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Group Belongingness and Intra- and Inter-Group
Processes in Children

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ABSTRACT

Why do children engage in group behaviour and, more specifically, what motivates them to express in-group bias and out-group discrimination? Central to social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and its elaboration self-categorisation theory (SCT; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), is the view that group attitudes are critically dependent on inter-group comparison and the positive distinctiveness of the in-group. However, whereas this approach has been influential with adults, there has been mixed support in relation to children. The present research program explored the possibility that children, especially in early to mid childhood, are much more simply focused on group belonging, acceptance, and maintenance of group membership. According to this approach, children would initially be more concerned about securing a position within the group, conforming to in-group norms, and maintaining their group membership, than focusing on inter-group comparisons and positive distinctiveness.

Study 1 consisted of an experimental simulation which sought to explore the impact of children's self-presentational concerns on their motivation to be accepted by a group. Children's accountability to their in-group was manipulated via the group's surveillance of their responses, or lack of surveillance. In addition, the study examined whether children's attitudes were influenced by information about how accepting the in-group was of new members. If the children's over-riding motivation was to be accepted as a member of the in-group, it was expected that the participants would reveal (1) greater liking for the in-group when it was open and accepting, and (2) increased liking for the in-group under surveillance. The sample consisted of 77 children, aged 9-13 years who were randomly allocated to one of four conditions in a simulated drawing competition. Each child was placed in a drawing team that varied in its acceptance of new members (open versus closed) and whether they were under surveillance by their team (present versus absent). Consistent with a need for belonging and acceptance account, surveillance increased liking toward the in-group but had no effect on out-group liking. Similarly, an open and accepting in-group instigated greater liking for the in-group but had no effect on out-group liking.

Study 2 sought to expand on the need for belonging motive in a similar minimal group experiment to investigate whether an inter-group comparative context that emphasises a threat to the status of the in-group enhances concerns about being accepted by the in-group. In addition, the effects of a threat of exclusion from the in-group on the participants' in-group and out-group attitudes were explored. Further, the study investigated the extent to which a child's own need for belonging and acceptance might lead to differential judgments of other new members. A total of 82 children, aged 7-11 years, were randomly assigned to a high status drawing team that varied in its level of in-group exclusion threat (exclusion threat versus no exclusion threat) and whether the in-group was threatened by an out-group (out-group threat versus no out-group threat). In addition, the participants were provided information about a new member indicating that his/her attributes were supportive versus non-supportive of in-group norms. Findings provided some support for the need for acceptance motive with the in-group liked more than the out-group. In addition, both in-group exclusion threat and new member attributes influenced acceptance of the new member and desire to work with both groups. However, whereas liking for the in-group was unaffected by out-group threat, the out-group was liked less when there was an out-group threat versus no threat.

Given the early support for the group belongingness motivation, the third study aimed to develop a valid and reliable scale for assessing individual variability in children's need for group belongingness. The scale development phase drew upon SIT principles and its more recent elaborations to inform and validate four hypothesised dimensions of a general need for group belongingness: a need for membership; need for distinctiveness; fear of exclusion; and a need for similarity. The first two stages of scale development consisted of item generation, and pilot testing on a sample of 15 children (aged 8 to 9 years). Three subsequent full-scale administrations of the questionnaire were then completed. An initial 40-item scale was administered to a total of 270 children from grades four to seven, followed by a second sample of 210 middle and late primary school aged children on a reduced 20-item scale. A final full-scale administration to a sample of 246 middle and late primary school aged children was completed in order to replicate the factor structure obtained in the previous two phases. Results

indicated that the Children's Need for Group Belongingness (CNGB) scale was a reliable measure, with subsequent confirmatory factor analyses providing support for the existence of the four proposed dimensions.

The main aim of the final study was to determine the extent to which individual differences in the need for group belongingness, as measured by the CNGB, were able to account for additional variance in group attitudes in experimentally created groups. A total of 96 children, aged 8 to 13 years participated in a simulation experiment using the drawing team scenario. They were randomly assigned to a drawing team that varied in its status (high versus low), and their position within the group was manipulated (prototypical versus peripheral). In addition, the in-group's norms were either friendly or unfriendly toward out-groups. Results indicated that the in-group was liked more than the out-group, with high prototypicality and a friendly in-group norm leading to greater liking toward both groups. However, contrary to expectations, group status was not found to have an effect on attitudes. Importantly, the CNGB accounted for a significant percentage of variance in in-group liking, with out-group derogation predicted by the need for distinctiveness subscale.

Overall, the findings from the current research provided broad support for the view that children's in-group bias is significantly influenced by their need to belong to, and be accepted by, a particular group of peers. The research revealed that children's in-group bias was impacted by the manipulation of situation variables that instigated the children's need for group belonging, as well as by individual differences in the level of this motive in children.

Declaration of Originality

I declare that this work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Kristofer P. Ojala

August 2007

Table of Contents

1.0 THE DEVELOPMENT OF GROUP ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURS IN CHILDREN	1
1.1 Social Identity Motives in Adults	3
1.1.1 Social Identity Theory	4
1.1.2 Self-Categorisation Theory	9
1.1.3 Subjective Uncertainty Reduction Model	16
1.1.4 Optimal Distinctiveness Theory	18
1.1.5 Conclusions	20
1.2 Children and Social Group Motives	23
1.2.1 Social Identity Theory and Children's Group Attitudes	25
1.2.2 Application of Self-Categorisation Theory to Children	31
1.3 Ethnic Awareness and Group Attitudes and Behaviours in Children	41
1.3.1 Socio-Cognitive Theory	42
1.3.2 Social Identity Development Theory	47
1.4 Subjective Group Dynamics	53
1.5 Overview of Research Findings	58
1.6 Children's Social Motivations in Intra- and Inter-Group Contexts	64
1.7 Overview of Research Program	66
2.0 STUDY 1: SURVEILLANCE, GROUP NORMS, AND CHILDREN'S GROUP ATTITUDES	68
2.1 Introduction	68
2.1.1 In-group Surveillance	68
2.1.2 In-group Norms	70
2.1.3 Summary and Specific Hypotheses	72
2.2 Method	74
2.2.1 Participants	74
2.2.2 Design	74
2.2.3 Materials	74
2.2.4 Procedure	76
2.2.5 Dependent Measures	79
2.3 Results	80

2.3.1 Preliminary Analyses	80
2.3.2 Main Findings	80
2.4 Discussion	82
2.4.1 In-group Liking	82
2.4.2 Out-group Liking	85
2.4.3 Age and Gender Differences	87
2.4.4 General Conclusions	88
3.0 STUDY 2: EXCLUSION THREAT, OUT-GROUP THREAT, NEW MEMBER ATTRIBUTES, AND CHILDREN'S GROUP ATTITUDES...	90
3.1 Introduction	90
3.1.1 In-group Threat of Exclusion	91
3.1.2 Out-group Threat	92
3.1.3 New Member Acceptance	94
3.1.4 Summary and Hypotheses	96
3.2 Method	98
3.2.1 Participants	98
3.2.2 Design	98
3.2.3 Materials	99
3.2.4 Procedure	100
3.2.5 Dependent Measures	104
3.3 Results	106
3.3.1 Preliminary Analyses	106
3.3.2 Main Findings	107
3.4 Discussion	115
3.4.1 In-group and Out-group Liking	115
3.4.2 Desire to Work with the In-group and the Out-group	118
3.4.3 New Member Acceptance	121
3.4.4 Behavioural Intention	122
3.4.5 General Conclusions and Implications	124
3.4.6 Individual Differences	125
4.0 STUDY 3: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEED FOR GROUP BELONGINGNESS SCALE	127
4.1 Rationale for Scale Development	128

4.1.1 Background	128
4.1.2 Conceptual Basis of New Scale	129
4.1.3 The CNGB Target Population	136
4.2 Overview of Questionnaire Development	138
4.3 Stage 1: Item Generation for Proposed Dimensions	138
4.3.1 Item Generation	139
4.3.2 Response Format	141
4.4 Stage 2: Piloting of the CNGB	142
4.4.1 Method	142
4.4.2 Results and Discussion	144
4.5 Stage 3: Full-Scale Administration of the CNGB- Sample 1	145
4.5.1 Method	145
4.5.2 Results	147
4.5.3 Discussion	153
4.6 Stage 4: Full-Scale Administration of the CNGB- Sample 2	158
4.6.1 Method	158
4.6.2 Results	161
4.6.3 Discussion	170
4.7 Stage 5: Full-Scale Administration of the CNGB- Sample 3	175
4.7.1 Method	175
4.7.2 Results	178
4.7.3 Discussion	185
5.0 STUDY 4: GROUP STATUS, NORMS, POSITION AND BELONGINGNESS AND GROUP ATTITUDES	190
5.1 Introduction	190
5.1.1 In-group Status	191
5.1.2 Group Norms	193
5.1.3 Group Position	194
5.1.4 Predictive Significance of Measured Belongingness	196
5.1.5 Summary and Hypotheses	197
5.2 Method	198
5.2.1 Participants	198
5.2.2 Design	198

5.2.3 Materials	198
5.2.4 Procedure	199
5.2.5 Dependent Measures	203
5.3 Results	206
5.3.1 Children's Need for Group Belongingness Scale (CNGB)	206
5.3.2 In-group versus Out-group Attitude Results	207
5.4 Discussion	216
5.4.1 In-group and Out-group Liking	216
5.4.2 Desire to Work with In-group and Out-group	220
5.4.3 Behavioural Intention	222
5.4.4 General Implications	223
5.4.5 The CNGB and Group Attitudes	224
6.0 GENERAL DISCUSSION	228
6.1 Activating Children's Need for Group Belongingness and its Impact on Group Attitudes	228
6.2 Belongingness as an Individual Difference Variable	235
6.3 General Implications and Conclusions	240
References	245
Appendices	271
Appendix A: Experimental Booklet: Study 1.....	271
Appendix B: Response Booklet: Study 2	275
Appendix C: The Original 40-item Children's Need for Group Belongingness Scale (CNGB)	278
Appendix D: Original 20-Item Children's Need for Group Belongingness Scale (CNGB)	286
Appendix E: Final 20-Item Children's Need for Group Belongingness Scale (CNGB)	291
Appendix F: Response Booklet: Study 4	294

List of Tables

Table 2.1	<i>Hierarchical Regression Analysis of In-group Openness, In-group Surveillance, Age and Gender in Predicting In-group Liking</i>	81
Table 3.1	<i>Cell Means and Standard Deviations for Target x In-group Exclusion Threat x New Member Attributes Interaction</i>	110
Table 4.1	<i>Factor Structure of the Children's Need for Group Belongingness (CNGB) Scale: Sample 1</i>	150
Table 4.2	<i>Cronbach Alpha Coefficients and Descriptive Statistics for the CNGB Subscales: Sample 1</i>	152
Table 4.3	<i>Correlations Between the CNGB Subscales: Sample 1</i>	153
Table 4.4	<i>Goodness of Fit Indexes of Three Models of the Children's Need for Group Belongingness Factor Structure: Sample 2</i>	164
Table 4.5	<i>Factor Loadings and Goodness of Fit Statistics from Confirmatory Factor Analysis on the Four-factor Correlated Model: Sample 2</i>	165
Table 4.6	<i>Cronbach Alpha Coefficients and Descriptive Statistics for the CNGB Subscales: Sample 2</i>	168
Table 4.7	<i>Correlations between the Total and Subscales of the CNGB, and the Social Acceptance Subscale of the SPPC, the Social Anxiety Subscale of the SCAS, and the Social Self-Peers Subscale of the SEI...</i>	169
Table 4.8	<i>Goodness of Fit Indexes of Three Models of the Children's Need for Group Belongingness Factor Structure: Sample 3</i>	180
Table 4.9	<i>Factor Loadings and Goodness of Fit Statistics from Confirmatory Factor Analysis on the Four-Factor Correlated Model: Sample 3</i>	181
Table 4.10	<i>Cronbach Alpha Coefficients and Descriptive Statistics for the CNGB Subscales: Sample 3</i>	182
Table 4.11	<i>Correlations between the CNGB Subscales: Sample 3</i>	183
Table 4.12	<i>Means and Standard Deviations on the CNGB for Age and Gender Categories: Sample 3</i>	184
Table 5.1	<i>Cronbach Alpha Coefficients for the CNGB Subscales: Study 4</i>	206
Table 5.2	<i>Correlations Between the CNGB Total, Subscales and Measures of In-group Liking, Out-group Liking, Desire to Work for In-group and Out-group, and Out-group Derogation</i>	211

Table 5.3	<i>Hierarchical Regression Analysis of In-group Position, In-group Norm, and CNGB Total Scale Score in Predicting In-group Liking</i>	212
Table 5.4	<i>Hierarchical Regression Analysis of In-group Position, In-group Norm, Fear of Exclusion and Need for Distinctiveness in Predicting In-group Liking</i>	214
Table 5.5	<i>Hierarchical Regression Analysis of Group Position, In-group Norm, Fear of Exclusion and Need for Distinctiveness in “Saying Something Mean”</i>	215

List of Figures

Figure 3.1. Interaction between out-group threat and liking for in-group and out-group	108
Figure 3.2. Interaction between out-group threat and desire to work with the in-group and out-group	109
Figure 3.3. Interaction between target (in-group versus out-group) and new member attributes on ratings of desire to work with each team at both exclusion threat and no exclusion threat	111
Figure 3.4. Interaction between new member attributes and exclusion threat on ratings of the likelihood of telling the out-group their drawing is really good	114

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1.0 THE DEVELOPMENT OF GROUP ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURS IN CHILDREN

Why do people engage in group behaviour? More specifically, what motivates them to favour their in-group and to express negative attitudes and behaviours such as prejudice and discrimination towards out-groups? Over the last 50 years, a number of theories have been advanced in order to explain the motivational underpinnings of intra- and inter-group relations. These have included drive theory (Zajonc, 1965), realistic conflict theory (Sherif, 1966), and evaluation apprehension model (Cottrell, 1972). However, in recent years, the study of group phenomena has been dominated by social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and its more recent elaboration, self-categorisation theory (SCT; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). These theories have sought to provide an explanation of the process of social identification, which is considered to drive the formation of in-group bias and out-group discrimination. The recent focus on social identification and group processes has also given rise to a number of theories derived from SIT such as optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991), social identity development theory (SIDT; Nesdale, 1999a, 2004), subjective uncertainty reduction theory (Hogg, 2000; Hogg & Mullin, 1999), and subjective group dynamics theory (SGD; Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000).

So what is group behaviour and how is it fundamentally different from other forms of interpersonal behaviour? The social identity approach focuses on the concept of social rather than personal identity. It maintains that under certain conditions an individual's social identity or category membership is more salient in self-conception than is personal identity. When this is the case, behaviour is qualitatively different; it is group behaviour (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). According to SIT, group behaviour is designed to establish or maintain the evaluative superiority of one's own group over

others and underpins such phenomena as conformity, stereotyping, in-group favouritism, ethnocentrism, and inter-group discrimination (Hogg & Abrams, 2001a).

While the study of group processes in adults has a long history, it is only very recently that the importance of group dynamics in children has come to be addressed. In an attempt to account for the development of children's inter-group attitudes and behaviours, researchers have primarily investigated either cognitive or motivational factors. From a cognitive developmental perspective, the emphasis has been on the development of cognitive abilities during childhood that moderate the formation and expression of prejudice (Aboud, 1988; Doyle & Aboud, 1995; Ocampo, Knight, & Bernal, 1997). From a motivational perspective, the focus has been on children's desire to develop, maintain or enhance a positive social identity via the distinctiveness of their own group. Much of the latter research has flowed from SIT and SCT. An increasing number of social psychological researchers have argued in recent years that traditional social identity principles should be extended beyond the realm of adults, and considerable evidence is beginning to support this view (e.g., Barrett, Lyons, & Del Valle, 2004; Bigler, 1995; Milner, 1996; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Sani & Bennett, 2004; Verkuyten, 2001).

The approaches derived from SIT all provide a number of fundamental motivations that can account for group attitudes and behaviours in children. The present research program tests some ideas concerning the motivational underpinnings of children's group behaviour. This research was premised on the view that children's inter-group attitudes and behaviours are driven by a fundamental need to belong and feel accepted by a social group. It drew upon SIT and its more recent elaboration, social identity development theory (SIDT; Nesdale, 1999a, 2004) to investigate the social motive of a need for group belongingness and its role in in-group bias and out-group discrimination.

This chapter outlines recent major developments in the understanding of children's group behaviours and the formation of both intra- and inter-group attitudes. However, in an attempt to provide the background for a motivational account of children's group attitudes and behaviours, this chapter also seeks to outline and integrate research findings from both adult and child studies.

In order to set the stage for the motivational considerations to be tested in the current research, this chapter evaluates research into the key motivational aspects of inter-group relations conducted with adults; summarises the emerging literature on inter-group studies with children, focusing on the applications of SIT and SCT to the case of children; discusses the key findings of research within children's ethnic identification and prejudice, outlining support for socio-cognitive theory (ST; Aboud, 1988) and SIDT; explores the utility of subjective group dynamics theory (SGD; Abrams et al., 2000) as an explanation of intra-group processes in adults and children; and finally integrates the research findings to outline the social motivational processes assessed in the present research program.

1.1 Social Identity Motives in Adults.

The last two decades or so have seen a resurgence of interest in motivational approaches to analysing inter-group processes. Most of these new theories have been developed to explain group processes in adults, with the social identity approach to inter-group relations generally conceiving inter-group phenomena as being driven by powerful social psychological motives which lead people to manifest various inter-group biases, emotions, and behaviours (Capozza, Brown, Aharpour, & Falvo, 2006). This perspective on group behaviour can be contrasted with other more cognitive approaches which emphasise that the primary causal factors are linked to the operation of some relatively automatic, cognitive processes of categorisation. However, Capozza

et al. (2006) argue that such a simplistic polarization does not do justice to the many theories that have attempted to bridge this divide.

Inspired by SIT, in which the enhancement of the self via group differentiation is emphasised as the primary motivation, a number of other extensions or variants have been formulated. These have included optimal distinctiveness theory, in which simultaneous needs for distinctiveness and inclusion are proposed (Brewer, 1991).

Others have focused more on socio-cognitive processes such as SCT which argues that categorisation depersonalises perception in terms of in-group and out-group prototypes and leads to conformity, and subjective uncertainty reduction theory, in which a desire for clarity and meaning is proposed as the primary motive for group behaviour (Hogg, 2000).

The first section of this review seeks to provide a brief outline of these approaches that have been developed to account for the formation of adults' group attitudes and behaviours. Consideration is also given to the extent to which each approach has been supported by research findings. Possible applications to children's group attitudes and behaviours are also considered.

