

Social Understanding in Young Israeli-Jewish, Israeli-Palestinian, Palestinian, and Jordanian Children: Moral Judgments and Stereotypes

Alaina Brenick , Melanie Killen , Jennie Lee-Kim , Nathan Fox , Lewis Leavitt , Amiram Raviv , Shafiq Masalha , Farid Murra & Yahia Al-Smadi

To cite this article: Alaina Brenick , Melanie Killen , Jennie Lee-Kim , Nathan Fox , Lewis Leavitt , Amiram Raviv , Shafiq Masalha , Farid Murra & Yahia Al-Smadi (2010) Social Understanding in Young Israeli-Jewish, Israeli-Palestinian, Palestinian, and Jordanian Children: Moral Judgments and Stereotypes, *Early Education and Development*, 21:6, 886-911, DOI: [10.1080/10409280903236598](https://doi.org/10.1080/10409280903236598)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10409280903236598>



Published online: 01 Dec 2010.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 307



View related articles [↗](#)



Citing articles: 2 View citing articles [↗](#)

Social Understanding in Young Israeli-Jewish, Israeli-Palestinian, Palestinian, and Jordanian Children: Moral Judgments and Stereotypes

Alaina Brenick

*Jena Graduate School of Human Behavior in Social and Economic Change
Friedrich Schiller University Jena*

Melanie Killen, Jennie Lee-Kim, and Nathan Fox

Department of Human Development, University of Maryland, College Park

Lewis Leavitt

*Department of Pediatrics and Waisman Center on Human Development
University of Wisconsin–Madison*

Amiram Raviv

Department of Psychology, Tel Aviv University

Shafiq Masalha

School of Education, Hebrew University and Tel Aviv University

Farid Murra

Assessment and Evaluation Department, Al-Quds Open University

Yahia Al-Smadi

Testing Unit, The University of Jordan

Research Findings: An empirical investigation was conducted to test young Palestinian, Jordanian, Israeli-Palestinian, and Israeli-Jewish children's ($N = 433$; $M = 5.7$

Correspondence regarding this article should be addressed to Alaina Brenick, Jena Graduate School of Human Behaviour in Social and Economic Change, Friedrich Schiller University Jena, Bachstr. 18K, Room 205, 07743 Jena, Germany. E-mail: alaina.brenick@uni-jena.de

years of age) cultural stereotypes and their evaluations of peer intergroup exclusion based upon a number of different factors, including being from a different country and speaking a different language. Children in this study lived in a geographical region that has a history of cultural and religious tension, violence, and extreme intergroup conflict. Our findings reveal that the negative consequences of living with intergroup tension are related to the use of stereotypes. At the same time, the results for moral judgments and evaluations about excluding peers provide positive results about the young children's inclusive views regarding peer interactions. *Practice:* These findings indicate that practitioners working with young children should focus on inclusion in peer contexts. Curricula, media, and social intervention programs must begin in early childhood before children begin to use stereotypes in peer situations, particularly when children from other cultural and ethnic backgrounds play together.

Recent research on children's social evaluations of exclusion from peer groups has indicated that young children use both moral judgments (empathy, fairness) and negative attitudes (stereotypes) to explain why it is wrong—or legitimate—to exclude others (Killen, Margie, & Sinno, 2006). To date, the studies have focused on exclusion based on gender, race, and nationality in the United States as well as in the UK (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; McGlothlin, Edmonds, & Killen, 2008). Few studies have focused on issues of culture, and no studies that we know of have investigated young children's evaluations of exclusion in the context of an ongoing societal conflict involving extreme exclusion that leads to serious negative outcomes, as has been documented in the Middle East. To do this requires an analysis of children's moral judgments, stereotypes about others, and evaluations of intergroup (Arab/Jewish) peer encounters. This was a central aim of the present study.

The Middle East is a region long plagued with political conflict that has often spilled over into daily violence among the civilian populations living in the area. Because of this, the clinical and psychological issues (e.g., posttraumatic stress disorder) facing children, particularly Palestinian children, have been well documented in the research literature (Elbedour, Bastien, & Center, 1997; Khamis, 2005). Yet research has also revealed the pervasiveness of negative judgments in normative samples as well. This is evidenced by young children in this region who hold negative stereotypes about the other group, whether it be simply associating negative traits (e.g., dirty, threatening, bad) with the other group or autonomously calling them "Godless" or "Bombers" (see Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Brenick et al., 2007). Israeli-Jewish children have been found, from a young age, to hold negative stereotypes toward Arabs in terms of their general attributes and occupations, and this in turn has shaped their desire for contact with them (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Brenick et al., 2007; Cole et al., 2003).

Although it is well documented that even very young Israeli-Jewish (see Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005) hold negative stereotypes about Arab individuals, only recently has research been conducted to examine Arab (primarily Palestinian) children's attitudes about the outgroup (see Brenick et al., 2007; Cole et al., 2003). Still, although

we know that children in the Middle East hold stereotypes about others (see Bar-Tal, 1996; Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Teichman & Zafirir, 2003), recent research (see Brenick et al., 2007; Cole et al., 2003) has shown that Jewish and Palestinian preschoolers do not always apply their negative stereotypic expectations to peer encounters involving children from other cultural groups. For example, even children exhibiting negative stereotypes about the outgroup used prosocial justifications (such as friendship) when making attributions about others' intentions (e.g., Will X push Y off the swing or ask for a turn?; see Brenick et al., 2007; Cole et al., 2003).

With a significant amount of this research devoted to documenting children's negative stereotypes of "the other," apart from these few exceptions, little is known about the extent to which children in this region of the world apply stereotypes to judgments about peer exclusion exchanges. Negative peer exchanges have significant implications for children's social development, as indicated by the importance of peer relationships for the development of social competence (see Denham, Salisch, Olthof, Kochanoff, & Caverly, 2002), moral judgment, and social cognition (Bukowski & Sippola, 2001; Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006). Furthermore, recent research on peer exclusion has revealed the contexts in which children apply stereotypes to group exclusion decisions (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Killen, 2007; Killen et al., 2006). For instance, a straightforward exclusion scenario, or one in which the transgression of exclusion does not involve competing concerns, is typically rejected across cultures based on reasons of fairness and equality for all. It is only when the situation becomes more complex (involving multiple considerations, often moral *and* nonmoral) that stereotypes will systematically be evoked. To illustrate, when asked whether it is okay for a group of children to exclude a child from a play activity based on group membership (e.g., gender, race), most children will view this as wrong or unfair. However, when asked whom to pick for a group (greater complexity by involving a decision to include as well as to exclude), many children will use stereotypic expectations to decide whom to include. Thus, research has examined the range of peer contexts that activate stereotypes from children to justify exclusion.

Recent social-cognitive domain research on children's intergroup attitudes in the United States has provided a theoretical model and a methodology for investigating how children evaluate familiar peer encounters by examining moral judgment within the context of children's intergroup relationships (Killen et al., 2006). The main goal of the social-cognitive domain model is to determine how social experiences, particularly transgressions, are conceptualized in terms of three qualitatively different domains of knowledge: (a) moral (universal intrinsic matters of fairness and equality), (b) social-conventional (culturally or socially defined matters of conventions, customs, and group functioning, or stereotypes), and (c) psychological (matters of personal choice). More complex social experiences, such as many intergroup interactions, often involve both moral and nonmoral considerations. Identifying the type or types of reasoning (moral, social-conventional, and/or stereotypic beliefs) brought to

bear on different intergroup social experiences is a fundamental step in understanding the processes necessary for promoting positive intergroup relations.

Using a social-cognitive domain model, researchers have examined when children use social-conventional, moral, and stereotypic knowledge to evaluate a range of peer conflict situations (Killen, 2007). By the age of 4 children differentiate between moral and nonmoral concerns, viewing moral issues such as justice, rights, and equality as generalizable across cultures and contexts and rejecting the notion that moral matters can be governed by some sort of authority rule. Non-moral issues, conversely, are seen as relative to the contexts in which they exist and, therefore, are contingent upon the prescribed rules of that social system (see Turiel, 2008). Thus, moral issues are always intrinsically right or wrong regardless of any set rule for or against an action, whereas social conventions are right or wrong depending upon the given rules in a particular situation.

