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GROUP PROCESSES IN CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS



Edited by **Adam Rutland, Drew Nesdale
and Christia Spears Brown**

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**The Wiley Handbook of Group Processes
in Children and Adolescents**

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Contents

Notes on Contributors	viii
Preface	xxi
Part I Social Group Membership: Intergroup Context and Methodological Issues	1
1 Children and Social Groups: A Social Identity Approach <i>Drew Nesdale</i>	3
2 Ethnic Identity among Immigrant and Minority Youth <i>Maykel Verkuyten and Fenella Fleischmann</i>	23
3 Intergroup Contact and Ethnic/Racial Identity Development <i>Sheena Mirpuri and Tiffany Yip</i>	47
4 Researching Children's Social Groups: Methods and Measures <i>Drew Nesdale, Christia Spears Brown, and Adam Rutland</i>	67
Part II Group Processes: Social Exclusion, Resource Allocation, and Communication	99
5 The Role of Group Processes in Social Exclusion and Resource Allocation Decisions <i>Melanie Killen, Laura Elenbaas, Michael T. Rizzo, and Adam Rutland</i>	101

6	Toward a Contextualized Social Developmental Account of Children's Group-based Inclusion and Exclusion: The Developmental Model of Subjective Group Dynamics <i>Dominic Abrams, Claire Powell, Sally B. Palmer, and Julie Van de Vyver</i>	124
7	Communication in Children's and Adolescents' Social Groups <i>Patrick J. Leman and Harriet R. Tenenbaum</i>	144
Part III Social Categorization, Prejudice, and Stereotyping		165
8	Theoretical Perspectives on the Development of Implicit and Explicit Prejudice <i>Frances E. Aboud and Jennifer R. Steele</i>	167
9	Social Stereotyping and Prejudice in Children: Insights from Novel Group Studies <i>Rebecca S. Bigler and Meagan M. Patterson</i>	184
10	Implicit Intergroup Bias and the Long Road to Predicting Discrimination <i>Yarrow Dunham</i>	203
11	The Development of Racial Categorization in Childhood <i>Kristin Pauker, Amanda Williams, and Jennifer R. Steele</i>	221
Part IV Socialization and Intergroup Discrimination		241
12	Racial Socialization and Racial Discrimination as Intra- and Intergroup Processes <i>Diane Hughes, Jessica Harding, Erika Y. Niwa, Juan Del Toro, and Niobe Way</i>	243
13	Perceptions of Intergroup Discrimination <i>Christia Spears Brown</i>	269
14	Essentialism and Children's Reasoning about Race and Ethnicity <i>Stephen M. Quintana, Julia Z. Benjamin, and Patrice Leverett</i>	292
Part V Groups and Bullying		315
15	Bullying in School and Online Contexts: Social Dominance, Bystander Compliance, and the Emotional Pain of Victims <i>Jaana Juvonen and Hannah L. Schacter</i>	317

16	Harnessing the Power of the Group to Reduce Bullying and Victimization <i>Amanda L. Duffy and Lindsey Cameron</i>	333
Part VI Intergroup Contact and Cross-group Relationships		353
17	Contact Strategies for Improving Intergroup Relations among Youth <i>Linda R. Tropp and Ananthi Al Ramiah</i>	355
18	Children's and Adolescents' Cross-Ethnic Friendships <i>Philipp Jugert and Allard R. Feddes</i>	373
19	Interracial Contact among University and School Youth in Post-apartheid South Africa <i>Colin Tredoux, John Dixon, Kevin Durrheim, and Buhle Zuma</i>	393
20	Student–Teacher Relationships and Interethnic Relations <i>Jochem Thijs</i>	416
Part VII Interventions to Improve Relations between Groups		435
21	Using an Intergroup Contact Approach to Improve Gender Relationships: A Case Study of a Classroom-based Intervention <i>Carol Lynn Martin, Richard A. Fabes, Laura D. Hanish, Bridget Gaertner, Cindy Faith Miller, Stacie Foster, and Kimberly A. Updegraff</i>	437
22	Intergroup Contact in Action: Using Intergroup Contact Interventions to Change Children's Out-Group Orientation <i>Lindsey Cameron and Nicola Abbott</i>	455
23	Seeding Change: Using Children's Media to Promote Social Inclusion the <i>Sesame Street</i> Way <i>Charlotte F. Cole and Lilith Dollard</i>	472
Part VIII Commentary		487
24	Intergroup Processes in Children and Adolescents: Where Are They Heading? <i>Kevin Durkin</i>	489
	<i>Index</i>	507

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Preface

Children from infancy develop attachments to significant others within their social environment (e.g., parents and siblings, as well as other relatives and friends). Over time, they also become increasingly aware of various social groups or categories within their social world. They are born into some social groups (e.g., gender, age, ethnic/racial groups); they are assigned to other groups, such as classroom or school groups, by adults and others in authority; and they choose to join other groups, at least partially because they share attitudes, beliefs, interests, and activities with the other group members (e.g., religious groups, sports or fan clubs).

Research shows these groups form an integral part of a child's expanding social world. Children's attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors are significantly shaped by their group memberships and this influence increases through childhood into adolescence. With age, research suggests that children acquire an increasing understanding of the processes underpinning how groups operate, including, for example, intergroup discrimination, social exclusion and inclusion, social group identification, prejudice and stereotyping, socialization, and cross-group friendships. These group processes involve both social relations between groups (i.e., relations between members from different social groups) and within social groups (i.e., relations between members of the same group). These two types of group processes are typically labeled as intergroup and intragroup, respectively. They almost always occur together and should not be considered in isolation.

Handbook of Group Processes in Children and Adolescents

Until the present volume, there has been no single book that brings together the extensive and diverse research and scholarship on how these group processes develop within childhood and adolescence. This Handbook fills that gap. It is published as part of the *Wiley-Blackwell Handbooks of Developmental Psychology Series*, and the research presented in it represents a considerable extension of the family and peer-relations research, typically focusing on interpersonal relations *within* the family and peer groups, that has been traditionally conducted within developmental psychology. This Handbook provides a comprehensive overview of the research that has addressed group processes in childhood and adolescence, the main theoretical approaches that have been proposed, methodological issues that have been identified and addressed, and interventions that have been developed to improve group processes.

The focus of this Handbook is certainly reflective of research conducted within social developmental psychology over the last 20 years. In addition, it has drawn from the extensive literature in social psychology on adult group processes and intergroup relations, but recognizes there are important developmental processes that should be studied when examining how children and adolescents relate to social groups. To truly understand any psychological phenomenon, such as group processes, there is a need to examine and appreciate how it originates in childhood and develops in later life. Only then can the important social-cognitive, emotional, psychological, and contextual factors that underlie the operation of group processes be comprehensively understood.

