten, 2008), and none that we know of has been conducted with U.S. samples regarding Jewish–Arab relations. Thus, in the current study, we investigated both person and situation factors (see Hill & Lapsley, 2009) for age-related differences regarding moral and social evaluations of intercultural social exclusion. Additionally, cultural identification and intergroup contact were investigated in relation to these forms of judgments. Jewish American and comparison (e.g., American non-Jewish, non-Arab; mostly Christian) adolescents (ages 14 and 17 years) were surveyed regarding their evaluations of exclusion and inclusion in peer situations between Jewish and Arab youth in the peer, home, and community contexts. These settings were selected because they involved a range of familiar and commonplace relationships that contribute to intergroup tensions (e.g., friendships, parental expectations, and societal norms, respectively).

For the current study, we hypothesized that when exclusion is explicitly based on group membership (e.g., "He excluded him because he is Arab"), participants will judge it as more wrong than when the reason for intergroup exclusion is not explicitly identified (e.g., "He excluded him"). When rating the forced-choice inclusion decision (between an ingroup and outgroup member, e.g., "Who would you pick, a Jewish or Arab peer to join the group?"), we expected that participants would report lower rates of acceptance for including an outgroup rather than ingroup member. We also expected that in situations in which authority figures, such as parents or community members, condone exclusion then adolescents would view exclusion as more acceptable, deferring to the social group norms defining exclusion as more legitimate. Therefore, we hypothesized that exclusion would be viewed as more acceptable in the community and home contexts than in the peer context.

Age and gender of the participants have been shown to relate to evaluations of intergroup exclusion. Developmentally, with age, adolescents weigh social conventions and group functioning as well as moral concerns of fairness, due to the peak of group adherence and social cliques by 14 years of age (Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier, & Ferrell, 2009; Horn, 2003). Moreover, older adolescents understand the flexible and arbitrary nature of social conventions and pay more attention to moral concerns such as discrimination (Turiel, 2002). Thus, we hypothesized that younger adolescents would be more accepting of exclusion and social conventional justifications to explain exclusion decisions and that they would also be less accepting of including an outgroup member than would older adolescents. We also predicted an Age × Context interaction, with older adolescents being more likely to justify exclusion in the community context than would younger adolescents due to increased identification with the larger community (Hart, Atkins, & Donnelly, 2006).

Regarding gender expectations, previous research has revealed that females reject exclusion across many different contexts to a greater extent than do males (Møller & Tenenbaum, 2011). There are mixed findings for gender when males are in the ethnic minority (Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, & Stangor, 2002), but these findings can also vary as a function of the context, such as whether the context has to do with friendship, groups, or institutional settings. Expanding the contexts to include peer, family, and community provided a more thorough test of gender-based differences in evaluations of exclusion. In general, we predicted that females would be more likely to view exclusion as wrong than would males in the peer context based on prior findings. It was an open question whether gender differences would be found for the home and community contexts.

When evaluating these processes with cultural groups, deep-seated traditions and group norms, which reflect social-conventional reasoning, can come to the forefront when making decisions about exclusion (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Møller & Tenenbaum, 2011).

We expected that participants with stronger cultural identity would be more accepting of exclusion and social-conventional justifications to explain exclusion decisions and that they would also be less accepting of including an outgroup member than would older adolescents.

We hypothesized that participants who engaged in higher levels of intergroup contact would be less accepting of outgroup exclusion than participants with lower levels of contact, and would be less likely to endorse justifications promoting ingroup inclusion (picking someone from the ingroup rather than the outgroup to join the group). In addition, we hypothesized that intergroup contact would bear on the acceptance of outgroup inclusion (picking someone from the outgroup to join your own group), and the endorsement of moral justifications for outgroup inclusion. Further, we hypothesized that particularly among Jewish participants, these effects will be stronger when participants who have higher group identification engaged in higher levels of intergroup contact.

Method

Participants

Participants were drawn from schools selected for having student populations who were predominantly Jewish, or predominantly non-Jewish and non-Arab (comparison group). This study surveyed 490 ninth and 12th graders, relatively evenly divided by gender (224 females and 266 males). There were 281 ninth graders (M = 14.22 years, SD = .45) and 209 12th graders (M = 17.26, SD = .48) from schools in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States. The Jewish group included 133 ninth graders (M = 14.18, SD = .42) and 108 12th graders (M = 17.21, SD = .43), and the non-Jewish/non-Arab comparison group included 148 ninth graders (M = 14.25, SD = .48) and 101 12th graders (M = 17.31, SD = .52). The non-Jewish/non-Arab comparison group was 66% Catholic and Christian (with the remaining unidentified or "other," but neither Jewish nor Arab).

The participating schools were selected because they were highly concentrated with the target groups for this study. The

non-Arab/non-Jewish comparison group participants were recruited from six schools, and the Jewish participants were recruited from three schools in the greater Baltimore-Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. The schools were comparable in socioeconomic status and size and reflected middle-income backgrounds with medium-sized schools (mean enrollment = 305.25).

Trained research assistants administered the 30-minute *Social Attitudes about Intergroup Relations* survey to each participating class. There were two versions of the survey so that the scenario protagonist and the participant were matched on gender. In the scenarios, Jewish characters were always portrayed as the protagonist and Arab characters as the outgroup target. Informed consent or assent was obtained from all participants, with only three students choosing not to complete the survey. Further, all participants were informed that there were no right or wrong answers to the survey as the questions asked simply for their honest opinions and that all information was confidential and anonymous.