These distinctions have also been examined specifically in regard to peer exclusion scenarios. When children justify peer exclusion they typically do so by referencing a contextually defined lack of common interests and a lack of familiarity with the group, which would disturb the ingroup functioning, a form of reasoning appealing to social conventions. Yet there are contexts in which children appeal to moral concerns of equality and fairness when rejecting exclusion decisions, indicating that it is unfair to deny an outgroup member the opportunity to be included and that everyone should have the same opportunities. When do moral concerns of fairness outweigh conventional issues or stereotypic expectations, and what are the contextual parameters (e.g., bases for exclusion) that are related to drawing on one type of reason over another? This question was addressed in part in the present study with young children living in a region of the world rife with pervasive negative stereotypes.

Thus, a central question was whether children would apply moral judgments to Arab/Israeli peer exclusion contexts or draw on stereotypic expectations to guide their decisions. Little research has investigated whether stereotypes are applied to intergroup peer contexts or the extent to which Israeli and Arab children would evaluate the same scenarios with similar outlooks about the legitimacy of exclusion. This approach lends itself to the complexity of stereotype use to explain how the context of the intergroup situation can dictate how children actually apply stereotypes in their interactions (Killen, 2007). No studies that we know of, however, have used this approach to investigate young children's application of moral knowledge to peer exclusion contexts with samples of young children from the Middle East.

Our investigation, then, focused on multiple cultural groups in the Middle East and measured children's (a) knowledge about the outgroup (i.e., children's conceptions and possibly stereotypes about a Jew or an Arab); and (b) evaluations of vignettes of peer intergroup situations involving exclusion, in which exclusion occurred for a range of reasons relating to culture and language. To do so, young children's judgments about exclusion were assessed using peer intergroup exclusion vignettes that detailed the potential exclusion of a target child based on being from

a different country, speaking a different language, or having different cultural customs. For each of the three vignettes, young children were asked to judge whether the target child should be included, to rate how good or bad it would be to exclude the child, and to provide a reason why.

The present study examined evaluations of exclusion in four different groups of children: Israeli-Jewish, Palestinian, Israeli-Palestinian, and Jordanian. Sampling three different Arab groups of children was important for two reasons. First, little is known about Arab children's social development. As mentioned earlier, most research has focused on clinical and psychological issues facing these children, such as posttraumatic stress disorder. Given that children in this region live amid such intense physical and psychological conflict, we must also understand Arab children's stereotypes and intergroup social and moral reasoning, and this is the first of study that we know of to include three different samples of Arab children (Israeli-Palestinian, Palestinian, and Jordanian). The three Arab groups in our study reflect a range of physical and psychological proximity to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Yet although their direct experience with the conflict may vary, youth can be affected by a conflict even when they do not come in direct contact with the violence (Slone, 2003).

Second, like all cultures, the Arab culture is heterogeneous, varied, and multifaceted. The cultural environment of children affords a range of gender and family relations that reflect recent changes taking place in new socioeconomic contexts (Alsoudi & Mahdi, 2004; Hopkins, 2001; Tibi, 1990). Yet assumptions of homogeneity of culture are frequently attributed to pan-Arab societies. Social psychologists have documented the "outgroup homogeneity effect," in which individuals understand heterogeneity of the ingroup but assume homogeneity of the outgroup (Judd & Park, 1993). This phenomenon may also apply when individuals in one culture make attributions about another culture (e.g., when Americans assume that all "Arab" cultures or all "Asian" cultures are of one type). Social psychologists theorize that the outgroup homogeneity effect frequently leads to stereotyping, given that stereotyping also involves ignoring within-group variation. Thus, by including three diverse Arab cultural groups in this project, we could fully examine within-culture variability to determine which aspects of social and moral judgments underlie diverse cultures and which aspects of evaluations of exclusion may be unique to one particular group.

Moreover, the Israeli children in this study reflected two groups, Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-Jewish, which points to the diversity of samples within one cultural group (in this case, Israelis). In particular, the Israeli-Palestinian group is in a unique position of belonging to both the Israeli and Arab cultures. This biculturalism reflects an important category of group membership in the Middle East rarely studied in empirical developmental research. We did not design the study to control for all societal factors, such as socioeconomic factors, given the absence of particular groups (e.g., middle-income Palestinians). Also, we were given the opportunity to collect these data as part of a larger evaluation project of the influence of viewing *Sesame Stories*, a Sesame Street Workshop series on the public television program

broadcast to the groups of children in this study subsequent to the data collection conducted for this project (which served as the pretest or baseline data for the media intervention evaluation project, a public media intervention program). Furthermore, selecting perfectly matched samples across cultures, socioeconomic status, and living conditions from within the diversity of the cultures in the Middle East is quite difficult (there are multiple categories within each culture, along with potential confounds disproportionately represented across these groups). Still, it is these potential confounds that contribute to each group's unique experience of the conflict and thus provide a more representative portrait of the greater population. Furthermore, to move beyond the dichotomy of middle-income Jewish communities and impoverished Palestinian communities (as a "Jewish-Arab" comparison), we selected three different Arab communities representing varying socioeconomic levels. Because of the complexities of the variables involved in measuring socioeconomic status, however, we avoided drawing conclusions based only on socioeconomic status. Nonetheless, we sampled four representative groups to provide an initial examination of diversity within the current Middle Eastern community.

HYPOTHESES

We predicted that young children, in general, would have negative stereotypes about the outgroup based on research conducted with Arab and Israeli children in Israel (Bar-Tal, 1996; Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Cole et al., 2003; Teichman & Zafir, 2003). We also predicted variability within our three Arab samples. First, we predicted that Palestinian children would have the most negative stereotypes because of the high-stress conflict experienced by Palestinian children and families, their insular existence with limited travel, and the negative contact they frequently have with Israelis through checkpoints and the like (rather than everyday interactions in schools). Second, we expected that Jordanian children would also have negative stereotypes because of the limited contact they have with Israeli-Jewish children. Israeli-Palestinian children, however, have more frequent and varied contact with this particular outgroup, and thus we predicted that they would have fewer negative stereotypes than the other two Arab samples. It should be noted that this remained an open question, as the contact that Israeli-Palestinian children have with Israeli-Jewish children can be both positive or negative because of the constantly changing political climate. Finally, because of the wealth of research that has been conducted on the stereotypes of Israeli-Jewish children, which has found a bombardment of negative messages about Arab groups in the media and in textbooks (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005), we predicted that Israeli-Jewish children would also hold negative stereotypes.

When looking at children's judgments and reasoning regarding exclusion in peer encounters, we expected that all children would vary in terms of which types of exclu-

sion they viewed as legitimate and that this could depend in part on social-conventional norms in their own cultures. Three types of exclusion were examined: exclusion based on being from a different country, exclusion based on having different customs, and exclusion based on speaking a different language. We expected that peer exclusion based on the cultural reason of being from a different country would be most pronounced for the Palestinian children living in Ramallah given the political issue of country for them as well as the lack of mobility of their families. For all four groups we expected exclusion based on different country to yield the greatest level of support, followed by exclusion based on customs and different language, given the amount of cultural propaganda and stereotyping that exists in the Middle East.

We predicted that children's justifications for rejecting exclusion would pertain to peer interactions in which children's games were emphasized with the expectations that children would view it from the perspective of a peer interaction rather than an adult-level societal conflict and that moral reasons such as fairness would apply (Killen et al., 2006; Killen, Pisacane, Lee-Kim, & Ardila-Rey, 2001). In contrast, children's reasons for accepting exclusion would stem from social-conventional reasons such as lack of cultural knowledge or customs and, to a lesser extent, stereotypes. We predicted that social-conventional justifications about group functioning would form the basis for children's decisions to accept exclusion based on cultural customs and different language, and that stereotypic justifications about members of other cultures would be used to accept exclusion in the context of different country memberships given the strength of stereotypes about others as documented by Bar-Tal and colleagues (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). Given the lack of previous research on this topic, no hypotheses were formulated for gender.