1.1.1 Social Identity Theory

Research on intra- and inter-group behaviour in the last couple of decades has been dominated by social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). SIT owes its origins to research utilising the minimal group paradigm that was devised by Tajfel and his colleagues (Tajfel, 1972; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). This experimental methodology was designed to determine the minimal conditions (i.e., those that are both necessary and sufficient) for a group of individuals to engage in inter-group behaviour. It was found that even when groups were created on the basis of minimal criteria, with no past history or possible future, and no self-interest was involved, participants still strongly favoured their own group by distributing more money to their in-group

members than to members of the out-group (i.e. in-group bias). These early minimal group studies led Tajfel and Turner (1979) to conclude that “the mere perception of belonging to two distinct groups – that is social categorization per se – is sufficient to trigger intergroup discrimination favouring the in-group” (p.38). Subsequent studies utilising the minimal group paradigm found robust support for the prediction that the mere fact of being categorised as a group member appeared to be necessary and sufficient to produce in-group bias (e.g., Bourhis, Sachev, & Gagnon, 1994; Brewer & Kramer, 1985; Diehl, 1990; Reicher, Spears, & Postmes, 1995; Tajfel, 1982; Vaughan, Tajfel, & Williams; 1981).

The minimal group studies demonstrated the fundamental role of social categorisation in inter-group behaviour and subsequently led to the development of social identity theory by Tajfel and colleagues (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). SIT combined cognitive and motivational processes into a parsimonious account of the relationship between the self-concept and group phenomena. SIT states that people have a basic need to obtain, through comparison between themselves and others, a relatively positive view of themselves and their group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979); that is, to enhance their sense of self-worth based upon their membership of particular social groups. This is referred to as social or collective self-esteem, distinct from personal self-esteem, which is derived from individual abilities and achievements. The premise of SIT, and its more recent elaboration, self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987), is that belonging to a social group or category provides group members with a sense of social identity which defines who one is and prescribes how one should think, feel and act. The theory proposes that inter-group behaviour is always preceded by a process of social categorisation (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

According to SIT, the most powerful inter-group motive is enhancement of the self via group enhancement. Inter-group behaviour is motivated by a struggle between

groups to promote or protect their positive distinctiveness from one another, and hence attain a relatively favourable social identity. This allows people to derive a sense of positive social self esteem from the groups to which they belong. Hogg and Abrams (2001) stated that, “people engage in this struggle because, at the individual level, group membership mediates self-evaluation via social identity” (p. 9). Perceived similarities between groups have been shown to be one important factor in motivating individuals to search for group distinctiveness and social identity by differentiating their in-group from similar out-groups on relevant dimensions of comparison through in-group bias (Brown & Abrams, 1986; Diehl, 1988; Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1996; 1997a; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Social identity processes have been demonstrated to underlie group behaviours such as ethnocentrism, in-group favouritism, inter-group differentiation, conformity to in-group norms, and a tendency to perceive oneself, in-group members, and out-group members, in stereotypical terms (see Hogg & Abrams, 1988, for a review). The key behavioural feature of inter-group relations is discrimination, which can range from in-group bias or favouritism, through prejudiced verbal abuse, all the way to systematic inter-group violence (Hogg & Abrams, 2001). However, in-group bias has been utilised as *the* dependent measure of choice in the majority of research investigating hypotheses derived from SIT. This is hardly surprising given its centrality to the theory from early work on the minimal group paradigm.

The path laid out by the social identity tradition has not been without obstacles with some inconsistent findings emerging over the past 20 years. Some criticisms of the theory have included the failure to uncover a clear relationship between group identification and in-group bias (Hinkle & Brown, 1990) and whether such a simple causal relationship was ever advanced by SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1999) as well as the theory’s limited ability to adequately account for out-group derogation. In

the latter case, the general trend in the research has been that acts involving positive in-group favouritism are easier to elicit than those involving negative outcomes for the out-group. This phenomenon has generally been referred to as the positive-negative asymmetry effect (Otten, Mummendey, & Blanz, 1996; Wenzel & Mummendey, 1996). Minimal group studies in particular have shown that, although people discriminate against out-groups when they are giving rewards, they are not inclined to do so when giving punishments, unless their group is under threat by being disadvantaged (Hogg & Abrams, 2001). However, some research with adults has revealed that a variety of threats, whether social or economic, to an in-group's standing can lead to increased ethnocentrism and a tendency toward out-group derogation, particularly when the in-group is high rather than low in status and a member highly identifies with the in-group (e.g., Bourhis, Giles, Leyens, & Tajfel, 1979; Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1997a; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987, 1991; Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997).

Social identity theory emphasises the role of positive distinctiveness and the underlying need for self-esteem or self-enhancement as the driving force behind many aspects of intra- and inter-group relations. Tajfel and Turner (1979) contended that "individuals strive to maintain or enhance their self-esteem: they strive for a positive self-concept" (p. 40). Turner (1981) further stated that: "thus the hypothesis is that self-evaluative social comparisons directly produce competitive inter-group processes which motivate attitudinal biases and discriminatory actions" (p. 80).

Over the past two decades, social identity theorists have sought to clarify the relationship between self-esteem and inter-group discrimination. The need for positive self-esteem, generally referred to as the self-esteem hypothesis, has received considerable attention in the literature. In an influential and somewhat controversial elaboration of the original social identity hypotheses, Abrams and Hogg (1988)

distinguished between two complementary self-esteem corollaries. Specifically, they proposed that (1) engaging in the act of inter-group discrimination elevates self-esteem, and (2) low or threatened self-esteem motivates people to engage in inter-group discrimination to restore self-esteem. This elaboration specifies that self-esteem can be seen as both a cause and product of inter-group differentiation. However, some authors have criticised these corollaries and even claimed that they were never actually implied by SIT (e.g., Long & Spears, 1997; Turner, 1999). Regardless of its origins and relationship to the original statements in SIT, the evidence for the self-esteem hypothesis has been largely inconclusive, with generally more support found for the first corollary (e.g., Oakes & Turner, 1980; Lemyre & Smith, 1985; Branscombe & Wann, 1994, Rubin & Hewstone, 1998). The second corollary, that low or threatened self-esteem can enhance bias and discrimination, has failed to find consistent support (e.g., Hunter, Platow, Bell, Kypri, & Lewis, 1997).

Whilst the majority of research has focused on in-group bias, a handful of studies have attempted to explore the relationship between self-esteem and inter-group discrimination. For example, Branscombe and Wann (1984) found that when the North American identity of participants was threatened, self-esteem was lowered in those who identified strongly with the in-group. Importantly, these participants demonstrated greater derogation of the out-group resulting in subsequently raised self-esteem. Similarly, Gagnon and Bourhis (1996) found that when participants highly identified with the in-group, discrimination in minimal groups was associated with subsequent increases in social self-esteem. Hence, several researchers (e.g., Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Long & Spears, 1997; Turner, 1999) have suggested that self-esteem becomes more motivating or a better predictor of inter-group behaviour when social identity is threatened, and when the categorisation is both relevant and meaningful.

Whilst the enhancement of self-esteem may have a role to play in certain forms of group behaviour, it is possible that even before self-esteem becomes a major player in the selection of social identities and inter- and intra-group behaviours, children from a young age might be more motivated to fulfil a basic need for group belonging and acceptance. Perhaps, then, instead of focusing on self-esteem, alternative measures, such as assessing a basic need or drive toward group belongingness within individuals, might better account for the development of group attitudes and the selection of inter-group behaviours, especially in the early stages of group formation.

In sum, the preceding review highlights the key social motivation underlying SIT in the literature with adults, namely the drive to establish or enhance the distinctiveness, via social comparison, of one's own group in order to gain a sense of positive social identity. Most of the research has suggested that the motive to differentiate between one's own group and another group leads to increases in in-group bias (Brown & Abrams, 1986; Diehl, 1988; Jetten et al., 1996; 1997a; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) but not necessarily to an increase in negative outcomes for an out-group (Otten et al., 1996; Wenzel & Mummendey, 1996). Hence, SIT may be of particular relevance to our understanding of the importance of the in-group to the developing child. This is likely to be an important consideration for young children who are taking their first steps toward joining groups, whether formal or informal, at school, and with friends.

1.1.2 Self-Categorisation Theory

During the mid 1980s a group of social identity theorists (Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1987) began to focus more on the process of social categorisation in social identity contexts, leading to the development of self-categorisation theory (SCT). The emphasis shifted from the more motivational account espoused by SIT to focus instead on the cognitive processes encompassed in social categorisation. The motivational role of self-esteem was no longer the focus of interest as it was in SIT. This shifted the emphasis

away from an individual's drive or need to derive a sense of positive identity from group memberships towards a more purely cognitive conceptualisation of group processes. The fundamental assumption of SCT is that we categorise ourselves in the same way that we categorise others and, as a result, we depersonalise ourselves (Hogg & Mullin, 1999; Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994; Turner et al., 1987). Specifically, social categorisation depersonalises perception in terms of in-group and out-group prototypes.

SCT defines prototypes as context-specific fuzzy sets that prescribe attitudes, feelings, and behaviours that characterise one group and differentiate it from other groups (Hogg, 2001a). "The fuzzy properties of a category are embodied by the category prototype which, because it is an abstraction of properties, no real member may embody – rather, category members vary in the degree to which they match the prototype" (Hogg, 2001b, p. 60). To make sense of the world and provide clarity, a social field comprising multiple unique individuals is perceptually transformed into a social field containing people who match the relevant group prototype to varying degrees – a process called depersonalisation. It is this process of prototype-based depersonalisation of self that makes group behaviour possible. Self-categorisation in terms of the activated in-group category depersonalises behaviour in terms of the in-group prototype. Behaviour is then said to assimilate or conform to the relevant in-group prototype in terms of attitudes, feelings, and actions (Hogg, 2001b).

According to SCT, the process of categorisation and belongingness to a particular social group provides that group with the power to influence its members via group norms. Norms have been described as attitudinal and behavioural uniformities or shared beliefs about the appropriate and/or expected conduct for group members (Turner, 1999; Vaughan & Hogg, 1998). In fact, group norms can express important aspects of

an identity and group members are typically motivated to behave in accordance with group norms (Turner, 1991).

Social identity theorists utilising aspects of SCT have provided an account of conformity to group norms called referent informational influence (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Hogg & Turner, 1987; Turner, 1982, 1985) whereby the underlying process is one of self-categorisation. Interpersonal communication and comparison play a role in initially establishing the appropriate in-group norm, but these are not the vehicle of influence (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). In this three-stage model, people first categorise themselves as members of a distinct social category; second, they learn the stereotypic norms of that category; and third, they assign these norms to themselves, thus making behaviour more normative as the salience of their category membership increases (Hogg, 1992). The more salient a social identity becomes, the greater the expectation of agreement between common category members, and the greater the pressure for conformity (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Prototypical in-group members are the most direct and immediate source of reliable information about in-group norms.

Under referent informational influence a person does not necessarily conform to observable behaviour, but to the cognitive representation of the appropriate in-group norm. Control then comes from within the individual rather than by overt pressure from others. Therefore, under this model, conformity is seen as private acceptance or true change as a consequence of self-categorisation (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). In essence, people conform because they are group members and not to validate reality or to avoid social disapproval. Since the norm is viewed as an internalised cognitive representation, people can conform to it in the absence of surveillance (Vaughan & Hogg, 1998).

Referent informational influence does not emphasise the influence of pressure from other in-group members in accounting for conformity. Much like other social categorisation effects and the subjective uncertainty reduction model (Hogg & Mullin,

1999, see below), a person conforms just because s/he is a group member. In contrast, the process of conformity can also be explained via normative influence (Deutsch & Gerard, 1955), which occurs through social communication or group pressure from people who have the power to mediate rewards and punishments for one's behaviour. Surveillance by the group is an important precondition, which effectively creates surface compliance rather than true cognitive change because people have a need for social approval and acceptance and a need to avoid censure or disapproval (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Vaughan & Hogg, 1998).

However, it could be argued that the two processes of behavioural conformity (i.e. normative influence and referent informational influence) should not be considered to be mutually exclusive. That is, both processes could be argued to operate simultaneously. Hence, a more inclusive formulation would integrate both models thereby taking into account both self-categorisation based conformity and conformity due to fear of rejection or disapproval. Under this integrated approach, self-categorisation would establish a cognitive representation of the in-group norm, which sets the parameters for appropriate attitudes and behaviours, the expression of which may then be enhanced by surveillance from other in-group members in order to prove one's worth as a group member.

SIT has generally neglected the notion that specific group norms can be influential in accounting for inter-group discrimination. In contrast, SCT has made the role of norms in group behaviour more central, but has focused less on issues of inter-group discrimination. This lack of attention to the role of group norms in social identity theory has been recently addressed by Jetten and colleagues (Jetten et al., 1996; Jetten et al., 1997a; Jetten, Postmes, & McAuliffe, 2002), who have attempted to reconcile some of the diverging theoretical propositions of SIT and SCT. Jetten et al. (1996) found that when manipulating group norms in natural groups, similarity of group norms between

the in-group and the out-group led to enhanced in-group favouritism and bias. Jetten et al. (1997a) also found that the relationship between identification and in-group bias was moderated by salient group norms that prescribed differentiation in an inter-group context. High identifiers acted more in accordance with a salient differentiation norm compared with low identifiers. Similarly, Jetten et al. (2002) demonstrated that high identifiers compared with low identifiers conformed more strongly to group norms, and self-stereotyped themselves in line with the salient norm.

Categorisation effects have not only been demonstrated for category memberships that are externally visible, such as race and gender (e.g., Dion, 1975; Dion & Earn, 1975; Harper & Schoeman, 2003), but also for category memberships that are not explicitly marked, such as academic status, major subject of study, or university (van Rijswijk & Ellemers, 2002). Category activation has also been shown to be influenced by situational factors such as the topic of discussion (e.g., van Knippenberg, van Twuyver, & Pepels, 1994). SCT states that the dimensions on which group members seek to differentiate themselves are likely to change depending on the comparative context (Turner et al., 1987).

In line with SCT principles, one body of research has focused on the role that the social comparative context plays in shifts in stereotype content (e.g., Haslam & Turner, 1992; Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty & Hayes, 1992). In this research, it has been argued that the comparative context in which categorisation takes place determines which category becomes salient. For example, Doosje, Haslam, Spears, Oakes, and Koomen (1998) found that drama students were judged differently depending on whether they were compared to sociology or physics majors. However, shifts in stereotype content due to changes in the comparative context have been shown to be dependent on the relevance of the comparative dimension (Hopkins, Regan, & Abell, 1997).

Research has demonstrated that attributions of characteristics or stereotypes of both the in-group and the out-group vary according to the specific comparative context (Haslam, Oakes, Turner, & McGarty, 1995; Hopkins & Murdoch, 1999; Hopkins et al., 1997; Spears & Manstead, 1989). For example, Hopkins et al. asked adult Scottish participants to attribute adjectives to their own national group after evaluating the English or after evaluating the Greeks. It was found that the Scots evaluated themselves as more friendly and warm after having evaluated the English due to the prevailing stereotype held by the Scots that the English are arrogant and cold. In contrast, apparently due to Greeks being perceived as lazy, but considerably warmer than the English, the Scots evaluated themselves as hardworking but not as warm after evaluating the Greeks.

There has been some evidence that threat to a group's identity can increase self-stereotyping. Early research consistent with this view revealed that threats to the identity of both women (Dion, 1975) and Jewish males (Dion & Earn, 1975) caused by the discrimination of the relevant out-group led to the participants characterising themselves as much, if not more, in terms of their group stereotypes. More recently, in line with SCT (Turner et al., 1987), Spears et al. (1997) defined self-stereotyping as the perception of the self as a prototypical group member. This view distinguishes self-stereotyping as a process versus a product, which results in the allocation of specific traits or attributes in a given context. Self-stereotyping is closely related to group identification processes whereby high identification with the in-group is more likely to result in members perceiving themselves in more group stereotypical terms than those with low levels of identification. Spears et al. demonstrated that when a group's status or distinctiveness was threatened, self-stereotyping was reduced for low identifiers but enhanced for high identifiers. Similarly, Verkuyten and Nekuee (1999) found that identification was related to self-stereotyping under conditions of group threat.

Importantly, it was shown that self-stereotyping was related to in-group bias for high identifiers.

To date, the research inspired by SCT has primarily dealt with the salience of social categories (e.g., Oakes, 1987), stereotyping and contextual variability (e.g., Oakes et al., 1994; Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000), and conformity and polarization, which has mainly focused on group cohesiveness and prototypicality (e.g., Hogg & Hardie, 1992; Turner, 1991). Studies with adults utilising SCT principles have generally shown that high identification is related to increases in self-stereotyping (Spears et al., 1997; Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999), the social comparative context tends to shift stereotype content (e.g., Haslam & Turner, 1992; Haslam et al., 1992), and high identifiers conform more strongly to group norms (Jetten et al., 1997a; Jetten et al., 2002). However, the SCT research has had little to say about motivation, and in particular, the role of self-enhancement motives. Indeed, Hogg (2001a) asserted that there has been an implicit shift of motivational emphasis in SCT to Festinger's original belief that there is a "motivation to know that one's opinions are correct and to know precisely what one is and is not capable of doing" (Festinger, 1954, p. 217). As discussed below, it is this idea that formed the basis for a motivational model of social identity processes known as the subjective uncertainty reduction model (Hogg & Mullin, 1999).

In sum, whilst SCT has emphasised motivational considerations within group processes to a much lesser extent than SIT, its strength lies in its more cognitive conceptualisation of inter-group behaviour, which provides a framework for understanding the development of socially transmitted values and beliefs. This is likely to be a rich and rewarding avenue for accessing children's beliefs and perceptions about themselves, their groups, and their social knowledge. Importantly, the SCT approach provides a window through which the salience and influence of group norms can be assessed.

1.1.3 Subjective Uncertainty Reduction Model

Recently, some researchers have argued that one of the most fundamental motives for social categorisation is the need for people to structure their subjective environment in contextually meaningful ways that reduce uncertainty and allows them to predict others' behaviour (e.g., Hogg, 2000, 2001a). Drawing on the principles of SIT and SCT, Hogg and Mullin (1999) proposed a single-process subjective uncertainty reduction model of group motivation. Their model proposed that a powerful way to reduce uncertainty is to ground one's self-concept in group membership. Groups are represented as prototypes that describe and prescribe perceptions, attitudes, feelings and behaviours. When a social category is self-inclusive, the self becomes depersonalised, and thereby assimilated to the in-group prototype, which provides direction to self-conception and associated attitudes and behaviour.

According to this model, the more uncertain a person is about expected cognitions and behaviours, the stronger the motivation to self-categorise (Abrams & Hogg, 2001). Hogg (2001a) has stated that, "uncertainty reduction is a core motive for social identity processes, perhaps an even more fundamental motive than self-enhancement" (p. 332). The mechanism of uncertainty reduction is assimilation of the self to the in-group prototype. Self-categorisation will also be more effective at reducing uncertainty if the prototype is clearly focused, relatively unambiguous, and relevant enough to the self-concept to inform the dimension of uncertainty. This process of depersonalisation of the self in terms of the in-group prototype also provides an in-group social comparative context where similar others appear to validate one's self concept and associated cognitions and behaviours, thereby reducing uncertainty about attitudes and perceptions (Hogg, 2001a).