Measure: The Social Attitudes About Intergroup Relations Survey

The *Social Attitudes About Intergroup Relations* survey included three sections: (a) evaluations of intergroup social exclusion scenarios; (b) level of intergroup contact; (c) cultural identification.

Evaluations of intergroup social exclusion scenarios. The surveys included vignettes pertaining to peer (group of friends going to the movies), home (family party in the home), and community (cultural event at the local Jewish community center) contexts. Participants evaluated five items per context (detailed below). All judgments were rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale (from 1 [*very bad*] to 6 [*very good*]). The peer, family, and community contexts were derived from pilot data in which focus groups were asked about typical contexts in which exclusion occurs.

For each context, there were exclusion and forced-choice inclusion scenarios. This was to provide a contrast from a more direct to a less direct form of intergroup exclusion. First, participants were presented exclusion scenarios within each context. As an example, the Peer-Exclusion scenario describes a protagonist who wants to invite an outgroup individual (X), whom her (ingroup) friends have not met, to join her and her group of friends to go to a movie, but she decides against it. Upon finishing the vignette, participants rated (a) *how good or bad is it to exclude X?* (undifferentiated exclusion), then (b) *how good or bad is it to exclude X because she is Arab?* (group-based exclusion).

Following their evaluations of the exclusion scenarios, the participants were presented with the forced-choice inclusion scenario. In this vignette, the protagonist is able to bring only one more friend along with the group to the movie, and she must choose who to include—another ingroup member or the outgroup member. Participants then answered, independently of their answer of whom to include (c) *how good or bad is it to include the outgroup member if forced to choose whom to include between an ingroup member and outgroup member?* (forced-choice outgroup inclusion evaluation).

Finally, participants rated two justifications for the forced-choice inclusion decisions, rather than using open-ended responses for reasoning assessments, as has often been done in past research. Participants were asked to rate social-conventional and moral reasons for the forced-choice inclusion scenarios, which, based on prior findings, were most frequently invoked to support ingroup and outgroup inclusion, respectively (Verkuyten, 2008; Verkuyten & Steenhuis, 2005). Participants were asked how good or bad it is to include (d) the outgroup member based on a moral antidiscrimination justification, "...before judging one should first get to know others who might be different," and (e) the ingroup member based on a social-conventional justification, "*the ingroup members would be uncomfortable if X was invited*."

Level of intergroup contact. The four-item *Level of Intergroup Contact* measure assessed participants' personal experiences of intergroup contact with members of the outgroup. The measure was modified from the Diversity Assessment Questionnaire (see Crystal et al., 2008) to specify Arabs as the outgroup for use with this study (as defined in the scenarios). Example questions included: *How often do you hang out with people who are Arabs?* rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale (from 1 [*never*] to 5 [*always*]) and *How many friends do you have who are Arabs?* rated on a 4-point Likert-type (from 1 [*none*] to 4 [*most or many*]).

Cultural Identity Scale. The final section of the survey was the *Cultural Identity Scale.* In this section, basic demographic information was collected, including age, gender, ethnicity, and religion. Participants' overall cultural identity was assessed through the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992), developed using both social (SIT) and developmental (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980) theories of identity, and five additional items specifically reflecting cultural identity in regards to interpersonal relationships not assessed in the MEIM from the Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS; Nesdale, 1997). Participants rated their cultural identification on a 5-point Likert-type scale (from 1 [*strongly agree*] to 5 [*strongly disagree*]) to best describe their thoughts about each statement regarding their cultural identification (*I feel great pride in being a member of my cultural group; I have spent time trying to find out more about my cultural group, such as its history, traditions, and customs*).

Results

Data Management Procedure

Reliability coefficients were calculated for each scale. The *Cultural Identity Scale* yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .89, and the Intergroup Contact Scale yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .88 (see Table 1 for scale means). A confirmatory factor analysis was run on the 17-item *Cultural Identity Scale*, with the two defined factors from the MEIM—(a) cultural identity commitment, belongingness, and affirmation (identity commitment); (b) cultural identity search and exploration (identity exploration)—and the third from the EIS supplemental items: (c) cultural identity social relationships (identity concern for relationships). Full information maximum likelihood estimation was used to address missing data. The hypothesized three-factor model yielded only adequate fit: root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .09 (90% CI [.087, .10]), standardized root-mean-square residual (SRMR) = .09, comparative fit index (CFI) = .94. A new model was run with two items deleted (*I understand pretty well what my cultural group membership means to me; I like the way people from my cultural group raise their children*) because they were triple-loading and

Table 1
Means for Intergroup Contact and Cultural Identity Measures by Ethnic Group

Measure	Cultural group: Jewish *M* (*SD*)	Cultural group: Comparison *M* (*SD*)
Intergroup contact		
Number in neighborhood and friends	1.38 (0.44)	1.49 (0.52)
Frequency items	1.83 (0.76)	2.19 (0.89)
Standardized scale mean	−0.15 (0.70)	0.15 (0.87)
Cultural identity		
Cultural identity commitment	1.86 (0.65)	2.15 (0.36)
Cultural identity exploration	2.13 (0.76)	2.72 (0.77)
Cultural identity concern for relationships	2.63 (0.88)	3.40 (0.84)

Note. N = 490: Jewish = 241; Comparison = 249. Intergroup contact measure response scale for "Number" items: 1 = *none*; 4 = *many/most*. Intergroup contact measure response scale for "Frequency" items: 1 = *never*; 5 = *always*. Cultural identity measure response scale: 1 = *strongly agree*; 5 = *strongly disagree*.

found to be too general and abstract for the adolescent sample. The revised model yielded good fit: RMSEA = .07 (90% CI [.067, .084]), SRMR = .06, CFI = .96. For the six-item *Intergroup Contact Scale*, a principal components analysis returned one factor accounting for 62% of the variance without the removal of any items. Regressed factor scores were calculated and used as predictors for the multiple and linear regression analyses conducted below.