METHODOLOGY

Participants

Participants were 433 preschool and kindergarten children (M age = 5.7 years, SD = 0.34, range = 4.4–6.7) nearly evenly divided by gender and cultural group. Children were recruited from four sites in the Middle East. Two of the sites were in Israel: There was a sample of Israeli-Jewish children in Tel-Aviv (N = 102; M age = 5.7 years, SD = 0.30); and a sample of Israeli-Palestinian children in Nazareth, Kufur Qari, and Baka Elgarbia (N = 119; M age = 5.9 years, SD = 0.29). The other two sites were located in the West Bank: There was a sample of Palestinian children in Ramallah (N = 100; M age = 5.6 years, SD = 0.30) and a sample of Jordanian children residing in Amman (N = 112; M age = 5.7 years, SD = 0.40). The Israeli-Jewish and the Jordanian samples were middle income. The Israeli-Palestinian sample was middle to low income. The Palestinian sample was low income. Clearly, the samples varied on more than income level, given the stress and exposure to violence experienced by children in the West Bank and Ramallah. For the scope of this article, however, our general goal, as one of

the first studies of multiple Arab communities in the Middle East, was to examine children's stereotypes about others and to test the degree to which these stereotypes formed the basis for judgments about peer inclusion and exclusion.

Procedure

Trained research assistants matched to each child's ethnicity individually interviewed each child in his or her own language. They used the instrument accompanied by scale and picture cards. There were separate versions of the interview for male and female children, and the names used in the vignettes were matched to the gender and cultural group of the participant. The interviewer first administered a warm-up task that consisted of showing children a picture of an ice cream cone and asking them to point to the place on a 4-point smiling/frowning face scale card that represented how much they like ice cream. This was done to familiarize the children with the interviewer as well as the scale card that would be used throughout the interview. Following the warm-up task, first, a stereotype knowledge assessment was administered in which children were asked to identify and describe child members of the outgroup (Arabs or Jews). Next children were asked to evaluate the three peer exclusion vignettes.

Design and Measures

Extensive pilot work was conducted to ensure the validity of the vignettes. In addition, because this project was conducted in conjunction with Sesame Street Workshop, the vignettes mirrored many of the issues and themes represented in the *Sesame Street* stories, which were also pilot-tested for ecological validity. Moreover, research in moral development has shown that children's evaluations of stories reflecting familiar peer encounters are revealing of their social understanding and are highly correlated with their judgments in actual situations (Turiel, 2008).

Research assistants recorded children's verbatim responses, which were subsequently translated into English. To ensure the veridicality of the translations, a subset of responses was back-translated (English into Arabic or Hebrew) and compared to the original responses. Information from pilot-testing was used to develop the coding and analysis plan as described in "Coding and Coding Categories." This project was part of a larger pretest/posttest study commissioned by Sesame Street Workshop. Only the pretest data are presented in this article.

Interview Instrument

The interview instrument was composed of two sections: (a) Knowledge About the Outgroup, which assessed the children's judgments about the outgroup, which could include the use of stereotypes; and (b) Evaluations of Exclusion, which assessed the children's evaluations about the intergroup conflict vignettes. The first section asked children questions about their views of the "other" (e.g., Israeli-Jew-

ish children were asked about Arabs, and Arab children were asked about Jews). The second section presented vignettes involving dilemmas of conflict resolution and stereotyping (described in more detail in “Children’s Exclusion Evaluations”). Vignettes used in the instrument were chosen based on ecological relevance; each detailed hypothetical situations that children of this region could relate to. They matched the context of the TV show that was constructed by local producers in the Middle East as well as the age group targeted for the TV show. The instrument was originally developed in English, translated into both Hebrew and Arabic, and then back-translated into English to ensure consistency across translations. Prior to administration, the instrument was extensively pilot-tested to verify that children in the different settings understood the interview questions.

Children’s Knowledge About the Outgroup

Children were presented with a picture of a child who matched their gender and asked whether they were familiar with the child (“Do you know what [Arab/Jew] is?”). Israeli-Jewish children were told that the child in the picture was Arab, whereas Israeli-Palestinian, Jordanian, and Palestinian children were told that the child in the picture was Jewish. Drawings of the child presented as either Arab or Jewish on the picture cards were nondescriptive and void of cultural indicators. If the participant responded in the affirmative, that he or she knew of an Arab or Jewish child, they were asked, “What is an Arab/Jew?” Children’s answers were recorded and subsequently translated into English and coded.

Children’s Exclusion Evaluations

This section of the instrument assessed children’s exclusion reasoning. Children were asked to evaluate three vignettes that depicted situations of peer conflict with regard to exclusion. For each vignette, children were first asked to make a judgment (e.g., “Should the group include or not include the child?”) and a rating (e.g., “How good or bad is it to exclude the child”). They were then asked to explain their judgment, referred to as *justification* (e.g., “Why is it OK or not OK to exclude?”), a methodology adapted from standard protocols used in the social and moral development literature (see Killen, McGlothlin, & Lee-Kim, 2002; Smetana, 1995, 2005; Turiel, 1983, 2005). An interviewer presented each vignette to the child being interviewed using both a series of cartoon drawings and verbal descriptions of the initial action.

The vignettes used in this instrument involved everyday scenarios with peers; however, these vignettes focused on issues of exclusion (based on cultural membership), inclusion (regarding societal conventions and language barriers), and stereotypes. There were three vignettes in total. The first vignette, titled “Different Country,” involved a group of good friends who had to decide whether they should play with a child from a different country. The vignette referred to as “Cultural Custom” dealt with a group of friends who planned a party to which everyone had

to wear the same party hat. The group had to decide whether to let another child come to the party who came from another country where they wore a different type of party hat. Last, the "Different Language" vignette featured a group of children who all spoke the same language. While running to the ice cream truck to get ice cream, a child who spoke a different language had fallen. The children had to decide whether they should first stop and help the child and then get their ice cream, or whether they should first get their ice cream and then help the child (see Appendix A for the full text of the vignettes).

Coding and Coding Categories

Children's stereotype knowledge responses ("What is a Jew/Arab?" "What are Jews/Arabs like?") were coded using an established set of coding categories divided according to negative, positive, and neutral attributes (examples below) used in a prior study (Cole et al., 2003). For the peer intergroup exclusion vignettes, children's judgment responses of "should exclude" received a 0 and responses of "should not exclude" received a 1 (see Smetana, 1995, for details about coding). Justification responses were coded according to a range of conceptually based categories that were developed using a standard protocol that encompassed moral (i.e., fairness, inclusion, prosocial), social-conventional (i.e., cultural stereotypes, group functioning), and personal (i.e., personal choice, selfish motives) justifications (see Appendix B for a description of justification coding categories). These systems were developed based on a sampling of the children's open-ended justification responses across all cultural groups and were derived from the social-cognitive domain model and previous research using related categories (see Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, & Stangor, 2002; Smetana & Asquith, 1994; Turiel, 1983, 1998).

Reliability

Reliability coding was calculated on the justification data for both stereotype knowledge and exclusion evaluation assessments on 15% of the interviews. Using Cohen's kappa, interrater agreement in scoring overall responses was .93, and percent agreement between coders was 92% for both sets of justification data.

RESULTS

Plan of Analysis

Children's responses to the knowledge of the outgroup assessment were scored as proportions of negative, positive, and neutral categories. Analyses were conducted

on proportions to control for the number of potential codable responses per child given that for each question a child could provide responses from multiple categories. Children's exclusion judgments were scored as proportions of inclusive responses, whereas their exclusion ratings were mean responses from the 4-point Likert scale of how good or bad it is to exclude the target child (1 = *very bad*, 4 = *very good*). Children's exclusion reasoning responses were proportions of cultural stereotypes, selfish motives, fairness, group functioning, personal choice, pro-social mandates, friendship, and inclusion categories and were treated as a repeated measures within-subjects variable (see Appendix B for a description of the coding categories). For these assessments, we conducted repeated measures analyses of variance (ANOVAs) with follow-up post hoc Bonferroni comparisons for cultural group, paired *t* tests for within-subjects effects, and follow-up univariate ANOVAs to test between-subjects effects. Researchers using a social-cognitive domain approach to analyzing categorical judgment and justification data have successfully used similar data analysis procedures in their studies (see Killen, Lee-Kim et al., 2002; Nucci, Killen, & Smetana, 1996; Smetana, 1986; Tisak, 1995; Turiel, 1998). For all ANOVAs conducted, in cases in which the assumption of sphericity was not met, corrections were made using the Huynh-Feldt method.

