understanding children's worlds

Children and Social Exclusion

Morality, Prejudice, and Group Identity

Melanie Killen and Adam Rutland

WILEY-BLACKWELL

Contents

Cover

Understanding Children's Worlds
Series Editor: Judy Dunn

Title Page

Copyright

Dedication

Series Editor's Preface

Preface

Chapter 1: Introduction: Exclusion and Inclusion in Children's Lives

- Theories of Social Cognition, Social Relationships, and Exclusion
- Types of Exclusion
- Goals of the Book
- Summary

Chapter 2: The Emergence of Morality in Childhood

- Morality in Childhood

What Morality is Not
Criteria, Definitions, and Measurements of Morality
Morality Encompasses Judgment, Emotions, Individuals, and Groups
Social Precursors of Moral Judgment
Moral Judgment and Interaction in Childhood
Morality as Justice
Social Domain Model of Social and Moral Judgment
Moral Generalizability
Morality in the Context of Other Social Concepts: Multifaceted Events
Morality and Theory of Mind
Morality and Social-Cognitive Development
Summary

Chapter 3: Emergence of Social Categorization and Prejudice

Social Categorization as a Precursor of Prejudice
Explicit Biases in Young Children
Cognitive Developmental Approach to Prejudice Development
Development of Implicit Biases
Relation of Implicit Bias to Judgment and Behavior: Is it Prejudice?
Summary

Chapter 4: Group Identity and Prejudice

- Is Group Identity Good or Bad?
- Social Identity Theory
- Social Identity Development Theory
- Theory of Social Mind and the Control of Prejudice
- Moral or Group Norms and the Control of Prejudice
- Processes Underlying the Control of Prejudice
- Developmental Subjective Group Dynamics
- Morality and Group Identity
- Summary

Chapter 5: What We Know about Peer Relations and Exclusion

- Intrapersonal and Interpersonal Exclusion: Social Traits and Individual Differences
- Intragroup and Intergroup Exclusion: Ingroup/Outgroup Identity
- Social Reasoning and Exclusion
- Gender Exclusion in Early Childhood: Okay or Unfair?
- Comparing Gender and Racial Exclusion: Group Goals and Qualifications
- Interviewing Ethnic Minority and Majority Children and Adolescents about Exclusion

Social Reasoning about Exclusion in Adolescence: Crowds, Cliques, and Networks
Social Reasoning about Sexual Prejudice
Exclusion in Interracial Encounters: Lunch Table, Birthday Parties, and Dating
Gender Exclusion in the Family Context: Children's Views about Parental Expectations
Summary

Chapter 6: Intragroup and Intergroup Exclusion: An In-depth Study

Group Dynamics: Conceptions of Groups in the Context of Exclusion
Group Dynamics: Group Identity, Group-Specific Norms, Domain-Specific Norms
Group-Specific Norms
Deviance in Social Groups
Group Identity
Implications for Group Identity in Childhood
Summary

Chapter 7: Peer Exclusion and Group Identity Around the World: The Role of Culture

Cultural Context of Exclusion
Long-Standing Intergroup Cultural Conflicts

Cultures with Intractable and Violent Conflict
Recently Immigrated Groups
Intergroup Exclusion Based on Indigenous Groups
Summary

Chapter 8: Increasing Inclusion, Reducing Prejudice, and Promoting Morality

Intergroup Contact and Reducing Prejudice
Intergroup Contact and Children
Cross-group Friendships and Prejudice
Intergroup Contact and Minority Status Children
Reducing Implicit Biases through Intergroup Contact
Reducing Prejudice through Extended Intergroup Contact
Promoting Inclusion through the Mass Media
Intergroup Contact and Promoting Moral Reasoning in Children
Multicultural Education and Social Exclusion
Factors that Reduce Childhood Bias
Summary