Based on a series of minimal group experiments, Hogg and colleagues (Hogg & Mullin, 1999; Grieve & Hogg, 1999; Jetten, Hogg, & Mullin, 2000) have found

preliminary support for their model that social identification and group behaviour is produced when people are categorised under conditions of subjective uncertainty. For example, categorisation under conditions of uncertainty has been demonstrated to produce discrimination, elevate identification, and reduce uncertainty (Hogg & Grieve, 1999), as well as to enhance group identification and elevate self-esteem (Grieve & Hogg, 1999). The authors concluded that categorisation is necessary but not sufficient for discrimination – people must self-categorise, and this is motivated by a need for subjective uncertainty reduction. Therefore, discrimination is not an inevitable outcome of categorisation.

Early indications from minimal group studies testing hypotheses derived from the subjective uncertainty reduction model appear quite promising. However, whilst this model may provide a potentially useful account of the motivation behind the process of categorisation, its utility as the sole explanation for inter-group behaviours, especially out-group discrimination, remains unclear. In fact, the explanation provided by SCT and the subjective uncertainty reduction model to account for the expression of inter-group behaviours can appear rather mechanistic: one simply acts a certain way because one is a group member. But just what is the prime motivation behind conformity to in-group prototypical behaviours? Whilst SCT acknowledges that people are motivated to assimilate themselves to a positive prototype, the self-categorisation approach has not, thus far, adequately explained the link between identification as a group member and the expression of specific discriminatory behaviours directed towards an out-group. Hogg (2001a) has suggested that although uncertainty reduction may be an important motivator in social identity contexts, it undoubtedly works in conjunction with self-esteem motives that promote distinctiveness. He contends that under some circumstances, a group may feel more of a threat to their distinctiveness (arousing the

motivation to reduce uncertainty) and under other circumstances the threat may be to a group's evaluative positivity (thereby arousing the motivation to enhance self-esteem).

The subjective uncertainty reduction model, whilst yet to be applied to the case of children, appears to work towards reconciling at least some of the diverging theoretical directions of SIT and SCT. Its advantage might come from being able to provide a framework that incorporates both a cognitive, categorisation-based approach, and a motivational account that takes into consideration a drive to reduce subjective uncertainty and hence, plausibly, a need to reduce a state of negative affectivity.

1.1.4 Optimal Distinctiveness Theory

A recent theory that begins to elaborate upon self-enhancement motives is Brewer's (1991) optimal distinctiveness theory (ODT). This theory builds on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987) and postulates that people have two primary social needs or drives. They are simultaneously driven to be the same as other people (assimilation/inclusiveness) and to be different from other people (differentiation/uniqueness). Assimilation has been described as the desire to feel "inclusion within larger collectives" (Brewer, 1991, p. 478) whilst differentiation is the desire to "distinguish (oneself) from any other persons in the social context" (Brewer, 1991, p. 477). Brewer argues that as self-categorisation becomes more individuated, the need for collective identity (assimilation) becomes more intense. In contrast, if self-categorisation leads to too high levels of depersonalisation, the need for individual identity is threatened. Either extreme can threaten a person's sense of security and self-worth, since being highly individuated can leave a person vulnerable to isolation, whilst total deindividuation provides no basis for comparative appraisal or self-definition. Hence, optimal distinctiveness or equilibrium is best achieved through identification with categories at that level of inclusiveness where the need for differentiation and the need for assimilation are balanced. Brewer (1999) has described

the need for assimilation/differentiation as an opponent process model whereby one is often sacrificed at the expense of the other. However, ODT provides a solution to this potential predicament by proposing that assimilation needs can be satisfied within the group whilst differentiation needs can be satisfied between groups. This means that a member of a group can fulfil assimilation needs through identification with the group whilst simultaneously fulfilling a need for differentiation by clearly differentiating one's group from others.

Recent empirical research with adults on hypotheses derived from optimal distinctiveness theory has provided broad support for the model. Pickett, Silver, and Brewer (2002) found that assimilation needs led to a preference for inclusive in-groups and the tendency to overestimate in-group size, whereas differentiation needs led to a preference for exclusive in-groups and the tendency to underestimate in-group size. Pickett, Bonner, and Coleman (2002) found increased self-stereotyping in response to heightened assimilation and differentiation need arousal across both self-report and behavioural measures. This study also reported that only those participants who highly identified with their in-group were willing to engage in negative self-stereotyping. Assimilation and differentiation arousal has also been shown to heighten perceptions of in-group and out-group homogeneity, and demonstrate the tendency to be more restrictive in defining in-group membership (Pickett & Brewer, 2001). Consistent with predictions from optimal distinctiveness theory, Leonardelli and Brewer (2001) found that the motivations for inter-group discrimination varied as a function of satisfaction with in-group size and distinctiveness.

Recently, Sheldon and Bettencourt (2002) examined psychological need satisfaction and subjective well-being within social groups, using university students. One of the goals of their study was to evaluate psychological need constructs based on optimal distinctiveness theory to determine how well it might predict positive and negative

mood within the groups, intrinsic motivation for group activities, and high commitment to the group. Results indicated that participants felt most committed to groups that were perceived as being different from other groups, and in which they also had close friends. Most importantly, the socially based need of group inclusion posited by ODT was one of the most highly predictive of positive affect. However, the 'self-based' need of personal distinctiveness was most important for predicting negative affect. Whilst this study was correlational rather than experimental, it does suggest the operation of several simultaneous motives to satisfy differential psychological needs.

To date, support for optimal distinctiveness theory has come exclusively from research with adult populations. Importantly, the emerging research is beginning to uncover evidence of an underlying drive to satisfy both group and individual related needs, and that these needs might both be accomplished through intra- and inter-group processes. However, much further research is required in order to determine whether it is the comparative context that triggers the drive toward optimal distinctiveness, as might be predicted by SCT, or whether it is an individual difference variable inherent within a person, or perhaps an interaction of both. In addition, an important consideration with regard to children is whether young people have the cognitive capacity to balance a need for an individual identity versus a need for group inclusion.

1.1.5 Conclusions

The preceding discussion has briefly outlined some of the most influential theories to account for the appearance of group attitudes and behaviours in adults. Although each theory has contributed to the overall picture, none can be said to have provided a comprehensive account. SIT, as the foundation stone of the social identity tradition, provides a useful account of the conditions under which in-group bias is emphasised. Importantly, research has demonstrated consistent support for the importance to adults of enhancing the distinctiveness of their group in order to gain a sense of positive social

identity (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1994; Brown & Abrams, 1986; Diehl, 1990; Jetten et al., 1996; Reicher et al., 1995). However, it has not been as effective in addressing the motivations behind the expression of negativity toward out-groups (e.g., Otten et al., 1996; Wenzel & Mummendey, 1996).

SCT, whilst not specifically focusing on social motivations, has expanded our understanding by incorporating cognitive processes that highlight perceptions of the attributes of groups, as well as societal expectations and group norms. As such, SCT has made several important contributions to the field. Where SIT has generally neglected the notion that specific group norms can be influential in accounting for inter-group discrimination, SCT has made the role of norms in group behaviour more central. In addition, SCT has focused on the process of categorisation whereby an individual assimilates or conforms to the relevant in-group prototype in terms of attitudes, feelings, and actions (Hogg, 2001b). Therefore, group behaviour becomes more normative for individuals as the salience of their category membership increases (Hogg, 1992).

SCT has also given a central role to identification with the in-group with evidence suggesting that high identifiers compared with low identifiers conformed more strongly to group norms (Jetten et al., 1997a; Jetten et al., 2002). Studies in support of SCT have also revealed that stereotypes of both the in-group and the out-group vary according to the specific comparative context (Haslam et al., 1995; Hopkins & Murdoch, 1999; Hopkins et al., 1997; Spears & Manstead, 1989). In addition, high identification with the in-group has been shown to be more likely to result in members perceiving themselves in group stereotypical terms (Spears et al., 1997), with self-stereotyping related to in-group bias for high identifiers (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999). The value of SCT is in its focus on the understanding and development of social knowledge and group norms and their impact on group attitudes. However, the SCT-related research has had little to say about the motivation to join groups in the first place, although it has

addressed the considerations that enhance in-group identification (i.e., any factors that increase the salience of in-group/out-group comparisons). In addition, SCT research has generally focused on established groups such as nationality (e.g., Haslam et al., 1995; Hopkins & Murdoch, 1999). Further, it has not focused on the role of self-enhancement motives, nor has it adequately explained the link between identification as a group member, and out-group discrimination.

The social identity research with adults seems to suggest that people have a basic need to feel included within larger collectives, to enhance the self via group enhancement, to self-stereotype with a highly identified group, and to respond to threats to their group's distinctiveness with an increased focus on the positives of the in-group, all of which might vary with the particular comparative context.

Importantly, SIT and SCT have primarily emphasised inter-group comparison as being central in driving people toward group enhancement and positive distinctiveness, as well as instigating perceptions of similarity and self-stereotyping. However, it is likely that even before inter-group comparisons become salient, and subsequently instigate a need for distinctiveness, individuals might be initially focused on in-group inclusion and membership. Some evidence of this need for inclusion comes from studies on optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991) which have demonstrated that people can be simultaneously driven toward similarity and inclusiveness, and toward differentiation from other people or groups (e.g., Pickett & Brewer, 2001; Pickett, Silver, et al., 2002; Sheldon & Bettencourt, 2002).

The subjective uncertainty reduction model (Hogg & Mullin, 1999) has attempted to incorporate a motivational element into an SCT framework by proposing the existence of a powerful motive to reduce uncertainty by grounding one's self-concept in group membership. This model elaborates on SCT and provides some insight into motivations when first joining a group by also emphasising an in-group social comparative context,

where there is a focus on whether similar others appear to validate one's self concept (Hogg, 2001a). Some of the evidence has revealed that social identification and group behaviour (e.g., discrimination) are produced when people are categorised under conditions of subjective uncertainty (Grieve & Hogg, 1999; Hogg & Mullin, 1999; Jetten et al., 2000). However, this approach has not, thus far, emphasised self-enhancement motives and the benefits that individuals might receive from joining a group.

In sum, social identity research to date has at times taken a somewhat disparate approach with little attempt, until more recently, to integrate the diverging theoretical perspectives. A combination of both cognitive and motivational factors appears to have the potential to provide a more complete picture of in-group and out-group attitudes. Indeed, what seems to be emerging in the recent literature is the elaboration of traditional social identity approaches, which have sought to combine elements from each of the theories. Since social identity processes are founded upon a universal motivation to achieve positive social distinctiveness, it could be argued that these processes are likely to be just as relevant and important to even very young children.

1.2 Children and Social Group Motives

A number of developmental and social psychological theorists have argued that the development of prejudice and stereotyping in children are greatly influenced by inter-group processes (Aboud, 1988; Nesdale, 1999a, 1999b; Serbin, Powlishta, & Gulko, 1993; Sherif & Sherif, 1953). To date, SIT and its derivatives have been rarely applied to provide an account of group processes in young children. However, there have been suggestions recently that the application of SIT may provide a deeper analysis of children's group processes and behaviours (e.g., Davey, 1983; Milner, 1996; Nesdale, 1999a, 1999b, 2001; Vaughan, 1988). At the same time, the review of the adult literature raises several considerations regarding the development of children's inter-

group attitudes, and the applicability of the principles derived from social identity approaches. For example, are even very young children motivated to enhance their in-group under comparative contexts? To what extent are children aware of social norms and explicit or implicit group norms when in an inter-group situation? Are there differences in children's fundamental need to belong to a group? And, is there a developmental pathway in the acquisition and expression of inter-group attitudes and behaviours? Many of these questions have begun to be answered by social identity researchers, and these answers have led to extensions of theories such as SIT to account for children's attitudes.

Compared with the adult literature, the study of group phenomena within the domain of developmental psychology has generated relatively little empirical research to date. It is only recently that researchers have begun to draw on the often-overlapping spheres of developmental and social psychology to help explain phenomena that neither could adequately address alone. However, while considerable research has explored children's understanding and awareness of social categories and preferences (see reviews by Aboud, 1988; Nesdale, 2001), there has been a lack of empirical research specifying the motivational underpinnings of children's group attitudes and behaviours. Recent applications of SIT and SCT to group processes in children have begun to provide insight into children's social motives regarding the importance of group membership and differentiation.

The following section reviews the recent evidence relating to the development of group attitudes in children. The discussion begins with a brief analysis of the application of SIT and SCT to the case of children. Since much of the inter-group research has been conducted within the context of race or ethnicity, the most influential socio-cognitive and social motivational theories developed to account for ethnic identification and prejudice are reviewed. The purpose of this review is to draw upon

these accounts of the development of group attitudes and behaviours in children in order to identify some of the key components in a child's motivation to belong to a group.

1.2.1 Social Identity Theory and Children's Group Attitudes and Behaviours.

Some of the early applications of SIT to children's group processes were seen in studies utilising experimental designs, whereby children were randomly assigned to groups that had been newly formed. In one of the earliest studies investigating in-group favouritism in children, Vaughan, Tajfel, and Williams (1981) randomly assigned 7- and 11-year old children to new formed (minimal) groups that had no past association or history. They found that, upon emphasising inter-group comparison, children favoured the in-group by allocating rewards to in-group and out-group participants so as to maximise the difference between the groups.

In-group bias has also been evident in more recent studies. For example, in two studies of 6-11 year old children, Bigler and colleagues (Bigler, 1995; Bigler, Jones, & Lobliner, 1997) randomly assigned children to groups denoted by different colours (i.e., "blue" group, "yellow" group). During four weeks of participation in a summer-school program, the children's colour group affiliations were verbally emphasised by the teachers at every opportunity. Following this period, the children completed measures of intra- and inter-group attitudes. Consistent with SIT, it was found that, regardless of age or gender, random assignment to groups was enough to prompt in-group favouritism in both groups. Importantly, children assigned to colour groups 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 rather than the out-group to participate in a field trip. However, in these studies the groups were not strictly minimal since participants were exposed to four weeks of experience living in an inter-group context.

The relative status of children's group membership and its influence on group attitudes has recently been investigated in experimental minimal group studies. Yee and

Brown (1992) gave individual 3- to 9-year old children bogus scores on an egg-and-spoon race that in essence placed them in either a “fast” or a “slow” team. The children were asked to rate how they felt about themselves, the in-group team, an out-group team member, and the out-group team. Consistent with SIT, the children revealed an in-group versus out-group bias in measures of affect. Further, almost all of the children chose to remain in the fast team, in contrast to the majority of children in the slow team who, with the exception of one age group, chose to change teams.

In a similar minimal group study, Nesdale and Flesser (2001) arbitrarily assigned 5- and 8-year old children to teams that varied in their drawing ability (social status). The degree to which the children believed they could change teams (social mobility) and whether the team had additional positive qualities (social change) were also manipulated in this study. The children then rated their liking for, and similarity to, the in-group and the out-group and the extent to which they wished to change groups. Once again, results were consistent with SIT and research with adults. Children as young as 5 years of age liked their in-group more than a comparison out-group, regardless of the status of the in-group. The results also indicated that when children believed there was a possibility of changing groups (social mobility), low status group members wished to change groups more than high status group members. Similarly, Bigler, Spears-Brown, and Markell (2001) found further evidence that children’s inter-group attitudes were affected by the manipulation of high versus low status attributes. Only children who were members of high status groups developed in-group biased attitudes. These findings are consistent with adolescent research revealing that membership in a high status group was more attractive than membership in a low status group (Ellemers, Doosje, Van Knippenberg, & Wilke, 1992).

Thus, the emerging evidence to date suggests that in-group bias is displayed by even very young children and might be moderated by the relative status of the comparison

groups in experimental designs. However, some studies have reported no effect for status in experimental designs with children (e.g., Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, & Griffiths, 2004). Similarly, the effects of status have not always been so clear cut when it comes to existing groups with a long-established history. For example, Hunter and Stringer (1999) in a study of Protestant and Catholic school children found that only the Catholic group displayed enhanced levels of group-serving attributional biases. Consistent with their lower status position, they were also shown to have less positive group identification scores. The authors suggested that high status group members evaluated their group identity by displaying more subtle forms of bias. However, more recently, Pfeifer et al. (2007) found that for ethnic minority children, the evaluation of one's in-group more positively than out-groups was predicted by their immigrant status and ethnic identity.

There have also been some examples of minority group members showing favouritism toward the majority group of which they were not a member. Davey (1983), for example, found that a significant proportion of minority group children exhibited out-group preferences. Similarly, it has been shown that by 6 to 7 years of age majority and minority group children display greater assignment of positive traits to members of the majority ethnic group and negative traits to members of the minority ethnic group (see reviews by Aboud, 1988; Nesdale, 2001). In examining the social identity of young Maori children in New Zealand, Bruce, Curtis, and Johnston (1998) also found out-group favouritism in the attribution of positive behaviours. However, this out-group preference by the minority group children was less evident for those who attended a school with a bilingual unit that emphasised the positive identity of the Maoris. Ethnic identity studies can provide further insights into social identity processes in children and will be discussed in greater detail in a later section.

SIT has also recently been applied to the case of national identification in children. Verkuyten (2001), for example, applied SIT to examine the correlation between national identification and national in-group favouritism in a sample of Dutch children aged 10-12 years. The children were asked to answer questions about friendships with Dutch and three other nationality contemporaries as well as complete measures of national identification. It was revealed that children with a high score on national identification indicated less social distance towards the in-group and more distance towards out-groups than children with a low score. In addition, it was found that positive in-group evaluation among high national identifiers was associated with more positive momentary self-feelings, whereas among low identifiers, a positive evaluation of friendship with Dutch and other nationalities had a similar positive effect on self-feelings. Out-group evaluation was found to have little impact on momentary self-feelings. Verkuyten argued that different psychological mechanisms determine the in-group and out-group aspect of national differentiation. Children scoring high on national identification seemed to be concerned with enhancing the in-group, whereas out-group evaluation did not involve the self to the same extent. Therefore, the patterns of preference for own-nationality were not accompanied by rejection of other nationality groups.

Consistent with the preceding findings, there have been a handful of studies exploring SIT effects that have demonstrated the tendency for children to willingly differentiate between groups when positive attributes are used. However, when negative valence attributions are used, there is less evidence of out-group discrimination occurring to the same extent (Bennett et al., 2004; Bigler et al., 1997; Bigler et al., 2001). Several authors have argued that in-group and out-group attitudes are not necessarily reciprocally related (e.g., Aboud, 2003; Brewer, 1999). Brewer for example, has argued that making an assumption about a reciprocal relationship has led many

researchers to make the error of inferring that strong in-group bias implies equally strong out-group negativity.

Whilst a positive-negative asymmetry effect (PNAE) has been demonstrated with adults (e.g., Otten et al., 1996; Wenzel & Mummendey, 1996), very few studies have sought to systematically explore this effect in children. A recent study by Rutland, Cameron, Bennett, and Ferrell (2005) showed that the PNAE did not occur in children aged 3 to 5 years of age, with differentiation occurring between the in-group and the out-group on both positive and negative trait attributions. In a similar study, Rutland, Brown, Cameron, Ahmavaara, Arnold, and Samson, (2007) more systematically investigated the development of the PNAE across childhood and adolescence, revealing a developmental trend between 7 and 12 years of age in the attribution of positive, but not negative, traits for national groups. Rutland and colleagues (Rutland et al., 2007) have argued for a mediating role of social norms in the development of the PNAE where a necessary prerequisite is a child's awareness of the social norm regarding the social unacceptability of discrimination involving negative outcomes. Support for this view has been revealed in a cross-national study of 6-year old children by Bennett et al. (2004), which showed some evidence of discrimination on negative traits only for particular national out-groups toward which expressions of bias were embedded within a country's socio-political history. The few studies with children on the PNAE suggest an interaction of several factors implicating variables such as social norms and self-presentation.