Children's Stereotypes

Knowledge About the Outgroup

Children were asked whether they had knowledge of the outgroup (Arab, Jew). Means analysis revealed that, overall, a majority of children ($M = .74$, $SD = .44$) responded positively ("yes") that they had knowledge of an Arab or a Jew. In response to the follow-up question, "What is an Arab/Jew?" 84.33% of children provided responses falling under only one coding category (negative, neutral, or positive). The remaining 15.66% of children either provided answers from multiple coding categories or had previously indicated that they did not have knowledge of an Arab or a Jew.

In order to assess children's stereotype knowledge responses, a 2 (gender of participant) \times 4 (cultural group: Israeli-Jewish, Israeli-Palestinian, Jordanian, Palestinian) \times 3 (attribute: negative, neutral, positive) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor was conducted on participant responses to "What is an Arab/Jew?" Results for this question revealed interaction effects for Attribute \times Cultural Group, $F(6, 850) = 33.79$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .19$; and Attribute \times Gender, $F(2, 850) = 16.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Although overall children's negative, neutral, and positive responses did not differ, closer examination of Attribute \times Cultural Group revealed differences between Israeli-Jewish, Israeli-Palestinian, Jordanian, and Palestinian children supporting our hypotheses.

As shown in Figure 1, Israeli-Jewish children were more likely to provide neutral attributes than either negative ($p < .001$) or positive ($p < .04$) attributes in their

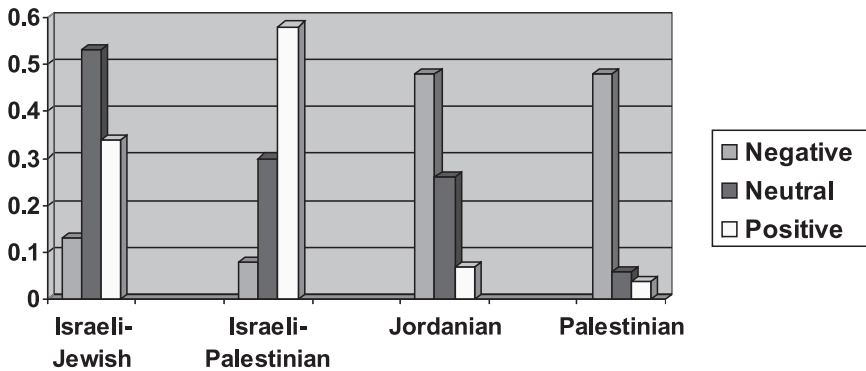


FIGURE 1 Proportions of negative, neutral, and positive attributes given in response to the question "What is an Arab/Jew?" by culture. $N = 433$. Proportions cannot exceed 1.00.

responses: $M (SD) = .53 (.50), .13 (.34), .34 (.48)$, respectively. Examples of neutral attributes given by children include "People work for them," "They drive cars and have money," and "Arabic is a language." Israeli-Palestinian children were more likely to provide positive descriptions of the outgroup than negative or neutral ($ps < .001$) attributes: $.58 (.50), .08 (.26), .30 (.46)$, respectively. Both Palestinian and Jordanian children were more likely to provide negative attributes than neutral or positive attributes ($ps < .001$): Palestinian: $.48 (.50), .06 (.24), .04 (.20)$, respectively; Jordanian: $.48 (.50), .26 (.44), .07 (.26)$, respectively. Examples of positive attributes include "I know about good Arabs" and "Arabs are like Jews." Some examples of negative responses given include "Shoots soldiers," "They are Black and not good," and "Someone bad." Closer examination of gender differences revealed that boys were less likely to provide neutral responses compared to negative ($p < .003$) or positive ($p < .001$) responses: $.17 (.38), .33 (.47), .31 (.46)$, respectively. The reverse pattern was observed in girls, as neutral attributes were given more often than positive ($p < .001$) or negative ($p < .002$) attributes: $.41 (.49), .23 (.42), .24 (.43)$, respectively.

In addition, between-subjects effects for cultural group were found for responses to the stereotype knowledge question, $F(3, 425) = 32.46, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .19$. Follow-up analyses revealed that in response to "What is an Arab/Jew?," Palestinian and Jordanian children were more likely to provide negative attributes than Israeli-Jewish or Israeli-Palestinian children ($ps < .001$): $M (SD) = .48 (.50), .48 (.50), .13 (.34), .08 (.26)$, respectively. Neutral responses were provided significantly more often by Israeli-Jewish children ($M = .53, SD = .50$) and significantly less often by Palestinian children ($M = .60, SD = .24$) than Israeli-Palestinian ($M = .30, SD = .46$) and Jordanian ($M = .26, SD = .44$) children ($p < .001$).

Children’s Moral Reasoning About Peer Exclusion

Overview

Analyses were conducted on children’s responses to the three exclusion vignettes: exclusion based on different country, cultural custom, and different language. Analyses were conducted for children’s (a) exclusion judgment, (b) exclusion rating, and (c) exclusion reasoning. For exclusion judgment and exclusion rating assessments, 2 (gender of participant) \times 4 (cultural group) ANOVAs were conducted. For exclusion reasoning analyses, 2 (gender of participant) \times 4 (cultural group) \times 5 (justification category, Different Country vignette); \times 4 (justification category, Cultural Custom vignette); or 3 (justification category, Different Language vignette) ANOVAs, repeated measures on the last variable, were conducted on justification categories meeting a frequency criteria greater to or equal to .10 for each vignette. The exclusion vignette results are presented in order of increasing complexity of the scenario.

Different Country

Analyses were conducted on children’s evaluations of a vignette in which a group of children could exclude a child from a different country. Results for children’s exclusion judgment revealed a main effect for cultural group, $F(3, 403) = 47.97, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .26$. When asked to decide whether the group should or should not exclude the new child from a different country, Israeli-Jewish children ($M = .94, SD = .24$) were more likely to reject exclusion than Palestinian ($M = .33, SD = .47; p < .001$) or Jordanian ($M = .79, SD = .41; p < .01$) children (see Figure 2). In contrast, Palestinian children were more likely than the other cultural groups to judge exclusion as all right: Israeli-Palestinian ($M = .87, SD = .34; ps < .001$). Similar to the judgment results, results of children’s exclusion ratings

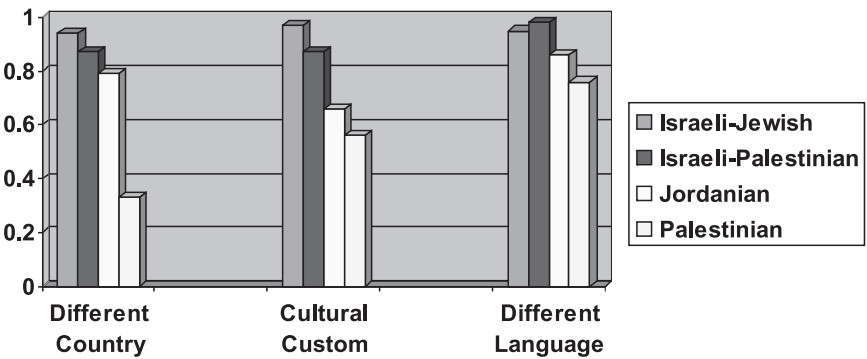


FIGURE 2 Proportion of positive judgments about inclusion by culture. $N = 433$. For exclusion vignettes: Should the group include or not include the child? Rating: 0 = do not include, 1 = include. Proportions cannot exceed 1.00.

showed a main effect for cultural group, $F(3, 420) = 42.81, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .23$. As shown in Figure 3, Palestinian children were more likely to support a group's decision not to play with a child from a different country than Israeli-Jewish, Israeli-Palestinian, or Jordanian children: $M (SD) = 2.61 (1.07), 1.52 (0.79), 1.43 (0.80), 1.51 (0.75)$, respectively ($ps < .001$).