Chapter 9: Integration of Morality, Prejudice, and Group Identity: A New

Perspective on Social Exclusion

- Theories about Peer Relationships
- Theories about Social Exclusion
- Children as Active Participants
- Judgments, Beliefs, Attitudes, Attributions of Emotions, and Behavior
- Implicit and Indirect Measures of Prejudice and Exclusion
- An Integrative Social-Cognitive Developmental Perspective on Social Exclusion
- Social Experience Factors that Promote Inclusion
- Exclusion and Prejudice
- Summary

References

Index

Understanding Children's Worlds

Series Editor: Judy Dunn

The study of children's development can have a profound influence on how children are brought up, cared for, and educated. Many psychologists argue that, even if our knowledge is incomplete, we have a responsibility to attempt to help those concerned with the care, education, and study of children by making what we know available to them. The central aim of this series is to encourage developmental psychologists to set out the findings and the implications of their research for others – teachers, doctors, social workers, students, and fellow researchers – whose work involves the care, education, and study of young children and their families. The information and the ideas that have grown from recent research form an important resource which should be available to them. This series provides an opportunity for psychologists to present their work in a way that is interesting, intelligible, and substantial, and to discuss what its consequences may be for those who care for, and teach, children: not to offer simple prescriptive advice to other professionals, but to make important and innovative research accessible to them.

Children Doing Mathematics
Terezinha Nunes and Peter Bryant

Children and Emotion
Paul L. Harrisd

Bullying at School
Dan Olweus

How Children Think and Learn, Second Edition
David Wood

Making Decisions about Children, Second Edition
H. Rudolph Schaffer

Children's Talk in Communities and Classrooms
Lynne Vernon-Feagans

Children and Political Violence
Ed Cairns

The Work of the Imagination
Paul Harris

Children in Changing Families
Jan Pryor and Bryan Rodgers

Young Children Learning
Barbara Tizard and Martin Hughes

Children's Friendships
Judy Dunn

How Children Develop Social Understanding
Jeremy Carpendale and Charlie Lewis

Children's Reading and Spelling: Beyond the First Steps
Terezinha Nunes and Peter Bryant

Children and Play
Peter K. Smith

Peer Groups and Children's Development
Christine Howe

Children and Social Exclusion

Morality, Prejudice, and Group Identity

Melanie Killen and Adam Rutland

WILEY-BLACKWELL

A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication

This edition first published 2011

© 2011 Melanie Killen and Adam Rutland

Blackwell Publishing was acquired by John Wiley & Sons in February 2007.

Blackwell's publishing program has been merged with Wiley's global Scientific, Technical, and Medical business to form Wiley-Blackwell.

Registered Office

John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, United Kingdom

Editorial Offices

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell.

The right of Melanie Killen and Adam Rutland to be identified as the authors of this work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be

available in electronic books.

Designations used by companies to distinguish their products are often claimed as trademarks. All brand names and product names used in this book are trade names, service marks, trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective owners.

The publisher is not associated with any product or vendor mentioned in this book.

This publication is designed to provide accurate and authoritative information in regard to the subject matter covered. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Killen, Melanie.

Children and social exclusion: morality, prejudice, and group identity / Melanie Killen, Adam Rutland.

p. cm. – (Understanding children's worlds; 18)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4051-7651-4 (hardback)

1. Social integration. 2. Children. 3. Group identity. 4. Identity (Psychology). 5. Prejudices. I. Rutland, Adam. II. Title.

HM683.K55 2011

302.4–dc22

2010047217

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

This book is published in the following electronic formats:
ePDF 9781444396294; Wiley Online Library
9781444396317; ePub 9781444396300

To Rob, Sasha, and Jacob for their love and affection, and to Marcia, David, and Sean, for their love and support (M.K.)

To Rachel, Kate, and Jonathan for their love and endless inspiration, and to my late father, Peter, who sadly died during the writing of this book, and Marion, my mother, and Neil, my brother, for their continuous love and support (A.R.)