It is also possible that, before out-group derogation can take place, a sense of attachment to a group needs to occur. Indeed, Brewer (1999) in her work with adults proposed an evolutionary perspective outlining the primacy of in-group attachment as having survival value and occurring prior to out-group prejudice. Others such as Aboud (2003) have speculated on Brewer's contentions that if in-group favouritism is

necessary for basic survival, this might show a connection to the relatively unsophisticated cognitions of younger children, whereas out-group prejudice might not. Nesdale (2004) has outlined a more systematic developmental framework to provide an explanation of the transition from identification to prejudice (see below). In one of the few studies to directly examine the relationship between in-group and out-group attitudes in children, Aboud (2003) obtained mixed results. Findings indicated that in 4-7 year old children the two attitudes were correlated in a sample from a heterogeneous school but not in a mixed-race school. Out-group prejudice was, however, found to be weaker than in-group favouritism.

In sum, SIT research with children has sought to explore the motive to increase the positive distinctiveness of the in-group. Consistent with SIT, findings have demonstrated that children do prefer their in-group over other groups as evidenced by displays of in-group favouritism. Evidence also suggests that they have a preference for high status in-groups (e.g., Bigler, 1995; Bigler et al., 1997; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001). However, there is some evidence to also suggest that children still like their in-group more than an out-group even if it is low in status (e.g., Nesdale & Flesser, 2001). The mixed evidence in relation to group status might suggest that, once children have joined a group, a primary motive becomes gaining acceptance and fulfilling a sense of belonging.

Much like the research with adults the emphasis of inter-group research with children has been on comparisons between the in-group and the out-group. Again, similar to adult research, some evidence, although mixed, has suggested the presence of a positive-negative asymmetry effect in inter-group differentiation (e.g., Aboud, 2003; Rutland et al., 2007; Rutland et al., 2005). Whilst the studies to date have demonstrated the presence of in-group bias in children even from a very young age, the application of SIT principles to children's group processes has yet to provide a complete account of

the more insidious forms of inter-group discrimination, such as out-group derogation. In line with Brewer's (1999) contention of the primacy of in-group attachment over out-group prejudice, it is likely that for young children an initial emphasis is on acceptance and group belonging, prior to evaluating the out-group. The SIT research has not specifically focused on the importance of establishing in-group membership and gaining acceptance, with the emphasis generally on relative evaluation of the in-group compared to the out-group.

1.2.2 Application of Self-Categorisation Theory to Children

In contrast to research with adults, the application of SCT processes to the study of children's group attitudes and behaviours has yet to adequately explore the potential influence of mere categorisation effects on these social phenomena. SCT claims that due to the inherently relational nature of social categories, the stereotypes of any specific group will vary as a consequence of the comparative context. As noted previously, this finding has emerged with adult research, demonstrating that changes in the stereotyping of national groups vary in response to changes in the comparison national group (e.g., Haslam et al., 1992; Hopkins et al., 1997). The evidence for SCT effects in adolescents is also beginning to emerge. For example, Verkuyten, Drabbles, and Van-den-Nieuwenhuijzen (1999) investigated the manner in which Dutch majority secondary school students reacted emotionally toward ethnic minority groups. It was found that adolescents' reactions varied as a function of self-categorisation. Adolescents with high social self-categorisation reported more negative emotions than adolescents with low social self-categorisation.

However, the application of SCT to children is a relatively new phenomenon. Bennet and Sani (2006) have argued that since "SCT was conceived in order to explain aspects of adult social cognition, as such, its application to the developmental domain cannot be taken for granted" (p. 693). As highlighted by socio-cognitive theory (Aboud, 1988),

children's increasing cognitive abilities can partly account for changes in the expression of prejudice. This suggests that self-categorisation and stereotype variability might require a certain level of cognitive ability to have been attained, in order to be activated. Some developmental trends have been noted by Sani, Bennett, Agostini, Malucchi and Ferguson (2000), who examined children's conceptions of the characteristic features of Protestant and Catholic category members. It was found that there was a tendency for younger children to perceive category members in terms of individual characteristics whilst older children focused on shared beliefs and values. However, in relation to children, the evidence regarding changes in identification or stereotyping due to the comparative context is scarce. Recently, the applicability of SCT to the case of gender stereotyping has been addressed in studies by Sani and Bennett and colleagues (Bennett & Sani, 2006; Sani & Bennett, 2001; Sani, Bennett, Mullally, & Macpherson, 2003), which revealed support for SCT. These studies provided some evidence that children as young as 5 years of age differed in their choice of adjectives to describe their own gender in-group depending upon the gender comparison group.

In a recent minimal groups study, Nesdale, Griffiths, Durkin, and Maass (2007) specifically investigated SCT effects in young children. This study examined whether the factors predicted by SCT to enhance the salience of in-group/out-group categorisations might increase 7 and 10 year old children's perceptions of similarity to, and positivity towards their in-group. These were assessed through three manipulations: group timing (meeting the in-group before or after the out-group); out-group ethnicity (same or different ethnicity to in-group); and inter-group competition (presence or absence of a competition between the in-group and another group). Partial support was found for SCT in that participants rated themselves as more similar to the in-group when the out-group had different versus the same ethnicity. However, contrary to SCT, in-group timing and inter-group competition both failed to increase ratings of similarity.

Indeed, the findings indicated that the in-group was rated more positively when the participant was not provided with prior information about the out-group. At the same time, it appeared that information about out-group ethnicity did enhance categorisation effects and ratings of similarity, suggesting that there was at least some form of inter-group comparison process operating. Nesdale et al. argued that the results suggested that the processes underpinning group membership in children may be less complex cognitively, and more affect driven, than those in adults.

SCT principles have also recently been investigated through studies into children's national identity. Again, however, the evidence regarding the effects of the comparative context on children's national identity has not been clear cut. In one of the few studies investigating this effect, Barrett, Wilson, & Lyons (2003) found that when 5 to 11 year old children were evaluating their national in-group (English) and two national out-groups (American and German), the characteristics attributed to the English in-group did not vary as a function of the comparative out-group which was salient as attributions were made. The importance that was ascribed to national identity was also not affected by the presence of a comparative out-group. Barrett et al. suggested that children at this age may be relatively insensitive to the comparative context with regard to judgments about national groups.

Similar results were obtained by Sani, Bennett, and Joiner (1999; as cited in Barrett et al., 2004, p. 177) who found that in Scottish 7 to 11 year old children the comparative context failed to have any direct effect on in-group national stereotypes. However, Barrett et al. (2003) also found that when investigating the importance of national identity compared with other social identities in 5 to 11 year old children, the youngest children rated their age and gender identities as more important than their national identity. However, the middle and older age groups rated their national identity as more important than either age or gender.

Thus, early evidence would seem to suggest that, for younger children, perhaps due to their cognitive developmental level, simpler levels of categorisation are more salient and influential in the formation and expression of group attitudes and behaviours, than more cognitively complex social categorisations such as nationality. However, there is also some evidence to suggest that more inclusive categories of nationality can in some cases prompt inter-group differentiation. For example, Gimenez, Canto, Fernandez, and Barrett (1999) examined the stereotypes of Andalusian children about five European nationalities. Whilst they found a high level of stability in the pattern of stereotypes across different ages, the findings did suggest that the higher the level of identification with the Andalusian and Spanish categories, the less positive the children's attitudes towards other nationalities. It was also not perceived as being incompatible to be both Spanish and Andalusian.

Several studies have also suggested that preference for one's group may be unrelated to group identification, and may even precede identification as a group member (e.g., Bennett, Sani, Lyons, & Barrett, 1998; Lambert & Kleinberg, 1967; Piaget & Weil, 1951). For example, in addressing nationality self-conceptions, Bennett et al. examined the possibility that even before subjective identification with the group has occurred, as *de facto* group members, children will have been exposed to a great deal of positive information about their own national group, which is likely to encourage group-serving judgments. The authors contended that preference for one's national group may precede identification of the self as a group member. They suggested that socially shared knowledge, rather than in-group identification, might play a central role in the shaping of inter-group attitudes. Bennett et al. tested these predictions by examining the evaluative judgments of 6- to 15-year old British children about five national groups, including their own. The study analysed the responses of children who either denied membership of their national group or expressed ignorance of it. The majority of those

who did not identify with their national group were 6-year olds. It was found that children who had failed to identify themselves as national group members nevertheless showed marked preferences for their own group over others. These children also provided more favourable evaluations at an English/Scottish level of categorisation than at a British level of categorisation. However, it is important to note that at both the English/Scottish and British levels of identity, increasing identification was related to increasingly positive views of the in-group but not of the out-group. However, studies on the development of national identification in children have been limited and have yet to fully explore many other social motivational considerations such as conformity to group norms and effects of inter-group competition.

1.2.2.1 Group norms and children's group attitudes

The research on social identity processes in children suggests that the attainment of group membership, combined with key social motivations to enhance the distinctiveness of one's group, together with the development of social knowledge, might enhance the salience and influence of group norms in determining children's intra- and inter-group attitudes. Given children's increasing social knowledge with age, it would be reasonable to assume that self-presentational concerns would become more central to children and would sensitise them to respond in appropriate ways to salient group norms in order to retain their group membership. Since SCT has made the role of group norms more salient in inter-group attitudes and behaviours, related research exploring the effects of group norms in children can also provide some support for SCT based predictions.

A few recent studies with children have begun to highlight children's implicit understanding of group norms in relation to aggressive behaviours in a social context. Given the mixed findings regarding the link between in-group bias and out-group prejudice, recent research exploring the group aspects of bullying can provide some

insight into the potentially critical role of group norms. In fact, bullying might be viewed as an extreme form of inter-group differentiation. In one of the first studies to conceptualise bullying from an SIT perspective, Ojala and Nesdale (2004) found that children as young as 8 years of age understood and endorsed normative behaviours as being acceptable even when negative. In this study, bullying carried out by members of the in-group against an out-group was considered to be more acceptable when it was prescribed by group norms and when the member of an out-group represented a threat to the in-group.

Aggressive behaviours such as bullying have only recently begun to be conceptualised as a group process. Indeed, the few studies that have investigated the group processes involved in bullying have indicated that peer influence played a significant role in bullying episodes (e.g., Atlas & Pepler, 1998; Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Björkvist, Österman, & Kaukiainen, 1996). Atlas and Pepler, for example, found that peers were involved in some capacity (from actively participating to passively onlooking) in 85% of the bullying episodes. Salmivalli et al. proposed that not only do the roles of the bullies and the victims constitute an important element of the bullying process, but so too do the roles played by other children. They identified six different participant roles taken by individual children in the bullying process. These were: the victim, bully, reinforcer of the bully, assistant of the bully, defender of the victim, and outsider. They found boys to be more frequently in the role of bully, reinforcer and assistant, while girls more often took the role of defender and outsider. Research on the participant roles of children in bullying episodes has now been carried out in many countries with several different age groups. The findings have consistently revealed that when bullying occurs, most students do nothing to intervene, with 20-30% encouraging the bully or acting as assistants or reinforcers (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004)

Salmivalli, Huttunen, and Lagerspetz (1997) investigated how children formed several subgroups or social networks inside the class. They reported that children who tended to behave in either similar or complementary participant roles in bullying situations formed networks with each other. It was also found that an individual child's behaviour in bullying situations was strongly influenced by how the members of his/her network behaved in such situations; that is, whether particular behaviours were normative.

Surprisingly, the influence of group norms in the bullying process has received very little attention in the children's bullying literature, although the power of group norms to elicit antisocial behaviours has been studied in research on adolescent and adult aggression. Zillman (1979), for example, has argued that the social appeal of the individual can be furthered through hostile and aggressive behaviours if the latter follow the prevailing norms of the group of which the individual is, or aspires to be, a member. Consistent with this, there is evidence that many peer groups, especially street gangs, develop a subculture of violence (Toch, 1992). In these minority subcultures, violence is given legitimisation as a lifestyle and often is used as a means of improving the group's status and power. Aggression can lead to social rewards, whilst negative sanctions often result from not following the group's violent activities.

The degree to which potentially normative behaviours such as aggression or bullying are expressed in any given situation may be moderated by the attitudes and moral beliefs about the appropriateness of such behaviours, the actual frequency of these behaviours in a group, and the prevailing beliefs about the social consequences of the behaviour. This means that there can be a great discrepancy between what people think and what they actually do in a particular situation. In the case of bullying behaviours, whilst some research has indicated that bullying others is moderately correlated with pro-bullying attitudes (e.g., Boulton, Bucci, & Hawker, 1999; Rigby, 1997), others have

shown that most primary school age children and adolescents have, or at least express, attitudes that are emphatically opposed to bullying (e.g., Randall, 1995; Rigby & Slee, 1991). However, whilst most indicate that bullying is wrong and that they should help the victims, many still join in on bullying or do little to intervene (Salmivalli, 2001). In one study, Ortega and Mora-Merchan (1999) showed that a large proportion of students (43.5%) took no action against bullying behaviours whilst at the same time feeling that this would be the right thing to do. This might imply that bullying behaviours do not always correspond to attitudes, as has been shown in much earlier research demonstrating inconsistencies between attitudes and behaviour (e.g., LaPiere, 1934; Wicker, 1969), and that there needs to be considerable external influence exerted on a child for negative behaviours to occur.

There have also been some recent attempts to explore normative influences on aggression among primary school age children. However, these studies have generally been restricted to an investigation of the acceptability of aggression as a function of peer group norms (e.g., Henry, Guerra, Huesmann, Tolan, VanAcker, & Eron, 2000; Stormshak, Bierman, Bruschi, Dodge, & Coie, 1999). For example, Crick (1997) found that children who engaged in gender non-normative forms of aggression (i.e., relationally aggressive boys and overtly aggressive girls) were significantly more maladjusted than children who behaved according to gender consistent normative forms of aggression. Similarly, Stormshak et al. (1999) studied the acceptability of aggression as a function of peer group norms among first grade children and found that aggression was more acceptable for boys than girls.

In much of the research on group norms, aggression or bullying norms have been conceptualised as attitudes containing moral judgments about the acceptability of the behaviour. In other words, the subjective norms that a child has internalised as to what s/he thinks other important group members think s/he should do in a situation (e.g.,

Trafimov & Finlay, 1996). Other researchers have focused on behaviours that occur with high frequency in any given group as being normative for that group whilst infrequent behaviours would be seen as being non-normative (e.g., Stormshak et al., 1999). This distinction is important in that it may highlight the discrepancy between what one believes to be right and what one actually does. To investigate the differences in the operationalisation of group norms, Henry et al. (2000) distinguished between descriptive classroom norms, consisting of the average level of aggressive behaviour within this setting, and injunctive classroom normative beliefs which consisted of classmates' beliefs about the acceptability of aggression. It was found that children were much more likely to engage in aggression if they thought their classmates would approve of such behaviour. Further, Salmivalli and Voeten (2004) found that when classroom norms were anti-bullying, children in grades 5 and 6 were less likely to bully or reinforce the bully.

More research is required to systematically investigate the influence of group norms on the formation of children's inter-group attitudes and behaviour. In fact, even the available empirical evidence outlining the influence of group norms on social identity processes in research with adults is scarce. It is only in the past five years that the importance of group norms in intra- and inter-group processes has been appropriately recognised. However, the limited research on the influence of group norms on group attitudes and behaviours in children provide some support for SCT based predictions. First, consistent with SCT, there is some evidence to suggest that children are more accepting of, and behave in line with, normative expectations for specific categorisations such as gender (e.g., Crick, 1997; Henry et al., 2000; Stormshak et al., 1999). Second, in the bullying research, children have been shown to be strongly influenced by how the members of their network behaved in such situations (Salmivalli et al., 1997). However, it is unclear as to whether conformity can be attributed to

normative influence or a subjective internalisation of group norms as would be predicted by SCT. Further, the majority of research on group norms has focused on the in-group's norms toward out-groups. Importantly, there has been very little research on attitudes and behaviours to be endorsed by in-group members towards other members.

The biggest challenge to SCT in the research on group norms is the discrepancies between attitudes and behaviours (e.g., Ortega & Mora-Merchan, 1999; Salmivalli, 2001). Hence an important consideration is whether the process of depersonalisation of the self to the in-group norm or prototype, as suggested by SCT, excludes the possibility of a person simultaneously processing the consequences of their behaviours prior to conforming to the in-group prototype. It is quite possible that, whilst categorisation plays its role in establishing the beliefs and behaviours expected of a group member, a need for group belongingness might trigger self-presentational concerns that further motivate the expression of overt attitudes and behaviours that conform to group norms in order to confirm membership.

In sum, the application of SCT principles to the case of young children in order to understand the development of group attitudes and behaviours remains an open question. Whilst there is some support for the effects of the comparative context within gender stereotyping, the evidence with regard to national identity or inter-group competition within minimal groups is less than convincing. Nesdale et al. (2007) have argued that because of its salience and pervasiveness, gender categorisation in young children may hold something of a special status when compared to other self-categorisations. The studies reviewed lend more support for SIT effects rather than those predicted by SCT. Children seem to show marked preferences for their own group over others (Bigler et al., 1997; Yee & Brown, 1992) which can occur independently of level of identification (Bennett et al., 1998), in contrast to predictions derived from SCT. There is also some evidence to suggest that inter-group competition might not

increase categorisation effects in children to the same extent as in adults (Nesdale et al., 2007). However, to conclude at this stage that SCT processes do not operate in the same manner as in adults is probably premature. There are indications to suggest that children engage in some form of inter-group comparison process, as evidenced by a few studies showing partial support for variability in self-stereotyping relative to the comparison target group (e.g., Bennett & Sani, 2006; Nesdale et al., 2007; Sani & Bennett, 2001; Sani et al., 2003).

The preceding studies have highlighted some of the more relevant, direct applications of SIT and SCT to children's group processes within minimal groups, as well as more general categorisations of nationality, together with the influence of group norms. However, one of the richest sources for accessing and evaluating children's group biases and social motivations comes from studies into ethnic identification and prejudice.

1.3 Ethnic Awareness and Group Attitudes and Behaviours in Children

A considerable amount of research over the past several decades has investigated children's awareness of ethnic categories, the development of children's ethnic attitudes, as well as their ethnic self-identification and stereotyping. A common finding has been that children as young as 4 years of age have a sense of ethnic awareness which allows them to differentiate among people based on physical cues such as skin colour (see Nesdale, 2001). Early studies that have used dolls, drawings or photographs to represent different ethnic groups to elicit judgments about a child's preferences about which group members they prefer to be like, have consistently revealed similarities in the responses of minority and majority group children. It has been shown that majority, and a significant proportion of minority group children, especially at about 5-6 years of age, prefer the majority group object (see reviews by Aboud, 1988; Katz, 1976; Williams & Morland, 1976). Evidence also suggests that majority group children from 6

to 7 years of age tend to identify with their own ethnic group and display in-group preferences as well as attributing positive traits and qualities to their own group whilst attributing negative traits to out-groups (see reviews by Aboud, 1988; Nesdale, 2001). Yet, beyond this age there appears to be inconsistencies in the link between age and children's group attitudes (Nesdale, 2001).