Exclusion reasoning. Examination of children's justifications for why the group should or should not exclude the child from a different country revealed a main effect for justification, $F(34.64, 1972.91) = 38.48, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .08$; and an interaction effect for Justification \times Cultural Group, $F(13.93, 1972.91) = 14.45, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .09$. Included in the analyses were five justifications: stereotype, fairness, prosocial, friendship, and inclusion (see Appendix B for a description of the categories). As expected, children's reasoning involved multiple considerations. Overall, children were more likely to refer to inclusion ($M = .25, SD = .44$), friendship ($M = .21, SD = .41$), and stereotype ($M = .19, SD = .40$) justifications than fairness ($M = .08, SD = .28$) or prosocial ($M = .10, SD = .30$) justifications ($ps < .001$) when asked to provide a reason for their judgment to exclude or not exclude. In follow-up analyses, a similar pattern of results was found to vary by cultural group.

As shown in Table 1, Israeli-Jewish, Israeli-Palestinian, and Jordanian children made more references to inclusion and friendship justifications than other types of reasoning. Whereas Israeli-Jewish children were more likely to appeal to inclusion and friendship than maintenance of stereotypes ($ps < .001$) or fairness ($ps < .02$), Israeli-Palestinian children used more inclusion and friendship reasoning than stereotype ($ps < .05, .01$), prosocial ($ps < .02, .001$), or fairness ($ps < .03, .001$) reasoning when asked to evaluate whether the group should exclude the child from a different country. Jordanian children were also more likely to appeal to inclusion than stereo-

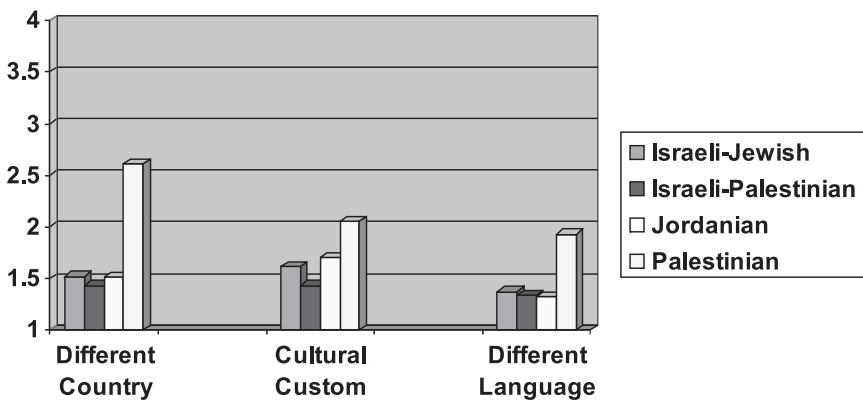


FIGURE 3 Mean ratings of "All right to exclude" by culture. $N = 433$. For exclusion vignettes: Is it all right to exclude? Rating: 1 = not good, 4 = yes, good.

TABLE 1
Proportions of Justifications for Different Cultural Exclusion Vignettes by Culture

<i>Justification</i>	<i>Different Country</i>			<i>Cultural Custom</i>			<i>Different Language</i>		
	<i>I-J</i>	<i>I-P</i>	<i>Pal</i>	<i>Jor</i>	<i>I-J</i>	<i>I-P</i>	<i>Pal</i>	<i>I-J</i>	<i>Jor</i>
Stereotype	0.05 (0.22)	0.13 (0.33)	0.58 (0.50)	0.05 (0.23)	0.00 (0.00)	0.03 (0.16)	0.00 (0.00)	0.04 (0.19)	0.01 (0.09)
Fairness	0.12 (0.32)	0.12 (0.32)	0.04 (0.20)	0.05 (0.23)	0.10 (0.30)	0.08 (0.26)	0.06 (0.24)	0.02 (0.13)	0.58 (0.50)
Group functioning	0.01 (0.10)	0.04 (0.20)	0.02 (0.14)	0.11 (0.31)	0.08 (0.27)	0.17 (0.37)	0.39 (0.49)	0.28 (0.45)	0.01 (0.09)
Prosocial	0.15 (0.36)	0.11 (0.31)	0.05 (0.22)	0.09 (0.29)	0.15 (0.36)	0.11 (0.31)	0.08 (0.27)	0.12 (0.31)	0.17 (0.38)
Friendship	0.25 (0.43)	0.29 (0.46)	0.10 (0.30)	0.20 (0.40)	0.05 (0.22)	0.15 (0.36)	0.04 (0.20)	0.08 (0.27)	0.10 (0.30)
Inclusion	0.30 (0.46)	0.23 (0.42)	0.07 (0.26)	0.39 (0.49)	0.54 (0.50)	0.41 (0.49)	0.28 (0.45)	0.39 (0.49)	0.05 (0.23)

Note. *N* = 433. Data are mean (*SD*). Proportions cannot exceed 1.00. I-J = Israeli-Jewish; I-P = Palestinian; Pal = Jordanian.

type, fairness, and prosocial ($ps < .001$) or friendship ($p < .01$) reasons. They also made more references to promoting friendship than prosocial ($p < .03$) or stereotype and fairness concerns ($ps < .01$). In contrast, Palestinian children were more likely to use stereotypes than all other types of reasoning ($ps < .001$) to justify their evaluation of excluding the child from another country (see Table 1 for all means). For example, when asked why the group should let the boy from a different country play with them, one Israeli-Palestinian child appealed to inclusion by responding, "Because we should be friendly to everybody and not refuse playing with them. It doesn't matter where he is from," whereas an Israeli-Jewish child referred to friendship as a reason for inclusion by saying, "Because it doesn't matter if he is an Arab, you can get to know him and then become his friend." In support of exclusion, some children used cultural stereotypes in their responses: "If he was a Jewish boy, they shouldn't let them play, but if he was from their country, they should let him play" (Palestinian child) and "Because it is their swing and it's not his house or his country" (Jordanian child). As can be seen from these examples, different types of concerns were reflected in the reasoning used to evaluate this type of exclusion.

Cultural Custom

Children were asked to evaluate a vignette in which a group planning a party could exclude a child from a different country in which different hats were worn to the party. Analysis of children's judgments revealed main effects for cultural group, $F(3, 403) = 20.20, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .13$; and gender, $F(1, 403) = 47.97, p < .04, \eta_p^2 = .01$. In response to whether the group with one type of party hat should or should not let the child with the different party hat join them, Israeli-Jewish children ($M = .97, SD = .17$) and Israeli-Palestinian children ($M = .87, SD = .34$) were more likely to reject exclusion than Jordanian ($M = .66, SD = .48$) or Palestinian ($M = .56, SD = .50$) children ($ps < .001$; see Figure 2). Analysis of gender differences revealed that boys ($M = .82, SD = .39$) were slightly less likely than girls ($M = .74, SD = .44$) to support exclusion ($p < .04$). When the children were asked to rate the degree to which it would be wrong to exclude the child with the different party hat, their exclusion ratings revealed a main effect for cultural group, $F(3, 420) = 8.34, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .06$. As shown in Figure 3, although most children viewed exclusion as being wrong, Palestinian children were more likely than Israeli-Jewish ($p < .01$), Israeli-Palestinian ($p < .001$), or Jordanian ($p < .02$) children to rate exclusion in a positive direction: $M (SD) = 2.05 (0.98), 1.61 (0.81), 1.43 (0.81), 1.70 (0.94)$, respectively.

Exclusion reasoning. Examination of children's reasoning about whether a group should or should not exclude the child with the different party hat confirmed expectations that children's responses would reflect multiple considerations with regard to the group and the individual. Results revealed a main effect for justification, $F(3.45, 1465.24) = 89.41, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .17$; and an interaction effect for Jus-

tification \times Cultural Group, $F(10.34, 1465.24) = 5.41, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$. Included in the analyses were four justification categories: group functioning, prosocial, friendship, and inclusion. Overall, children were more likely to appeal to inclusion ($M = .41, SD = .49$) than other types of reasoning: group functioning ($M = .23, SD = .42$), prosocial ($M = .11, SD = .31$), or friendship ($M = .08, SD = .28$; $ps < .001$). In addition, group functioning ($M = .23, SD = .42$) was used significantly more often than prosocial ($M = .11, SD = .31$) or friendship ($M = .08, SD = .28$) reasons when evaluating whether the group should let the child with the different hat join their party. Similar results were found for cultural group differences in reasoning. Whereas Israeli-Jewish and Israeli-Palestinian children were more likely to make references to inclusion than to other types of reasoning ($ps < .001$) when evaluating exclusion, Palestinian and Jordanian children used both inclusion and group functioning reasons significantly more often than prosocial ($ps < .001$) and friendship ($ps < .001$) reasoning (see Table 1 for all means). For example, some children's responses reflected inclusion reasoning: "Even if her hat is striped, they should let her share in the party" (Jordanian child) and "They have to include him because it doesn't matter what color are the hats" (Israeli-Jewish child). Others expressed concern for group functioning: "Because she has a striped hat and you have to have a dotted hat to join the party" (Israeli-Palestinian child) and "The party is for those who have the dotted hats not like his hat" (Jordanian child). These examples show the variability in reasoning within cultural groups. In particular, for Palestinian and Jordanian children, although their exclusion judgments were less supportive of inclusion than those of Israeli-Jewish or Israeli-Palestinian children, some children appealed to inclusion, whereas others expressed concern for preserving group functioning.