We first discussed the possibility of this Handbook at the Biennial Meetings of the Society for Research in Child Development (SRCD) in Montreal (2011) and Seattle (2013), when it became clear to us that, at these conferences and other international meetings throughout the world, innovative new research was increasingly being presented into how children and adolescents are influenced by, and develop an understanding of, group processes. We strongly felt that this burgeoning body of research needed to be represented in a Handbook that would bring together the scope and excitement of recent research in an accessible and precise form, acting both as a source within libraries and research centers and as an everyday handbook for individuals wanting to know more about, and further their interest in, this fast developing field of study.

Chapter authors

With one editor based in Europe, one in Australia, and one in the United States, we have sought to identify chapter authors who are active international researchers within the field and have acknowledged theoretical and empirical expertise that qualifies

them to write with authority about their area of study. We are delighted that the final group of authors includes distinguished senior researchers along with “rising stars” within the field, who together bring vigor and gravitas to the Handbook. Within the Handbook we also aimed to reflect the increasing international nature of research into developmental group processes and social development generally within the psychological and behavioral sciences. Although many of the contributors are based in the United States, we also have contributors from the United Kingdom, Canada, the Netherlands, Germany, Australia, Singapore, and South Africa.

Readership of the handbook

The Handbook is aimed at those wishing to know more than would be covered in a standard textbook, including advanced undergraduates in psychology and behavioral sciences, postgraduates studying for master’s degrees, or engaging in independent research leading to a postgraduate degree (e.g., PhD), as well as teaching staff and researchers seeking a respected and reliable update of the field. We believe the Handbook should also be extremely useful for policy makers and practitioners (e.g., educators, social workers, counselors, policy advisors to decision makers), who are trained in the behavioral sciences and are interested in the implications of research for professional practice and policy, in addition to the merely curious.

Structure of the handbook

It is somewhat of an overwhelming task to provide an engaging and informative introduction to a volume comprising a diversity of chapters from world-leading researchers within the field of group processes in childhood and adolescence. We considered providing a brief summary of what is written in each chapter, yet all chapter authors presented much better summaries than we could imagine providing. Instead, we will briefly outline the seven parts into which we have organized the 23 chapters within the Handbook.

Part I (four chapters) examines children’s social group memberships directly: how children develop identifications with these groups, how these social group memberships relate to the intergroup context, and how they have been measured. This is followed by a second part (three chapters) which shows that, with development, intergroup and intragroup processes become intrinsically interconnected when we study phenomena such as social exclusion, resource allocation, and communication within social groups. Part III (four chapters) focuses on how the process of social

categorization in childhood is related to the development of explicit and implicit intergroup biases or prejudice and stereotyping. The fourth part (three chapters) focuses on the process of intergroup discrimination in childhood and adolescence, and its relationship to socialization and essentialist thinking. The fifth (two chapters) considers how understanding the interaction between group and interpersonal processes can improve our knowledge of how bullying emerges in childhood and also how it can be reduced. Part VI (three chapters) looks at when and how the process of intergroup and student–teacher contact can reduce intergroup bias and prejudice amongst children and youths. The seventh and final part (three chapters) describes various specific educational interventions which, to varying degrees, draw from contact theory within psychology, and are aimed at promoting more positive relations and social inclusion between groups. A commentary chapter from Kevin Durkin, which highlights important themes running throughout the Handbook and important issues to be taken up by the field in the future, rounds off the work.

The central purpose of this Handbook is to provide (for the first time) a comprehensive, authoritative, and international compilation of psychological theory and research related to group processes in children and adolescents. We hope that this has been achieved and that the Handbook proves invaluable to the growing number of researchers interested in how group processes based upon social category membership develop in children and adolescents.

Adam Rutland, Drew Nesdale, and Christia Spears Brown
(November 2015)

PART I

Social Group Membership: Intergroup Context and Methodological Issues

Children and Social Groups: A Social Identity Approach

Drew Nesdale

Whereas considerable research has focused on children's dyadic relationships (Bradford Brown & Dietz, 2011), comparatively little attention has been given to the intra- and intergroup processes involved in children's experiences in groups, as well as issues relating to the structure and organization of children's groups (Cairns, Xie, & Leung, 1998). This lack of attention is surprising given the extent of children's involvement in groups, which commences prior to formal schooling and increases throughout the middle childhood years, reflecting the considerable importance of group membership to them (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006). Indeed, the evidence suggests that if there is a possibility of being accepted by, and belonging to, a social group, children will seek to be included (Nesdale, 2007). Moreover, their social interactions occur increasingly within their social groups during the elementary school years (Rubin et al., 2006).

Given the limited, albeit rapidly increasing, research attention given to children's social groups, it is perhaps unsurprising that theory development in this area has also been limited. However, the aim of the present chapter is to provide an outline of one theory, social identity development theory (SIDT; Nesdale, 2004, 2007),

that has sought to provide an account of children's involvement in social groups. SIDT is a developmental model that describes a number of phases through which children pass as their experience with social groups increases. The theory encompasses children's early awareness of social groups, the basis of their desire for group membership, and the impact of group membership on their attitudinal, cognitive, and behavioral responses relating to in-group members, as well as towards others outside their group. Although SIDT was originally formulated to account for the emergence of intergroup prejudice and discrimination (Nesdale, 2004, 2012), it has also been applied to other social behaviors, including children's aggression and bullying (Duffy & Nesdale, 2012), as well as peer group rejection (Nesdale, 2008).

Clarifications and qualifications

There are several points concerning this chapter that are worth noting. First, it relates to children from birth to 12 years of age, recognizing that the foundations of children's social relationships appear shortly after birth and continue their inexorable development from that point onwards. That said, the emphasis of the chapter is primarily on children in middle childhood (from 6 to 12 years) because the emergence and consolidation of many of their intra- and intergroup processes occur during that period.

Second, the term, "group," is used inclusively in this chapter. Whereas the term is typically used to refer to collections of three or more interacting children who share something (or things) in common (e.g., attributes, interests, behaviors, tasks, etc.), children are assigned by nature to some groups or categories that have been accorded a degree of social significance (e.g., gender, ethnicity), or assigned by adult authority to other groups (classroom teams, religion), but they may also elect to join others (groups of playmates, special interest groups). In the present discussion, the critical issue is whether the child identifies with, commits to, or sees him/herself as a member of, a particular group. This is typically indexed by children's greater liking for their in-group compared with other groups (see also Bradford Brown & Dietz, 2011; Kinderman & Gest, 2011). Thus, whereas a group of playmates/friends would generally meet this identification criterion, membership of a school class or an ethnic minority might meet the requirement for some children, but not others.

