Perceived Peer and Parent Out-Group Norms, Cultural Identity, and Adolescents' Reasoning About Peer Intergroup Exclusion

Alaina Brenick
University of Connecticut

Kelly Romano
Florida State University

Cultural group identity and group norms are significantly related to social exclusion evaluations (Bennett, 2014). This study examined 241 Jewish-American mid ($M = 14.18$ years, $SD = 0.42$) to late ($M = 17.21$ years, $SD = 0.43$; $M_{ageTOTAL} = 15.54$ years, $SD = 1.57$) adolescents' cultural identities and contextually salient perceived group norms in relation to their evaluations of Arab-American inclusion and exclusion across two contexts (peers vs. family at home). Results suggest that perceived group norms are related to the context in which they are applied: parents in the home and peers in the peer context. Peers remained a significant source of perceived group norms in the home context. Significant interactions emerged between perceived parent group norms and cultural identity. Findings highlight the need to address group-specific norms by context to ensure maximum effectiveness for intergroup interventions.

Group norms and social identity are highly interrelated; as social identification with a group develops, issues of importance to the group gain importance to the self (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). These constructs become particularly salient during adolescence when youth begin to strongly identify with social groups in their immediate, familiar environments (e.g., the settings that they frequently encounter such as their homes, schools, and communities). As this occurs, the higher one's level of identification with a group becomes, the more strongly that group's norms will relate to the group member's intergroup attitudes and behaviors (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier, & Ferrell, 2009; Teichman, Bar-Tal, & Abdolrazeq, 2007). This study examined perceived intergroup norms and cultural identity as independent and interactive predictors of Jewish-American mid and late adolescents' evaluations of peer intergroup relations with Arab Americans in familiar everyday scenarios of intergroup social exclusion. Furthermore, this study investigated whether the context—the family home versus a peer outing, within which social exclusion might occur—was differentially related to the source of perceived intergroup norms: parents or peers.

Social Exclusion

Social exclusion is a frequent and normative occurrence in the lives of adolescents (Bukowski & Sippola, 2001; Horn, 2005). Experiences of social exclusion occur in everyday, familiar contexts, such as school and one's neighborhood. When youth experience or witness social exclusion, they must negotiate the competing demands of developing personal and collective identities, regulating group boundaries, and exercising moral concerns of fairness and equality. Thus, social exclusion presents a challenging experience through which adolescents can learn how groups are formed, defined, and maintained. Social exclusion contexts also teach individuals how group membership is determined—that is, how groups function. More specifically, out-group members who deviate from in-group norms are apt to be excluded from group membership—a fate that might likewise befall in-group members who deviate from or challenge the group norm (see Bennett, 2014; Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010).

At the same time, though, the exclusion of an out-group member simply based on group

membership can be regarded as a moral transgression—one that causes harm or inequality (see Abrams & Killen, 2014; Rutland & Killen, 2015). For the excluded, experiencing social exclusion can result in a feeling of pain similar to that felt in response to actual physical harm (Eisenberger, 2013), poorer school performance, strained peer relationships, and psychological difficulties (Juvonen & Graham, 2001). Beyond this, intergroup exclusion is particularly problematic for the perpetrator, as excluding someone simply based on his or her group membership during adolescence can lead to the development of prejudicial beliefs and discriminatory practices of exclusion throughout adulthood, and perpetuate social and economic inequalities (see Abrams & Killen, 2014; Rutland & Killen, 2015. Conversely, including an out-group member—specifically, engaging in cross-group friendships—is an effective means to reduce prejudice (Davies, Wright, Aron, & Comeau, 2013) and can promote the use of more inclusive and prosocial moral reasoning (Brenick & Killen, 2014; Crystal, Killen, & Ruck, 2008). As a result, examining the complex process of social reasoning (e.g., negotiations between the competing demands of fairness and in-group distinction), which adolescents apply when evaluating group-based exclusion, can shed light on ways to reduce the likelihood that one's acceptance of group-based exclusion in adolescence will develop into discrimination and prejudice in adulthood.

The Arab–Jewish Intergroup Context

The negative intergroup attitudes between Jewish and Arab youth (Brenick et al., 2007, 2010) that often harden into adults' prejudicial beliefs and discriminatory actions critical to the ongoing conflict in the Middle East have been well documented (see Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). Only a handful of studies, however, have investigated how these negative intergroup biases manifest in cultural communities within the United States. Similar to conditions in the Middle East, in the United States, cultural stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination toward Muslim and Arab groups, as well as negative intergroup tensions between Jews and Arabs, exist (Alliance of Civilizations, 2006; Brenick & Killen, 2014). As such, peer intergroup exclusion has significant negative implications for both perpetrators and victims immediately and in the long run.

In the United States, non–Arab Americans, in general (Jenkins, Ruppel, Kizer, Yehl, & Griffin, 2012), and Jewish adolescents (Brenick & Killen,

2014), in particular, have been found to be rather accepting of excluding Arab peers in social interactions. Still, greater societal norms and the historical context of the United States are supportive of multiculturalism (even if they are not entirely inclusive of Arab and Muslim individuals). American youth then—particularly Jewish-American youth—are faced with the competing demands of salient cultural group norms of out-group exclusivity and moral concerns for inclusivity and fairness.

Social Reasoning Developmental Perspective

The social reasoning developmental (SRD) perspective (Rutland et al., 2010)—a theory that adapts aspects of the social domain theory (Turiel, 2002) and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and examines the influences of morality and group processes on evaluations of social exclusion—theoretically and methodologically guides this study. The SRD perspective asserts that group identity, social conventions, and norms, as well as moral principles, all influence evaluations of intergroup exclusion. Yet, no research that we know of has been conducted on the degree to which cultural identity interacts with contextually salient group norms in relation to social and moral reasoning about intergroup exclusion. Thus, this study examined both perceived intergroup norms and cultural identity as independent and interactive predictors of Jewish-American adolescents' evaluations of inclusion and exclusion of Arab Americans in two contexts: peer and family.