A number of theories have been advanced over the past fifty years that have sought to identify the processes involved in the development of ethnic attitudes and prejudice. These have included the development of an authoritarian personality type (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950), learning-based approaches where children's prejudice simply reflects the community's attitudes and values (e.g., Allport, 1954), the development of particular cognitive processes (socio-cognitive theory, ST; Aboud, 1988), as well as social identity models, (e.g., social identity development theory, SIDT; Nesdale, 1999a, 2004). Whilst the first two approaches have historical significance, their questionable applicability to intra- and inter-group processes has meant that they have generated very little research in recent history. Hence, the following review outlines two of the most relevant theories devised to account for the development of ethnic prejudice in children.

1.3.1 Socio-Cognitive Theory

Given the influence of cognitive categorisation effects outlined by SCT within research on adult populations, of particular relevance in the current context is the extent to which socio-cognitive considerations impact upon the development of ethnic identity and prejudice in children. Recently, some researchers have argued that there are age-related changes in the formation and expression of ethnic prejudice and that such changes are linked with changes in cognitive development (e.g., Aboud, 1988; Bigler et al., 1997; Ocampo, Knight, & Bernal, 1997). These approaches argue that central to the

development of children's ethnic attitudes and prejudice is a child's developing perceptual-cognitive abilities.

One such model, Aboud's (1988) socio-cognitive theory (ST), proposes that most children display ethnic prejudice by 5 to 7 years of age. According to ST, young children initially focus primarily on themselves and their preferences, whilst older children are capable of perceiving individuals as members of categories or groups. However, as children get older still, they shift again to a more individual focus, in which people are liked or disliked more for their personal than for their group attributes. The theory contends that children's prejudice is reduced after achieving cognitive attainments such as concrete operations, which allows them to differentiate between individuals instead of simply responding to them as members of a category. This theory differs from social identity based approaches in that the emphasis is on the perceptual-cognitive basis of group awareness and the features children notice, and thus does not take into account their motivation to identify with groups.

It would appear that ST can provide a theoretically meaningful model of children's prejudice that focuses on one of the most important changes that occur in the developing child: the acquisition of perceptual-cognitive processes. Consistent with this, one cognitive acquisition associated with concrete operational thought is multiple classification skill. Several studies have shown that the ability to classify along multiple dimensions can decrease children's gender and racial stereotyping (e.g., Bigler, 1995; Bigler & Liben, 1992). Doyle, Beaudet, and Aboud (1988) have also shown that concrete operational acquisitions such as conservation are correlated with an increase in ethnic flexibility in the attribution of characteristics, and an understanding that both different and similar ethnic groups can share similar attributes. Moreover, research has shown that children from dominant ethnic groups display an increase in in-group positivity and out-group negativity up to about 6 to 7 years of age, after which time

there is a decrease in these attributions (e.g., Aboud, 1988; Bigler & Liben, 1993; Doyle & Aboud, 1995).

However, whilst offering an intuitively appealing model, the research evidence to date has been mixed. For example, whilst ST suggests that ethnic prejudice decreases in later childhood and may no longer be as prevalent an issue, studies indicate that prejudice may persist even among those who have acquired conservation (e.g., Doyle & Aboud, 1995). Other studies have reported that in-group preference may actually increase during these years (see Nesdale, 2001, for a review). Nesdale (2004) argues that ST does not take into account the social context and motivational considerations of children and that they are unlikely to be simply governed by purely affective-perceptual processes, since cues to which even young children respond often have a distinctiveness that is socially determined.

Other researchers such as Rutland (2004) have questioned the applicability of ST to contexts beyond simple ethnic prejudice to more inclusive categories such as national identity. In one study, Rutland (1999) investigated children's national in-group bias and prejudice over a three-year period in order to assess the value of ST in accounting for children's inter-group attitudes. This task involved British children aged 6-16 years evaluating photographs of people's heads in two conditions: with or without a national category label attached. The data over this period showed that children's national in-group bias did not decline as predicted by ST but remained stable well into adolescence. In fact, national prejudice toward one group in particular, the Germans, was found only in children above 13 years of age. This study also found evidence of temporal variability in national prejudice toward groups such as the Germans. In the last year of the study there was significantly less derogation of Germans than in the previous two years. In addition, national self-category salience appeared higher in the last two years of the three-year study reflecting greater in-group bias. Rutland (2004) suggested that

these effects may have in part been due to contextual factors that made national identity more salient in each of the different years such as the European football championship held in the UK in one of the years and the VE day 50th anniversary in another. This temporal variability, as argued by Rutland (2004), poses the biggest challenge to ST since this theory should predict age-related changes in in-group bias and prejudice that are unaffected by extraneous historical and contextual events.

In a similar study of 6-16 year old children by Fyfe and Rutland (2000, as cited in Rutland, 2004) significant differences were found between nations in their national inter-group attitudes. Two countries, which varied in their group status, were chosen: the Maltese (relatively low status) and the Scottish (relatively high status). A picture preference task was chosen to assess the children's level of national in-group bias and prejudice toward the English, Germans, French, and Italians. The results indicated that the Maltese did not display any national in-group bias or out-group derogation, whilst the Scottish children showed significant national in-group bias. Further, the Scottish children displayed some evidence of negativity to the French and Maltese at 6 to 8 years of age and signs of negativity toward the English and Germans at 14 to 16 years of age. This study would suggest that at a national group level the effect of context is likely to play an important role in the expression of prejudice.

Increasing evidence has shown that the acquisition of greater knowledge about national groups during middle childhood tends to be accompanied by a systematic preference for members of one's own national group over other national out-groups, even from as young as 5 to 6 years of age (see reviews by Barrett, 2007; Barrett et al., 2004). Although children usually express an in-group preference at this age, studies do demonstrate that they may still feel positively about, and ascribe positive traits to, some national out-groups. (Barrett & Short, 1992; Barrett et al., 2003). Barrett and colleagues have shown that the overall degree of liking for national out-groups tends to increase

between 5 and 11 years of age. For example, Barrett et al. (2003) asked 5 to 11 year old English children to attribute characteristics both to their national in-group (English) and to two national out-groups (Americans and Germans). It was found that with increasing age a greater number of negative characteristics were attributed to the national in-group, whilst a greater number of positive characteristics were attributed to the two national out-groups, leading to an overall reduction of in-group bias across this age range. These findings are consistent with the reductions in ethnic in-group bias between 6 and 12 years of age predicted by Aboud's (1988) socio-cognitive theory, with the exception that, according to the theory, the difference favouring the in-group should disappear with increasing age.

Whilst the empirical evidence relating to ST has been mixed, the research does give weight to the argument that the development of cognitive abilities plays an important role in the expression of inter-group prejudice. However, due to discrepancies in age-related effects (see for example, Barrett & Short, 1992; Barrett et al., 2003; Rutland, 1999), what is unclear is the extent to which contextual factors interact with cognitive attainments to moderate the expression of inter-group differentiation. Indeed, Rutland and colleagues (Rutland, 1999, 2004; Rutland et al., 2005) have argued that the developmental decline of inter-group bias in middle childhood might be best explained by children's increasing awareness of social norms against explicit discrimination and children's ability to engage in self-presentational behaviour. The finding that prejudice towards specific groups can increase into adolescence (Rutland, 1999) further implicates self-presentational concerns, whereby a potential motive is to express at least surface level conformity to societal norms or attitudes to gain a sense of acceptance. This view shifts the emphasis from the perceptually oriented account espoused by ST to an internally based social motivation to either inhibit or actively engage in the expression prejudiced attitudes. Given some of these inconsistencies and alternative

conceptualisations, a more recent model drawing upon social identity processes, and emphasising social motivations to a greater extent, will be outlined in an attempt to shed light on the developmental pathways to prejudice.

1.3.2 Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT)

Recently, some researchers have begun to integrate concepts from SIT and SCT to explore the intra- and inter-group factors involved in the formation and expression of children's prejudiced attitudes (e.g., Nesdale, 2001, 2004). A main interest here has been in the integration of social perceptual and social motivational considerations in ethnic prejudice.

For example, drawing upon SIT, Nesdale (1999a, 2004), proposed social identity development theory (SIDT) to account for the development of children's ethnic attitudes. The essential premise of SIDT is that children and adolescents have a fundamental need to belong, which motivates them to establish friendships and become members of social groups. These social interactions make up an essential element of the developing sense of self, with a positive sense of self-worth growing from the child's identification with, and acceptance by, particular social groups. A child's sense of self-esteem is enhanced when s/he feels accepted as a member of a group that has good standing in the social environment (Nesdale & Brown, 2004). As such, Nesdale (1999a, 2004) proposed that SIDT accounts for behaviours such as ethnic prejudice and bullying as well as antisocial attitudes expressed by children when they highly identify with their social group and the particular attitudes and behaviours reflect the norms and values of the in-group.

SIDT has been primarily applied to the case of ethnic prejudice. The model proposes that ethnic prejudice emerges through a multi-stage process as children develop. SIDT argues that children pass through four sequential phases: undifferentiated, ethnic awareness, ethnic preference, and ethnic prejudice. However, in contrast to the socio-

cognitive theory of Aboud (1988) which contends that children's prejudice reflects their developing cognitive abilities, Nesdale et al. (2004) argue that each of the four phases brings about different social motivational considerations that interact with cognitive attainments and impact upon ethnic attitudes and behaviours. That is, SIDT does not predict specific age-related changes in ethnic prejudice linked to specific cognitive acquisitions but emphasises that the developing child can vary in his/her social knowledge and motives. Whilst ST predicts that attitudes toward ethnic out-groups become more positive as children attain greater perceptual-cognitive abilities, SIDT argues that from around 6 to 7 years onward a number of social motivational concerns interact to determine whether underlying negative attitudes or dislike of an out-group become expressed as prejudice (Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, & Griffiths, 2005).

The four phases proposed by SIDT can be differentiated by specific behaviours and social motivations driving each, and by certain events that precipitate change from one phase to the next. Prior to 2 or 3 years of age, children are in the *undifferentiated phase*, during which time traditional racial cues such as skin colour or accent lack meaning and are not salient to them. A process of change begins at about 3 years of age, especially for children raised in multiracial communities. At this time, children may shift into the *ethnic awareness phase*, which is marked by an ability to distinguish and identify differences between skin colours. This ability, combined with exposure to an adult's or older child's verbal labelling and evaluative statements about ethnic out-group members, leads to an awareness of ethnic groups, which is socially determined. An early and important milestone at this ethnic awareness phase is the child's ethnic self-identification – the realisation that s/he is a member of a particular ethnic group. This early ethnic self-identification is a crucial element in SIDT in that it facilitates children's early understanding that members of some ethnic groups are better off and of a higher standing than others (Nesdale, Durkin, et al., 2005).

The majority of the research assessing the validity of SIDT has focused on the distinction between the *ethnic preference* and *ethnic prejudice* phases (e.g., Nesdale et al., 2004; Nesdale, Durkin, et al., 2005). SIDT suggests that by 4 or 5 years of age, children in multiethnic communities have moved beyond simple ethnic awareness to the ethnic preference phase, at which time they become aware of which ethnic groups are more highly regarded and begin to show a preference toward high rather than low status groups (Nesdale et al., 2004). Consistent with SIT, this preference emerges as children attempt to derive a positive sense of social self-esteem from group membership. SIDT argues that children in the ethnic preference phase have an increasing concern for, and focus on, the positive distinctiveness of their own in-group. This results in a number of biases toward the in-group such as liking in-group members more and seeing themselves as being more similar to the in-group rather than the out-group, and favouring in-group members over other individuals (Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005). Importantly, whilst children in this phase are expected to always prefer their own group over other groups, this does not automatically result in dislike of an out-group. In fact children might still like an out-group, but just not to the extent they like their own group. SIDT states that ethnic prejudice (meaning, out-group dislike or hatred) is unlikely to occur in children younger than 6-7 years of age due to limited social knowledge and cognitive abilities.

In contrast, the transition from the ethnic preference phase to the ethnic prejudice phase is marked by a shift in focus to an ethnic out-group. As the name implies, children who move into the ethnic prejudice phase will shift from merely liking their own group more, to also disliking or hating an ethnic out-group(s). Nesdale et al. (2004) argue that for ethnic prejudice to emerge depends on one or more of three factors. First, children need to identify strongly with their social group. Second, prejudice needs to be a normative behaviour shared and expressed by the members of the child's social group.

Third, a conflict of interest needs to be present between the in-group and the ethnic out-group in which there is a belief among the group that their status or well-being is threatened in some way by an out-group. One implication of these conditions is that children may never express prejudice. If a child does not highly identify with a group, the group does not have explicit prejudice norms, or there is no great threat from an out-group, then prejudice is unlikely to develop.

Recent research testing the tenets of SIDT has provided preliminary support for the model. This research has examined the interaction of ethnic identity and group processes utilising SIDT using the minimal group paradigm. For example, Nesdale, Maass, Griffiths, and Durkin, (2003) investigated the development of 5, 7 and 9-year old children's ethnic attitudes in a simulated competition scenario. Children were first asked to complete a drawing that was then used to assign them into a team that was higher in drawing ability than a competitor team. The in-group team members were revealed to be of the same (Anglo-Australian) or different (Pacific Islander) ethnicity. The ethnicity of the out-group competitor team was varied in a similar fashion. The in-group team and the out-group team were made up of photos of children consisting of the two different ethnic groups that were matched in attractiveness. The participating child's own photo was taken and placed with his/her team. The children were then asked to pretend that they would now take part in a drawing competition. Consistent with SIDT, the results revealed the well-documented finding in social identity research that the children liked in-group members more than out-group members. Interestingly, the ethnic composition of the in-group did not affect liking for the in-group. However, the children liked the out-group less when the ethnic composition differed from that of the in-group. It was also found that children rated themselves as being more similar to in-group members when the in-group members had the same ethnicity and felt most

dissimilar to out-group members who belonged to a different ethnic group. Children as young as 5 years were just as sensitive as 9 year olds to perceived ethnic similarity.

Nesdale and colleagues have extended the use of this type of minimal group design in several further ethnic identity studies. For example, Nesdale et al. (2004) showed that liking for the out-group increased with age and was greater for children who were of the same ethnicity than it was for children of different ethnicity. It was also revealed that 7 and 9 year old children were keener to change groups if they were in the low rather than high status group. Similarly, children at this age, who were in the high status team, believed that children from the other low status team would prefer to be in their team. However, 5 year olds were less inclined to perceive or want these changes.

In the first specific investigation of the transition from the ethnic preference phase to the ethnic prejudice phase proposed by the SIDT model, Nesdale, Durkin, et al. (2005) assessed the effect of 6 to 9 year old children's level of in-group identification and their perception of threat from the out-group in a minimal groups experiment. The results provided support for SIDT with evidence that the children liked the in-group more than the out-group, at all ages. More importantly, consistent with SIDT's predictions, it was found that regardless of the age of children, mere favouring of the in-group over the out-group under low identification and no threat conditions turned to dislike for the out-group when the children were highly identified with their in-group and when there was a high out-group threat present. However, an ethnically dissimilar out-group was not disliked any more than an ethnically similar out-group when identification was high and there was a threat from the out-group. In addition, this study revealed some support for socio-cognitive theory (ST; Aboud, 1988), in that general dislike for the out-group at 6 years shifted to increasingly neutral reactions by 9 years of age. However, contrary to ST, the children always liked the in-group more than the out-group. The Nesdale, Durkin, et al. study was one of the first to demonstrate children's dislike or prejudice

toward an out-group in a controlled experiment and it highlighted the effect of group identification and threat from an out-group on the expression of negative attitudes, even in a very minimal group that has just been formed. In a similar study, Nesdale, Griffiths, Durkin, and Maass (2005) found that in-group norms were able to moderate the expression of prejudice, in that liking for a different ethnicity out-group increased when the in-group had a norm of inclusion. Further, Nesdale, Maass, et al. (2005) found that prejudice was the greatest when the in-group had an exclusion norm and there was a threat from an out-group.

Whilst these findings highlight the importance of an assigned group for children in experimentally created groups, questions are also raised regarding the importance of variables instigating in-group/out-group comparisons. Whilst inter-group comparison appeared to be important in measures of group preferences and similarity, there were some inconsistencies when measures were based on liking. It appears that in general children in the early phases of group formation are primarily concerned with being established in their own group, conforming to in-group expectations, viewing one's group favourably, and always liking their group more than an out-group. It is also conceivable that general social identity processes might override ethnic concerns, at least in minimal groups involving competition.

The application of SIDT to inter-group processes in children appears to provide a cohesive formulation that expands on SIT effects typically found in adults, and more recently, in children. The emerging evidence also suggests an important distinction between SIT and SIDT. Compared with SIT, SIDT appears to provide a greater emphasis on children's need for group belongingness and acceptance, such that children do not automatically focus on in-group/out-group comparisons when younger, but are more concerned with in-group membership. Importantly, it also provides an account of the pathways through which in-group bias can lead to out-group prejudice, an obstacle

that has continued to present difficulties for SIT and many of its elaborations. However, the tenets of SIDT have been assessed primarily through studies focusing on ethnic prejudice. As such, questions remain as to its applicability within a variety of non-ethnicity based inter-group contexts (e.g., bullying, aggression, peer rejection).

Certainly, the research to date highlights a number of crucial factors that are likely to affect levels of out-group prejudice such as level of identification, out-group threat, in-group norms and the relative status of one's group. It does appear that, at least in studies focusing on ethnicity, these factors are already highly relevant to even young children and gives rise to the view that children have a fundamental need to belong to a group and feel accepted, prior to developing concerns about inter-group comparisons and the extent of positive distinctiveness of the in-group.

1.4 Subjective Group Dynamics

The research inspired by SIT into the study of group processes in children has demonstrated that, for young children at least, there appears to be a focus on the in-group, with inter-group differentiation strategies generally aimed at enhancing the positivity of the in-group rather than derogating the out-group. This gives rise to the possibility the in-group, its members, and its norms, are more salient to children than are the qualities of the out-group. It is therefore reasonable to assume that in-group norms are highly relevant to children within inter-group contexts. However, the majority of the past research has focused on an in-group's norms toward out-groups and subsequent conformity, and have not specifically investigated the impact of in-group norms on intra-group judgments about in-group members. This focus has, until recently, been a notable omission from inter-group research. The following section reviews one recent line of research, which has formulated a theory on intra-group processes in adults and extended it to the case of children.