Third, as several writers have noted, there are significant difficulties involved in seeking to measure group membership, as well as the intra-group dynamics of a membership group, and the dynamics of their relationships with other groups (e.g., Cairns et al., 1998). This is especially true of friendship and interaction groups which can have a short life span and, moreover, it is difficult to disentangle changes due to member turnover from those due to member convergence; that is,

the drawing together of members' attitudes, cognitions, and behavior due to familiarity (Kinderman & Gest, 2011). Researchers have responded creatively to these challenges with a range of research methods and procedures, most of which in recent years have entailed some type of experimental design (see Nesdale, Spears Brown, & Rutland, this volume). These include field studies carried out in naturalistic environments (e.g., Bigler, 1995), studies of children in novel, short-lived groups, in which prior knowledge about the backgrounds, status, and goals of group members is manipulated (e.g., Nesdale, 2007), as well as studies on minimal groups which contain no information concerning competition, status, or interaction with in-groups or out-groups (e.g., Dunham, Baron, & Carey, 2011), cyber-based studies involving interactions between child participants and computer-generated stimulus characters and groups (e.g., Dunham, Chen, & Banaji, 2013), in addition to studies involving peer nomination and judgment of children's groups and their intra- and intergroup dynamics (e.g., Duffy & Nesdale, 2009). This chapter will draw on all of this literature and will also briefly consider its strengths and limitations.

Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT)

Basis of SIDT

Nesdale (2004, 2007) proposed social identity development theory (SIDT) as an explicitly group-based account of the development of children's intra- and intergroup attitudes, cognitions, and behaviors. Although the early versions of the theory, in particular, were influenced by the social identity theory (SIT) proposed by Tajfel and Turner (1979), and its subsequent elaboration, self-categorization theory (SCT; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), SIDT differed from SIT (and SCT) in several significant ways.

First, SIT (and SCT) contends that identifying with (or categorizing oneself into) particular social groups (i.e., adopting the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors of the social group as one's own) contributes to an individual's social self-esteem (i.e., as distinct from their personal self-esteem). Given that individuals might normally wish to maintain, if not enhance, their social self-esteem, it follows that they would be motivated to identify with social groups that are positive and distinctive. According to SIT, the need for a positive and distinctive group identity has the potential to contribute to the development of negative attitudes or prejudice towards members of other groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

In contrast, SIDT proposes that, as far as children's social interactions are concerned, including their involvement in social groups, what is of prime or, at

least, initial importance to them is that they are accepted by others such that they are able to be part of friendships and groups. In short, it is acceptance and belonging that motivates them to pursue social contacts, friendships, and social group memberships from an early age (Milner, 1996; Nesdale, 2004). Indeed, according to some writers, such behavior may reflect an inborn, fundamental need to belong and to be accepted (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

At the same time, SIDT recognizes that, as children move into and through middle childhood, they learn to recognize the differing statuses of groups and will become aware of the benefits that high-status groups provide to members (e.g., popularity, influence, control of resources), should they happen to be a member of such a group. Moreover, there will also be children who acquire the confidence and self-esteem to seek membership in the most positively distinctive groups, as argued by SIT, in order to be with those perceived to be similar to themselves and to enhance their self-esteem. However, according to SIDT, first and foremost for most children is the need to be accepted by a group and to feel that they belong to *their* group.

Second, although SIT provided a social motivational framework that, in principle, can be applied to the case of children, it focused on explaining prejudice and discrimination in adults. In particular, SIT has nothing to say about the central and most significant feature of children—the fact that from birth onwards, they are continuously changing and developing in terms of their perceptual, cognitive, and linguistic skills, as well as their individual personalities, and their social knowledge, perceptiveness, and competencies. Accordingly, SIDT sought to propose a theory that would account for children's involvement in groups by taking into consideration the array of factors that emerge and change as children grow and mature and have an ever-widening range of social experiences.

Third, whereas SIT sought to explain how one group comes to display prejudice and discrimination towards another group, SCT (Turner et al., 1987) was framed as a new theory that would extend SIT by providing an account of intra-group processes, including an outline of the basis upon which individuals join groups. In contrast, SIDT sought to explain both intra- and intergroup processes and relations within the same theory, the assumption being that intra-group processes would likely impact upon the nature of relations between groups.

Outline of SIDT

SIDT proposes that, during the period from birth to 12 years of age, children may pass through up to four sequential development phases (foundations of social group relations, social group awareness, social group preference, and out-group

negativity). The phases differ in terms of the behaviors that characterize them, and the events that precipitate changes from one phase to the next.

For up to 2 years following birth, most children are in the *foundations of social group relations* phase in which the possibility of social groups, as well as the common markers of, and basis for associating with, social groups (e.g., similarities in age, skin color, gender, body shape, religion, behavior, activities, interests) have little meaning to them. At the same time, however, they are ever-increasingly engaged in social observation and social interactions, as well as activities such as play and problem-solving, and they display responses to others, that reveal their burgeoning interest in social contact with other children.

The *social group awareness* phase commences when children start differentiating others on the basis of such markers as those above, typically beginning with gender. According to SIDT, such differentiation prompts children to begin to identify or categorize themselves on the basis of their similarity/difference to others (*I am a boy, she is a girl*). Importantly, young children do not appear to construct social categories on an idiosyncratic basis. Children typically enter a social environment in which the key social categories are already specified and the nature of relations between the members of such categories is established. Accordingly, the social categories which children emphasize are not those that are strange and unfamiliar, they are those that already have social significance in the community (Katz, 1976) and children's awareness of them will be sharpened by evaluations communicated by adults and others (Milner, 1996).

Given the overwhelming emphasis placed on gender in society, the act of self-categorization into a gender effectively ushers in the *in-group preference* phase and, certainly by school-age, most children display in-group preferences based on gender and, in some cases, particularly in multiethnic communities, on ethnicity. In addition, children's play and interaction experiences with other children expand their growing knowledge about dyadic relationships, friendships, and interacting with groups of children. Consequently, within gender, children form friendships and interact with particular others in social groups based on shared interests and activities.

SIDT argues that the central features of the in-group preference phase are three-fold. First, social categorization prompts children to associate with other children on the basis of similarity (i.e., gender, as well as age, activities, interests), to perceive the children they associate with as different from other children, and to behave differently in the company of in-group friends versus other children. Second, children who are not part of the child's friendship group are perceived as being increasingly similar to each other, as well as different from the child's friendship group (the out-group homogeneity effect; Linville, 1998). Third, and most importantly, the in-group preference phase involves a focus on, and accompanying preference for,

the in-group. Significantly, SIDT argues that in-group preference does not instigate an automatic focus on out-groups with accompanying out-group negativity. Instead, children in the in-group preference phase are focused on, and prefer, their own group before others.