Social and Moral Reasoning

Social domain theory (see Turiel, 2002) has identified three categories of reasoning that have been applied to evaluations of social exclusion: the moral (fairness, equality, and rights), societal (social conventions, group norms, and authority), and psychological (personal choice) domains. Prior research with the social domain theory has demonstrated that individuals typically reject intergroup exclusion based on the unfairness and wrongfulness of discrimination and prejudice (moral domain; Brenick et al., 2010; Brenick & Killen, 2014; Crystal et al., 2008). However, multifaceted social situations may reflect intergroup exclusion that is normative and necessary (e.g., excluding a poor athlete from a sports team) or that is based on prejudicial beliefs. In the latter, reasons appealing to either conventions or group norms and group identity (societal domain) are given priority (Killen, Lee-Kim,

McGlothlin, & Stangor, 2002; see Rutland et al., 2010). These effects become more pronounced in early or mid-adolescence (11–13 and 14–16 years, respectively; also referred to collectively as younger adolescence) than in late adolescence (17 years and older). Developmentally, early and mid-adolescents begin to spend more time with peers, which leads to competing sources of influence on adolescents' moral reasoning. Younger adolescents weigh social conventions and group functioning more heavily, in contrast to moral concerns of fairness, due to the peak of group adherence and social cliques by 14 years of age, the time of mid adolescence (Abrams et al., 2009; Horn, 2005). Late adolescents, though, understand the flexible and arbitrary nature of social conventions and pay more attention to moral concerns such as discrimination (Turiel, 2002).

Groups and Identity

The SRD perspective highlights the importance of extending the social domain theory to incorporate the construct of group identity in models of social reasoning processes (Rutland et al., 2010). Social identity theory states that group identification and belongingness form a core component of self-concept and, likewise, self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Supported by multiple assessments of the current state of the field (Abrams & Killen, 2014; Bennett, 2014; Rutland & Killen, 2015), group identity is considered highly important in social exclusion evaluations—it serves to define the self, build self-esteem, and guide one's attitudes, values, and behaviors in accordance with a set of social group norms. At the same time, though, it creates in-group–out-group distinctions that can be difficult to overcome (Rutland et al., 2010). Bennett (2014) further asserts that social identity creates "the wider context within which group-based phenomena occur and gain meaning" (p. 192).

Social Identity

A youth's social identity can be described as one's sense of self-concept that stems from both one's affiliation with and membership in social groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Furthermore, adherence to perceived rules of those groups is especially important in early and mid adolescence, when the tasks of defining and developing a sense of social identity are heightened (Phinney, 1990) together with the importance of peer group conventions (Horn, 2005; Killen, Rutland, Abrams, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2013). During these developmental periods, the salience of both

one's social identity and the peer group norms associated with that identity peak and then subsequently become less influential during late adolescence and young adulthood. As younger adolescents spend more time engaging in group-based activities and forming social cliques (Brechwald & Prinstein, 2011), their social identities—which develop based on various in-group memberships—hold higher importance with regard to intergroup relations (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Mähönen, 2012; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Mähönen, & Liebkind, 2011). Through interacting with their own and other groups, youth learn that their actions will influence how their in group is judged by out groups, and how they are expected to judge out groups (Davies et al., 2013; Donlan, Doyle, & Lerner, 2015).

Previous research on social identity in adolescence has shown that it is often associated with heightened negative intergroup attitudes (see Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Teichman et al., 2007). Younger adolescents tend to incorporate concerns about group identity and group functioning into their evaluations of intergroup exclusion (Brenick & Killen, 2014); this reflects both a more sophisticated and coordinated perspective as well as one that has the potential to include bias (Abrams & Rutland, 2008). Furthermore, in scenarios where a participant is forced to choose between including an in-group member and including an out-group member, youth are more likely to include the in-group member reasoning the in-group member will have more in common or function better within the group at large. Reasons such as these would be viewed as less justified in straightforward exclusion scenarios (e.g., instances in which a participant is solely asked to include an out-group member without having to choose between an out-group and an in-group member; Verkuyten, 2008).

Developmental Conceptualization of Identity

However, social psychological conceptualizations of identity often lack the level of multifaceted complexity found in developmental studies of identity. Erikson (1968) viewed identity as something that develops over time, beginning in childhood and with particular salience in adolescence. Marcia (1980) built on Erikson's theory to specify the processes of exploration and commitment as fundamental to the development of identity. Presently, social identity development theorists assert that identity exploration involves "efforts to learn more about one's group and participation in ethnic cultural practices," whereas commitment involves

"a positive affirmation of one's group, based on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and a clear sense of commitment as defined by Marcia (1980)" (Phinney & Ong, 2007, p. 275). The widely used and validated, multigroup ethnic identity measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) was developed from this theoretical approach as a universal assessment of ethnic identity and comprises these two key factors—identity exploration and commitment (Phinney & Ong, 2007). By and large, the literature finds that early adolescence and mid adolescence are developmental periods characterized by heightened importance of (Steinberg & Monahan, 2007) and attention to social group identity development, in general (Huang & Stormshak, 2011). Still, there remain discrepant findings regarding the normative longitudinal development of ethnic or cultural identity, and the factors, thereof, across adolescence. On one hand, some recent findings suggest that ethnic or cultural identity remains stable throughout adolescence (see Kiang, Witkow, Baldelomar, & Fuligni, 2010; Kiang, Witkow, & Champagne, 2013). On the other hand, French, Seidman, Allen, and Aber (2006) found nonlinear trends in cultural identity, while other researchers report decreasing trends; that is, higher levels in younger adolescents and lower levels older adolescents (Matsunaga, Hecht, Elek, & Ndiaye, 2010; Pahl & Way, 2006).

A recent study on intergroup exclusion guided by the SRD perspective utilized such a developmentally driven multifactor conceptualization of cultural identity among Jewish-American adolescents (e.g., the aspect of self and social identity derived from cultural group membership; Brenick & Killen, 2014). This study utilized the two-factor MEIM while also adding additional items (Ethnic Identity Scale [EIS]; Nesdale, 1997) to assess a social relational factor of cultural identity related to the research question. Phinney and Ong (2007) argue to include additional scales of relevance to particular populations or research questions. The third factor, concern for relationships, reflects a more behavioral component of close or continued social relationships with members of one's own cultural group (e.g., dating and hanging out). This factor is particularly relevant to Jewish-American youth, as a sense of Jewish identity is strongly related to one's Jewish social connections (Friedlander et al., 2010).

Using this multifactor approach, previous findings indicate that it is not simply higher levels of group identification that predict intergroup bias, but instead that these three factors of cultural identity—exploration, commitment, and concern for relationships—are differentially related to evaluations of intergroup exclusion and inclusion (Brenick & Killen, 2014). Stronger identity concern for relationships, which is heightened during adolescence as a result of the increased importance of social standing and fitting in with peers, significantly predicted greater acceptance of social conventional reasons for in-group inclusion. Thus, identity concern for relationships plays an essential role in reasoning about intergroup relations as it relates to maintaining positive in-group relationships. Furthermore, a stronger commitment to, contrary to exploration of, one's identity, may indicate a keen awareness and acceptance of the social group's role in acknowledging an individual as a community member (Abrams & Rutland, 2008). These two factors reflect the dynamic nature of identity development of particular importance in the mid- and late-adolescent stage of development (Marcia, 1980) and with the concern for relationships provide a comprehensive assessment of Jewish cultural identity.