Series Editor's Preface

This series, *Understanding Children's Worlds*, is concerned with children's social worlds, and their developing understanding of those worlds. The topics of exclusion and prejudice are clearly central to their social experiences, especially to their relationships with other children. What makes some children able to recognize and challenge stereotypic or prejudiced views of others? What experiences, in contrast, reinforce prejudice and bias? How well do we understand the development of individual differences in these early aspects of morality, and what are the trajectories in bias and prejudice from early childhood to adolescence and adulthood?

What is striking about this book is that Melanie Killen and Adam Rutland have brought together a notably wide range of ideas and research findings on these questions, a range that spans developmental psychology and social psychology — it is a bold vision that integrates very different ideas and theoretical approaches. Three themes stand out. First, Killen and Rutland summarize the early emergence of morality: how children view social exclusion as right or wrong, and the growth of their understanding of both explicit prejudicial views and implicit biases. Second, they consider children's ideas on group identity and exclusion, and carefully distinguish prejudice and exclusion. They examine, for instance, how children think about excluding individuals from within their own groups, and how they evaluate exclusion of individuals from a different group (intragroup versus intergroup exclusion). Third, importantly they move on to consider what we know about exclusion in diverse cultures — rather than solely in laboratory studies.

Particularly valuable, they then consider interventions that attempt to promote positive inclusion and a sense of shared identity among children from different groups. They assess how successful programs that vary intergroup contact, media exposure, and, importantly, cross-group friendship can be. Their integration of the ideas and findings of social and developmental psychology does indeed shed light on the developmental programs which, they argue, are fundamental for progress towards a fairer society.

Judy Dunn

Preface

Exclusion and inclusion are pervasive in children's lives and continue throughout adulthood. Understanding why exclusion happens, how children think about it, and what it means for social development involves an analysis of individuals, groups, and relationships. Writing this book from our various perspectives, which included social cognition, moral development, social identity, and intergroup attitudes, we took a new view on exclusion and inclusion in children's lives, one that enabled us to reflect on its fundamental role in social development. We have described how it is that through experiencing exclusion and inclusion, children develop morality (when to include, when not to exclude, and why) and form social identity (what groups do I belong to, what group norms do I care about?).

As a result of these developmental processes, children become capable of challenging or reinforcing prejudicial attitudes and stereotypic beliefs (sometimes explicitly and often implicitly). This is because children who develop social identity without invoking moral judgments appear to justify exclusion in contexts that reflect prejudice, discrimination, and bias. Yet children who develop an understanding of group dynamics and balance these concerns with fairness and equality are well positioned to reject or challenge stereotypic expectations and prejudicial beliefs. The factors and sources of experience that contribute to these diverse trajectories and perspectives reflect the core of this book. The tension between morality and social identity is complex, which makes it an intriguing and compelling topic to write about.

We emerged from this project with a strong sense that much is at stake in understanding children's perspectives about exclusion and inclusion because of the different

consequences to social exclusion and inclusion. Issues as important as social justice and fairness are invoked. Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination are unfortunate outcomes of exclusion decisions that are made without a balance of all of the factors that are implicated. Thus, exclusion takes many forms throughout social life and its meaning is vast and varied.

We began this book as an integrative collaboration, crossing the boundaries of developmental and social psychology to understand exclusion in the child. Over the past 10 years, researchers in the fields of developmental, social, neuroscience, and cognitive psychology have investigated ingroup bias and outgroup threat in their research designs and empirical projects; at the same time, researchers from many different subfields of social science have delved into morality and moral judgment in the child. The convergence of interest on these topics from such diverse areas is astounding and engaging. We found that the areas of intergroup attitudes and morality were often dichotomized, however, and not well integrated. Even closer to our own areas of study, we have found that developmental research has not traditionally examined morality in the context of intergroup relations, and social psychology research on social identity has not typically studied moral reasoning. Thus, one aim of this book was to take an integrative approach for describing how intergroup attitudes, morality, and social identity emerge in the child and create the conditions for exclusion and inclusion.