Different Language

Children were asked to evaluate a vignette in which a group of children could stop to assist an injured child who spoke a different language prior to or subsequent to getting ice cream. Analysis of children's judgments revealed a main effect for cultural group, $F(3, 403) = 10.51, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .07$. As shown in Figure 2, although the majority of children's responses were positive, Palestinian children were less likely to respond that the group should assist the child prior to getting ice cream than Jordanian, Israeli-Jewish, or Israeli-Palestinian children ($ps < .001$): M (SD) = .76 (.43), .86 (.34), .95 (.22), .98 (.26), respectively. When the children were asked to rate the degree to which it would be wrong to assist the child after the group got their ice cream, their exclusion ratings revealed a main effect for cultural group, $F(3, 420) = 16.45, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .11$. As shown in Figure 3, similar to the judgment results, although most children viewed waiting to help the injured child as wrong, Palestinian children ($M = 1.93, SD = 0.98$), were more likely than the other cultural groups to rate the group's delay in assisting the child in a positive di-

rection ($ps < .001$): Israeli-Jewish ($M = 1.37$, $SD = 0.54$), Israeli-Palestinian ($M = 1.33$, $SD = 0.73$), Jordanian ($M = 1.32$, $SD = 0.61$).

Exclusion reasoning. Analysis of children's reasoning about whether the group should immediately assist or delay in helping the injured child revealed a main effect for justification, $F(2.7, 1147.68) = 309.67$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .42$; and a Justification \times Cultural Group interaction, $F(8.10, 1147.68) = 4.92$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Included in analyses were three justification categories: stereotype, fairness, and prosocial. Overall, children appealed to fairness ($M = .66$, $SD = .48$) more significantly than stereotype ($M = .06$, $SD = .23$) or prosocial ($M = .10$, $SD = .30$) reasoning ($ps < .001$). Closer examination of cultural group differences revealed that all groups did not differ in their use of fairness reasoning. Palestinian, Jordanian, Israeli-Jewish, and Israeli-Palestinian children were all more likely to view the group's actions toward the injured child from a moral viewpoint (fairness) than from a perspective involving stereotype or prosocial concerns ($ps < .001$; see Table 1 for means). For example, some children said, "Because she is much more important than the ice cream and they should help her, whenever they hear her call for help" (Israeli-Palestinian child), "Because a human being is more important than ice cream and ice cream you can buy anywhere" (Israeli-Jewish child), "He shouldn't be left alone when he's wounded. They should help him and afterward, they can run together to get ice cream" (Palestinian child), and "They should help him even if he doesn't speak Arabic and say sorry to him" (Jordanian child). A few other differences were found. Whereas Israeli-Jewish children did not make any references to stereotypes compared to other types of justifications ($ps < .001$), Palestinian children used stereotype reasoning more significantly than prosocial reasoning ($p < .001$) when evaluating whether the group should immediately help the injured child who spoke a different language (see Table 1 for all means).

DISCUSSION

The novel contributions of this study are determining how children living in the Middle East, an area of conflict and strife, evaluate peer group exclusion based on country, custom, and language. We documented stereotypic beliefs, intergroup attitudes, and moral exclusion evaluations about members of an outgroup (in this study, an Arab or a Jew) with four samples of children living in the Middle East who differed in terms of their cultural background. Given the importance of peer relationships in childhood (Bukowski & Sippola, 2001; Denham et al., 2002; Rubin et al., 2006), understanding when children apply stereotypes to peer exchanges provides important information about healthy social development.

This study is unique in its focus on four groups of children, Palestinian, Jordanian, Israeli-Palestinian, and Israeli-Jewish, living in a geographical region that

has a history of cultural and religious tension, violence, and extreme intergroup conflict. Investigating this unique sample enabled us to report heterogeneity within Arab cultures regarding young children's stereotypes, moral judgments, and evaluations of exclusion. Our findings reveal the negative consequences of living with intergroup tension and the positive aspects of pervasive moral perspectives documented in young children's judgments about peer relationships. Furthermore, our results provide new information about young children's moral judgments in the context of intergroup social exchanges.

Knowledge About the Outgroup

Although our findings for children's knowledge about the outgroup confirm previous research (Bar-Tal, 1996; Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Brenick et al., 2007; Cole et al., 2003) that has demonstrated that Jewish and Arab children hold negative stereotypes about the other, overall the children in the current study provided a mix of positive, negative, and neutral attributes. Israeli-Palestinian children were more likely to use positive attributes than negative attributes, whereas Israeli-Jewish children used primarily neutral attributes and Palestinian and Jordanian children used mostly negative attributes. Contrary to expectations based on the stereotype literature, but in line with expectations drawn from the literature conducted within the framework of the moral reasoning and social domain theory, Palestinian and Jordanian children gave positive and neutral responses (in addition to negative ones) to probes about the other. Given the historical and current tensions in the region, one might predict that young children would rely on only negative stereotypes to describe a Jewish person. Yet there was a mixture of attributes associated with someone from the Jewish culture. Moreover, boys were somewhat more likely to give negative responses than were girls. These findings provide a more complex picture of children's stereotypes than has been previously documented. Although some children clearly associated negative traits with members of the outgroup, more children than we expected, given prior research findings, associated positive or neutral traits with pictures of the other.

Moreover, our approach differed from the standard prejudice measures used with children that ask children to assign a trait to an individual based on a picture card depicting an ingroup and outgroup member, and typically as a function of race or ethnicity (Aboud & Levy, 2000). For example, this would entail asking children "Who is dirty, an Arab or a Jew or both?" We did not suggest traits to children; instead, we asked children for their spontaneous knowledge and associations about the other. Children did not hesitate to tell us negative traits, indicating that social desirability pressures were not an issue in this project. At the same time, our assessment revealed positive and neutral traits as well, providing a full picture of children's spontaneous associations with members of the outgroup.

It should be noted that methodological differences between our measure and that used by researchers in the field (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005) could contribute to our findings. Bar-Tal and Teichman showed children a picture card of an *adult* member of the outgroup. Our exclusion vignettes involved *children* rather than adults, and thus we used child picture cards in the stereotype assessment to compare stereotypes about others with moral judgments and moral reasoning about others in peer conflict scenarios. In essence, we controlled for the adult/child status of the target by depicting children in all of our stimuli. What we found was that children's attributions of negative stereotypes to pictures of children were slightly less than to pictures of an adult, which is to be expected given that adult members of the outgroup typify the stereotype.

Evaluations of Peer Exclusion

The main theoretical findings of this study pertain to children's evaluations of peer exclusion. Children evaluated three peer exclusion situations: exclusion based on country, cultural custom, and language. Children did not directly apply their negative stereotypes to decisions about peer inclusion and exclusion across all of the contexts.

In fact, there was extensive variability in how children responded to exclusion based on cultural membership. All groups of children viewed it as wrong to exclude in the different language vignette. Children gave priority to helping an injured child who spoke a different language. Furthermore, most children used empathy as a form of moral reasoning to support assisting others regardless of a cultural difference based on language. Although it may be that the inclusion of a child who was physically hurt, something unique to this vignette, drove more empathic and inclusive responses (see Eisenberg & Fabes, 1991), this may generalize to children's real-life understanding of the violence experienced by children of the outgroup. In addition, only a minority of Palestinian children used stereotypes to justify the exclusion of someone who speaks a different language. This is a novel finding and indicates that the presence of negative stereotypes does not automatically translate into excluding peers on the basis of these negative associations.