Several implications follow from this conceptualization of the in-group preference phase. First, children who identify with a particular group are likely to be motivated to maintain, if not enhance, the status of their group. Second, although children in the in-group preference phase are primarily oriented towards the in-group, they will nevertheless compare the standing of their group with other groups because it underpins whatever positive distinctiveness is enjoyed by their group. Third, whereas children in this phase will always prefer their group to other groups, this does not mean that they dislike such groups. Typically, other groups will simply be liked less than the in-group. Fourth, given the considerable importance of the in-group to them, it follows that children will be motivated to think, feel, and behave in ways that are consistent with the expectations of the group members; that is, they will be motivated to conform to the group's norms or expectations. Fifth, group members who are most identified with/committed to the group (i.e., central members) will show more conformity to the group's norms than will more peripheral members, and the former will demand in-group conformity from the latter. Sixth, given the group members' identification with the group, it follows that rejection by the group, or even the threat of rejection, will have the potential to exert a considerable negative impact on children, especially on their emotional reactions (e.g., anxiety, self-esteem), but also on their subsequent behaviors (e.g., antisocial behaviors).

In sum, SIDT argues that the in-group preference phase is characterized by children's focus on, and concern for, their continuing membership of their *in-group*. Further, SIDT claims that there are conditions under which children (even adults) will effectively remain in the in-group preference phase for years to come (although not necessarily with the same group!). These include contexts in which children identify strongly with a group (or groups) that does not endorse negativity towards any out-groups, as well as social contexts in which inter-group relations (e.g., between gender groups or between different ethnic groups) are harmonious.

However, SIDT argues that *some* children will, at least occasionally, undergo a transition from in-group preference to the *out-group negativity* phase. This involves a new focus on an out-group, in addition to the child's on-going concern for the in-group. Instead of merely liking an out-group member less than an in-group member, as occurs in the in-group preference phase, the transition to out-group negativity means that members of particular out-groups are disliked or hated and may be subjected to verbal derogation, as well as some type of attack or assault. According to SIDT, such a state would normally be unlikely to occur in children

younger than 6–7 years because their social motives and social knowledge would not have reached the requisite level of development to support a feeling of out-group dislike or hatred and/or they do not live in a social environment that supports such behavior.

However, SIDT proposes that whether out-group negativity actually emerges and crystallizes in children depends upon several factors. These factors include (1) the extent to which children identify with their social group, and/or (2) whether out-group negativity is a norm or expectation held by the members of the child's social group, and/or (3) whether the in-group members believe that the standing or power of their group in relation to other groups can be enhanced by a display of out-group negativity, and/or (4) whether particular in-group members believe that their standing within the in-group would be enhanced by out-group negativity, and/or (5) whether there is a belief among the in-group members that their group is threatened in some way by members of the out-group.

That said, SIDT also anticipates that children's tendencies to display negative attitudes and behaviors towards out-groups would not automatically and unthinkingly follow the explicit and implicit dictates of the group, or the individual's own desire for advancement in the group. Rather, as children increase in age, their responses are also increasingly influenced by their accumulating *social acumen*; that is, their ever-expanding knowledge of how the social system works, their strategic awareness of how to use this information to their advantage, and their skill in making it happen (Nesdale, 2013). Thus, with increasing age, children learn that their social world is comprised of an array of significant individuals and groups (e.g., parents, teachers, older siblings, their classmates, other peers), including the in-group, each with particular demands and expectations relating to the child. Further, they come to understand that they need to make judgments and decisions about the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors to be displayed in particular social contexts involving these significant others. On this basis, SIDT argues that, reflecting their social acumen, children develop an increasing tendency to regulate the expression of their attitudes and behavior in accordance with their beliefs about what is acceptable to particular others (e.g., teachers, parents, group members) in a particular situation, at a particular time (Nesdale, 2013).

Research support for SIDT

Foundations of social group relations. Although children do not become involved in social groups until several years after birth, their interest in peer relations emerges early and develops inexorably. Indeed, it has been claimed that the beginnings of

peer interaction are revealed in the first few days of life when infants cry in response to the cries of other infants (Sagi & Hoffman, 1976). From then on, infants show an increasing interest in peers, including looking at and touching them, as well as sharing the use of toys (Hay, Nash, & Pedersen, 1983). By the time of the first birthday, there are early signs of cooperative games including shared engagement in common activities, and with some evidence of shared understanding revealed in repetition of distinctive actions and alternating turns (Ross, 1982).

By 2 years, there is evidence of cooperative problem-solving (Brownell, Ramani, & Zerwas, 2006) and they begin to develop preferences for particular companions who display similarity to themselves (Howes & Phillipsen, 1992). Importantly, by this age children have actually learnt a lot about gender. For example, as early as 7 months children can distinguish between male and female faces (Fagan & Singer, 1979; Otsuka, 2014) and voices (Miller, 1983). Within another twelve months or so, many children are able to label others according to gender and, based largely on their similarity to other category members, are able to place themselves into, and label themselves as, one of the gender categories (Fagot & Leinbach, 1993). This process is intensified by the pervasiveness of gender distinctions in their environment (Bigler & Liben, 2007; Rheingold & Cook, 1975), and the evaluative reactions of others following their displays of gender-appropriate and -inappropriate behaviors and activities (Caldera, Huston, & O'Brien, 1989).

Importantly, the effect of such self-labeling is that it instigates gender segregation such that, by 30 to 36 months of age, children display a marked preference for same-sex peers (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1987). This preference increases throughout early childhood, particularly with their increasing exposure to peers via their attendance at day-care centres and preschools (Fabes, Martin, & Hanish, 2003), becoming more marked in elementary school (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1987).

However, one qualification concerns the fact that while preschool children come to engage with same-gender peers, it does not imply that selection is random within gender. Rather, interaction preferences within gender are based on behavioral homophily—children tend to choose peers whose behavioral tendencies are like their own (e.g., Farver, 1996; Hanish, Martin, Fabes, Leonard, & Herzog, 2005).

A second qualification concerns the fact that, with the exception of gender, most of the social categories that are typically considered to be important by adults (e.g., race/ethnicity, age, socioeconomic status, religion) do not impact upon most preschool children's peer preferences (Vaughan & Santos, 2011). That said, although race/ethnicity does not segregate preschool children, research indicates that children, and especially those living in multiethnic communities, can differentiate among people from different ethnic or racial groups based on physical cues (e.g., skin color) by 3 to 4 years, and that, by 6 to 7 years, most children from the ethnically dominant group can differentiate their own ethnic group and identify

with it (see Nesdale, 2001). However, racial cleavage or segregation typically does not appear until children are well into middle childhood, around 9 or 10 years of age (Katz, 1976; Milner, 1996). Until this time, gender typically exerts a significantly greater effect on peer preferences than ethnicity because of the emphasis placed on it by adults (Bigler & Liben, 2007).