We would like to thank our respective colleagues and graduate students for discussions and collaborations on the topics in this book. Melanie Killen thanks her colleagues Dominic Abrams, William Arsenio, Natasha Cabrera, Robert Coplan, David Crystal, Ileana Enesco, Nathan Fox, Silvia Guerrero, Dan Hart, Charles Helwig,

Stacey Horn, Peter Kahn, Sheri Levy, Tina Malti, Clark McKown, Drew Nesdale, Larry Nucci, Ken Rubin, Martin Ruck, Judi Smetana, Charles Stangor, Elliot Turiel, Cecilia Wainryb, Allan Wigfield, and Amanda Woodward for many collaborations and conversations about social cognition, social development, morality, and exclusion, as well as for many research collaborations that served as the basis for most of her research. In addition, she is grateful to William Damon and Elliot Turiel for inspiring her to study the development of morality, and for providing an intellectually engaging community in graduate school, one that has endured for several decades post-graduate, to Jonas Langer for his encouragement, to Judi Smetana for her mentorship, and to Larry Nucci for his guidance. Melanie Killen also thanks her former doctoral students for their many contributions to the research program on social and moral development, for pushing the research agenda into new and original research directions, and for becoming collaborators on many of the research projects described in this book, Alicia Ardila-Rey, Alaina Brenick, Christina Edmonds, Stacey Horn, Jennie Lee-Kim, Nancy Geyelin Margie, Heidi McGlothlin, Yoonjung Park, Christine Theimer Schuette, and Stefanie Sinno, and her current doctoral students Shelby Cooley, Alexandra Henning, Aline Hitti, Megan Clark Kelly, Kelly Lynn Mulvey, and Cameron Richardson, as well as Alexander O'Connor (at UC Berkeley), for their current participation in ongoing research avenues as well as for their lively discussions, feedback, and contributions on all phases of the research program. Thanks are extended to Joan Karr Tycko, who created the illustrations for the social exclusion studies described in chapter 6, and who provided helpful assistance on the development of the stimulus materials.

Adam Rutland thanks his colleagues Dominic Abrams, Rupert Brown, Lindsey Cameron, Marco Cinnirella,

Jennifer Ferrell, Rosa Hossain, Sheri Levy, Peter McGeorge, Alan Milne, Drew Nesdale, Dennis Nigbur, Peter Noack, Joe Pelletier, and Charles Watters for numerous collaborations and lively discussions about social development, prejudice, social identity, group processes, intergroup attitudes, and social exclusion in childhood. Adam Rutland also thanks his former graduate students for all their help in creating an intellectually stimulating environment and furthering his knowledge of intergroup attitudes, social identity, biculturalism, cross-ethnic friendships among children and adolescents, Alison Benbow, Allard Feddes, Sarah FitzRoy, Philipp Jugert, and Caroline Kamu, and his current graduate students Samantha Lee and Claire Powell (also working with Dominic Abrams) for their contribution to our ongoing research program. In addition, we received helpful comments and substantive feedback on the manuscript from Dominic Abrams, Aline Hitti, Stacey Horn, Kelly Lynn Mulvey, Drew Nesdale, Larry Nucci, Yoonjung Park, Stefanie Sinno, Judith Smetana, and Elliot Turiel.

The research described in this book was supported by many external sources, including the National Science Foundation (Developmental and Learning Sciences) and the National Institutes of Health (NICHD) in the United States, to Melanie Killen, and the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), British Academy, Nuffield Foundation, and British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in the United Kingdom, to Adam Rutland. We are very grateful for the support from these funding agencies. The research described in this book was also supported by internal grants from our respective universities for which we are appreciative, the University of Maryland, College Park, US, and the University of Kent at Canterbury, UK. We extend our gratitude to Kelly Lynn Mulvey for assisting

us with organizational and technical details. We thank Andrew McLeer, Christine Cardone, Constance Adler, and Matt Bennett at Wiley-Blackwell publishers for their editorial and technical advice. Finally, we extend our deep appreciation to Judy Dunn for her support and encouragement throughout the project and for her wisdom and inspiration about the importance of children's lives.