Social Attitudes About Intergroup Exclusion Scenarios

Plan for analysis. A mixed within- and between-subjects design was used. To test hypotheses regarding age, cultural identity, context, and exclusion type for evaluations, a 2 (grade: ninth, 12th) × 2 (gender) × 2 (group: Jewish, comparison) × 3 (context: peer, home, community) × 2 (reason for exclusion: undifferentiated, group-based) analysis of variance (ANOVA) with repeated measures on the last two variables was conducted. The dependent measures were participants' judgments about undifferentiated exclusion and group-based exclusion. A 2 (grade: ninth, 12th) × 2 (gender) × 2 (group: Jewish, comparison) × 3 (context: peer, home, community) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last variable was conducted with participants' forced-choice outgroup inclusion evaluations as the dependent variables.

The majority of adolescents rejected peer intergroup exclusion, with their mean ratings falling below the midpoint of the 6-point Likert-type scale. The analyses of adolescents' evaluations of Arab–Jewish intergroup exclusion scenarios revealed significant differences by gender, $F(1, 485) = 34.11$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$; by the reason for exclusion, $F(1, 485) = 510.84$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .51$; and by story context, $F(2, 970) = 69.17$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$. Contrary to the hypothesis that younger adolescents would be more accepting of exclusion, there was no significant main effect for grade. The main effect for gender demonstrated that males were typically more accepting of general intergroup exclusion than were females ($M_{males} = 2.64$; $M_{females} = 2.30$).

The main effects for context and reason for exclusion were qualified by three significant interactions. First, a significant Context × Grade interaction revealed that exclusion in the community context was rated as significantly more acceptable by 14-year-old ninth graders than by 17-year-old 12th graders, $F(2, 970) = 5.68$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Second, a Context × Reason for Exclusion interaction demonstrated that in the case of undifferentiated exclusion, participants found exclusion in the community context to be significantly more acceptable than exclusion in either the peer or the home context, $F(2, 970) = 6.70$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. However, in the case of cultural group-based exclusion, all contexts were rated statistically significantly different from one another (community exclusion as most acceptable, then home, then peer exclusion as least acceptable). Third, the Reason for Exclusion × Group interaction revealed that when exclusion was based on cultural group membership, the Jewish participants found it statistically significantly more acceptable to exclude than the comparison group, $F(1, 485) = 7.10$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

The analyses of adolescents' evaluations of the forced-choice inclusion decision in the scenarios revealed significant differences by story context, $F(2, 970) = 3.92$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$; gender, $F(1, 485) = 15.11$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$; and group, $F(1, 485) = 4.70$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. The home context was rated as significantly more acceptable a context in which to include an outgroup member than either the peer or the community contexts (*M*s = 4.22, 4.04, 3.97, respectively). Males and Jewish participants were less accepting of outgroup inclusion than their comparison groups ($M_{males} = 3.93$, $M_{females} = 4.23$; $M_{Jewish} = 3.99$, $M_{Comparison} = 4.16$). The main effect for group was qualified by an interaction with grade, $F(1, 485) = 8.56$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. The interaction revealed that both Jewish and comparison 14-year-olds (ninth graders) were equally accepting of including an outgroup member. With age, the distinction for cultural identity became significant. Whereas comparison group 17-years-olds (12th graders) were more accepting, Jewish 17-year-olds (12th graders) were significantly less accepting of including the outgroup member (see Table 2).

Culture and Contact

Plan for analysis. It was hypothesized that cultural identification and intergroup contact predict social and moral reasoning about intergroup exclusion and inclusion. This was tested using linear multiple regression analysis. Multiple regressions were run with gender, grade, cultural group, and levels of intergroup contact and group identification predicting the social cognition dependent measures of exclusion and inclusion judgments. For each context, hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted with four models. The first model included gender and grade as predictors. The second model added cultural identity commitment; belongingness; and affirmation, cultural identity search and exploration, cultural identity concern for relationships, intergroup contact, and a dummy variable for cultural group, as predictors. We then added to the third and fourth models all two- and three-way interaction terms, respectively, between the three cultural identity factors, and the one intergroup contact factor with the dummy variable of cultural group. Given that interaction terms are examined in these regressions, all variables were centered prior to analyses to reduce multicollinearity.