In sum, from 2 years, preschool children “engage in increasingly frequent social interactions with peers, and their interactions become richer, more nuanced and sophisticated, and increasingly complex with age” (Coplan & Arbeau, 2011, p. 147). Importantly, in terms of the present chapter, children during this period become mainly aware of two social categories, gender, and race/ethnicity, both of which may be used as a basis for self-categorization. However, only gender typically influences the ongoing segregation of children and it is within this segregation that children’s earliest informal social groups tend to be formed (Vaughan & Santos, 2011). Later, nearly all children during middle childhood report being a member of a group and their involvement in social groups increases through the period until most of their peer interactions take place within a social group (Rubin et al, 2006).

Belongingness and group membership. Whereas the impact of similarity between children on their preference for particular social groups is fairly widely accepted (Hay, Caplan, & Nash, 2011; Vaughan & Santos, 2011), the fact of similarity does not solely determine group preference. As noted above, according to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), individuals would normally seek membership in a high status or positively distinctive group because such a membership would have the most positive impact on their social self-esteem. Similarly, SCT (Turner et al, 1987) argues that an individual’s preference for a group is enhanced by factors that amplify perceived similarity to the in-group and difference to the out-group. In contrast, SIDT argues that children’s social group preference is influenced more by the extent to which they are accepted by a group, and by their sense of belonging to that group.

Although the research with children is limited, consistent with SIT, some research has shown that, like adults, young children spontaneously compare the standing of their group with other groups (Chafel, 1986; Yee & Brown, 1992) and that they prefer to be members of higher rather than lower status groups (Nesdale & Flessner, 2001). However, contrary to SIT, but consistent with SIDT, research also shows that children always reveal greater liking for their in-group over an out-group, and even indicate greater liking for a lower status in-group than for a higher status out-group (Nesdale & Flessner, 2001; Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, & Griffiths, 2004).

In another study, Nesdale, Griffiths, Durkin, and Maass (2007) tested the views of SCT and SIDT by examining 7- and 10-year-old children’s similarity and

positivity responses towards their in-group and an out-group in a situation in which three variables designed to enhance in-group versus out-group categorizations were manipulated (i.e., in-group versus out-group competitiveness, ethnic similarity versus dissimilarity, meeting the in-group before versus after out-group). Results indicated that, whereas ethnic similarity influenced perceived in-group versus out-group similarity, as SCT would predict, none of the variables influenced in-group versus out-group positivity, contrary to SCT. Instead, the in-group was rated more positively than the out-group, regardless of the manipulated conditions. The results suggested that “the processes underpinning children’s group membership may be considerably simpler, more affect-driven and less cognitively complex than is the case with adults...what was important to the children was simply that they were a member of a group, *their* group” (Nesdale et al, 2007, p. 369). Similar conclusions have been drawn from other studies with children (e.g., Barrett, Wilson, & Lyons, 2003).

Finally, Nesdale and Hong (2011) randomly assigned children to a group with high versus low status, and they were either unambiguously accepted, or ambiguously accepted, by a group, or acceptance was not mentioned. Results indicated that when the children were unambiguously accepted, or no mention was made of acceptance, group status had no effect on their liking for the in-group. In contrast, when the children were only ambiguously accepted, they liked the in-group significantly more when it had high rather than low status.

The preceding research suggests that children’s group preferences may be influenced by their similarity to other group members, as well as their sense of being accepted by, and belonging to, the in-group. Although the issue requires further research, it is plausible that, for young children, belonging and acceptance comprise the immediate goal, with membership in a high- rather than low-status group being a secondary or subsequent goal, especially following the acquisition of more skills, experience, and confidence in negotiating and retaining group membership.

Impact of in-group identification on intra- and intergroup processes. A considerable number of studies, using an array of methodologies, have assessed the impact of children’s in-group identification on their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors towards the in-group, as well as to non-group and out-group members. For example, Bigler and colleagues (e.g., Bigler, 1995; Bigler, Jones, & Lobliner, 1997) randomly assigned 6- to 11-year-old children to color groups in field studies in summer schools, with the teachers emphasizing the color labels, but not competition between groups. Consistent with SIDT, the group assignments prompted in-group favoritism, regardless of age and gender—children did not want to change groups, rated their own group as most likely to win a series of contests, and chose more members of the in-group to participate in a field trip. When social comparisons

and competitiveness between groups are emphasized, children's in-group bias increases (Yee & Brown, 1992).

In a similar vein, Nesdale and colleagues used a novel group simulation paradigm in which children were randomly assigned to a group of (purported) excellent or average drawers who shared the same age, gender, and ethnicity, in order to compete on a drawing task with a group of similar children. Consistent with SIDT, children always saw themselves as similar to the in-group, liked their in-group, and liked it more than the comparison out-group, although the out-group was never disliked (Nesdale, Durkin et al., 2004, 2005; Nesdale & Flessner, 2001; Nesdale, Griffiths, Durkin, & Maass, 2007; Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005).

In addition, there is also evidence that children reveal a strong bias towards their in-group when they are required to make choices, indicate preferences, or allocate rewards between the in-group and an out-group, and that they display in-group positivity versus out-group negativity in their trait attributions (see Nesdale, 2001). Further, research has shown that in-group members rated the aggressive behavior of an in-group member towards a non-member more positively than did an independent observer (Nesdale, Killen, & Duffy, 2013).

In yet another study (Nesdale, Maass, Griffiths, & Durkin, 2003), Anglo-Australian children were assigned to an in-group that contained same ethnicity (Anglo-Australian) or different ethnicity members (Pacific Islanders), with the out-group being comprised of members who were of the same or different ethnicity as the in-group. Consistent with SIDT, (1) the children always liked the in-group more than the out-group, (2) but the out-group was not disliked, (3) in-group liking was unaffected by the ethnicity of the out-group, (4) but out-group liking was influenced by the ethnicity of the in-group. When the in-group was comprised of same-ethnicity members, the participants liked the same-ethnicity out-group more than the different-ethnicity out-group. Apparently, the different-ethnicity out-group sharpened and emphasized its difference to the same-ethnicity in-group which resulted in reduced liking (but not dislike) for the former. However, when the in-group was comprised of different-ethnicity members, the participants liked the different-ethnicity out-group more than the same-ethnicity out-group. Rather than seeing different-ethnicity out-group members as markedly different, they were actually perceived as less different than a same-ethnicity out-group (see also Durkin, Nesdale, Dempsey, & McLean, 2012). As SIDT proposes, these findings emphasize that, in the absence of threat and conflict, children appear to focus on their in-group and their preference for it—they do not display ethnic prejudice as a matter of course.

Subsequent research by Dunham, Baron, and Carey (2011) explored the impact on in-group attitudes of the mere assignment of participants to a “minimal” group; that is, all information concerning competition, status, or interaction with in-groups or

out-groups was excluded. Participants were randomly assigned to one color group and saw the members of their own group, as well as the other color group, *via* photos on a computer. Results of two studies indicated that children as young as 5 years showed in-group bias in explicit and implicit attitudes. Similar findings have also been reported by Nesdale, Griffiths, and colleagues (2007). Consistent with the earlier findings reported by Bigler and colleagues (e.g., Bigler, 1995; Bigler et al., 1997), these findings support the view that mere categorization into, or belonging to, a group can be sufficient to induce robust in-group preferences. Indeed, research shows that the mere assignment to a group even results in the encoding of more positive information about in-group than out-group members (Dunham et al., 2011).