There was greater variability among the groups of children regarding evaluations of exclusion based on different country and cultural customs. The results for exclusion based on cultural customs revealed that the majority of all children viewed this form of exclusion as wrong, again supporting social domain theory that some issues of fairness transcend cultural stereotypes (Killen et al., 2006). There was cultural variability, however, with Israeli-Jewish, Israeli-Palestinian, and Jordanian children viewing it as more wrong than Palestinian children. All children explained their decision using inclusive justifications about letting someone in the group who dresses differently. At the same time, Palestinian children were more likely to reason about this issue in terms of group functioning, that is,

that the group will not work well if someone dresses differently. These findings indicate that conventional norms about dress may be more salient for Palestinian children than for children in the other groups. Conventions about dress reflect religious and cultural customs that are embedded in cultures and that acquire deeply important symbolic dimensions (Turiel, 2002). Further research should be designed to examine how Palestinian children understand cultural customs about dress and conformity and what makes them important and salient for them.

For the different country scenario, the majority of Palestinian children viewed exclusion as legitimate based on stereotypes about someone from a different country. Conversely, only about one quarter of the Palestinian children judged this type of decision as wrong, giving prosocial and fairness reasons for why children should not exclude someone solely because they are from somewhere else. Thus, these findings indicate that the political situation of nationality for Palestinian children may be related to their evaluation of peer inclusion and exclusion. Rather than being viewed as a result of Arab-Jewish tension, however, this finding has to be interpreted in light of the Palestinian children's unique life situation, with its stress and poverty, given that Jordanian and Israeli-Palestinian children rejected exclusion based on country membership.

Furthermore, these findings challenge existing theories about the pervasiveness of stereotyping. Although all children reported negative stereotypes regarding images of children from other cultures (Jewish or Arab), these stereotypes did not automatically carry over into decisions about who to include and who to exclude in peer situations. Thus, there is a need to more closely examine the relation between simply holding a negative association or stereotype about an outgroup and how children reason about the outgroup within the context of their daily lives. As has been shown in this study, other forms of reasoning are also brought to bear on intergroup interactions, reasoning that can be given priority over an individual's stereotypic beliefs.

These findings contribute to an understanding of the contextual parameters that evoke stereotypes in judgments about inclusion and exclusion in children's lives. The children in this project came from a range of backgrounds that varied in terms of religion, socioeconomic status, education, mobility, and exposure to violence. Although none of the children lived in communities with daily exposure to violence, all of the children lived in a region marked by intergroup tension, danger, and an infusion of negative stereotypes about the other in the media and in the curriculum (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). Nonetheless, the findings demonstrate that there is heterogeneity within these groups—and particularly within the three Arab cultures included in this study—regarding young children's orientations toward inclusion and exclusion. The Palestinian children lived in conditions that were more stressful than those experienced by the other three groups in terms of low socioeconomic conditions, reports of violence, and lack of mobility. Despite these conditions, and their utilization of more negative stereotypes, the Palestinian chil-

dren demonstrated a striking moral awareness about the importance of inclusion in peer group contexts. These findings confirm social-cognitive domain theory about the universality of young children's social judgments and provide further evidence that peer exchanges may provide a special context for promoting positive social development (Piaget, 1932).

Future studies should examine contextual and age-related changes in Israeli and Arab children's evaluations of exclusion. Research with Korean adolescents living in the United States regarding friendship rejection, exclusion, and harassment based on nationality (Korean or U.S. American) has shown that, overall, nationality is viewed as the least legitimate reason to exclude in friendship or victimization contexts, but it is viewed as more all right in a group exclusion context (Killen, Park, Lee-Kim, & Shin, 2005; Park & Killen, 2006). Thus, with 10- and 13-year-old children, there was variability when participants legitimated excluding someone for reasons based on nationality. In addition, in a study with displaced and non-displaced Colombian children ages 6, 9, and 12, Ardila-Rey, Killen, and Brenick (2009) found that these older children who were exposed to violence were more likely to accept inflicting harm, denying resources, and retaliating for retribution in peer conflict scenarios. Thus, it is essential to determine how age and increased exposure to violence will affect the judgments of children living in the Middle East.

Moreover, future studies should examine how these children differentially evaluate intergroup exclusion when it is based on factors related to the ongoing conflict in comparison to when it is based on other nonrelated characteristics, such as gender, personality, or physical size. This will provide a more comprehensive assessment of the extent to which the conflict impacts children's reasoning and acceptance and use of stereotypic beliefs.

As mentioned, the findings of this study have additional implications for efforts to promote positive intergroup encounters with Israeli-Jewish and Arab children. Research on discourse and discussions among Palestinian and Israeli-Jewish adolescents indicates that these programs, which involve many complicated issues revolving around power relations and discourse, produce significant results (Bargal, 1990; Maoz, 2000). The social psychological literature with adults shows that the time for intervention is in childhood and adolescence, before stereotypes are deeply entrenched and difficult to change. Providing significant opportunities for intergroup friendships, counter-stereotypic messages and themes, as well as opportunities for learning about people from different cultures are important first steps toward reducing prejudice and stereotypes about the outgroup. Peer interaction formats that combine intergroup themes would be particularly effective. Intergroup themes include interacting with others from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds and promoting notions of common identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), common group, shared experiences, and personalized interactions (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008). Young children begin with prosocial attitudes about peer relationships, and thus

intervention with young children may be the most effective way to reduce negative stereotypes and facilitate positive intergroup attitudes and relationships.

Future studies could also follow Cole et al. (2003) and Brenick et al. (2007) by assessing these variables in relation to interventions designed to diminish stereotypic beliefs and promote moral orientations in early childhood and throughout development. Cole et al. and Brenick et al. demonstrated the potential for *Sesame Street* media programming to provide young children with positive views of intergroup relations, even between children from groups in conflict, thus weakening intergroup stereotypes while strengthening prosocial intergroup attitudes. To extend these studies, researchers should focus on additional media interventions as well as school curricula, such as that used by Hand in Hand schools, and social programming, such as Seeds of Peace, in an effort to provide a multipronged approach. Applying the present findings can strengthen these current programs, yielding more significant and lasting results among the youth participants and their communities in which daily intergroup contact may be scarce.

REFERENCES

- Aboud, F. E., & Levy, S. R. (2000). Interventions to reduce prejudice and discrimination in children and adolescents. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 269–293). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Abrams, D., & Rutland, A. (2008). The development of subjective group dynamics. In S. R. Levy & M. Killen (Eds.), *Intergroup relations and attitudes in childhood through adulthood* (pp. 47–65). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Alsoudi, A., & Mahdi, A. (2004). Housework among married couples: Master status and gender. A comparative study between Jordan and Switzerland. *Dirsat: Human and Social Sciences*, 31, 503–520.
- Ardila-Rey, A., Killen, M., & Brenick, A. (2009). Moral reasoning in violent contexts: Displaced and non-displaced Colombian children's evaluations of moral transgressions, retaliation, and reconciliation. *Social Development*, 18, 181–209.
- Bar-Tal, D. (1996). Development of social categories and stereotypes in early childhood: The case of "the Arab" concept formation, stereotype and attitudes by Jewish children in Israel. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20, 341–370.
- Bar-Tal, D., & Teichman, Y. (2005). *Stereotypes and prejudice in conflict: Representations of Arabs in Israeli Jewish society*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Bargal, D. (1990). Contact is not enough—The contribution of Lewinian theory to inter-group workshops involving Palestinian and Jewish youth in Israel. *International Journal of Group Tensions*, 20, 179–192.
- Brenick, A., Lee-Kim, J., Killen, M., Fox, N., Raviv, A., & Leavitt, L. (2007). Social judgments in Israeli and Arab children: Findings from media-based intervention projects. In D. Lemish & M. Götz (Eds.), *Children and media at times of conflict and war* (pp. 287–308). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Bukowski, W., & Sippola, L. (2001). Groups, individuals, and victimization: A view of the peer system. In J. Juvonen & S. Graham (Eds.), *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized* (pp. 355–377). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Cole, C., Arafat, C., Tidhar, C., Zidan, W. T., Fox, N. A., Killen, M., ... Yung, F. (2003). The educational impact of Rechov Sumsum/Shara'a Simsim: A *Sesame Street* television series to promote re-