Group Norms

As adolescents come to identify themselves as members of different social groups, they quickly learn the groups' norms—the shared behaviors, attitudes, values, and beliefs that unite group members as a whole (Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Davies et al., 2013; Donlan et al., 2015). For example, peers can influence both positive and negative social behaviors and attitudes in adolescents—particularly younger adolescents (Steinberg & Monahan, 2007)—as adolescents learn or perceive what is valued as normative and preferred by their peers and act accordingly (see Brechwald & Prinstein, 2011; Donlan et al., 2015). Youth internalize the intergroup expectations and norms of their in group, and adolescents' prejudices are molded by the perceived normative attitudes of those around them (Abrams et al., 2009; Davies et al., 2013; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2011, 2012; Teichman et al., 2007). In experiments utilizing minimal group paradigms, youth connect the expectations and norms of their in group, particularly significant others, to their own attitudes, behaviors, and prejudices toward outgroup members (Nesdale, 2004; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001). Research with real-life groups has shown that intergroup attitudes and behaviors in which individuals commonly engage (e.g., evaluations of and participation in cross-group friendships) are guided by the norms of the social groups to which they belong (Davies et al., 2013; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2011; Mulvey, Hitti, Rutland, Abrams, & Killen, 2014; Schachner, Brenick, Heizmann, Van de

Vijver, & Noack, 2015; Titzmann, Brenick, & Silbereisen, 2015). In-group norms are particularly influential on in-group favoritism when group membership is salient (Davies et al., 2013), for example, when an adolescent must evaluate including an out-group member in an activity with a group of fellow in-group members in comparison to a dyadic interaction.

Not only might group norms produce in-group bias—or preference for fellow in-group members—but they also make group members more inclined to differentiate themselves from out groups through the implementation of negative attitudes and behaviors (see Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005). Consequently, adolescents may seek to uphold norms of groups with which they affiliate in an effort to increase their sense of belonging. Deviating from the group norm may also be grounds for one's own exclusion from an in-group (Abrams & Rutland, 2008). That is to say, if a group norm is exclusive toward the out group, deviance from that norm is less likely; adolescents commonly focus on cultivating their social identities and obtaining a sense of connection with others within their social networks. Indeed, Killen et al. (2013) found that mid adolescents considered group-specific norms—those pertinent to a smaller, more immediate group, such as a social clique—to be more important than did younger children, and that deviating from social-conventional group-specific norms was considered less acceptable.

Intersection of Identity and Group Norms

Moreover, group norms and social identity are highly interrelated; as social identification with a group develops, issues of importance to the group gain importance to the self (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The more strongly one identifies with a group, the more strongly that group's norms will relate to a group member's intergroup attitudes and behaviors (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Abrams et al., 2009; Teichman et al., 2007). Bennett (2014) notes that "the concept of social identity should play a central role in understanding children's group-based exclusion, particularly since the norms and values that are associated with particular identities will play a decisive role in framing and guiding social action" (p. 192).

Youth's attitudes and actions often align with the norms of their social groups, making it likely that group-based exclusion decisions will be related to the ongoing process of identity development. Social groups have been known to promote a sense of in-group cohesion that can be attributed to shared identity development (Abrams & Killen, 2014). As adolescents engage with a social group more frequently, as is typical through mid adolescence (see Brechwald & Prinstein, 2011), their sense of social identity associated with group belongingness increases and becomes more salient than it previously had been throughout childhood or will be in late adolescence. In turn, this results in the goals and norms of that group taking on greater importance (Abrams & Rutland, 2008), particularly in younger adolescents. The need to identify with these groups is heightened in younger adolescents, resulting in greater ethnic in-group bias in younger, as compared with older, adolescents (Teichman et al., 2007). Beginning in late adolescence, though, one's need for a sense of social identity and group membership lessens, as the importance of one's sense of individuality becomes stronger (Bornholt, 2000).

Evaluations of Intergroup Exclusion Across Contexts

Beyond the influence of identity and group norms, evidence suggests that evaluations of intergroup exclusion will vary based on the context in which it occurs (Mulvey et al., 2014). Descriptive norms of a situation define context-specific appropriate behaviors and attitudes and inform an individual's evaluations of context-specific events (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). Peer- and family-based social groups are two contexts of the utmost importance during adolescence (McGrath, Brennan, Dolan, & Barnett, 2009). Youth often look to those in their important, immediate, and salient social networks—namely peers and parents—when they experience cross-group encounters. Fittingly, evidence suggests that both perceived parent (Edmonds & Killen, 2009) and peer norms (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2011; Schachner et al., 2015; Titzmann et al., 2015), about the out group in general and intergroup relations specifically, have considerable influence on youths' racial attitudes toward an out group.

Perceptions of peer and parental attitudes toward intergroup friendships are a vital source of in-group normative information and—by providing implicit and explicit messages—play a significant role in defining youth's attitudes about and engagement in cross-group relationships (see Edmonds & Killen, 2009; Schachner et al., 2015). For instance, adolescents who perceive their parents to be less supportive of cross-group relationships are less likely to engage in such relationships or bring

cross-group friends home (Edmonds & Killen, 2009). Evaluations of intergroup exclusion, however, differ across the contexts in which exclusion occurs (Brenick & Killen, 2014; Brenick et al., 2007; Killen et al., 2013), such that perceived intergroup norms of parents and peers may vary in salience and influence on one's evaluations of intergroup exclusion and inclusion across different contexts.

The Current Study

Bennett (2014) emphasizes that "social identities are consequential and moreover that contextual factors are immensely important in understanding group-based exclusion" (p. 184), which means that "future research [must] give explicit consideration to contextual variations in the activation of social identities" (p. 189). Brechwald and Prinstein (2011) emphasize the critical need for future research to consider multiple, potentially competing, sources of social influence (e.g., peers and parents) on adolescents' behaviors and attitudes. Therefore, this study investigated the degree to which perceived peer versus parent intergroup norms about members of a cultural out-group relate to evaluations of intergroup exclusion in varying contexts—particularly in relation to a youth's own cultural identity. Examining these relations in conjunction with developmental and gender effects was beyond the scope of this study. Gender effects on intergroup exclusion evaluations have been inconsistent (Killen et al., 2002), although some recent studies have found girls to be less accepting of out-group exclusion and to support inclusive behaviors and justifications (e.g., Møller & Tenenbaum, 2011). Findings presented earlier indicate developmental trends have also been mixed; Brenick and Killen (2014) did not find developmental period effects for evaluations of intergroup exclusion; still, late adolescents tend to be more settled and secure in their cultural group identities (Bornholt, 2000; Pahl & Way, 2006) and are less affected by the influence of perceived group norms (Steinberg & Monahan, 2007). As such, gender and developmental period were controlled for in all analyses so that the effects of cultural identity and perceived intergroup norms could be clearly examined.