Given the importance of group acceptance and belonging to children, it is not surprising that research has shown that children will seek to enhance, maintain, or defend the status of the group, as SIDT predicts. For example, research indicates that group members seek to include new group members who are similar to the existing members and want to support the group (Ojala & Nesdale, 2012), and that, with increasing age, children show less and less liking for in-group members who do not conform to group norms and will seek to have them excluded (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Nesdale, 1999; Nesdale & Brown, 2004). Indeed, Jewell and Brown (2014) have reported that children who do not conform to their gender group (i.e., are low in gender typicality) were more likely to be teased and rejected by peers than were children who do conform to gender group norms. Children who are most conforming to group norms are rated by peers as most popular.

Research also indicates that children fear rejection from their in-group (Ojala & Nesdale, 2012), and that those who feel some vulnerability about their position in a group typically display increased in-group bias and out-group negativity in order to contribute to the in-group's status, as well as to strengthen their own acceptability to the group members (Nesdale, Durkin et al., 2011; Nesdale, Maass et al., 2007, 2009). In addition, children react to actual rejection from their group with heightened negative affect, lowered self-esteem, and risky and maladaptive social behaviors, such as taking other children's things, being aggressive, and disrupting classes (Nesdale, 2008).

Whereas the preceding findings emphasize the importance of social group membership to the child during the middle childhood period, there are also findings that reveal the resulting extent of the influence exerted by in-group membership on individual members' attitudes and behaviors towards others. Consistent with SIDT, research has shown that children will express explicit dislike or prejudice towards out-group members when they are highly identified with their in-group and/or when the status of their in-group is threatened by an out-group (Nesdale, Durkin et al., 2005; Nesdale, Maass et al., 2005).

In addition, according to SIDT, individuals who identify with a particular group are expected and motivated to conform to the group's expectations or norms concerning the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors considered appropriate for group members, because they wish to continue to be accepted by, and belong to, that group. Consistent with this, research indicates that classroom norms can influence the positivity of group members' attitudes towards out-group members (e.g., Rutland, Cameron, Milne, & McGeorge, 2005).

Beyond this, however, research has also shown that classroom bully groups (who were nominated by classroom peers) had norms that endorsed bullying (Duffy & Nesdale, 2009) and that negative classroom norms significantly influenced children's aggression and bullying (e.g., Henry, 2001; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004). As well, group norms favoring exclusion in a novel group simulation significantly influenced children's intergroup prejudice (Monteiro, De Franca, & Rodrigues, 2009; Nesdale, Maass et al., 2005) and their bullying and aggressive intentions (Duffy & Nesdale, 2009; Nesdale, Maass, Kiesner, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2008; Nipedal, Nesdale, & Killen, 2010; Ojala & Nesdale, 2004). In addition, when group norms supported aggression, central or prototypical group members reported greater aggressive intentions than peripheral members (Charters, Duffy, & Nesdale, 2013). Moreover, children will express negative attitudes towards out group members consistent with their in-group's norms, even when it conflicts with their own attitudes and values (Nesdale, Griffiths et al., 2005).

However, while the preceding findings indicate that the peer group has the potential to exert a considerable influence on group members' attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors towards in-group members, as well as out-group members, SIDT also recognizes that the effects of social group identification and, especially, the impact of social group norms on children's intra- and intergroup attitudes and behaviors are neither automatic nor unthinking, particularly as children increase in age. Rather, SIDT proposes that these attitudes and behaviors are increasingly likely to be influenced by children's developing *social acumen*, that is, their understanding or knowledge of how the social system works, as well as their strategic awareness of how to use this information to advantage (Nesdale, 2013).

Consistent with this, of course, is the preceding research indicating the influence exerted by in-group norms on the members' attitudes, cognitions, and behaviors, presumably because of the members' concerns about being excluded from the group (Abrams & Rutland, 2008). At the same time, however, as children increase in age, they also become increasingly aware that negative intergroup attitudes and behavior are considered to be unacceptable and inappropriate by adults (Rutland et al., 2005), and hence their explicit out-group attitudes and behavior intentions become less negative (Nesdale, Maass et al, 2005; 2008), especially when under the surveillance of adults (Rutland et al., 2005). However, in an interesting illustration

of social acumen at work, Nesdale and Lawson (2011) examined whether a school norm of inclusion would moderate, if not extinguish, a group norm of exclusion. Results indicated that the children endorsed both the school *and* group norms and, as they increased in age, they liked their in-group less. Apparently, the children recognized that it would be wise to respond positively to both sources of influence so as not to run afoul of either, even though the in-group was liked less (see also Nesdale & Dalton, 2011; Nipedal et al., 2010). Further, McGuire, Rutland, and Nesdale (2015) reported that an inclusive school norm was less effective when the peer group had an exclusive norm and children were held accountable to their peers or their teachers. Interestingly, this did not differ as a function of the participants' age. The inclusive school norm was most potent when the peer group had an inclusive norm and children were answerable to their teachers.

Conclusions and Future Research

Whereas children's involvement in social groups has not been of focal interest to researchers in the past, the last decade has seen a sharp increase in research on this issue. Much has been learnt about when children begin to display an interest in social groups, on what basis they join groups, how groups impact on the intra- and intergroup behaviors of members, and how children react to social group exclusion. Accumulating evidence has also been obtained concerning aspects of intra-group dynamics, including the impact of group identification, group positions, and group norms, as well as children's developing social acumen or knowledge and its influence on their intra- and intergroup behavior.

Together, these findings indicate that, during the middle childhood period, children become increasingly experienced and sophisticated in interacting with others in their own, and other, social groups—perhaps not surprisingly, given that their social interactions occur increasingly within their social groups during the elementary school years (Rubin et al., 2006). Indeed, by the end of middle childhood, children appear to display many of the same intra- and intergroup attitudes, strategies and behaviors evidenced by adults (see Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999).

In addition, new theories relating to children's involvement in groups are emerging (e.g., Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Bigler & Liben, 2006). Social identity development theory (SIDT; Nesdale, 2004, 2011) is one such theory that has been proposed as an account of group-related phenomena, emphasizing the critical significance of social identity processes in the development of children's intra- and intergroup attitudes and behavior. To date, research findings obtained in a range of

paradigms have yielded consistent support for the theory, especially as applied to prejudice and discrimination (Brown, 2010).