Gender. Boys were more accepting of the exclusion in the peer, home, and community contexts when explicitly based on group membership (see Table 3). Conversely, girls were more

Table 2
Mean Ratings for Group-Based Exclusion and Forced-Choice Outgroup Inclusion by Cultural Group, Grade, and Context

	Jewish			Comparison		
	Peer	Home	Community	Peer	Home	Community
Variable	*M* (*SE*)	*M* (*SE*)	*M* (*SE*)	*M* (*SE*)	*M* (*SE*)	*M* (*SE*)
Group-based exclusion						
9th grade	1.53 (.07)	2.00 (.08)	2.50 (.10)	1.43 (.07)	1.78 (.08)	2.21 (.10)
12th grade	1.62 (.08)	1.97 (.09)	2.19 (.11)	1.55 (.08)	1.93 (.10)	2.12 (.12)
Forced-choice outgroup inclusion						
9th grade	4.16 (.10)	4.22 (.09)	4.04 (.09)	3.96 (.09)	4.23 (.08)	4.01 (.09)
12th grade	3.85 (.11)	4.01 (.10)	3.77 (.10)	4.19 (.11)	4.43 (.10)	4.07 (.11)

Note. $N = 490$: Jewish = 241; Comparison = 249. Likert response scale: 1 = *very bad*; 6 = *very good*.

accepting of including the outgroup member in the forced-choice peer and home contexts (see Table 4), and more accepting of a moral, antidiscrimination-based justification for including the outgroup in the forced-choice community context (see Table 5). Across all three contexts, girls were also less accepting of a social-conventional justification to include the ingroup member (see Table 6). Gender was not significant in any interaction effects.

Grade. Across all contexts and outcome variables, grade was only significant in one instance. Older participants were more accepting of the social-conventional justification to include the ingroup than were younger participants (see Table 6).

Cultural group. Cultural group membership was significantly related to a number of outcome variables. Jewish participants were more accepting of the moral, antidiscrimination justification to include the outgroup in the peer context and less accepting of the social-conventional justification to include the ingroup in the community context than were comparison participants (see Table 6).

Intergroup contact. Intergroup contact was significantly related to all of the outcome variables. Participants with higher levels of intergroup contact were less accepting of group-based exclusion (home and community) and more accepting of the social-conventional justification to include the ingroup (peer and home) and moral, antidiscrimination justification to include the outgroup (peer and community; see Table 5). Two significant interactions are described below.

Identity commitment. Overall, a stronger identity commitment meant more prosocial, antiexclusive consideration for the outgroup. Specifically, in all three contexts—peer, home, and community—participants with stronger identity commitment were less accepting of

Table 3
Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Group-Based Exclusion

	Peer		Home		Community	
Step	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
1						
Grade	0.06^{***}	-0.23^{***}	0.04^{***}	0.04^{***}	0.04^{***}	-0.07^{***}
Gender		-0.21^{***}		-0.18^{***}		-0.17^{***}
2						
Cultural identity commitment (CIC)	0.06^{***}	0.12^{***}	0.07^{***}	0.19^{***}	0.07^{***}	0.16^{***}
Cultural identity exploration (CIE)		0.00^{***}		-0.16^{***}		-0.11^{***}
Cultural identity concern for relationships (CICR)		-0.25^{***}		-0.14^{***}		-0.20^{***}
Intergroup contact (IC)		-0.05^{***}		-0.11^{***}		-0.10^{***}
Cultural group (CG)		-0.03^{***}		-0.02^{***}		-0.01^{***}
3						
CIC × IC	0.01	0.00^{***}	0.01^{***}	0.06^{***}	0.00^{***}	-0.01^{**}
CIE × IC		0.05^{***}		-0.06^{***}		-0.02^{**}
CICR × IC		0.01^{***}		-0.05^{***}		0.01^{**}
IC × CG		0.12^{***}		-0.08^{***}		-0.02^{***}
CIC × CG		-0.11^{***}		0.08^{***}		0.03^{***}
CIE × CG		0.18^{***}		-0.01^{***}		-0.03^{***}
CICR × CG		-0.02^{***}		-0.04		-0.08
4						
CIC × IC × CG	0.00	0.08^{***}	0.00	-0.03	0.00	0.04
CIE × IC × CG		0.02^{***}		0.07		-0.02
CICR × IC × CG		-0.04^{***}		-0.03		-0.01
Total R^2	0.14		0.11		0.11	
N	490		490		490	

$^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

Table 4
Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Forced-Choice Outgroup Inclusion

Step	Peer		Home		Community	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
1						
Grade	0.02***	−0.03***	0.03**	−0.02***	0.01***	−0.06***
Gender		0.14***		0.16***		0.09***
2						
Cultural identity commitment (CIC)	0.01***	0.04***	0.02***	0.01***	0.05***	−0.11***
Cultural identity exploration (CIE)		−0.03***		−0.00***		0.05***
Cultural identity concern for relationships (CICR)		−0.04***		0.06***		0.21***
Intergroup contact (IC)		0.08		0.06***		0.05***
Cultural group (CG)		0.00		−0.07***		0.03***
3						
CIC × IC	0.01***	0.09	0.01***	0.08	0.01***	−0.03***
CIE × IC		−0.08		−0.01		0.00***
CICR × IC		−0.03		−0.02		0.00***
IC × CG		−0.03		−0.11		−0.06***
CIC × CG		0.10		0.08		−0.05***
CIE × CG		−0.14		0.02		0.14***
CICR × CG		0.13		0.03		0.05
4						
CIC × IC × CG	0.00	−0.15	0.01		0.02*	0.15
CIE × IC × CG		0.15		0.14		−0.07
CICR × IC CG		−0.02		0.07		0.14*
Total R^2	0.05		0.06		0.09	
N	490		490		490	

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

group-based exclusion of the outgroup member (see Table 3). In addition, the social-conventional justification to include the ingroup member was viewed as less acceptable in the peer and community contexts by participants with stronger identity commitment. Identity commitment did not interact significantly with any other variables.