With regard to the primary variables of interest, it was hypothesized that participants with higher cultural identity commitment, lower concern for relationships, lower cultural identity exploration, or perceptions of more positive peer or parent out-group norms would be less accepting of out-group exclusion and social-conventional justification for out-group exclusion, as well as more accepting of out-group inclusion and moral justification for out-group inclusion. With regard to the interactions between the three cultural identity factors and perceived out-group norms, it was hypothesized that when participants reported higher cultural identity commitment, lower concern for relationships, or lower cultural identity exploration, a positive relation between perceived context salient intergroup norms and evaluations of intergroup exclusion would emerge (e.g., when an in-group was perceived as more accepting of intergroup exclusion of an out-group member, the individual would be significantly more accepting of out-group exclusion).

Method

Participants

Participants, all of whom identified as Jewish American, were drawn from three religious-based Jewish day schools in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States. This study surveyed 241 mid (ninth-grade students: $n = 133$; $M_{age} = 14.18$ years; $SD = 0.42$) to late- (12th-grade students: $n = 108$; $M_{age} = 17.21$ years; $SD = 0.43$) adolescents ($M_{ageTOTAL} = 15.70$ years; $SD = 1.57$), relatively evenly divided by gender (120 women and 121 men). All participants identified ethnically as Jewish, and 98% also identified religiously as Jewish (see Table 1, for Ms and SDs by developmental period and gender). The three schools identified as reform or conservative (79% of participants self-reported as culturally or moderately observant of Judaism) and were comparable in socioeconomic status and size, reflecting middle-income backgrounds with medium-sized schools ($M_{enrollment} = 305.25$ students). Data were collected from September 2008 to June 2009.

Design

This cross-sectional survey utilized a questionnaire that measured multiple outcome variables, participants': (a) intergroup exclusion judgments (two levels: out-group exclusion for no explicit reason and out-group exclusion explicitly because of out-group membership), (b) forced-choice inclusion of the out-group member judgments, (c) inclusion decisions, and (d) inclusion justification judgments (two levels: moral justification and social-conventional justification). Each outcome variable was measured for two scenarios—a peer outing to see a movie and a party in the family home. Youths' intergroup inclusion and exclusion evaluations

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Cultural Identity Factors, Perceived Norms, and Wrongfulness Ratings by Gender and Developmental Period

	Mid-adolescence			Late-adolescence		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Cultural identity						
Commitment	2.08 (0.80)	1.73 (0.60)	1.92 (0.73)	1.70 (0.69)	1.70 (0.59)	1.70 (0.63)
Exploration	2.31 (0.77)	2.05 (0.71)	2.19 (0.75)	2.05 (0.84)	2.08 (0.71)	2.07 (0.77)
Relationships	2.71 (0.90)	2.72 (0.77)	2.72 (0.84)	2.52 (1.01)	2.55 (0.84)	2.53 (0.92)
Perceived norms						
Peer	3.43 (1.20)	4.14 (1.22)	3.76 (1.26)	3.44 (0.90)	3.49 (0.92)	3.47 (0.91)
Parent	4.02 (1.16)	4.26 (1.26)	4.13 (1.21)	3.52 (1.11)	3.41 (1.01)	3.46 (1.05)
Wrongfulness of exclusion						
Undifferentiated, peer	2.98 (1.03)	2.71 (0.89)	2.85 (0.98)	3.01 (1.09)	2.63 (0.76)	2.81 (0.94)
Group-based, peer	1.72 (1.03)	1.32 (0.54)	1.53 (0.86)	1.88 (0.98)	1.39 (0.81)	1.61 (0.92)
Undifferentiated, home	3.24 (1.02)	2.76 (1.10)	3.02 (1.08)	2.92 (1.20)	2.70 (0.87)	2.80 (1.04)
Group-based, home	2.14 (0.96)	1.86 (0.99)	2.01 (0.98)	2.24 (1.08)	1.74 (0.74)	1.97 (0.94)

Note. $N = 241$; mid-adolescent male: $n = 71$; mid-adolescent female: $n = 62$; late-adolescent male: $n = 50$; late-adolescent female: $n = 58$.

served as the key outcome variables, whereas cultural identity exploration, commitment, concern for relationships, and perceived norms (peer and parent) served as the key predictor variables for this study. These predictors were self-reported by participants on the questionnaire following the completion of both intergroup exclusion scenario assessments. Developmental period and gender were entered into regression analyses as indicator variables with mid adolescents and men coded as "0" and late-adolescents and women coded as "1."

Procedure

Once approval was received by the school principals, a team of trained research assistants came to the schools for a same-day information session to obtain participant consent and complete a paper-based administration of the Social Attitudes about Intergroup Relations Survey (Brenick, 2010). All mid adolescents (ninth graders) and late adolescents (12th graders) at each school were invited to participate ($M = 3$ classes per grade, per school). All students present on the day of survey administration were informed about the study goals (e.g., to study participants' evaluations about times when adolescents have to decide about including or excluding their peers from social activities), the confidential and voluntary nature of study participation, and the ability of participants to opt out of participation at any time. Trained research assistants administered the paper-based 30-min Social Attitudes about Intergroup Relations Survey (Brenick, 2010) to each

participating class. Informed consent or assent was obtained from all participants, with only three students choosing not to complete the survey.

Measure: The Social Attitudes About Intergroup Relations Survey

The Social Attitudes about Intergroup Relations Survey (Brenick, 2010) included items assessing participants' evaluations of intergroup social exclusion scenarios, perceptions of peer and parent out-group normative attitudes, and levels of cultural identity. There were multiple versions of the survey so that the scenario protagonist and the participant were matched on gender and ethnicity.

Evaluations of Intergroup Social Exclusion Scenarios

The surveys included vignettes pertaining to peer (group of friends going to the movies) and home (family party in the home) contexts. Participants evaluated six items per context (detailed in the following sections). Judgments were rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale (from 1 = *very bad*, to 6 = *very good*).

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 with exclusion scenarios for each context. As an example, the peer-exclusion scenario described a protagonist (Diana) who wants to invite an out-group individual (Rasha)—whom her

(in-group) friends have not met—to join her and her group of friends to go to a movie, but she decides against it. Upon finishing each vignette, participants rated: (a) "How good or bad is it that Diana (in-group protagonist) doesn't invite Rasha (out-group target)?" (undifferentiated exclusion), then (b) how good or bad is it to exclude Rasha because she is Arab? (group-based exclusion). Next, the participants were presented with the forced-choice inclusion scenario. In this vignette, the participants were asked to imagine that the protagonist was able to bring only one more friend along with the group to the movie and that she had to choose whom to include—another in-group member or the out-group member. Participants rated (c) how good or bad was it to include the out-group member if forced to choose between an in-group member and out group? (forced-choice out-group inclusion evaluation). Participants then answered, (d) whom they thought the protagonist should include (1 = *definitely out-group member*, to 4 = *definitely in-group member*; inclusion decision).