The importance of group norms in eliciting intra-group judgements about in-group members has recently drawn the attention of a number of researchers. In a recent series of studies on adult populations, Abrams, Marques and colleagues (e.g., Abrams et al., 2000; Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, & Marques, 2003; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998; Marques, Abrams, & Serodio, 2001) investigated how groups protect positive social identity from threats from within the in-group. Abrams and colleagues developed a subjective group dynamics (SGD) model that extends on the principles of SIT by highlighting the crucial role of normative behaviour of individuals members within the group (e.g., Abrams et al., 2000; Marques et al., 1998). This model postulates that group members strive to attain both positive in-group distinctiveness and support for in-group norms within groups. The first process implies a general preference for the in-group over the out-group, whilst the second involves vigilant attention to individual in-group members in order to both detect possible dissent from norms and to respond in a way that upholds the norms of the in-group. The SGD model postulates that group members must achieve both inter-group and intra-group differentiation in order to attain subjectively valid inter-group differences. This model suggests that people who show the greatest bias toward their own group will also be more likely to differentiate most strongly between normative and deviant members within groups (Abrams et al., 2003).

A series of minimal group studies (e.g., Marques et al., 1998) revealed that participants upgraded the in-group as a whole, in addition to the in-group and out-group members, when these members behaved according to in-group norms. However, manipulating the salience of in-group norms moderated the effect of categorisation so that when participants were unaware of the relationship between group members' behaviour and prescriptive group norms, judgments were shown to be driven by the tendency to evaluate the in-group more favourably than the out-group. When

prescriptive in-group norms were made explicit, deviant in-group members were strongly derogated, although in-group evaluations as a whole remained unchanged. Based on their findings, the authors argued that in the context of inter-group differentiation, people try to establish normative distinctions among individuals. Thus, group members who threaten group cohesiveness are negatively evaluated.

The role of a normative differentiation process, whereby people discriminate against an in-group member who threatens in-group norms, was first observed in studies of the “black sheep effect” (Marques, 1990). Early studies on the black sheep effect demonstrated that individuals tend to derogate unlikable in-group members more strongly than out-group members sharing the same (unlikable) characteristic (Marques, 1990; Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988).

The majority of research on the subjective group dynamics model has focused on adult populations with studies also demonstrating that: anti-norm deviants in an organization attract more negative evaluations than do pro-norm deviants, even when both were dissimilar to the in-group prototype (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Dougill, 2002); deviants are less likely to be selected for group leadership than neutral group members with the presence of a deviant undermining the cohesion of the group (Scheepers, Branscombe, Spears, & Doosje, 2002); overseas and British students at university hold positive attitudes toward in-group and out-group members who deviate in the in-group normative direction with respect to university policies for overseas students (Abrams et al., 2002).

Abrams, Rutland, and Cameron (2003) argued that much of the research into children’s inter-group attitudes employs measures of group preference in which the whole social group is evaluated, thereby not adequately distinguishing between evaluations of individual in-group and out-group members and the group as a whole. Abrams et al. argue that as children get older they have a greater ability to recognise

variation between individuals within the group and the extent to which these individuals preserve, or deviate from, norms that are important to the group. Once children recognise these group dynamics they can engage in evaluative intra-group differentiation and express positive evaluations of children who provide support for in-group categories.

It is only recently that children's evaluations and judgments of individual members of social groups has become of interest to researchers. In a recent study on how children respond to a group member who is revealed to have negative qualities, Nesdale and Brown (2004) gave children aged 6, 9 or 12 a story about an (in-group) Anglo-Australian boy and a (out-group) Chinese boy. The story characters were depicted to have both positive and negative traits, and engage in both positive and negative behaviour. Consistent with the "black sheep effect", as children increased in age it was found that they remembered more of the in-group character's negative versus positive traits, saw themselves as increasingly dissimilar to him, and liked him less. In addition, it was found that, with age, children remembered more of the out-group character's positive versus negative traits, saw themselves as increasingly similar to him, and liked him more.

Within the framework of subjective group dynamics, Abrams et al. (2003) investigated 6 to 7 year olds and 10 to 11 year olds evaluations of normative and deviant targets of an in-group or an out-group. In accordance with SGD, it was found that both normative in-group members and deviant out-group members were evaluated more positively than deviant in-group members and normative out-group members (differential evaluation). In other words, children favoured the target from either group who showed relatively greater support for in-group norms. However, this finding was only apparent for the older age group. In a related study, Abrams, Rutland, and Cameron (2003) included level of identification with the in-group to assess differential

evaluations of in-group and out-group members. In this study, 5 to 11 year old English children evaluated the English and German soccer teams and judged in-group or out-group members whose attitudes toward the teams were normative versus anti-normative. Several age-related effects were found. Older children were more sensitive to how acceptable normative and deviant targets would be to the members of each group (differential inclusion). The “black sheep effect” was also evident for older children where deviant out-group members were evaluated more highly than similarly deviant in-group members. The authors suggest that by the age of 11 some of the psychological processes that drive social regulation in adult groups may be well established.

This apparent developmental trend in children’s responses to anti-norm deviance has been also evidenced in studies on children’s group processes within the context of ethnicity (e.g., Nesdale, 1999b; Nesdale & Brown, 2004). The SGD model posits that differential inclusion and differential evaluation should be more systematic amongst older children who have obtained greater social knowledge. In addition, a motivational hypothesis within this model asserts that children who are more committed to supporting their in-group should show these effects more strongly (Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, & Ferrell, 2007). In their most recent application of SGD to children, Abrams, et al. explored age related changes in the evaluation of the in-group and the out-group. Children aged 5-12 years evaluated an in-group and an out-group and normative and deviant in-group members under conditions of high or low accountability to in-group peers. In the high accountability condition, the children were told that their answers would be shared with other in-group members. The results revealed increased in-group bias and favourability toward normative versus deviant in-group members when the children were accountable to peers and as a function of perceptions of peer group acceptance of these members. In addition, these effects were significantly

stronger among older children. This study shows that children are sensitive to normative behaviours, which are endorsed to a greater extent when there is a threat of being accountable to one's own group. However, this experiment was set within the context of a summer school program, which would have afforded children a greater opportunity to strengthen in-group unity and to form a cohesive group. Therefore, the extent to which these findings are generalisable to contexts in which a child is seeking to join a new group is unclear. As such, it would be important to determine whether similar effects occur in even more minimal group situations.

Whilst the line of research on SGD highlights the increasing salience of group norms for children, what remains to be tested is children's awareness of intra-group norms regarding the consequences of deviance from group norms. In other words, does knowledge of penalties applied by the in-group for non-conformity lead to greater in-group bias, and perhaps even out-group derogation and, if so, are these effects strengthened by accountability to the in-group?

1.5 Overview of Research Findings

The recent theoretical developments outlined above have contributed much to our understanding of the motivational aspects of self-categorisation as a group member, as well as in providing insight into conditions that facilitate particular inter-group attitudes and behaviours. However, in terms of providing a clear framework for the development of motivational forces driving inter-group attitudes and behaviour, the picture remains incomplete. More importantly, much of the research has not specifically sought to identify the basic social motive(s) underlying children's in-group membership, such as wanting to belong and to feel accepted by one's group, or wanting positive distinctiveness so as to enhance self-esteem.

As a whole, the social motivational theories outlined above have suggested a number of key findings relating to a children's membership of social groups. Moreover, many

of the fundamental premises of theories developed with adults, like SIT and SCT, have recently begun to be replicated in studies with children. This has led to the extension and elaboration of social motivational theories to the case of young children, as reflected in such theories as SIDT and SGD.

However, the research with children has raised a number of key considerations regarding group processes and the development of inter-group attitudes. For example, why are children generally driven to emphasise the positivity of the in-group whilst not always derogating an out-group? Importantly, what fundamental motives drive children to seek membership and belonging with their own group, and under what conditions do they seek to enhance the distinctiveness of their in-group?

Recent applications of SIT to children's inter-group processes, and elaborations specific to children such as SIDT, have begun to provide evidence of these motives. The evidence regarding SIT's tenet that a primary motivation is to enhance one's social self-esteem via the positive distinctiveness of one's in-group, is mixed in the case of children. Whilst some studies have shown that children prefer to be in a high status group (Yee & Brown, 1992), and have a preparedness to change groups when their group has low rather than high status (Nesdale et al, 2004), others have shown that children like their own group more than another higher status group, even if their group has comparatively low status (Nesdale & Flessner, 2001). In general, the evidence suggests that once they are part of a group, children always like their in-group more than an out-group although, other things being equal, they might still prefer to be members of a high rather than low status group. These findings highlight the importance to children of feeling positive about their own group.

Consistent with SIT research on adults, evidence has suggested the presence of a positive-negative asymmetry effect in inter-group differentiation in studies with children (e.g., Aboud, 2003; Rutland et al., 2007; Rutland et al., 2005). This might

suggest that children are mainly concerned about enhancing the in-group, especially when placed in an ostensibly minimal group. That is, young children may be primarily focused on in-group bias and preference and are less willing to derogate out-groups.

The research supporting SCT predictions concerning children's social motivations has been less than unequivocal. From an SCT perspective, group effects are influenced by the cognitive process of self-categorisation which then depersonalises behaviour in terms of the in-group prototype. Similar to SIT, the critical process is one of in-group/out-group comparison. Overall, support for mere categorisation effects in children is mixed. Recent research has begun to highlight the potential of the social context to promote positive or negative attitudes. Importantly, the study by Nesdale, Durkin, et al. (2005) was one of the first to demonstrate that a threat from an out-group can trigger greater dislike toward an out-group. There have also been some indications that gender self-stereotyping is sensitive to changes in the gender comparative context (Bennett & Sani, 2006; Sani & Bennett, 2001) Whilst these few studies suggest the operation of in-group/out-group comparison effects, other studies have failed to find any strong effect of comparative context on the evaluation of national groups (Barrett et al., 2003) or ethnic groups (Nesdale et al., 2007).

Categorisation effects have also been explored in the development of prejudice. In studies on national identification, the acquisition of increased knowledge about national groups has been linked to greater preference for one's own group (Barrett et al., 2004). However, generally inconsistent findings have been reported on the effects of age on ethnic and national prejudice with some studies showing evidence of a reduction of prejudice with age in accordance with ST (Aboud, 1988; Barrett et al, 2003; Bigler & Liben, 1993; Doyle & Aboud, 1995), whilst others have reported no change or even an increase in prejudice with age (Rutland, 2004; Fyfe & Rutland, as cited in Rutland 2004). These findings suggest that the relatively complex cognitive processes involved

in SCT might not yet operate in younger children to the same extent as in adults. Young children might instead be more focused on the in-group and driven more simply by a need to belong.

However, some indirect support for SCT's assumptions comes from studies which have focused on the impact of group norms. For example, whereas research with adults has highlighted the power of group norms on individuals (e.g., Abrams et al., 2002; Jetten et al., 1997a; Jetten et al., 2002; Marquez, 1990), recent research has also begun to reveal the impact of group norms on children's attitudes and behaviours. In childhood ethnicity studies, group norms of exclusion have been demonstrated to elicit greater prejudice toward out-groups (Nesdale, Maass, et al., 2005). Similarly, in studies on the effect of group norms on children's aggressive behaviours, there have been early indications that attitudes toward bullying are more favourable when bullying is prescribed by the in-group (Ojala & Nesdale, 2004), with this behaviour strongly influenced by how the members of a child's network behave in such a situation (Salmivalli et al., 1997). However, to date, comparatively little research has sought to explore the interaction of group norms on traditional social identity effects.

SGD, much like SCT, has accorded great importance to the impact of group norms on both intra- and inter-group attitudes. The primary assumption of SGD is that group members are motivated to attain both a positive in-group distinctiveness and support for in-group norms within groups. The first process implies a general preference for the in-group over the out-group, whilst the second involves a favouring of individuals who show relatively greater support for in-group norms. Research based on the assumptions of SGD are now beginning to uncover evidence that by 10-11 years of age, group norms are taken into consideration when evaluating in-group members, such that anti-norm deviants are judged more harshly than normative members (Abrams et al., 2003; Abrams, Rutland, & Cameron, 2003). There is some evidence to suggest that this may

occur even by six years of age (Nesdale & Brown, 2004). However, SGD, whilst providing a greater focus on intra-group processes than SIT, does not specifically focus on self-enhancement motives. SGD appears to focus primarily on children's motivation to maintain the coherence and status of the in-group, and does not emphasise the motivation to join or belong to a group. As such, SGD's primary motive seems better suited to groups that have an established history and membership.

Of the more recent theories relating to children, SIDT has attempted to focus more on the importance of children's need for acceptance. This theory emphasises a developmental pathway according to which children are initially focused on, and motivated by, the need to belong and be accepted by a social group. Subsequently, they seek to emphasise the positive distinctiveness of their own in-group, which may result in a number of biases toward the in-group. As children develop increased social knowledge and cognitive abilities, various social factors can enhance the focus on the out-group and, under certain conditions, can result in inter-group prejudice. SIDT has borrowed from SCT by giving prominence to the influence of group norms on group attitudes, in addition to factors such as in-group identification and out-group threat. Recent investigations of the theory have provided broad support for SIDT's propositions. It has been shown that children as young as 5 years are just as sensitive as 9 year olds to perceived ethnic similarity (Nesdale et al., 2003), and that in-group norms are able to enhance or moderate the expression of prejudice (Nesdale, Maass, et al., 2005; Nesdale, Griffiths, et al., 2005). Compared with SIT, SIDT has placed greater emphasis on children's desire to belong to group, whereby a process of in-group/out-group comparison is replaced by a concern with in-group membership when children are younger. However, it is likely that even with the acquisition of greater social knowledge and cognitive abilities, children in mid-childhood are still primarily focused on belonging and acceptance, especially when first joining a group.

Whilst yet to be applied to the case of children, social motivational models such as optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991) and the subjective uncertainty reduction theory (Hogg & Mullin, 1999), might also provide some insights into children's motivations to belong. At least in adults, emerging evidence is suggesting the operation of underlying needs for inclusiveness, distinctiveness, and perhaps even the need to reduce a negative affective state, such as subjective uncertainty. Whether the fulfilment of these needs extends to the case of children is yet to be determined. However, the research with adults raises the possibility that, even in young children, a motive to belong and feel accepted might reveal individual variability in the need for inclusiveness, distinctiveness, and reduction of negative affectivity, which subsequently moderates the expression of group attitudes.

Although much has been achieved in the extant literature, nevertheless a number of crucial questions remain to be answered. To what extent does children's need to belong to, and be accepted by, a social group instigate concerns about the in-group, as opposed to the in-group/out-group comparison highlighted by SIT and SCT? Can salient features of the in-group that potentially increase the likelihood of acceptance further emphasise intra-group processes? How might an understanding of consequences for deviating from group norms impact upon a need to confirm membership? And what is the potential impact on group processes of individual differences in a child's need for group belongingness?

The present research program sought to extend understanding of intra- and inter-group processes with a particular interest in the extent to which children's group attitudes and behaviours are influenced by a motive to belong and be accepted by a group. The following section outlines the fundamental assumptions regarding intra- and inter-group attitudes in children from a need for belongingness perspective.

1.6 Children's Social Motivations in Intra- and Inter-group Contexts

As noted above, SIT and SCT have primarily emphasised in-group/out-group comparisons, with the comparative distinctiveness of one's in-group being the primary motive for seeking membership in particular groups (e.g., Bigler, 1995; Bigler et al., 1997; Nesdale et al., 2003). In essence, group membership and identification are based on positive distinctiveness of the in-group based on comparisons with an out-group.

In contrast, SIDT has focused more on acceptance and belonging as the primary motivator of children's involvement in groups. Consistent with this, research has revealed that an in-group is liked even if it has low status (Nesdale & Flessner, 2001). Although this research has focused on ethnic group membership, raising questions about generalisability, it does, nevertheless suggest that for young children a primary goal is to feel a sense of belonging to a group, any group.

Although not focusing on children's fundamental motivation for seeking group membership, SGD's approach is consistent with SIDT. In short, SGD has sought to focus on the importance to children of the status and integrity of the in-group, particularly in relation to the in-group norms (e.g., Abrams et al., 2003; Abrams et al., 2007). Hence, according to SGD, children in groups are motivated to sustain valued differences between their group and other groups via monitoring group members who provide normative support for in-group categories versus those who do not.

Based on the above, the current research sought to examine the proposition that children, even from a very young age through mid-childhood, have a fundamental need to belong and to feel accepted, and that it is this need that instigates their desire to be accepted as a group member. On this basis it was assumed that a need for belongingness or acceptance will lead children to always be more concerned about the in-group than any out-group, to be concerned about maintaining and retaining group membership, to be concerned about the in-group's members, and their relations with them, to be aware

of in-group norms or expectations, and to display conformity to them, and to enhance and defend the in-group. This in-group focus is predicted to have several implications for children's group attitudes and behaviours. First, this focus should always lead children to reveal greater liking for the in-group than the out-group. Second, concerns about holding membership should lead children to be responsive to surveillance and accountability to the in-group leading to greater conformity to group norms. Third, children will be concerned about holding a central rather than peripheral position within the in-group in order to ensure the security of their group membership. Fourth, children will be concerned about enhancing the status or positive qualities of the in-group compared to any out-group. Fifth, children will be concerned about protecting or defending the status of the in-group when it is perceived to be threatened by an out-group.

In sum, the current program of research sought to investigate the extent to which a need for belonging and acceptance would make children differentially responsive to different levels of manipulated situational variables within an inter-group context and hence impact on their group attitudes. It is reasonable to assume that a social motivation to belong, or confirm group membership, places an emphasis on intra-group processes. However, these processes are unlikely to work in isolation when an inter-group context has been evoked. As such, whilst the main focus of the present research was to evaluate the importance of the in-group to children, the research also sought to evaluate whether in-group preference might, under certain conditions, extend to out-group derogation. It is feasible that a focus on the in-group does not exclude the possibility of publicly expressing negativity or prejudice toward the out-group, especially if it is prescribed by the group's norms. Whilst one aim was to explore whether specific manipulated variables might differentially activate children's need for belonging and acceptance and subsequently influence group attitudes, a further aim was to investigate whether

individual differences in group belongingness needs can be reliably measured and the extent to which this need might predict group attitudes.

1.7 Overview of Research Program

Evidence for the fundamental role of children's need for belonging to, and acceptance by, a social group, was sought through four phases of research. The first phase consisted of an experimental study which explored the impact of surveillance by one's in-group on the need for acceptance and subsequent group attitudes. In addition, the study examined whether children's attitudes were influenced by information about how accepting the in-group was of new members and whether group acceptance interacted with surveillance to influence attitudes.

The second phase extended this emphasis in a second experimental study that manipulated threat of in-group exclusion, and threat from an out-group, to determine their effects on ratings of in-group positivity and out-group derogation. In addition, this phase sought to determine the extent to which these variables might affect children's acceptance of a new group member who was either team supportive or team non-supportive. These first two studies were designed to assess the extent to which children's need for belonging and acceptance might be differentially activated by different levels of manipulated variables and subsequently influence group attitudes.

The third phase of the research project aimed to develop a reliable scale for assessing individual variability in children's need for group belongingness. The aim of this phase was to develop a brief multidimensional self-report measure of individual differences in children's need for belonging and acceptance. The scale development phase sought to provide evidence for the existence of four hypothesised dimensions of a general need for group belongingness: a need for membership; need for distinctiveness; fear of exclusion; and a need for similarity.