Identity exploration. Independently, identity exploration was not related to any of the outcomes; however, it significantly

Table 5
Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Moral, Antidiscrimination Justification for Outgroup Inclusion

Step	Peer		Home		Community	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
1						
Grade	0.01***	0.43***	0.10	0.00***	0.03**	0.05***
Gender		0.08***		−0.10***		0.15***
2						
Cultural identity commitment (CIC)	0.03**	0.03***	0.01	0.00***	0.03**	−0.06***
Cultural identity exploration (CIE)		−0.17**		−0.04***		−0.09***
Cultural identity concern for relationships (CICR)		−0.00**		0.02***		0.20***
Intergroup contact (IC)		0.07***		0.06***		0.02***
Cultural group (CG)		−0.12***		0.02***		0.04***
3						
CIC × IC	0.01***	0.07***	0.01***	0.08***	0.01***	−0.07***
CIE × IC		−0.07**		−0.00***		0.03***
CICR × IC		−0.04		−0.09***		0.00***
IC × CG		−0.04		−0.06***		−0.06***
CIC × CG		0.10***		0.04***		−0.03***
CIE × CG		0.02***		−0.06***		0.09***
CICR × CG		−0.07		−0.04		−0.05
4						
CIC × IC × CG	0.02*	−0.13	0.01	−0.06	0.02*	−0.07
CIE × IC × CG		0.28		0.16		0.20
CICR × IC ×CG		0.02		0.05		0.11
Total R^2	0.06		0.03		0.09	
N	490		490		490	

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

Table 6
Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Social-Conventional Justification for Ingroup Inclusion

Step	Peer		Home		Community	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
1						
Grade	0.05***	0.10***	0.03***	0.04***	0.03***	0.02***
Gender		−0.21***		−0.17***		−0.18***
2						
Cultural identity commitment (CIC)	0.06***	0.11***	0.05***	0.03***	0.07***	0.17***
Cultural identity exploration (CIE)		−0.04***		−0.03***		−0.11***
Cultural identity concern for relationships (CICR)		−0.21***		−0.18***		−0.23***
Intergroup contact (IC)		−0.10***		−0.11***		−0.06***
Cultural group (CG)		−0.05***		−0.02***		−0.10***
3						
CIC × IC	0.02***	−0.17***	0.02***	−0.08***	0.01***	−0.04***
CIE × IC		0.11***		−0.01***		−0.06***
CICR × IC		0.06***		−0.00***		0.05***
IC × CG		0.04***		0.01***		0.02***
CIC × CG		−0.09***		0.09***		0.06***
CIE × CG		0.14***		0.09***		−0.07***
CICR × CG		0.07		−0.01		−0.00
4						
CIC × IC × CG	0.00	−0.13	0.00	−0.03	0.00	0.06
CIE × IC × CG		0.12		0.08		−0.01
CICR × IC ×CG		−0.02		0.03		−0.04
Total R^2	0.14		0.10		0.11	
N	490		490		490	

*** $p < .001$.

interacted with intergroup contact and cultural group for moral judgments about inclusion justifications, demonstrating the importance of cultural group and context. Only for the peer context, a three-way interaction between identity exploration, intergroup contact, and cultural group showed that more intergroup contact was associated with greater acceptance of a moral, antidiscrimination-based justification to include the outgroup among comparison group participants with higher levels, but not lower levels of identity exploration. However, among Jewish participants, those with high identity exploration were more accepting of the moral justification regardless of their level of intergroup contact, whereas those with lower levels of identity exploration and intergroup contact were significantly less accepting of moral justification (see Table 5; Figure 2a).

Identity concern for relationships. Higher levels of identity concern for relationships related to greater ingroup bias for four outcome variables. In all three contexts, higher levels of identity concern for relationships were related to greater acceptance of group-based exclusion and the social-conventional justification to include the ingroup (see Tables 3 and 6).

Two additional effects of identity concern for relationships emerged solely in the community context. First, participants with higher levels of identity concern for relationships were less accepting of the moral, antidiscrimination justification for including the outgroup member (see Table 5). Second, in terms of acceptance ratings for including the outgroup member, an interaction between identity concern for relationships, intergroup contact, and cultural group emerged. The interaction showed that the most significant increase in acceptance ratings was among comparison participants who were high in both identity concern for relationships and intergroup contact. Among Jewish participants who were higher in identity concern for relationships, higher levels of intergroup contact instead related to decreasing acceptance ratings for including the outgroup (see Table 4; Figure 2b).

Discussion

The goal of this study was to investigate cultural identification and intergroup contact, as they related to moral judgments and social reasoning about intergroup exclusion regarding Jewish–Arab peer encounters. In general, there were four sets of novel findings, which pertained to (a) judgment of social exclusion, (b) the role of context, (c) intergroup contact, and (d) cultural identification.