Finally, participants rated two hypothetical justifications for the forced-choice inclusion decisions—a recent methodological approach (e.g., Brenick & Killen, 2014)—rather than using open-ended responses for reasoning assessments, as has often been done in past research. This novel approach presented the most frequently and reliably appealed to justifications for inclusion or exclusion judgments (Verkuyten, 2008) while also reducing participant testing fatigue, eliminating potential errors of unreliability between raters in coding open-ended responses, and helping to lessen the time taken for survey administration as is often required by participating schools. Participants were asked to rate social-conventional and moral reasons for the forced-choice inclusion scenarios that—based on prior findings—were most frequently invoked to support in-group and out-group inclusion, respectively (Verkuyten, 2008). Participants were asked how good or bad it was for the protagonist to include (e) the out-group member based on a moral antidiscrimination justification (e.g., "before judging one should first get to know others who might be different") and (f) the in-group member based on a social-conventional justification (e.g., "the in-group members would be uncomfortable if the outgroup target was invited").

Perceived Out-Group Normative Attitudes

Following the administration of both exclusion vignettes and in a separate section of the survey, participants reported their perceived peer and parent norms regarding the out group—Arabs. Participants rated the following question, "How would you describe your peers'/parents' attitudes toward Arabs?" for both peer and parent norms on a 6-point Likert-type scale (from 1 = *very negative*, to 6 = *very positive*).

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. Jewish cultural identity, particularly among American Jews, is not simply reflective of a religious or an ethnic affiliation, but instead encompasses interacting aspects of religion, ethnicity, and social connectivity (Friedlander et al., 2010; see Haji, Lalonde, Durbin, & Naveh-Benjamin, 2011). Therefore, participants' overall cultural identity was assessed through adapted items from the MEIM (Phinney, 1992)—tapping into well-established components of ethnic and cultural identity, and five additional items from the EIS (Nesdale, 1997), specifically reflecting cultural identity with regard to interpersonal relationships not assessed in the MEIM. In line with the conceptualization that Jewish-American identity is more than simply religion or ethnicity (Friedlander et al., 2010; Haji et al., 2011), the MEIM and EIS adaptations involved the following: (a) the instructions for the cultural identity scale asked participants to refer to their self-reported ethnicity and religion as their cultural group; and (b) references to "ethnic group" in the MEIM and EIS items were changed to read "cultural group." Participants rated their cultural identification on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly agree* to 5 = *strongly disagree*) to best describe their thoughts about each statement regarding their cultural identification (e.g., "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.").

With the factor structure based on Phinney (1992) and Nesdale (1997), and found by Brenick and Killen (2014), 15 items were used to create three subscales: (a) *identity commitment* used the cultural identity commitment, belongingness, and affirmation items from the MEIM; (b) *identity exploration* used the cultural identity search and exploration items from the MEIM; and (c) *identity concern for relationships* used the supplemental concern for relationships items from the EIS. Full information maximum likelihood estimation was used to address

missing data. Utilizing the LISREL statistical analysis package (Scientific Software International, Inc., Skokie, IL, USA), a confirmatory factor analysis conducted on this three-factor model, yielded good fit: root mean square error of approximation = .07 (90% CI [.07, .08]), standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) = .06, comparative fit index = .96. All three resulting scales had moderate to high reliability: identity commitment—Cronbach's α = .90; identity exploration—Cronbach's α = .76; and identity concern for relationships—Cronbach's α = .74. Regressed factor scores were calculated and used as predictors for the multiple linear regression analyses conducted below.

Results

Plan for Analysis

It was predicted that cultural identification and perceived group norms, primarily those of context-specific salient in-group members (e.g., perceived peer norms in the peer context), would relate significantly to evaluations of intergroup exclusion and inclusion. This was tested using linear multiple regression analysis. First, the rate of missing data was found to be quite low at 2.8%, and the data were missing completely at random (MCAR), Little's MCAR $\chi^2(161) = 184.02$, $p > .05$. The expectation-maximization algorithm was employed to estimate and impute the missing values. Then, multiple regressions were run with gender (0 = male, 1 = female), developmental period (0 = mid adolescence, 1 = late adolescence), levels of cultural identity, and perceived peer and parent out-group norms 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 developmental period as predictors. The second model added cultural identity commitment, identity exploration, identity concern for relationships, and the perceived norms of the context relevant target (i.e., perceived peer norms for the peer context and perceived parent norms for the home context), as the predictors of primary interest. The third model added in the perceived norm of the nonsalient target (i.e., perceived parent norms for the peer context and perceived peer norms for the home context). Finally, the fourth model then added all two-way interaction terms between the three cultural identity factors and the perceived peer and parent norms, as well as the interaction of peer by parent norms. Given that

interaction terms are examined in these regressions, all variables were mean centered prior to analyses to reduce multicollinearity. All analyses were run using SPSS 21, IBM Corp., Armonk, NY, USA.

Descriptives

Participants were fairly well identified on all three measures of identity (commitment: $M = 1.81$, $SD = 0.66$; exploration: $M = 2.10$, $SD = 0.72$; concern for relationships: $M = 2.65$, $SD = 0.85$); the mean value of each factor differed significantly from the midpoint of the scale, $F(3, 711) = -261.42$, $p < .001$; see Table 1, for Ms and SDs by gender and developmental period. In line with previous research (French et al., 2006; Huang & Stormshak, 2011), younger, mid-adolescent participants reported comparatively high values of cultural identity overall ($M = 2.21$, $SD = 0.05$)—values significantly higher than those reported by older, late-adolescent participants, see Pahl & Way, 2006; Tsai & Fuligni, 2012, for decreases in identity exploration in late adolescence; $M = 2.09$, $SD = 0.06$; $F(1, 237) = 4.52, p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Univariate analyses of variance (ANOVAs) indicated that males, in comparison with women, reported significantly higher values of cultural identity commitment, $F(1, 239) = 5.53$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$; $M_{male} = 1.91$, $SD = 0.73$; $M_{female} = 1.71$, $SD = 0.56$, but not exploration ($M_{male} = 2.19$, $SD = 0.78$; $M_{female} = 2.01, SD = 0.65$) or concern for relationships ($M_{male} = 2.62, SD = 0.89$; $M_{female} = 2.68, SD = 0.82$).