However, a number of important issues remain to be addressed before a comprehensive understanding of children's involvement in social groups, including their intra- and intergroup attitudes and behavior, can be realized. One issue concerns the identification of the processes that promote similarity in the attitudes, cognitions, and behaviors of group members (Kinderman & Gest, 2011). This issue encompasses the emergence of similarity in stable groups, as well as the impact wrought by the addition of new members, and the departure of existing members, on intra-group similarity and is related to the emergence of social group norms.

A second issue warranting attention concerns the basis upon which status, roles, and positions are determined, and exert their impact, within children's groups. Some research has revealed the significant influence of group positions (e.g., central versus peripheral) on group members' aggressive intentions (Charters et al, 2013), but more research needs to focus on the emergence of status and roles, especially in interaction with group norms.

Although some research is now addressing the basis upon which children join groups, a third issue concerns the factors that contribute to the breakup of a group and the emergence of new groups. Of particular interest here is the basis upon which racial/ethnic minority groups appear following preschool and early school years in which race/ethnicity is typically not a significant influence on group make-up. Also needing research attention is the particular culture that emerges in racial/ethnic minority groups, especially in comparison with groups comprised of majority group members.

A fourth issue concerns the need to develop reliable techniques for identifying social groups in natural settings and for capturing their effects on group members, as well as non-members. The utilization of peer nominations to identify groups, followed by self- or other-ratings has been valuable (e.g., Duffy & Nesdale, 2009), but research has been limited to correlational designs to date. Other research using novel groups, minimal groups, and cyber-based groups (e.g., Dunham et al, 2011; Dunham et al, 2013; Nesdale, 2011) has added greatly to our understanding of children's groups. However, these paradigms involve simulated rather than natural groups, and the findings are based on a slice in time. That said, the great advantage of such groups lies in their incorporation of experimental techniques, thus allowing for the manipulation of variables and the assignment of causality. Clearly, new techniques and paradigms that allow for experimentation, yet utilize natural groups, over time, would represent a considerable advance for the field (see chapter by Nesdale, Brown, & Rutland, this volume, for an extended discussion of these issues).

While research efforts concerning children and social groups have substantially increased, and in a comparatively short period of time, many issues remain to be investigated. Given the importance of children's groups to their broader social development, these efforts will undoubtedly be amply rewarded.

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Ethnic Identity among Immigrant and Minority Youth

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Ethnic and racial¹ diversity is a fact of life for many children and adolescents. They go to diverse schools, live in diverse neighbourhoods, and hear and learn about cultural differences through parents, family, friends, and the media. They try to understand how the social world is composed and where they fit in: with whom they belong, what that means, and whether others recognize and value them. They develop an inner sense of their ethnic belonging within the broader sociocultural and historical context they find themselves in: an ethnic self that has implications for their well-being and (school) adjustment (see Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Smith & Silva, 2011). And, depending on the everyday situation, their ethnic belonging becomes salient in their mind and guides their perception and behavior.

In this chapter we take a social-developmental perspective that draws on both developmental and social psychological theories to discuss ethnic identity among immigrant and minority adolescents. Adolescence is seen as the critical period for identity development and the great majority of research on ethnic identity has focused on this age period. We first briefly introduce the theoretical framework by discussing the difference between more stable and more variable aspects of ethnic

identity. Subsequently we consider research on ethnic identity development and on ethnic group identification. This is followed by a discussion on dual identities by considering ethnic identity in relation to religious and (host) national identification. The next section examines the role of in-group norms and discrimination for adolescents' minority identity. The more variable aspects of ethnic identity are then discussed in terms of situational salience and identity enactment. The chapter concludes with future directions for theoretical and empirical work.

Theoretical Foundations

In the developmental literature, ethnic identity is typically conceptualized in terms of inner structure. The focus is on the gradual development of a more stable sense of ethnic self. A similar focus on the more enduring aspect of ethnic identity exists in the social psychological literature that examines group identification² in terms of trait-like dimensions that are fairly stable across situations. These approaches reflect the fact that there are individual differences in the subjective tendency to view oneself and the social world in ethnic terms. In the same situation some individuals have a stronger tendency to perceive ethnic differences and to think in terms of ethnicity than others. And someone who attaches great importance to their ethnic identity is more ready to use ethnicity in different situations.

Yet, it is equally true that the same individual can feel quite differently about her ethnic background depending on the people whom she is with and other characteristics of the situation (e.g., the presence of ethnic music, food, art). Ethnic identity is also conceptualized as fluid and context-dependent. The relevance, significance, and meaning of ethnic identity vary across time and setting. Most people do not approach the world with only one particular identity in their mind but rather have multiple identities that become salient depending on the situation.

The focus on the more stable aspects of ethnic identity and the examination of situational flexibility and variability have both contributed significantly to our understanding of adolescents' sense of ethnic belonging. However, both approaches have existed largely in parallel and there are only few attempts to integrate them (Yip & Douglass, 2013). For instance, in their multidimensional model of racial identity Sellers and colleagues (1998) argue that the situational salience of racial identity is a function of the interaction between the subjective centrality of racial group membership and characteristics of the immediate setting. A similar interactionist approach is endorsed by the social identity perspective that incorporates social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). According to this perspective, the extent to

which ethnicity is psychologically salient in a particular situation depends on the personal readiness to use ethnicity for self-definition together with situational characteristics. For example, an immigrant boy living in Germany is more likely to define himself as Turkish if he has a strong sense of Turkish belonging and pride and if he sees meaningful situational differences between Turks and Germans. Furthermore, the meaning ascribed to being Turkish and the way in which he enacts his ethnic identity will also differ depending on the situation. What it means to be Turkish can differ when he is with his Turkish or his German peers.

The Development of Ethnic Self³

Developmental research has focused on the question of how an inner sense of ethnic self unfolds during adolescence. The focus is on the gradual over-time changes in identity processes, and identity statuses are used to track these changes (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Most of the research has been conducted in the United States and an answer has been sought for in two ways. One approach is to closely examine the specific circumstances and experiences of a particular group and use this information as a basis for a developmental model. This “bottom-up” approach has, among other things, led to the well-known “nigrescence” (“becoming Black”) model of Cross (1991) who was interested in racial identity during the heady days of the Civil Rights movement. The fact that the model provides a framework for examining the experiential, political, and cultural influences on African American identity is its strength, but also means that the model does not simply apply to other ethnic minority groups in the United States (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1990), nor to other groups of Blacks outside this country (e.g., Wandert et al., 2009).

A second, “top-down” approach uses a theoretically derived developmental model to look at common aspects of ethnic identity development that can be compared across ethnic minority groups. The best-known model is that of Phinney (1989) which is used in many studies, among different ethnic groups, and in various countries. Following Erikson’s (1968) work on ego-identity and Marcia’s (1966) work on identity statuses, Phinney distinguishes between exploration and commitment as the two key processes of ethnic identity formation. Exploration or search indicates the extent to which adolescents consider the various meanings that ethnicity has and can have in their lives. It involves efforts to learn about or gain an understanding of the history, culture, and social position of one’s ethnic group and the implications of one’s ethnic group membership. Commitment is the degree to which adolescents have made committed choices

regarding the meaning of their ethnicity and the way they will live as an ethnic group member.