Judgments About Intergroup Social Exclusion

The majority of participants rejected intergroup exclusion based on Arab cultural membership. According to the current findings, adolescents viewed it as wrong for a Jewish adolescent to reject an Arab peer from a friendship group, family gathering, or community center based solely on cultural membership. Despite the fact that there are Arab–Jewish intergroup tensions in the United States, and negative stereotypes about Arabs (Alliance of Civilizations, 2006; Anti-Defamation League, 2011; Jenkins et al., 2012), this is the first empirical study to reveal that U.S. American Jewish and comparison group adolescents think it is wrong to exclude a peer of Arab descent from a peer, family, or community activity. What makes this a novel finding is that although there continue to be pervasive cultural messages that explicitly tolerate or even promote outgroup exclusion of this stigmatized group (unlike race for which messages about segregated interactions are

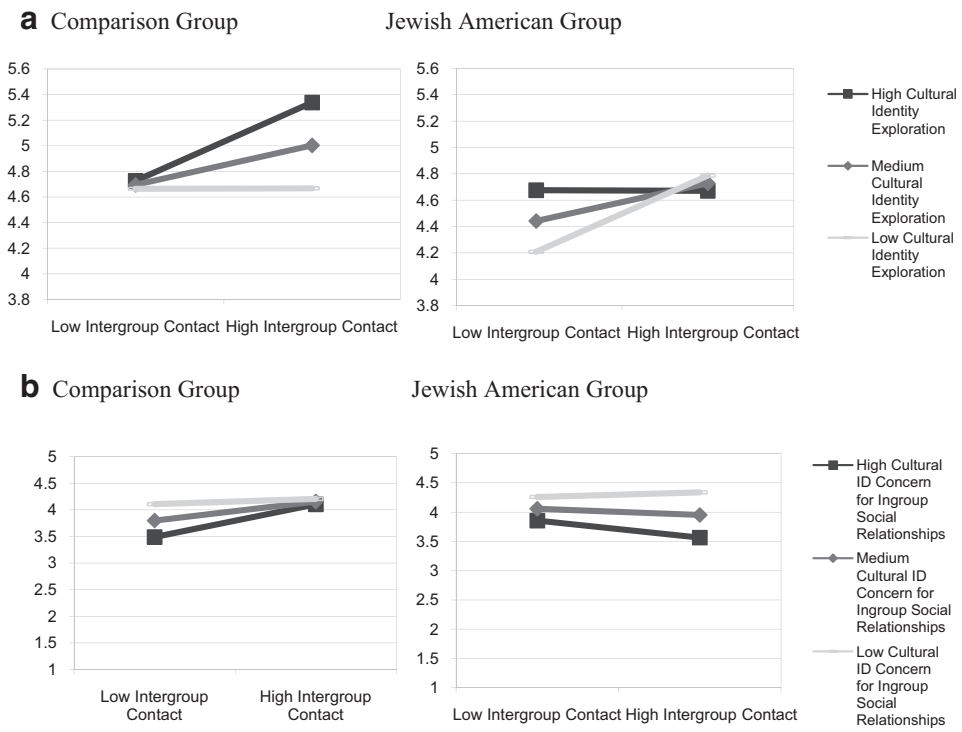

Figure 2. Regression interaction graphs. a: Peer context: Evaluation of moral, antidiscrimination justification for outgroup inclusion. Cultural Identity Exploration × Intergroup Contact × Cultural Group. b: Community context: Evaluation of decision to include the outgroup. Cultural Identity Concern for Social Relationships × Intergroup Contact × Cultural Group. ID = identity.

often more implicit than explicit), the adolescents in this study rejected exclusion in personal relationship contexts. This finding indicates that moral judgments (i.e., the belief that individuals should be treated fairly, justly, and equally) were applied to members of outgroups by adolescents, and particularly to a highly stigmatized group in the United States. Participants could have easily condoned exclusion on the basis of cultural identity but, instead, chose to reject exclusionary decisions to give priority to fairness. Yet, as discussed below, there were context findings for this judgment.

Future studies should also examine these effects with consideration of the multiple levels of contexts, including the greater national or societal messages regarding intergroup relations. For instance, how might adolescents of the same cultural background but living in countries with vastly different approaches toward intergroup relations (e.g., Jewish adolescents in Israel vs. the United States) differ in terms of their social and moral judgments? Below we discuss the current results concerning more immediate contextual differences in the acceptability of exclusion.

Contexts of Social Exclusion

In a pattern opposite from most previous studies (e.g., Killen et al., 2002), the peer context was found to be the least, and the community context the most, acceptable context in which exclusion should occur, even when exclusion was explicitly based on group membership (e.g., "... because she is Arab"). Typically, peer friendship selections are seen as a matter of personal choice (Nucci, 2002), or are considered in the context of group identity and social group functioning (Horn, 2003), and distinct from moral judgments. However, in this study, adolescents viewed it as unfair to exclude an outgroup peer from their peer group activity, applying their moral judgments to this context. In the home and community contexts, however, group identity considerations and moral judgments about fairness created more tension. The conventional context of the family expectations (from parents) and the community center served to make the decision about exclusion more difficult, and adolescents were more likely to condone exclusion in these contexts.

As is well known in the adolescent literature, multiple, competing sources of influence on adolescents' moral reasoning exist; adolescents spend more time with peers and assert their autonomy from parents and other authority figures (see Hart & Carlo, 2005). Although adolescents often focus on group identity and often give priority to social-convention and stereotypic expectations of group functioning (Horn, 2003; Verkuyten, 2008), they are also undergoing significant development that yields a more sophisticated understanding of complex moral situations such as intergroup exclusion. Future research should investigate context on the basis of group norms to determine the relations among peer, family, and community member attitudes with adolescents' judgments about intergroup relations. Examining group norms and identity will also further the study of both personal and situational characteristics in moral judgments (Brenick et al., 2012; Hill & Lapsley, 2009).