The final phase of research aimed to utilise this newly developed scale to aid in predicting in-group positivity and out-group derogation in a minimal groups experiment which also manipulated several variables considered to impact on children's group attitudes. Thus, the final study manipulated group status, a child's position within the group, and in-group norms, to determine the extent to which these variables might differentially activate a need for belonging and acceptance and hence account for the expression of attitudes. Importantly, this study investigated the further variance that could be accounted for by the individual difference measure of need for group belongingness.

2.0 STUDY 1: SURVEILLANCE, GROUP NORMS, AND CHILDREN'S GROUP ATTITUDES

2.1 Introduction

The introductory chapter highlighted some of the key social motivational considerations that may be implicated in the formation of children's group attitudes, including the desire to belong and to be accepted, the desire to be similar to other members, and the desire to be in distinctive groups. However, the research has not sought to clearly identify the key driving forces or motivations behind the expression of children's group attitudes and behaviours.

As noted above, the present study was based on the assumption that young children are driven toward belonging and acceptance and that this motivation underpins their desire for membership of social groups. On this basis, the first study in the program sought to examine the impact of several variables that were considered likely to influence children's in-group and out-group attitudes. Thus, the aim of the first study was to explore the extent to which children's liking toward the in-group and the out-group might be influenced by the in-group's norm of being open versus closed to new members, and whether or not the in-group member was under in-group surveillance.

2.1.1 In-group Surveillance

Given that children have a need for group belonging and acceptance, it was considered likely that their group attitudes would be influenced by in-group surveillance; that is, that their attitudes would be influenced by the knowledge that their attitudes are open to judgment by the in-group. The evidence to date suggests that during the middle childhood years, children become increasingly aware of in-group expectations concerning the attitudes and behaviours to be displayed in relation to the in-group, as well as towards other groups. Further, research suggests that by the age of 8 years, children are quite capable of selecting a strategy based on the particular context

and behaving in accordance with that strategy (Aloise-Young, 1993; Banerjee, 2002a, 2002b; Banerjee & Lintern, 2000; Bennett & Yeeles, 1990a, 1990b; Juvonen, 2000; Juvonen & Murdoch, 1995; Penderson, Walker, & Glass, 1999). For example, Juvonen found that children from grades four to eight managed their public image in ways that promoted social approval from peers and teachers within the context of classroom. Similarly, Banerjee and Lintern found when investigating gender stereotyping that 4- to 6-year old boys tended to produce more gender-stereotypical self-descriptions when in front of a group of same-sex peers than when alone. More recently, there has also been some evidence to suggest that children are aware of self-presentational concerns when expressing ethnic inter-group attitudes, especially when they are accountable to adults (Rutland, Cameron, Milne, & McGeorge, 2005).

However, to date, only Abrams et al. (2007) have examined the effect of accountability to the in-group on children's in-group attitudes. This study revealed an increase in in-group bias and favourability toward normative versus deviant in-group members when children were accountable to peers. Both the Rutland, Cameron, Milne, et al. (2005) and the Abrams et al. (2007) studies revealed some possible age effects in self-presentation. Abrams et al. found a tendency for older children to be more responsive toward the manipulation of accountability. Whilst Rutland, Cameron, Milne, et al. found some evidence that older children were demonstrating self-presentation via differences in implicit versus explicit measures, it was also found that in-group ethnic attitudes were affected by accountability in only the younger children.

The limited studies with children which have sought to explicitly manipulate surveillance or accountability have utilised methods such as manipulating the salience of video cameras (Rutland, Cameron, Milne, et al., 2005); manipulating the gender of peers when publicly making statements (Banerjee & Lintern, 2000); and manipulating the ethnicity of the experimenter (Jahoda, Thomson, & Bhatt, 1972; Penderson et al.,

1999). Studies with adults have similarly manipulated public accountability by providing information to the participants that their answers will be shown to others, which has subsequently revealed an increase in pro-group behaviours and derogation of out-group members (Noel, Wann, & Branscombe, 1995).

Based on the current evidence, it is reasonable to assume that at early primary school level, and certainly by middle primary school, the need for belonging and acceptance should result in children regulating their attitudes and behaviour to match in-group expectations. Hence, it was assumed that surveillance versus no surveillance conditions would enhance participants' desire to reveal their commitment to the in-group, which would be displayed in increased in-group liking. A display of magnified in-group liking under surveillance would serve the purpose of demonstrating that one truly belongs, in order to gain and confirm acceptance. In contrast, surveillance was not expected to impact on out-group liking.

2.1.2 In-group Norms

It was expected that in-group norms would also be of critical importance to group attitudes. It is reasonable to assume that children's increasing knowledge of social norms and their importance to the in-group leads to an increased focus on the in-group. Consistent with this, recent findings have revealed the impact of group norms on children's attitudes and behaviours, with evidence that from 6 years of age children are sensitive to norm violations by in-group members (Nesdale & Brown, 2004), and that anti-norm deviants are judged more harshly (Abrams et al., 2003; Abrams, Rutland, & Cameron, 2003). It has also been shown that negativity toward out-groups can be more acceptable when prescribed by in-group norms (Ojala & Nesdale, 2004), which has been shown in some cases to increase prejudice (Nesdale, Maass, et al., 2005). These findings highlight the emerging importance of children's increasing sense of understanding of group norms and their implications for children in the middle

childhood years and the subsequent impacts on their behaviour. However, past research has generally emphasised the impact of in-group norms on judgments of in-group deviants, as well as their impact on attitudes and behaviours toward out-groups.

The current study sought to extend this research by examining the effect of children's awareness of in-group norms about new member acceptance on their in-group liking and out-group liking. Importantly, the current study differed from the studies by Abrams, Rutland and colleagues (Abrams et al., 2007; Rutland, Cameron, Milne, et al., 2005) by manipulating the exclusiveness of the in-group, and examining how this impacts upon the expression of in-group liking and out-group liking. That is, when an inter-group competition is primed, does a more open and accepting group versus a closed group prompt a greater display of in-group liking by in-group members in an attempt to confirm or secure membership? In addition, to what extent does this knowledge interact with surveillance by the in-group?

Very little research has explored the influence of in-group norms about the openness of the in-group on group attitudes. Nesdale, Griffiths, et al. (2005) reported that a group norm of inclusion about out-group members reduced prejudice toward an out-group, but the norm focused on inclusion versus exclusion of out-group members. Some research has also demonstrated that children are aware of the attributes of different national groups and show consistency in their own national self-stereotyping (e.g., Barrett et al., 2003; Bennett et al. 1998; Gimenez et al. 1999). Studies have also suggested that by the age of 5 years children emphasise specific attributes and qualities of their gender in-groups when providing comparative descriptions (Bennett & Sani, 2006; Sani & Bennett, 2001; Sani et al., 2003). These findings suggest that the qualities of an in-group are salient to even young children, and that they have a need to view their own group's attributes positively. This might be especially the case if driven by a need for belonging and acceptance. Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that qualities such as

the openness of an in-group will be highly salient and viewed positively. On this basis, it is likely that children would rate an open versus a closed in-group more positively.

2.1.3 Summary and Specific Hypotheses

To investigate the extent to which in-group surveillance and in-group openness might activate a need for belonging and acceptance, and hence influence children's group attitudes, these variables were manipulated within the context of a modified minimal group paradigm (Nesdale et al., 2004; Nesdale & Flessner, 2001). Briefly, this paradigm invited children to participate in a pretend inter-group drawing competition for which they were assigned membership in a particular group. The children were presented with a set of photographs representing their group, and another group against which they would be competing in the drawing competition. Following the presentation of information about each of the teams, the children's in-group and out-group attitudes were assessed. This minimal group design differed from that used by Nesdale and colleagues in a number of ways. First, the experimental manipulations were all contained within a questionnaire pack in written form. Second, the experiment was conducted within whole class groups as opposed to individual participants. Third, following verbal instructions about being selected in a team for a pretend drawing competition, the children were provided with a confidential envelope containing photos of the team to which they had been assigned, and photos of the team they would compete against.

The current study sought to explore the effect of surveillance by manipulating whether the children were told that their answers would, or would not, be shown to fellow in-group members. This method has been recently used by Abrams et al. (2007) to successfully manipulate accountability in children. Information was also provided about the openness of the in-group, with both manipulations contained within each child's questionnaire pack. The main focus of this first study was to explore any

changes in affect (i.e., liking toward one's own group and the out-group), in response to variations in surveillance and the openness of the in-group.

It was predicted that children's need for belonging and acceptance would be enhanced by the presence rather than absence of surveillance, which would increase liking toward the in-group. In contrast, it was expected that out-group liking would not be affected to the same extent, if at all, by the manipulation of surveillance. It was also predicted that children's perceptions of the openness of the in-group towards new members was likely to influence group attitudes. Thus, if a particular group was thought of as being very open and accepting of new members, then this would increase the likelihood of fulfilling a need for belonging and acceptance for individuals who were assigned to join the group. In contrast, a group that is closed and less accepting of new members would probably reduce the likelihood of acceptance thereby leading to reduced motivation to attain group membership. Hence, open groups would be predicted to elicit greater liking than closed groups. If the focus was on the in-group then this variable should not impact upon out-group liking.

In sum, the focus of this first study was to test these predictions in order to provide evidence of children's need for group belonging and acceptance within the context of an inter-group competition. This was achieved by investigating changes in affect (i.e. liking toward the in-group and the out-group) when manipulating surveillance and the openness of the in-group. An age group of 10-12 years was chosen since some of the evidence suggests that by this age children are aware of intra-group processes and are also capable of engaging in self-presentational behaviour (e.g., Abrams et al., 2003; Abrams et al., 2007; Rutland, Cameron, Milne, et al., 2005). In addition, it was assumed that at this age children are primarily motivated to focus on the in-group and gaining acceptance.

2.2 Method

2.2.1 Participants

The sample consisted of 77 children (38 males and 39 females) from grades 5 to 7. Ages ranged from 9-13 years with a mean age of 11.14 years, with the majority of the children (93.6%) aged between 10 and 12 years. Reflecting the national profile, the children's parent's nationalities consisted of 71.4% Australian or New Zealander, about 20% Asian and 5.2% northern European. Children from two government primary schools from the same middle class community participated in this study.

2.2.2 Design

The study comprised a 2 (in-group openness: open versus closed) x 2 (in-group surveillance: present versus absent) factorial between-subjects design. An approximately equal number of boys and girls were randomly allocated into each of the four conditions. The number of participants in each of the experimental conditions ranged from 17 to 21.

2.2.3 Materials

2.2.3.1 Drawing form.

Each participant was provided with one A4 size sheet of white paper containing a 15 cm x 15 cm square in which to draw a picture of a person. The instructions on this form simply stated: "In the space below draw to the best of your ability a drawing of a person (can be somebody you know). Your drawing may be used in a pretend art competition. You will be given 10 minutes for this task". A space was provided to include the child's name and class.

2.2.3.2 Envelopes.

One blank envelope stamped "private" was provided for each of the children participating in the simulation experiment. A small code number was placed on the top right corner of the envelope identifying the gender of the team photos.

2.2.3.3 *Experimental booklet*

The envelope contained the experimental booklet, which included an art judge's rating of the child's drawing, the in-group and out-group team photos, and response measures. A copy of this booklet is included in Appendix A.

Art judge's ratings. The first page of the experimental booklet contained a fictitious art judge's feedback report on the child's drawing completed in an earlier phase of the experiment. The feedback was identical for each participant stating that s/he was in the top 5% in drawing potential and therefore was placed in the very talented drawing team. The report also stated that drawing had been very imaginative and that s/he has the ability to become a great drawer. This statement was provided in order to make it more believable for those who might think they were poor at drawing and for those who deliberately made no effort.

Team photos. In order to enhance in-group identification and to instil a sense of group belongingness, the second page of the booklet contained photos of three Anglo-Australian children aged approximately 10 years. These photos had been used in a study on ethnic and social identity conducted by Nesdale et al. (2003). Seven photos of boys and girls that had been previously rated as being moderately attractive were randomly assigned to a "your team" condition (three photos) and "the other team" condition (four photos on the following page). Since the research has indicated that children show a preference toward same sex groups at this age (e.g., Powlishta, 1995; Powlishta, Serbin, Doyle, & White, 1994), the envelopes were coded to provide boys with pictures of other boys and girls with pictures of other girls. These photos were randomly assigned for each individual questionnaire with the ordering of the photos also randomly assigned. This was done to remove any bias due to particular faces. A blank square was placed at the end of the photos of the "your team" page into which the children were asked to write their name. Below the photos of the in-group was a brief set of statements about

their attributes. This contained the two independent variables, with each child's statements varying according to the manipulation. The following page contained the four photos of the "other team", with a brief statement informing participants that "this is the group of kids you will be competing against".

Response measures. The final page of the experimental booklet contained the main dependent variables of liking towards the in-group and the out-group. In addition, a number of filler items, and check measures were included in the response page.

2.2.4 Procedure

The study was carried out in two phases and employed a procedure similar to that used by Nesdale and Flessner (2001) whereby children were asked to take part in a pretend scenario in which they were assigned to teams for a drawing competition.

2.2.4.1 Phase 1.

The children whose parents had given permission for them to participate were told by the experimenter that he was visiting a number of schools and getting children to do drawings for an artistic competition. The children in this initial phase were asked to make a whole-body drawing of somebody they knew (e.g. a friend or a family member) on a 15 cm x 15 cm square on a single sheet of paper and to write their names in a space provided on this drawing sheet. The participating teachers were provided with training in the specific directions to give the children during the drawing phase. Teachers were then requested to conduct the drawing phase during the week and to collect and store all of the drawings prior to the experimenter arriving for phase 2.

2.2.4.2 Phase 2.

The second phase took place approximately one week after phase 1. This phase was conducted one class group at a time. The class group sizes ranged from 9 to 25 participants, the average size being approximately 15 children. The children who had not returned parental consent forms were asked to engage in quiet study or reading. The

participating children were told that they would be taking part in an activity that required the use of their imagination. They were all then invited to take part in a pretend game and were reminded of the drawings they had completed a few days earlier. The children were told that they were to participate in a pretend game in which they had to imagine that the situation described was real.

The experimenter asked the participating group of children to pretend that an art judge had rated all the drawings from several schools and placed each child into either a team of very talented drawers or a team of good drawers. The experimenter then explained that the teams would take part in a clay model sculpting competition to find out if those who were the most creative and talented at drawing were also excellent at working together as a team in clay modelling. The children were also asked to pretend that the members of the winning team would each receive a Toyworld gift voucher.

The children were then told that they would be placed with three other children of a similar level of ability and that information about their assigned team would be included in a confidential document. They were told that this information was placed beneath a set of photos of each team and they were instructed to read this information carefully. The experimenter also stated that their team members might be from different schools and of varying ages and that the current school was the last to be tested. The children were told that since they were the last to join the group they were required to answer some questions about their teams. Additionally, they were told that they would have the opportunity to meet their fellow in-group members prior to the competition.

Following these verbal instructions, the children were informed that a private envelope would be handed out containing the judge's feedback and the team to which each participant had been assigned. The instructions made it explicit that the ratings and assigned teams were contained within a secret document, and that the participants were not to share their ratings with other class members. Each child who participated in the

drawing phase of the competition was then provided with a confidential experimental booklet containing an art judge's report on the child's drawing, the teams for the competition, and the response measures. This booklet was placed inside an envelope with the child's name on it. A final instruction was given not to share answers or ratings with anyone else.

The experimental booklet placed all participants in a high status drawing team as reported in the art judge's feedback report. This initial part of the report was the same for all participants. In order to increase the desire to belong to the experimental group, the in-group was explicitly described as being of high status. Evidence with children indicates that children are aware of, and prefer to be members of higher status groups (e.g., Bigler et al., 2001; Nesdale & Flessler, 2001; Yee & Brown, 1992). One of four manipulated conditions was contained within the experimental booklets via a set of statements beneath the photos of the child's own team.

To manipulate the two independent variables of *in-group openness* and *in-group surveillance*, four different sets of booklets were used. The second page of the document differed according to the manipulation. Several statements about the child's in-group were placed below the photos. In the *in-group openness* conditions the instructions varied accordingly: "your group is pretty easy going and are always happy about similar kids joining them" (*open* condition), versus "your group is a very closed group and they don't usually like new kids joining them" (*closed* condition). *In-group surveillance* was manipulated as follows: "your group wants to know a little about you so your answers will be sent to the other kids in your group before you meet" (*surveillance present*), versus "your answers in this booklet will not be shared with anyone else" (*surveillance absent*). The children were encouraged to read the information about their assigned team carefully, and then turn the page to see the other team against which they will compete. Finally, the children were asked to complete the

response measures. Following the testing session, the children were debriefed and told the true nature of the experiment. They were reassured that their drawings had not been graded at all, that it had been a simulation, and that they could all consider themselves to be good drawers.

2.2.5 *Dependent Measures*

2.2.5.1 *Manipulation check measures*

In-group openness. This manipulation was checked by a single item that asked “Does your group usually like other kids joining them?” to which participants were to respond *yes/no*.

In-group surveillance. A manipulation check item for this variable was intentionally omitted in order to ensure that participants in the *surveillance absent* condition were not inadvertently primed toward believing there might be some form of surveillance present.

2.2.5.2 *Main dependent measures*

The final page of the questionnaire contained the main dependent measures, which consisted of two items: one item measuring liking towards the in-group and one measuring liking for the out-group. These items were: “How much do you like the kids in your team?” and “How much do you like the kids from the other team?” with responses measured by 7-point bipolar scales ranging from 1 = *don't like a lot* to 7 = *like a lot*. Previous studies with children have successfully utilised a single measure of liking to demonstrate social identity effects (e.g., Nesdale & Flessner, 2001). At the same time, however, several filler items were included in the response booklet in order to take the focus off the main dependent measures. These items were answered on the same 7-point bipolar scales and included items such as, “How good do you think your team would be at clay modelling?”

2.3 Results

2.3.1 Preliminary Analyses.

The responses of the 77 participants were subjected to initial exploratory data analyses. Each of the dependent variables was examined to ensure that the distributional requirements of the ANOVA were met. Some skew was present but not to the extent that the analysis would be compromised. No significant outliers were detected.

2.3.1.1 Manipulation check item

In-group openness. The check item on the *in-group openness* manipulation revealed that 33 out of 42 participants (79%) in the *open* in-group condition stated “yes” to the check item: “Does your group usually like other kids joining them?” In the *closed* in-group condition, 32 of 35 participants (91%) responded in the negative. An analysis of the expected frequencies using chi-square revealed a significant result $\chi^2(1) = 37.58, p < .001$ indicating the manipulation had been effective.