Perceived norms of both parents and peers were viewed as only slightly above neutral. A paired-samples t test indicated, however, that parents' norms ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 1.19$) were perceived to be significantly more positive toward the out group than those of peers, $M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.12$; $t(240) = 2.96$, $p < .01$, as well as from the midpoint of the scale, $t(241) = 4.34$, $p < .001$; see Table S1, for all correlations. Univariate ANOVAs indicated that men, in comparison with women, perceived their peers to hold significantly less positive views about the out-group, $F(1, 237) = 5.17$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, and mid-adolescents, in comparison with late-adolescents, perceived their parents to hold significantly more positive views about the out group, $F(1, 237) = 6.94$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$; see Table 1, for Ms and SDs.

Regression Analyses

Evaluations of Intergroup Exclusion

The majority of adolescents rejected peer intergroup exclusion with their mean ratings falling

significantly below the midpoint of the 6-point Lik-ert-type scale, $F(4, 948) = 273.02$, $p < .001$; see Table 1, for Ms and SDs. Participants were less accepting of group-based exclusion than of undifferentiated exclusion $F(1, 237) = 417.92$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .63$, particularly in the peer context, $F(2, 237) = 13.62$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, Ms (SDs): peer undifferentiated: 2.83 (0.96), group based: 1.57 (0.86); home undifferentiated: 2.91 (1.06), group based: 1.99 (0.96). Adolescents who perceived their peers to hold more positive normative attitudes about the Arab out group, as well as those who rated their cultural identity commitment as lower, were less accepting of undifferentiated exclusion in the peer context, $F(7, 240) = 4.38$, $p < .001$. In the home context, girls, late adolescents, and partici-pants who perceived their parents to hold more positive normative attitudes about the Arab out-group were all less accepting of undifferentiated exclusion, $F(3, 240) = 5.56$, $p < .001$ (see Table 2, for coefficients and R^2 values for all significant hierar-chical multiple regression results).

When exclusion of the out-group target was explicitly based on one's ethnic group membership, girls and participants who perceived their peer out-group norms to be more positive were significantly less accepting of excluding the out-group target from a peer gathering, $F(3, 240) = 8.49$, $p < .001$. The same pattern of results was found in the home context. Perceptions of the salient group (parents) norms and gender were significantly related to evaluations of exclusion based on ethnic group membership in the home context, $F(7, 240) = 9.77$, $p < .001$. However, it was not just perceived parent out-group norms but also perceived peer out-group norms that related to participants' evaluations of group-based exclusion; the more positive adoles-cents' perceived their peers' out-group norms to be the less accepting they were of group-based exclu-sion (Table 2).

Forced-Choice Inclusion Judgments

Participants found it somewhat good if the pro-tagonist included the out-group member in both the peer ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 1.10$) and home contexts, ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 0.96$; both Ms differed significantly from the midpoint of the scale $F(2, 474) = 51.98$, $p < .001$), yet when forced to choose whom to include—either an in-group member or an out-group member—participants overwhelmingly chose the in-group member (peer: $M = 3.00$, $SD = 1.12$; home: $M = 3.07$, $SD = 1.04$). In both the peer, $F(2, 240) = 9.80$, $p < .001$, and the home contexts,

$F(2, 240) = 13.44$, $p < .001$, gender and developmen-tal period, not group norms, drove participants' evaluations of how good or bad it would be if the protagonist included the out-group target rather than the in-group target when only allowed to invite one person. Both girls and mid adolescents were more accepting than boys and late adolescents of including the out-group member for the forced-choice out-group inclusion evaluation. However, when participants were asked to choose whom the protagonist should include, no further significant results emerged for the inclusion decisions in either of the two contexts (Table 2).

Evaluations of the Social-Conventional Justification for Including the Ingroup

Adolescents rated it minimally unacceptable to include an in-group member at the family party in the home because the parents would be uncomfort-able if an out-group member was invited ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.22$). They rated it slightly more unacceptable to use the same social-conventional justification to include the in-group member in the peer context ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 1.29$); both differed significantly from the scale midpoint, $F(2, 474) = 14.32$, $p < .001$. For both the peer and the home contexts, the salient group norms were significantly related to partici-pants' evaluations of the decision to include the in-group member instead of the out-group member for a social-conventional reason—because the in-group members would be uncomfortable if [the out-group member] was invited. Adolescents whose peers' and parents' out-group norms were per-ceived to be more positive toward the out-group were less accepting of the social-conventional justifi-cation for including the in-group member in the peer, $F(3, 240) = 11.74$, $p < .001$, and home contexts, $F(3, 240) = 11.48$, $p < .001$, respectively (Table 2).

Evaluations of the Moral Domain Justification for Including the Out-Group

Including the out-group member for moral rea-sons was seen as quite good in both contexts, peer: $M = 4.77$, $SD = 1.03$; home: $M = 4.78$, $SD = 1.18$; Ms differed significantly from the scale midpoint, $F(2, 474) = 205.00$, $p < .001$. For the peer context, the more positive adolescents perceived their peers' norms to be toward the out group, the more accept-ing they were of including the out group member based on a moral justification to give everyone a fair chance and not judge someone before getting to know one another, $F(14, 240) = 2.41$, $p < .01$.

Table 2

*Multiple Regression Analysis for Exclusion and Inclusion Evaluations in the Peer and Home Contexts*

Step	Undifferentiated excl.		Group-based excl.		Include out-group rating		Include in-group s.c.		Include out-group moral	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
Peer context										
1 Gender	.03*	−.11	.06***	−.21***	.08***	.24***	.05**	−.14**	.03*	.12*
Developmental period		−.03		.04		−.16*		.08		−.04
2 Peer norm	.05***	−.16*	.03**	−.19**	.00	—	.08***	−.29	.00	.17*
3 Parent norm	.04***	−.09	.03	—	.02***	—	.02***	—	.03***	−.15***
CIC		.23**		—		—		—		.09***
CIE		−.06		—		—		—		−.15
CICR		.07		—		—		—		−.03
4 Peer × Parent	.04	—	.02	—	.04	—	.01	—	.07**	−.15
Parent × CIC		—		—		—		—		.28*
Parent × CIE		—		—		—		—		−.24
Parent × CICR		—		—		—		—		−.22**
Total R^2	.16		.14		.14		.16		.13	
Home context										
1 Gender	.04**	−.17**	.04**	−.14**	.10***	.30***	.04**	−.18***	.04*	.19***
Developmental period		−.14*		−.10		−.13*		−.07		−.04
2 Parent norm	.03**	−.17**	.14***	−.24***	.01	—	.09***	−.31***	.01	—
3 Peer norm	.01**	—	.04*	−.20**	.03	—	.03***	—	.03***	—
CIC		—		.13		—		—		—
CIE		—		−.50		—		—		—
CICR		—		−.09		—		—		—
4 Parent × Peer	.03	—	.03	—	.05	—	.01	—	.05	—
Total R^2	.11		.25		.19		.17		.13	
N	241		241		241		241		241	