Intergroup Contact

A burgeoning number of studies have demonstrated that positive contact with the outgroup, such as friendship, reduces negative intergroup attitudes in childhood, which has important implications for developmental interventions (Feddes et al., 2009; Jugert et al., 2011). In the current study, Jewish and comparison group adolescents who had higher levels of intergroup contact were less accepting of group-based exclusion in home and community contexts—the contexts in which exclusion was rated as most acceptable overall. This was a novel finding. For the first time, intergroup contact was shown to be applicable to the Jewish–Arab friendships in the United States. It is possible that this relation is indicative of a trend among the younger Jewish American generation to embrace positive intergroup relations and multiculturalism rather than one-sided ingroup support favored in previous generations (Cohen & Kelman, 2007).

At the same time, higher levels of intergroup contact predicted greater acceptance of the social-conventional justification (regarding concern for the ingroup members' feelings) to include the ingroup in the peer and home contexts. This finding may be indicative of the processes through which contact can work, and suggests that ingroup preference was not necessarily reflective of outgroup dislike, but rather for a concern for the ingroup members closest to us (friends and family). Researchers have often pointed to the potential confound of equating ingroup bias with outgroup negativity (Brewer, 2001). There may be times when ingroup preference is given out of a concern for the anxiety of the ingroup members rather than due to negative attitudes toward the outgroup. Discomfort may exist for prejudicial reasons or in high-conflict areas, perhaps for reasons of survival (Allport, 1954; Kriesberg, 1998), however, indicating that the concern for ingroup welfare may be a step closer to inclusivity than explicit outgroup dislike or distrust, though it is not completely free of potentially negative ingroup biases. Moreover, successful intergroup contact relies on the positive experiences of both groups involved (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Attendance to the emotional comfort of the ingroup may help promote a context conducive to positive contact with the outgroup.

Previous intergroup contact work in the Middle East with group-based contact has demonstrated additional related complications to be considered. Hammack (2006) found that many adolescents who were engaged in an Israeli–Palestinian coexistence program have varying and potentially conflicting reasons for their participation and that although a peaceful coexistence might be cultivated during the program, returning to the real world of the polarizing conflict actually led to strengthen and accentuate their ingroup identification and bias. Maoz and Ellis (2008) found, however, that engaging in structured intergroup dialogue is directly related to increased outgroup trust that mediates the relationship between participation and agreement with compromise solutions for the conflict. Additionally, Ron et al. (2010) found Israeli-Jews with continued involvement facilitating intergroup meetings were less polarized in their identities and political views about Zionism. Thus, intergroup trust and continued contact are vital components in the promotion of successful intergroup contact even in the midst of the ongoing conflict. These scholars underscore the importance of the larger political ideology as well as the contextual and historical background to the group identities.

In the current study, intergroup contact also interacted with identity factors to differentially predict acceptance of additional outcome variables by context and group. First, significant main effects of the cultural identification factors, followed by the significant interactions between cultural identification and intergroup contact, are discussed.

Cultural Identification

Previous research with ethnic, gender, and national groups has shown that strong ingroup identification is associated with ingroup bias (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001), yet these findings were only partially supported in the current study. Jewish participants were significantly more accepting of excluding and less accepting of including the outgroup member than were the comparison group. However, the three components of identity—commitment, exploration, and concern for relationships—differentially related to participants' judgments. The developmental methodology used to operationalize identity in the current study differs from that typically found in the social psychological literature (e.g., simple group categorization, varied salience of identity in a context) and provides a more detailed assessment of the multifaceted nature of identity. When exclusion was based explicitly on cultural group membership, higher levels of identity commitment predicted less acceptance of outgroup exclusion across all three contexts. Conversely, higher levels of identity concern for relationships predicted greater acceptance of group-based exclusion across all three contexts. Stronger commitment to one's identity and identity concern for relationships related to greater acceptance of social-conventional reasons for including the ingroup in the community setting, but also to more prosocial attitudes, rejecting outgroup exclusion across contexts, in our study.

A stronger commitment to one's identity may indicate a keen awareness and acceptance of the cultural community's role in acknowledging an individual as a community member (Abrams & Rutland, 2008), and thus the aforementioned justifications to support ingroup inclusion. Stronger identity concern for relationships also significantly predicted greater acceptance of the social-conventional reason for including the ingroup in the peer and home contexts. This finding points to the essential role of maintaining positive ingroup relationships in the identity concern for relationships factor. As a result, individuals high on this factor may show greater deference to the well-being of ingroup friends and family by supporting empathetic responses to fellow ingroup members to maintain positive relationships. Future research should directly compare individuals' support for empathetic, social-conventional, and antidiscriminatory concerns. Furthermore, although we used a multidimensional account of cultural identity in the current study, future research might benefit from identity narratives (e.g., Hammack, 2006; Ron et al., 2010), as they provide an even richer and more dynamic account of youth cultural identities that may further enrich this field of research.

Cultural identification and intergroup contact interactions. The current findings demonstrated that the three factors of cultural identity differentially relate to moral judgments and differentially interact with intergroup contact. Although social psychological research has demonstrated intergroup contact to be most effective with salient groups (Brown & Hewstone, 2005), developmental approaches to cultural identity development (e.g., Phinney, 1992)

force us to ask whether this holds true for all aspects of identity and for all groups. On the basis of the results of this study, the answer is: Not entirely.