Chapter 1

Introduction: Exclusion and Inclusion in Children's Lives

Acquiring morality, identifying with groups, and developing autonomy provide the foundation for social development in childhood and continue throughout adulthood. Understanding these foundational aspects of development helps to explain why children exclude and include peers, and how it is related to a larger part of becoming a member of a society and culture. When is exclusion legitimate and when it is wrong? What is involved when children exclude other peers and how is this related to exclusion as it happens in the adult world?

While children begin to understand the importance of including peers in their social exchanges, excluding other children from friendships and social groups is complicated. What is complicated is that inclusion is not always desirable, even from an adult perspective, and exclusion is not always wrong. Sports teams, music clubs, and social events often require abilities and talents that are necessary to join, and social events are often arranged in such a way that some type of decision rule about exclusion is used to make it work well. In fact, there are times when it would be viewed as negative to include someone in a group when the individual does not meet the expectations for the group goals (a slow runner will be excluded from a track team). In addition to meeting the criteria for inclusion there are other factors that are considered, which include what makes the group

work well. For example, an overly aggressive individual or someone who has unhealthy intentions towards others might be excluded. This type of exclusion is more complicated because it refers to psychological traits which may be inferred by behavior that belies the actual talents of the individual. Moreover, psychological traits are often attributed to individuals based on their group membership (e.g., girls are not competitive) and not their behavior, which then makes an exclusion decision wrong or unfair. Nonetheless, there are clearly times when it is legitimate to exclude others from social groups when the criteria for exclusion are viewed as reasonable to make groups work well.

Children have to figure out the conditions and criteria for inclusion and exclusion, and this is not easy. In fact, it is a life-long challenge, changing as the scope, nature, and definition of the social group evolves. Figuring this out involves determining a set of fair criteria for inclusion, which involves understanding and anticipating the consequences of exclusion for both the excluder and the excluded.

What makes it more complicated in childhood is that children get many mixed messages from peers and adults about exclusion and inclusion. In early childhood adults typically communicate messages to children to convey the idea that everyone should be included in all activities regardless of merit, shared interests, or group goals for achievement. For example, in early childhood adults often express the view that “we're all friends.” With age, however, adults recognize that children's friendships are a matter of personal choice and a result of psychological compatibility as opposed to a general expectation for pervasive inclusion. In fact, as children develop skills, interests, and talents, adults modify their expectations by condoning exclusion criteria for groups, such as

competitive ones, as well as for achievement groups, such as tracking in schools based on academic skill, and even for friendship expectations.

To reinforce this pattern, most social groups in early childhood are mandated and created by adults. As children get older and form their own groups, however, they begin to establish their own boundaries, regulations, and norms, and adults often relinquish their role as "group norm creators." Children begin to set group norms that are often associated with their group identity. Given that there will be disagreements about norms, these aspects of groups become foci for exclusion. Thus, expectations for inclusion and exclusion evolve rapidly for children, often without clear or explicit guidelines from adults. And yet, children evolve ways of conceptualizing their groups, along with establishing the criteria for inclusion and exclusion, and the norms associated with group identity.

Together, these factors make it clear that exclusion and inclusion are complex decisions, with significant consequences for child development, as well as for becoming an adult and a member of society. Some forms of exclusion are viewed as relatively minor, such as not inviting someone to join a lunch table, but other forms of exclusion are fairly major, such as excluding someone from a group based on race or ethnicity. A central distinction between different forms of exclusion has to do with the reasons and motivations, such as excluding someone when there is no more room for someone to join or excluding someone because of their race, ethnicity, or religion. A fair amount of evidence suggests that the forms of exclusion that are negative in childhood are related to the types of bias, prejudice, and discrimination in adulthood that is reflected in exclusion decisions. When exclusion becomes extreme and turns into

prejudice or victimization then the outcomes are negative for both the excluded and the excluder. By studying childhood exclusion we can learn about the roots of exclusion in the adult world.