Note. βs for all predictors in highest significant step are shown. Variables excluded from tables were not significant in any model; s.c. = social-conventional. (peer and home contexts, Peer × CIC; Peer × CIE; Peer × CICR; Parent × CIC; Parent × CIE; Parent × CICR). Developmental period entered as a "dummy" variable: 0 = early adolescence, 1 = late adolescence. Gender entered as a "dummy" variable: 0 = male; 1 = female. Excl. = exclusion; Cultural ID: CIC = commitment; CIE = exploration; CICR = concern for relationships.
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Perception of parents' out-group norms was also a significant predictor in the peer context but only when interacting with each of the three identity factors. When adolescents perceived their parents' out-group norms to be more positive and reported higher, rather than lower, levels of cultural identity commitment, they were significantly more accepting of including the out-group member based on a moral justification (Figure 1a). When adolescents perceived their parents' out-group norms to be more positive and reported lower, rather than higher, levels of cultural identity exploration or cultural identity concern for relationships, they were significantly more accepting of including the out-group member based on a moral justification (Figure 1b and 1c; Table 2).

a Cultural Identity Commitment X Perceived Parent Norms
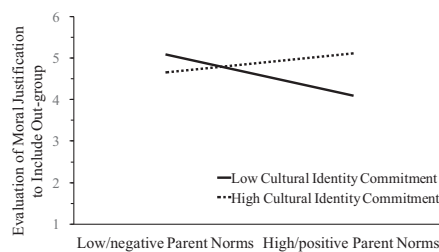
b Cultural Identity Exploration X Perceived Parent Norms
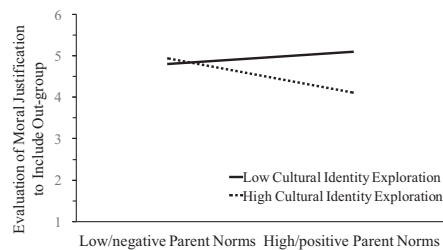
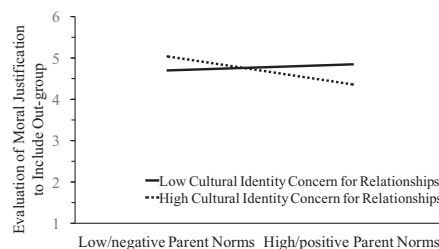c Cultural Identity Concern for Relationships X Perceived Parent Norms

Figure 1. Perceived parent norms and cultural identity factors 2-way interaction graphs for evaluations of including the out-group based on a moral justification. (a) Cultural Identity Commitment × Perceived Parent Norms. (b) Cultural Identity Exploration × Perceived Parent Norms. (c) Cultural Identity Concern for Relationships × Perceived Parent Norms.

In the home context, only gender emerged as a significant predictor; women were more accepting of including an out-group member in the party at the family home based on the moral justification, $F(2, 240) = 4.49$, $p < .05$. No further significant effects emerged (Table 2).

Discussion

The goal of this study was to investigate multiple context-specific sources of perceived group norms and cultural identity, as these variables relate to social and moral evaluations of intergroup exclusion between Jewish-American and Arab-American adolescents. Adding to previous research utilizing the SRD perspective, which demonstrates that the majority of adolescents reject exclusion of Arab-American peers based solely on their cultural identity (Brenick & Killen, 2014), the novel findings of this study demonstrate how cultural identity and perceptions of context-specific norms relate to morally driven evaluations of out-group inclusion or to social-conventional driven evaluations of out-group exclusion by Jewish-American adolescents.

Context-Specific Sources of Perceived Group Norms

This study was the first that we know of to assess perceived peer and parent intergroup norms across two contexts that purposefully made salient a specific source of group norms regarding peer intergroup relations. We examined a scenario in which adolescents were expected to look to their parents as the primary source of group normative behaviors (a family party in the home), as well as a scenario in which adolescents were expected to look to their peers as the primary source of group normative behaviors (friends going out to a movie). The principle question of interest was whether the context-specific source of group norms about the out group (e.g., peers in the peer scenario) would be the only driving source of group norms guiding adolescents' evaluations of intergroup exclusion, or if the context nonspecific source of group norms (e.g., the parents in the peer scenario) would be considered as well.

The novel findings of this study indicate that, in line with SRD theory (Rutland et al., 2010), evaluations of out-group exclusion are strongly associated with perceptions of peer and parent intergroup norms in the relevant contexts. In the peer context, adolescents who believed that their peers held more positive attitudes about the Arab out group were

less accepting of both undifferentiated and group-based exclusion. These individuals were also more apt to accept including the out-group member for the moral justification of giving everyone a fair chance and not judging others before getting to know one another. This effect worked in the opposite direction as well; when adolescents viewed their peers or parents to hold more negative normative views about Arabs, they showed greater levels of support for including an in-group member rather than an out-group member, based on the social-conventional reason that including an Arab would hinder group functioning by making the other in-group members feel uncomfortable. Still, Brenick and Killen (2014) theorized that in-group preference drawn out of concern for the welfare of in-group members should not be equated with in-group preference drawn out of prejudicial beliefs about the out-group.

It is important to note, however, the limitations of the measure of perceived group norms. Group norms were assessed on only one general dimension—overall regard for the Arab out group—from negative to positive. However, group norms can take the form of a general regard for the out group (as presently assessed) or an explicitly inclusive or exclusive regard for the out-group (Tropp, O'Brien, & Migacheva, 2014). Tropp et al. (2014) found that it is inclusive group norms specifically, rather than exclusive norms, that drive youth's intentions to engage in cross-group friendships. This may explain why in this study perceived group norms did not relate to evaluations of inclusion decisions at all. Moreover, the gender findings of this study support the idea of a gender norm rejecting group-based exclusion by women; in line with previous research (Brenick & Killen, 2014; Møller & Tenenbaum, 2011), women consistently rejected exclusion of the out-group member more so than men. Still, these are all examples of group-specific norms. General norms, though, (e.g., those held by the larger society) were not assessed presently and warrant future attention. Greater societal norms independently and in interaction with group-specific norms can play a significant role in inclusion- and exclusion-based decisions regarding intergroup engagement with Arab peers (see Killen et al., 2013). Future studies should account for the more widespread societal norms regarding intergroup dynamics (e.g., those perpetuated in the United States vs. in the Mideast) and their agreement or disagreement with group-specific norms.