For the comparison group, the social psychological intergroup contact findings (Brown & Hewstone, 2005) primarily held true. Highly identified (in terms of exploration and concern for relationships) comparison participants with higher levels of intergroup contact were more supportive of including the outgroup as well as the moral justifications to do so, though those with higher levels of identity exploration and intergroup contact were also more accepting of social-conventional justifications to include the ingroup. The comparison group, a predominantly White, Christian sample, was similar to the samples used widely in the traditional intergroup contact literature as they are the ethnic majority in the United States.

The results for the Jewish participants indicate a much more nuanced relation between identity, contact, and moral judgments. In the peer and community contexts, there is an interaction between identity exploration and intergroup contact predicting moral justifications. Specifically, it is low, rather than high, identity exploration that interacts with high intergroup contact to predict more support for a moral, antidiscrimination justification to include the outgroup. Jewish participants who were high on identity exploration remained more accepting of the moral justification to include the outgroup regardless of their level of intergroup contact. For majority group members, it is often interactions with minority group members that facilitate identity exploration and further contemplation about intergroup dynamics (Grossman & Charmaraman, 2009). Jewish participants were also accepting of a moral, antidiscrimination justification for including the outgroup member in the community context when they reported lower levels of identity concern for relationships with higher levels of intergroup contact.

In this study, the community context was a Jewish cultural center. By placing value on the exploration of their own identity, Jewish adolescents may have viewed the community context as providing an essential opportunity to explore and take part in their culture. For minority cultural groups, here the Jewish group, community contexts may provide unique environments in which the cultural group is maintained and strengthened through social relationships. Thus, particularly for those individuals who are high in identity concern for relationships or identity exploration, intergroup contact in community contexts may provide a mixed picture regarding intergroup relations, one that warrants further research. We suggest that, identity clearly needs to be assessed in relation to intergroup contact, not simply as group membership or level of group salience in a given situation. Rather, research must include multiple factors of identity and determine which aspects of identity are most salient and relevant across contexts and how they interact with intergroup contact in those contexts, across groups, and within the greater societal ideology.

Unfortunately, negatively biased images of Arab men inundate the U.S. media, providing one source of societal messages, without much (negative) attention directed at Arab women (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). These messages enhance the growing sense of threat, and unease currently associated with Arab men (e.g., Jenkins et al., 2012; Sergent et al., 1992), and potentially bias the acceptance of intergroup exclusion. Gender consistently predicted moral judgments about intergroup exclusion in this study. It is of note, however, that gender was controlled for in the current study by matching the scenario characters' gender to that of the participants. Future research should include females assessing scenarios with male characters, and vice versa, to parse out the role of the Arab male stereotype and the role of gender in relation to exclusion evaluations.

The results of the current study can also inform future longitudinal research designed to investigate whether and how the effects of intergroup contact move beyond reducing negative associations with the outgroup and change our reasoning to promote active and positive engagement with the outgroup. Participant levels of contact in the current study represented only a restricted range of intergroup contact experiences, however. Future studies should compare participants with no contact with those with frequent and sustained contact. Longitudinally assessing individuals with varying levels of contact will uncover what type and level of contact is required to benefit moral judgments, as well as how this relation emerges and develops over time. Moreover, by examining individuals who avoid intergroup contact, the lines of reasoning they support for excluding the outgroup can be uncovered. By identifying a more focused understanding of why youth might choose to include the ingroup and exclude the outgroup, intervention programs designed to promote positive intergroup relations can more effectively address participant resistance to engaging in contact.

Conclusions

Intergroup social exclusion is a multifaceted phenomenon in which excluding someone based solely on group membership, such as cultural group membership, can reflect a form of prejudice and discrimination relevant to the daily lives of adolescents, and one that bears directly on moral judgments. When moral judgments about the fair and just treatment of others are not applied in a certain context, it does not necessarily indicate the rejection of moral judgments, but instead that another factor, such as social identity, is given priority in the situation. Social identity and group affiliation are important and influential aspects of healthy social development, and there may be times in which the coordination of moral judgments and group identity considerations is complex. For adolescents, this may result in exclusivity on the basis of cultural membership given the concerns of the family or community. Fortunately, the more positive contact one has with others, the more likely moral concerns will be generalized across social contexts, even when these considerations compete with the salient aspects of social identity and conventions.

Although intergroup social discrimination occurs at an interpersonal level, the acceptance of such exclusion can pave the way to the acceptance of exclusion, discrimination, and victimization at the societal level. In extreme cases of ongoing intergroup conflict, intergroup exclusion can pave the way for outgroup demoralization (Kriesberg, 1998). Therefore, it is imperative to promote prosocial, moral development in this domain before adulthood, whereas change is still possible and rapidly occurring (see Hart & Carlo, 2005). Researchers have shown that civic experiences can promote moral judgment (see Hart et al., 2006), and so too can peer relationships (i.e., intergroup friendships when attending to participants' identities) promote inclusive, antidiscriminatory attitudes. By facilitating empathy and perspective taking (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008), intergroup contact can help prevent the moral ex-

clusion of the outgroup at all levels, interpersonal through societal, by prompting participants to give priority to moral, antidiscriminatory, and empathic concerns for others.

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