Several major theories of development have been used to examine and explain exclusion and inclusion in childhood. These theories have focused on peer rejection in the context of children's friendships, groups, social interactions, and social relationships. In general, these theories describe how children learn to get along with others, when and why they reject each other, with implications for charting the developmental pathway for how children become members of societies and cultures.

Theories of Social Cognition, Social Relationships, and Exclusion

Social Domain theory (Turiel, 2006), which stems from Piagetian approaches to moral development, has shown that children's judgments about fairness emerges early in development, by 3.5 years of age, and that children distinguish rules about fairness from rules that make groups work well, referred to as societal understanding, or knowledge about the regulations that make groups function smoothly. This approach is important for understanding the basis for children's inclusion orientations in which they believe that it is important to treat others fairly and equally. Holding such views enables children to challenge exclusionary judgments from peers, as well as prejudicial attitudes. This model has also demonstrated the types of group norms, rules, and regulations that children develop and apply to social

interactions which reflect their knowledge about society and group functioning.

The Social Domain approach provides a way for determining when children evaluate an act as wrong for moral reasons, such as concerns about fairness and equality, and when they view an act as wrong for societal reasons, such as consensus about group norms, traditions, customs, and regulations. Children also evaluate acts and rules as a matter of personal choice, in some contexts, which reflects a different domain of judgments and evaluations. Thus, this approach provides a way for understanding children's reasons for exclusion and inclusion decisions, and when children view exclusion as wrong and unfair, as legitimate and necessary for groups to work well, or as a personal choice.

A second theory that provides a guide to understanding exclusion is Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which focuses on relationships between ingroups and outgroups, or intergroup attitudes and relationships. Intergroup attitudes refers to attitudes about social groups that focus on either the ingroup (the group that a person belongs to and identifies with) or the outgroup (a group that is different from one's own group and often varies in status from one's own group). In intergroup contexts individuals often do what they can to preserve their ingroup identity, which often means derogating or disliking the outgroup (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Validizic, 1998). Children and adults often exclude individuals from the outgroup to maintain a strong ingroup identity. This approach has demonstrated that intergroup attitudes often reflect stereotypic and prejudicial attitudes that underlie exclusionary decisions.

Children identity with different groups, some that are chosen, such as sports teams, and others that are not chosen, such as gender and race/ethnicity. When group

identity becomes very salient and important to the child then there is a greater expectation that exclusion will happen and that children will condone it or justify it. Children have expectations about group norms that members of groups need to adhere to, and they will often exclude someone who does not conform to the group norms. Unfortunately, some norms have to do with how others should be treated and reflect prejudicial attitudes. Children often struggle with decisions about exclusion of peers from their own group who do not meet the expectations of their group as well as exclusion of others from different groups. This makes social interactions and relationships very complex.

A third theory that is relevant for understanding exclusion and inclusion is from the field of peer relationships and friendships. Hinde's multilevel theory of social interactions, groups, and relationships has been used to understand individual differences in patterns of peer rejection (Hinde, Titmus, Easton, & Tamplin, 1985; Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006). Children who reject others often display aggressive behaviors, whereas children who are rejected are often extremely shy, fearful, and wary. It is also often the case that children who reject others have also been rejected by their peers. Personality differences also contribute to the patterns of peer rejection, and individual differences in personality bear on the types of individual–group interactions that occur when a child is rejected by others.