Four ethnic identity statuses are derived from the presence or absence of exploration and commitment. The least mature status is *identity diffusion*, which is characterized by little interest or understanding of one's ethnicity (no exploration and no commitments). The status of *foreclosure* indicates commitment without first exploring the meaning of one's ethnic group membership for oneself (commitment without exploration). These adolescents adopt the ethnic attitudes, beliefs, and practices of their parents and family more or less without thought. Yet, with age there can be increasing doubts about what had been taken for granted and increasing expectations about having to make up one's own mind. This can lead to the status of *moratorium* in which the adolescent is in a state of active exploration about the different meanings of being an ethnic group member, but significant commitments are not yet made (exploration and no commitment). For a healthy ethnic identity development, this period of exploration should result in an *achieved* identity, characterized by commitment and a clear and secure sense of ethnic belonging (commitment after exploration).

Research among youth of different ethnic and racial groups has found evidence for the four statuses, although they cannot always be identified (e.g., Yip, 2014; Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006). Longitudinal research is necessary to know whether, in adolescence, there is a progressive change in the direction of an achieved identity. Several studies in the United States have examined this and shown that there is an increase in identity exploration from early to middle adolescence and that identity search becomes less strong in late adolescence (see Meeus, 2011; Quintana, 2007, for reviews). The identity progression is gradual and subtle and there is no evidence of a dramatic ethnic identity crisis during adolescence.

There is another interesting finding in most studies on ethnic identity development: a positive association between exploration and commitment. Adolescents with strong identity commitments are also involved in a great deal of identity exploration. This raises doubts about the idea that ethnic commitments or an achieved identity occurs *after* a period of exploration. Exploration does not have to be a precursor to commitment, which means that there is no developmental order between the two. This might mean that it is better to see the processes of exploration and commitment as two opposing forces with, on the one hand, attempts to develop and maintain a committed sense of self and, on the other hand, the questioning and rethinking of this sense of self (Meeus, 2011). Adolescents can continue to reflect on their committed choices, look for new information, and talk with others about these choices. Having developed strong ethnic or racial commitments is often not the end of the story but, rather, can stimulate further exploration to maintain these commitments.

Ethnic Group Identification

Social psychological approaches are not concerned with developmental changes but conceptualize ethnic identity in terms of trait-like dimensions of group identification, such as centrality, evaluation, and affect (Verkuyten, 2016). Ethnic identification can be part of a more enduring sense of self. It can be central in how one thinks and feels about oneself and thereby provide an important and accessible mental framework for self-perception and behavior. Numerous studies, also among adolescents, have shown that higher versus lower ethnic identifiers react differently to challenges and threats to their ethnic group (e.g., Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998). For example, because it means a relatively strong and enduring emotional investment in one's ethnic group, high identification tends to make ethnic stigmatization and exclusion more painful.

Social psychological researchers have proposed partly overlapping but different frameworks for conceptualizing and measuring the multidimensional nature of group identification (e.g., Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Leach et al., 2008). Although the terms differ somewhat, some of the proposed dimensions are quite similar and have also been suggested in research on ethnic and racial identity (e.g., Sellers et al., 1998): namely, how central the ethnic group membership is to one's sense of self, how positively one feels towards this group membership, and the sense of ethnic belonging and commitment. These distinctions are based on theory (Leach et al., 2008) or an analysis of the existing research literature (Ashmore et al., 2004), and deal with attitude-like dimensional properties that are relatively easy to assess.

The distinction between dimensions is important because it might not be very adequate to use, for example, the importance that is attached to ethnic identity to draw conclusions about evaluations and emotions. Adolescents might find their ethnic minority identity very important for their sense of self, even when it is liable to evoke social disdain and feelings of shame. Research shows that the various aspects cannot simply be reduced to each other and that sometimes there are obvious connections, but sometimes not. In threatening situations and for stigmatized minority identities, the connection is probably stronger than in more harmonious situations and for majority identities. In the former case it can be quite difficult for adolescents themselves as well as for researchers to draw a meaningful (empirical) distinction between these dimensions because they are experienced as an integrated whole where high importance equals strong emotions, strong feelings of belonging and shared fate. Research among ethnic minority youth demonstrates that the different aspects of ethnic identity tend to be highly correlated (e.g., Casey-Cannon, Coleman, Knudtson, & Velazquez, 2011; Yip, 2014). For stigmatized minority youth, ethnic identification tends to be a rather homogeneous construct that can often be captured by a single measure.

Yet, a sense of ethnic identity implies not only feelings of belonging and pride, but also historical, cultural, and ideological meanings. The question of what it means to be a member of an ethnic group involves self-attributed typical characteristics and group norms, values, and ideological beliefs (Ashmore et al., 2004; Sellers et al., 1998). What it means to be an ethnic or racial group member in the context of intractable conflicts such as in the Middle East or Northern Ireland is likely to be different from the context of the United States with its history of slavery, or the European context with its history of colonialism and labor immigration. A history of colonialism and slavery presents a different background for one's sense of self than having parents who themselves decided to immigrate for economic reasons. Furthermore, the social identity perspective stresses that identity meanings not only depend on the broader societal context but also on situational group comparisons. In a study among Chinese late adolescents in the Netherlands, it was found that they describe themselves more strongly in stereotypical terms when compared to the native Dutch than when compared to other Chinese (Verkuyten & De Wolf, 2002). Thus, they consider themselves more "emotionally controlled," more "reserved" and more "obedient" in the context of the former comparison as opposed to the latter.

Despite the general acceptance that the specific content and meaning of ethnic identity is critically important for understanding how adolescents understand themselves and see the social world, most studies focus on the processes of exploration and commitment or assess the degree to which adolescents identify with their ethnic group.⁴ These studies tell us something about the strength of ethnic group belonging and commitment and thereby about how likely it is that minority youth will think and act in terms of their ethnic belonging. But they do not tell us much about what it is that they think of and what they will do. Identification provides the emotional investment or energy to act while identity content gives meaning and behavioral direction.

Multiple Identities

Youngsters have a range of social identities because they belong to many different categories and groups. These identities can coexist in parallel with no particular relationship to one another because they refer to different domains of life (school, home, leisure) or relate to different levels of abstraction (neighbourhood, region, country). However, specific combinations and relationships between various group identities are possible. In a study among Turkish Bulgarian and Muslim Bulgarian adolescents it was found that family, ethnic, and religious group membership were strongly associated (Dimitrova, 2014). And using a multi-ethnic