One additional limitation of our assessment of perceived intergroup norms is that group norms were measured rather than manipulated. Although perceived norms are highly influential over one's attitudes and behaviors, manipulating group norms yields a definitive and standardized source of influence. Manipulating a group norm ensures that participants are not biased by the context of social exclusion that they are evaluating, however, our participants came to this study with their social group already in existence—a group that has historically strong intergroup tendencies that might be rather difficult to truly manipulate in a laboratory setting. Although participants all reported their perceptions of parent and peer intergroup norms after completing the hypothetical scenario assessments, other filler items were included between the two assessments and participants evaluated the scenarios as third-party observers, rather than participants, to keep the two assessments as far from one another in time and content as possible. In addition, developmental findings emerged indicating that late adolescents perceived their parents' out-group norms to be more negative than did mid adolescents. It is unclear, however, whether or not this effect is a result of developmental shifts in perceptions or reflective of the generational trend of American Jews away from divisive, negative intergroup attitudes regarding Jews and Arabs. Future research could utilize an approach in which the effects of measured perceived group norms are compared to manipulated group norms to parse out all of these effects.

Context Nonspecific Sources of Perceived Group Norms

Of particular interest are the scenarios in which the context-nonspecific sources of group norms were significantly related to adolescents' evaluations. Novel findings of this study also indicate that perceived peer norms emerge as a significant predictor of out-group exclusion evaluations in the home context above and beyond perceived parent norms. This likely reflects the increasing importance of perceived peer intergroup norms and identity throughout adolescence (e.g., Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Brenick & Killen, 2014; Horn, 2005) as postulated by the SRD perspective (Rutland et al., 2010), and while this study did not assess developmental period as a primary variable of interest, future research should look at the interaction between perceived peer norms and developmental period as the relation is likely to get stronger as social cliques grow in significance for mid adolescents. Furthermore, peer attitudes prove a significant deterrent to or facilitator of adolescents' acceptance of

intergroup encounters and should, therefore, be a core component of any youth intergroup intervention effort.

In addition, perceptions of parents' out-group norms are a significant predictor in the peer context, but only when interacting with each of the three identity factors (i.e, commitment, exploration, and concern for relationships). Presently, these three factors of participants' cultural identity were assessed but not participants' own statuses within their cultural group; likewise, participants' perceptions of their peers' or parents' cultural identities or statuses within the in group were not examined. In line with the model of subjective group dynamics (Abrams & Rutland, 2008) and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), one's group status and status within a group are integrally related to one's tendency to abide by group norms. Obtaining more information of this nature would provide a deeper understanding into the interplay between cultural identity and perceived group norms—interactions that did not often emerge in the present findings. Even though these participants came from Jewish day schools in order to sample from a population in which this identity was salient (parents send their children to these schools because they identify, to some degree, with this culture, and most friendships at this age are formed within the school which also indicates a level of identification with Judaism among the peer group), it would benefit future studies to have adolescents provide information on which social identities they associate most with their peers and with their parents as well as their statuses within the in group. The model of subjective group dynamics (Abrams & Rutland, 2008) suggests that participants' perceptions of their peers and parents holding positions of higher status within the in group may be perceived as having beliefs that are more prototypical for their cultural group. This may mean, then, that their normative attitudes are considered more important to follow. Further, if the participant holds a lower status in the group, it may indicate a higher risk of being seen as a "black sheep" if he or she goes against the group. Concurrently, the participant may be more likely to adhere to group norms for fear of being rejected from the group (Abrams & Rutland, 2008).

It is also of the upmost importance to consider the content of one's social identity. Adolescents who reported higher levels of identity commitment were more accepting of inclusive attitudes toward the out group; this can be viewed as a potential protective factor against intergroup discrimination (Levine & Manning, 2013). For instance, it might be that these adolescents view intergroup inclusivity and justice as key components of their in-group identity to which they are strongly committed. Relatedly, with such commitment, adolescents may experience an unwavering sense of self and security in their in-group identity. Thus, reductions in threats to one's in-group identity and intergroup anxiety facilitate positive intergroup interactions, including bystander interventions for instances of intergroup victimization (see Abbott & Cameron, 2014; Palmer, Rutland, & Cameron, 2015). Finally, as identity development is a fluid process, it is possible for committed adolescents to reexplore their identity but in greater depth (Phinney & Ong, 2007). For highly committed adolescents, such reevaluation might lend itself to exploring the commonalities across groups—the values, behaviors, experiences that the in group shares with the outgroup. Increased understanding of similarities across groups has already been shown to promote more inclusive attitudes by young Arab and Israeli children (Brenick et al., 2007), and it falls in line theoretically with the common in-group identity model, which is widely applied as a model to improve intergroup relations (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009).

Conclusions

These results clearly demonstrate the significance of perceived context-specific group norms in adolescents' decision making regarding intergroup relations. They also evince the importance of the exact nature of these norms—general, exclusive, or inclusive—and the fit between these group-specific norms and the general societal norms regarding intergroup relations (see Abrams & Killen, 2014). Just as future work must examine the complex nature of social group norms, so too must it examine the complex nature of salient social identities as well as group status of the self, and the sources of group norms (see Abrams & Rutland, 2008).

Moreover, group norms not only take on multiple forms but also have the unique potential to serve as antecedents, mediators, moderators, and outcomes of intergroup relations (Davies et al., 2013). Extended contact, such as the positive effects of one's friends having cross-group friendships, should be of paramount interest as this field progresses; it is able to play both antecedent and mediating group norm roles. The indirect friendships that create extended contact not only influence adolescents' subjective perceptions of in-group norms but also

provide adolescents with information about the actual, objective normative behaviors of their in-group. That is to say, do in-group members actually include out-group peers as a normative behavior? As mentioned earlier, this is a limitation of the current study, as only the measured perceptions of group norms were assessed rather than actual, objective norms or even an experimentally manipulated group norm. Additionally, as norms are influential from antecedent to outcome of intergroup relations, it is important for future work to look at all of the aforementioned variables longitudinally. This can be done, for one, by examining changes made to objective and subjective perceived group norms after cross-group friendships have developed and throughout the process of development.

The goal of many intergroup contact intervention programs is that the effects of contact will be long lasting and generalize to other contexts, out-group members, and out groups. What these findings present is the need to address group-specific norms by related contexts to ensure that the most effective intervention efforts are being implemented. As this field of work progresses, these findings can be applied to help promote strong group identity, which provides meaning, importance, and distinction to the self and the group. Group identity can be balanced with an intergroup perspective of inclusivity and fairness rather than assumed prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory practices toward the out group that perpetuates intergroup inequalities and lead to marginalization of the out-group.

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Supporting Information

Additional supporting information may be found in the online version of this article at the publisher's website:

Table S1. Correlations Between Age, Cultural Identity Factors, and Exclusion Evaluations