- spect and understanding among children living in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 27, 409–422.
- Denham, S., Salisch, M., Olthoff, T., Kochanoff, A., & Caverly, S. (2002). Emotional and social development in childhood. In P. K. Smith & C. H. Hart (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of childhood social development* (pp. 308–328). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Dixon, J., Durrheim, K., & Tredoux, C. (2005). Beyond the optimal contact strategy. *American Psychologist*, 60, 697–711.
- Eisenberg, N., & Fabes, R. A. (1991). Prosocial behavior and empathy: A multimethod, developmental perspective. In P. Clark (Ed.), *Review of personality and social psychology* (Vol. 12, pp. 34–61). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Elbedour, S., Bastien, D., & Center, B. (1997). Identity formation in the shadow of conflict: Projective drawings by Palestinian and Israeli Arab children in the West Bank and Gaza. *Journal of Peace Research*, 34, 217–231.
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). *Reducing intergroup bias: The common ingroup identity model*. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.
- Hopkins, N. S. (2001). *The new Arab family*. Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press.
- Judd, C. M., & Park, B. (1993). Definition and assessment of accuracy in social stereotypes. *Psychological Review*, 100, 109–128.
- Khamis, V. (2005). Post-traumatic stress disorder among school age Palestinian children. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 29, 81–95.
- Killen, M. (2007). Children's social and moral reasoning about exclusion. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 16, 32–36.
- Killen, M., Lee-Kim, J., McGlothlin, H., & Stangor, C. (2002). How children and adolescents evaluate gender and racial exclusion. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 67(4).
- Killen, M., Margie, N. G., & Sinno, S. (2006). Morality in the context of intergroup relationships. In M. Killen & J. G. Smetana (Eds.), *Handbook of moral development* (pp. 155–183). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Killen, M., McGlothlin, H., & Lee-Kim, J. (2002). Between individuals and culture: Individuals' evaluations of exclusion from social groups. In H. Keller, Y. Poortinga, & A. Schoelmerich (Eds.), *Between biology and culture: Perspectives on ontogenetic development* (pp. 159–190). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Killen, M., Park, Y., Lee-Kim, J., & Shin, Y. (2005). Evaluations of children's gender stereotypic activities by Korean parents and nonparental adults residing in the United States. *Parenting: Science and Practice*, 5, 57–89.
- Killen, M., Pisacane, K., Lee-Kim, J., & Ardila-Rey, A. (2001). Fairness or stereotypes? Young children's priorities when evaluating group exclusion and inclusion. *Developmental Psychology*, 37, 587–596.
- Maoz, I. (2000). Power relations in intergroup encounters: A case study of Jewish-Arab encounters in Israel. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24, 259–277.
- McGlothlin, H., Edmonds, C., & Killen, M. (2008). Children's and adolescents' decision-making about intergroup peer relationships. In S. Quintana & C. McKown (Eds.), *Handbook of race, racism, and the developing child* (pp. 424–451). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Nucci, L., Killen, M., & Smetana, J. (1996). Autonomy and the personal: Negotiation and social reciprocity in adult-child social exchanges. In M. Killen (Ed.), *Children's autonomy and social competence: New directions for child development* (pp. 7–24). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Park, Y., & Killen, M. (2006). *Individual deficits and group membership: U.S. and Korean adolescents' evaluations of exclusion, peer rejection and victimization*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Maryland, College Park.
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2005). Allport's intergroup contact hypothesis: Its history and influence. In J. F. Dovidio, P. Glick, & L. Rudman (Eds.), *Reflecting on the nature of prejudice: Fifty years after Allport* (pp. 262–277). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

- Piaget, J. (1932). *The moral judgment of the child*. Oxford, England: Harcourt, Brace.
- Rubin, K., Bukowski, W., & Parker, J. (2006). Peer interactions, relationships, and groups. In N. Eisenberg, W. Damon, & R. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology* (pp. 571–645). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Slone, M. (2003). The Nazareth riots: Arab and Jewish Israeli adolescents pay a different psychological price for participation. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 47, 817–836.
- Smetana, J. G. (1986). Preschool children's conceptions of sex-typed transgressions. *Child Development*, 57, 862–871.
- Smetana, J. G. (1995). Morality in context: Abstractions, ambiguities, and applications. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Annals of child development* (Vol. 10, pp. 83–130). London, England: Jessica Kingsley.
- Smetana, J. G. (2005). Adolescent–parent conflict: Resistance and subversion as developmental process. In L. Nucci (Ed.), *Conflict, contradiction, and contrarian elements in moral development and education* (pp. 69–91). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Smetana, J. G., & Asquith, P. (1994). Adolescents' and parents' conceptions of parental authority and personal autonomy. *Child Development*, 65, 1147–1162.
- Teichman, Y., & Zafir, H. (2003). Images held by Jewish and Arab children in Israel of people representing their own and the other group. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 34, 658–676.
- Tibi, B. (1990). *Islam, and the cultural accommodation of social change*. San Francisco, CA: Westview Press.
- Tisak, M. S. (1995). Domains of social reasoning and beyond. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Annals of child development* (Vol. 11, pp. 95–130). London, England: Jessica Kingsley.
- Tropp, L. R., & Prenovost, M. C. (2008). The role of intergroup contact in predicting children's inter-ethnic attitudes: Evidence from meta-analytic and field studies. In S. R. Levy & M. Killen (Eds.), *Intergroup relations and attitudes in childhood through adulthood* (pp. 236–248). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Turiel, E. (1983). *The development of social knowledge: Morality and convention*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Turiel, E. (1998). The development of morality. In W. Damon (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 3. Social, emotional, and personality development* (5th ed., pp. 863–932). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Turiel, E. (2002). *The culture of morality*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Turiel, E. (2005). Resistance and subversion in everyday life. In L. Nucci (Ed.), *Conflict, contradiction, and contrarian elements in moral development and education* (pp. 3–20). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Turiel, E. (2008). The development of children's orientations toward moral, social, and personal orders: More than a sequence in development. *Human Development*, 51, 21–39.

APPENDIX A

Text of the Vignettes

Different Country

There is a group of four (**boys, girls**) who are good friends. A new (**boy, girl**) named (**fill in appropriate name**) is from a different place. Some kids say that they should not play with (**him, her**) because (**he, she**) is from another place. But other children say that they should play with (**him, her**).

Cultural Custom

There is a group of four (**girls, boys**) who are good friends. They are planning a party. Where they live everyone wears a striped hat to the party. A new (**boy, girl**)

named **(fill in appropriate name)** comes from **(fill in appropriate country)**, which is far away where kids wear hats with dots to a party. Some kids say that they should not let **(him, her)** come in and join the party because **(he or she)** has a dotted hat, and other kids say it is okay for **(him, her)** to wear a dotted hat to the party.

Different Language

A group of **(boys, girls)**, who are friends, speak **(language)** and they are playing at the park. A new **(boy, girl)**, **(fill in appropriate name)**, is at the park, and **(he, she)** speaks **(Arabic, Hebrew)**. The **(boys, girls)** who speak **(language)** hear the ice cream vendor come to the park and they run towards the ice cream vendor so that they will not miss the ice cream vendor before he leaves. The new **(boy, girl)**, **(fill in appropriate name)**, falls down and scrapes **(his, her)** knee.

APPENDIX B
Coding Categories for Justifications

<i>Coding Category</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Example</i>
Moral		
Fairness	Appeals to moral principles, including fairness and equality	"It's not fair," "She should take turns"
Inclusion	Appeals to the inclusion of others based on equal access and the need for reducing negative stereotypes	"Let him [Jewish boy] play so that they will know him"
Prosocial	Appeals to politeness and prosocial motives	"It's not nice"
Social-conventional		
Cultural stereotypes	Appeals to Jewish or Arab cultural membership as a basis for evaluating another child's actions	"Because he is Arab," "Because he's from a different place"
Group functioning	Appeals to the need to make the group function well	"Because she has a striped hat and you have to have a dotted hat to join the party"
Personal		
Personal choice	Appeals to individual prerogatives, including ownership	"It's okay if she doesn't want to"
Selfish motives	Appeals to a child's selfish motives or personal negative preferences for why a child would do something	"She wants the kite"