For example, when children are asked to nominate who they like and who they dislike in a classroom context, some children are perceived as having a lot of friends and some are perceived as having no friends. This categorization system has shown that children who have no friends and are rejected by their peers are often the same children who bully others and are therefore rejected

by their peers. Yet, sometimes children are rejected for reasons based on group membership (such as gender, race, and ethnicity) and which may have little to do with personality traits. Instead, it may have to do with group functioning, and who is perceived to “fit the group.” This means that exclusion has to be understood by considering a number of factors, including personality traits as well as group membership and group dynamics.

Finally, theories about how children process information and interpret social cues in children's expressions, affect, and behavior have been useful for understanding exclusion and inclusion. Social Information Processing models (Crick & Dodge, 1994) focus on how children think about each step of a social encounter, particularly encounters that create conflict, such as exclusion and rejection. The first step involves interpretations of the intentions and social cues in the interaction, followed by decisions on how to act and what to accomplish. This work has been important for understanding exclusion because many situations in which children are excluded are the result of different interpretations (and misinterpretations) of the intentions of other children. For example, one child may be excluded from a game because the other children may think that he will be aggressive, that is, they expect the child to act like a bully, when, in fact, the expectations are based on stereotypes and not actual prior behavior. In this case, children's interpretations of the intentions of another child lead to the exclusion and create social conflict.

Different interpretations of others' actions are particularly related to exclusion when the intentions of the peer situation are ambiguous. One child may exclude another child from joining a lunch table because they think that the child does not want to join them due to being part of another group when, in fact, the child is shy

and wants to join but does not know how to express it. This type of situation occurs often and contributes to exclusion. Thus, children's “reading of the social expectations” of others has important relevance for understanding exclusion. When children have different expectations of what others might do then this often leads to exclusion of others, creating negative consequences for children who are excluded.

What these different theories tell us is that exclusion is not the same as bullying. While some types of exclusion turn into bullying there are many instances of exclusion in which the exclusion is legitimate because it is done to make groups work well, or in which the exclusion has negative outcomes but is the result of different interpretations of the same situation. In general terms, exclusion, unlike bullying or victimization, is not always negative because sometimes excluding others has to do with group inclusion criteria that are viewed as fair and legitimate.

Types of Exclusion

As we have indicated, figuring out and understanding decision-making about exclusion is a social-cognitive challenge that emerges in childhood and continues through adulthood. Exclusion occurs among friends, in social groups, and by institutions. Exclusion decisions are sometimes explicit, based on the motivation to make a group function well (“Everyone in this group has to be good at drawing so if you're not good then you can't join”), or the personal desire to choose a friend or partner (“I don't want to play with her because we don't like the same things”). Being the recipient of exclusion often involves recognition of the importance of group functioning and social desires, but sometimes this also

means an awareness that the decision was unfair or wrong (“They didn't let her in the club but that's not right because they think she's mean but she's not;” “That group doesn't let girls in and that's unfair because they have all of the toys”).

How children develop morality and moral judgments, form group identities, and an understanding of groups, contribute to exclusionary decisions that have negative outcomes for social relationships as well as social development. In fact, our central thesis is that the basic conflict between moral orientations and prejudicial attitudes and biases that emerge in childhood are realized in situations involving inclusion and exclusion. Thus, studying why children include or exclude friends provides a window into their application of moral or prejudicial attitudes in *actual* social decision-making and exchanges. A child's first experiences of exclusion from social groups occurs in early peer interactions in the home or school context and then extends to larger groups, particularly for groups in which group identity and group membership becomes salient. Exclusion occurs at many levels, from the dyadic to groups, from interpersonal to intergroup, and reflecting different levels of intentions and goals (Abrams, Hogg, & Marques, 2005).

Goals of the Book

A central goal of this book, then, is to discuss the emergence and origins of morality as well as bias and prejudice in order to understand why individuals exclude others, and how this emerges in childhood. How do children and adolescents approach situations that involve exclusion? When do children view exclusion as a matter of right or wrong? When does implicit and explicit prejudice factor into exclusion decisions and how do