2.3.2 Main Findings

2.3.2.1 In-group liking.

Scores on the measure of “How much do you like the kids in your team?” were subjected to a 2 (in-group openness: open versus closed) x 2 (in-group surveillance: present versus absent) ANOVA. This analysis revealed two significant effects. First, a significant main effect for *in-group openness* was found, $F(1, 73) = 5.53, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$. In-group liking was significantly greater in the *open* group condition ($M = 5.18, SD = 1.70$) than in the *closed* condition ($M = 4.26, SD = 1.76$). Second, a significant main effect for *in-group surveillance* was also revealed, $F(1, 73) = 4.29, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$. In-group liking was significantly greater when surveillance was present ($M = 5.12, SD = 1.53$) rather than absent ($M = 4.31, SD = 1.95$). There was no significant *in-group openness* x *in-group surveillance* interaction.

2.3.2.2 Out-group liking.

Scores on the measure of “How much do you like the kids from the other team?” were subjected to a 2 (in-group openness: open versus closed) x 2 (in-group surveillance: present versus absent) ANOVA. This analysis did not reveal any significant effects.

2.3.2.3 Age and gender effects on in-group liking.

Due to small cell sizes, age and gender were analysed in a hierarchical regression analysis rather than included as variables in the primary ANOVA. This analysis was conducted to determine whether age and gender were able to account for any additional variance in in-group liking after accounting for the manipulated variables. The results are shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Hierarchical Regression Analysis of In-group Openness, In-group Surveillance, Age and Gender in Predicting In-group Liking.

Step	Variables entered	R^2	ΔR^2	$B (SE)$	β	sr^2
1	In-group openness	.12**	.10**	-.91 (.39)	-.26*	
	In-group surveillance			.82 (.39)	.23*	.121
2	In-group openness	.12*	.09*	-.91 (.39)	-.26*	
	In-group surveillance			.81 (.39)	.23*	
	Age			.03 (.22)	.01	.000
3	In-group openness	.14*	.09*	-.94 (.39)	-.27*	
	In-group surveillance			.79 (.39)	.22*	
	Age			.04 (.22)	.02	
	Gender			.43 (.39)	.12	.015

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

In-group openness and in-group surveillance were entered at Step 1. This was followed at Step 2 and Step 3, by age and gender, respectively. Overall, the model was significant $F(1, 72) = 2.82, p < .05$, with 13.5% of the variance in In-group Liking accounted for by the four variables. At Step 1, in-group openness and in-group surveillance contributed significantly in predicting In-group Liking $F(1, 74) = 5.08, p < .01$, by accounting for 12.1% of the variance. However, the squared semi-partial correlation at Step 2 indicated that age did not explain any additional variance in this relationship $F(1, 73) = .01, ns$. Similarly, at Step 3, the addition of gender did not contribute significantly to predicting In-group Liking $F(1, 72) = 1.22, ns$, with the squared semi-partial correlation revealing an additional 1.5% of the variance accounted for by this variable.

2.4 Discussion

The primary aim of this study was to examine the impact on children's in-group and out-group ratings of two potentially influential factors, given that the children were presumably motivated to belong to a group and to be accepted. The specific focus was to investigate the extent to which ratings of in-group and out-group liking might be affected by in-group surveillance and an in-group norm of openness.

2.4.1 In-group Liking

The most noteworthy findings in this study were on the in-group liking measure. As predicted, a main effect for surveillance was found, which revealed that children displayed greater liking toward the in-group when surveillance was present rather than absent. This study represents one of the few experimental designs with children which has provided evidence of an effect for in-group surveillance on the expression of attitudes about one's own in-group. This is an important finding and extends previous research into the influence of potential accountability to elicit greater in-group liking. The results suggest that merely being provided with information that one's own group

may judge your answers can be enough to prompt an enhanced display of liking, presumably in order to ensure acceptance and belonging.

This finding concurs with the study by Abrams et al. (2007), which showed that children were sensitive to normative behaviours, which were then endorsed to a greater extent when there was a possibility of being accountable to one's own group. Whilst the Abrams et al. study was set within the context of a summer school, the current study extends this effect by demonstrating that even in the most minimal of group paradigms, requiring the use of imagination, children appear to still respond to the possibility of in-group surveillance such that it impacted upon their expressed attitudes. This finding is also consistent with the limited adult literature, which has similarly found that public accountability increased differential evaluation of group members (Marques et al., 1998) and led to greater pro-group behaviours (Barreto & Ellemers, 2000).

The implication of the findings from the current study is that a child's need for group belonging and acceptance is primed to a greater extent when there might be any possibility of accountability to one's group. Hence, it is a possibility that surveillance magnifies the need to secure group belongingness, which subsequently leads to a need to confirm group membership by demonstrating even greater liking toward the group a child wants to join. Interestingly, an increased public display of liking might serve the purpose of not only confirming group membership amongst fellow in-groupers but also to fulfil a need for belongingness within oneself. Research with adults has suggested that behaving publicly in a specific manner can lead to more enduring internal attitudinal and self-concept change whereby one comes to think of oneself as the kind of person who engages in these behaviours (e.g., Schlenker, Dlugolecki, & Doherty, 1992; Schlenker & Trudeau, 1990; Tice, 1992). Similarly, Emler (1990; Emler & Reicher, 1995), has argued that an important aspect of delinquent behaviour during adolescence is reputation management. Publicly engaging in delinquent acts allows adolescents to

build a reputation for themselves among their delinquent peers, which affirms their social identity and group membership.

As suggested by theories such as SIDT, children do appear to have a strong desire to belong to groups, and perhaps this desire is even greater in the early phases of group formation where a focus is primarily on joining a desirable group rather than one based on any specific cultural, national or ethnic categorisation. This general need for belongingness might then prompt an increased concern on proving that one truly belongs to the in-group, leading to higher ratings of in-group liking when surveillance is present.

A main effect for in-group openness was also found, as predicted, indicating that children's reported level of liking toward the members of their team was significantly greater in the open group condition than in the closed condition. This finding provided further support for the critical importance of a group belongingness and acceptance motive in children. Given that children are motivated to gain acceptance, especially when first joining a group, it would be expected that an open and accepting group would provide a greater likelihood of gaining and retaining membership, thereby fulfilling a need for group belonging and acceptance. A closed group would not instigate high levels of liking, since the perceived probability of attaining membership is lower than for an open group. It is therefore likely that children would not make any great effort to try and confirm membership within a closed group for fear of being excluded with negative consequences for the need for belonging and acceptance. In essence, the implication of the present finding is that children are more drawn toward open and accepting groups since they provide a better opportunity to fulfil a need for group belonging and acceptance than closed groups.

The absence of any interactive effects between in-group surveillance and in-group openness indicates that both of these variables have strong independent effects. It would

be expected that an open group would always be liked more than a closed group whether surveillance was present or absent. Interestingly, the lack of interaction indicates that under surveillance both open and closed in-groups are liked more than in the absence of surveillance. This finding suggests that, regardless of the openness of an in-group, surveillance appears to instigate a greater need to display liking towards one's own group, consequently increasing the possibility of acceptance and vice versa.

In sum, the findings on the in-group liking measure provided support for the critical significance of a need for belonging and acceptance when first joining a group. Consistent with this motive, both the openness of the in-group and in-group surveillance independently instigated greater liking for the in-group.

2.4.2 Out-group Liking

Whilst surveillance had an effect on the ratings of in-group liking, the same effect was not observed on out-group liking. The absence of effects on this measure due to the manipulated variables suggests that in the initial stages of group formation, the focus is on enhancing one's relationship with the in-group rather than concerning oneself with the attributes of the out-group. It seems reasonable to assume that if children in new group situations are primarily focused on gaining acceptance and fulfilling a need for belongingness, then the salience of the in-group is likely to override concerns about the out-group. This concurs with some of the recent research on children, which has shown in studies of national identification, that patterns of preference for own-nationality were not accompanied by rejection of other nationality groups (Verkuyten, 2001). It also highlights the difficulties often encountered due to the positive-negative asymmetry effect (Otten et al., 1996) whereby differentiation on positives is easier to elicit than those that involve negativity toward the out-group (e.g., Bennett et al., 2004; Bigler et al., 2001; Bigler et al., 1997). If there is a greater focus on the in-group in the early

stages of group formation, then differentiation may not be reflected to the same extent in measures of out-group liking, unless specifically endorsed by group norms.

The lack of effects on out-group liking might also suggest differential effects for self-presentational concerns when it comes to evaluating the in-group versus the out-group. Consistent with the positive-negative asymmetry effect, it would seem that it is more acceptable to magnify positivity toward the in-group under surveillance, whereas it might have been less socially acceptable to strongly dislike an out-group. Indeed, Rutland and colleagues (Rutland, 1999, 2004; Rutland, Cameron, Milne, et al., 2005) have argued from a self-presentational perspective that increasing awareness of generic social norms against explicit discrimination is a primary cause of the developmental decline in inter-group bias in middle childhood. However, given that children are driven by a need for belonging and acceptance, it seems more likely that in the present study surveillance instigates a focus on the in-group to the extent that children are more concerned about how they rate the in-group rather than the out-group.

The absence of any effect due to the openness of the in-group on out-group liking again suggests that children are more focused on in-group norms and rating the in-group rather than the out-group. Since the open or closed conditions described a quality of the in-group, it is unlikely that children would be concerned about how they rated an out-group. It is a possibility that if in-group norms expressing negativity toward the out-group had been salient, the children might have been concerned about rating the out-group in line with norms. However, based on the findings from the current study, it seems likely that in the context of a new group situation, surveillance and the openness of the in-group do not instigate concerns for the out-group and therefore children do not modify their liking toward an out-group due to these variables.

It is also worth noting that in the present study the in-group was described as being of high status. This raises the possibility that being placed in a high status group was

central to increasing the need to be accepted, thereby further reducing the salience of the out-group, which was of comparatively low status. Thus, children might have been especially motivated to be accepted in a high status group. Whilst some studies have shown that children prefer to be in a high status group (Nesdale et al, 2004; Yee & Brown, 1992), there has also been evidence to suggest that children like their own group more than another higher status group, even if their group has comparatively low status (Nesdale & Flessler, 2001). However, since this was not specifically examined in this study, future studies need to investigate whether a need for acceptance and belonging operates to the same extent when an in-group is of low status (see Study 4 of the current research program).

2.4.3 Age and Gender Differences.

Whilst age and gender were not experimentally manipulated, regression analyses did concur with an absence of gender effects on group attitudes, which is typically found in research with children of this age (e.g., Bigler, 1995; Bigler et al., 1997; Nesdale & Flessler, 2001; Nesdale et al, 2004). Therefore, the current research provided further evidence suggesting that in-group liking was equally important for both genders. This study also suggested that both genders were sensitive to the effects of in-group surveillance and the openness of the in-group.

The absence of any age effects was also noteworthy. In line with socio-cognitive theory (Aboud, 1988), it might have been expected that increasing age would have reduced in-group liking and increased out-group liking. In contrast, this trend was not found in the current research. However, it is important to note that the age range was limited and did not span across young, middle and later childhood. Some of the self-presentation research with children has also shown a developmental trend revealing changes in the selection of self-presentation tactics between grades four to seven (e.g., Banerjee, 2002; Bennett & Yeeles, 1990a, 1990b; Juvonen & Murdock, 1995). In

general studies have found that by 10 years of age, and certainly by the end of primary school, children's understanding of self-presentational motives allows them to moderate their behaviours (e.g., Banerjee, 2000, 2002a 2002b; Banerjee & Yuill, 1999a, 1999b). The absence of age related effects within the limited age group in the current study suggests that by 9 years of age children have an awareness of surveillance to the extent that they moderate, or in this case magnify, their attitudes when potentially accountable to the in-group. This might imply that children at this age already seek to express attitudes in a way that confirms membership of a social group and fulfils a need for belonging and acceptance.

2.4.4 General Conclusions

The present findings provided some preliminary evidence for the impact of in-group openness and in-group surveillance on the expression of in-group versus out-group liking. This first study demonstrated that children from 9 years of age are aware of in-group norms such as the openness of the in-group, and that this variable can moderate the expression of attitudes toward the in-group. Evidence was also provided that surveillance or accountability to one's in-group can increase liking toward that group, presumably with the goal of increasing the likelihood of belonging and acceptance. However, in-group surveillance and in-group openness were not implicated to the same extent in children's attitudes toward the out-group.

This first study highlighted children's potential motivation to be accepted and to belong to a positively distinct in-group and its effects on in-group liking. What remains to be answered is the extent to which the motivation for belonging and acceptance might influence out-group derogation, and the lengths to which children will go to confirm membership in a group when a greater threat of exclusion is present. Research will also need to be conducted to determine the effect of more specific group norms that prescribe negativity towards out-groups, in order to determine whether mere favouring

of the in-group extends to out-group derogation in order to gain acceptance. In addition, another important consideration is whether a threat from an out-group might shift an initial in-group focus to a simultaneous concern with the out-group and hence influence attitudes toward both the in-group and the out-group. These issues were explored further in the second study of the current research program.

3.0 STUDY 2: EXCLUSION THREAT, OUT-GROUP THREAT, NEW MEMBER ATTRIBUTES, AND CHILDREN'S GROUP ATTITUDES

3.1 Introduction

Study 1 revealed findings consistent with the view that children are motivated to be group members because of their need for belonging and acceptance. Consistent with the latter, results showed that children displayed an increased liking for the in-group but not the out-group when in-group surveillance was present versus absent. In addition, consistent with a belongingness need, Study 1 also demonstrated that an open and accepting in-group was liked much more than a closed and non-accepting in-group, with this variable again having no impact on liking toward the out-group. Importantly, while these results are consistent with the view that children have a need for belonging and acceptance that underpins their desire for group membership, this does not mean children will indiscriminately always display high liking for their own in-group. Rather, they were perceptive of, and responsive to, both in-group surveillance and openness, both influencing their in-group versus out-group ratings.

Whereas the first study suggested that children's primary focus is on the in-group and gaining acceptance by that group, social identity approaches such as SIT argue that in-group/out-group comparisons are central to group motives and the subsequent development of group attitudes. This raises a crucial question in regard to the motive to belong and be accepted. That is, to what extent does an inter-group comparative context influence the need to belong and be accepted, and instigate a concern for the in-group and its members, as well as the out-group? It is possible that the inter-group context may be an important influence on whether a need for group belongingness is activated. That is, aside from variables relating to the in-group (e.g., in-group surveillance), there may also be contextual variables that serve to activate children's belongingness needs. Thus, Study 2 was designed to extend Study 1 by revealing the further influence of

children's need for belonging and acceptance via the impact of two more factors (one intra-group, and one inter-group) on children's in-group and out-group liking.

3.1.1 In-group Threat of Exclusion

The first variable was an intra-group factor that concerned the impact on children's group liking of an in-group quality that is negative or unpleasant; in this case, threat of exclusion by the in-group. Might such an in-group norm of exclusion threat activate or de-activate the need to belong and be accepted, and subsequently, moderate in-group and/or out-group attitudes? The first study demonstrated children's awareness of an in-group norm of openness and its subsequent effects on their in-group, but not out-group liking. The importance of the second study was in its attempt to expand on the growing literature on the power of group norms to influence attitudes and behaviour. As noted previously, the recent research into the impact of group norms on children's attitudes and behaviours has demonstrated a variety of group-related effects. Most notably, the influence of normative beliefs has been implicated in bullying research (e.g., Ojala & Nesdale, 2004; Salmivalli et al., 1997) and aggression amongst primary school aged children (Henry et al., 2000; Stormshak et al., 1999).

However, the majority of studies investigating group norm effects have focused on normative beliefs about out-groups, or out-group members, and have not sought to examine beliefs about the in-group. Subjective group dynamics (Abrams et al., 2000) has attempted to fill the void by emphasising the importance of in-group norms, and having participants make judgments about conforming and non-conforming in-group members. Recent applications of SGD to the case of children have suggested that by 11 years of age children were aware of group norms to the extent that they expressed negative attitudes toward an in-group member who deviated from the group's norms (Abrams et al., 2007; Abrams, Rutland, & Cameron, 2003; Abrams et al., 2003).

However, these studies did not specifically manipulate in-group norms concerning the

acceptance of new members. An awareness of potential consequences that can be applied (via possible exclusion) by the in-group is likely to be a highly relevant group norm within the context of new group situations. Further, the few studies revealing the influence of accountability (e.g., Abrams et al., 2007; Rutland, Cameron, Milne, et al., 2005) have not investigated the potential threat of being excluded from an assigned group and its influence on group attitudes.

Given the assumption that a primary motive of young children is to belong and to be accepted, in-group norms regarding the acceptance or exclusion of new members are likely to be highly salient to children. Consequently, the current study sought to manipulate an in-group norm that described the in-group as being really tough on new children joining their team and holding the power to decide who actually becomes a group member. In other words, this exclusion threat was either present or absent. How might a child respond to a perceived exclusion threat by the in-group? One possibility is that a child might ignore the threat and just like the in-group more than the out-group. However, Study 1 suggested that children are not indiscriminating; that is, they take into account the qualities of the in-group. Another more likely possibility is that they would like the in-group less when an exclusion threat is present rather than absent, since the former would actually decrease the probability of the new member's inclusion. However, given children's desire to belong and be accepted, it would nevertheless be expected that children would still like the in-group, even in the exclusion threat condition, but that they would like it less than in the exclusion threat absent condition, and certainly more than the out-group.

3.1.2 Out-group Threat

Since it is reasonable to assume that intra-group processes do not operate in isolation, especially if an inter-group competitive context is evoked, the second variable manipulated in Study 2 concerned the impact on children's group attitudes of an inter-

group factor; in this case, a threat from an out-group against the in-group. The critical question here is whether this threat raises more concerns about the in-group or the out-group. SIT predicts that a fundamental motive is to enhance the distinctiveness of the in-group relative to an out-group. Therefore, a threat to the status or distinctiveness of the in-group by an out-group might be expected to increase the motive to differentiate between the groups, to increase in-group cohesion, and to display greater in-group liking following out-group threat versus no threat. In contrast, SIDT predicts that out-group derogation is more likely to occur in response to a threat from an out-group (Nesdale, 2004).

Some support for the latter prediction comes from a study by Ojala and Nesdale (2004), which revealed an increase in the acceptance of bullying behaviour when prescribed by group norms and when the member of an out-group represented a threat to the in-group. In addition, Nesdale and colleagues (Nesdale, Durkin, et al., 2005; Nesdale, Maass, et al., 2005) reported that out-group prejudice was greater when there was threat versus no threat from the out-group. However, there was no evidence that the participants liked the in-group more under out-group threat.

Contrary to SIT, but consistent with SIDT, these studies might suggest that an out-group threat affects liking toward the out-group but not toward the in-group. However, only two previous studies have addressed this issue directly (i.e., Nesdale, Durkin, et al., 2005; Nesdale, Maass, et al., 2005). Moreover, the notion that out-group threat enhances in-group cohesion and liking is held as a truism by many in the lay community. Accordingly, one aim of the present study was to re-examine the impact of out-group threat on in-group and out-group liking. If children are motivated by a need for belonging and acceptance, then it would be expected that, consistent with SIDT, out-group threat would only impact upon out-group liking. In contrast, SIT would predict that out-group threat would enhance in-group liking and diminish out-group liking.

In order to investigate the potential impact of the intra-group factor (i.e., in-group exclusion threat) and the inter-group factor (i.e., out-group threat) on children's group attitudes, the analysis in this study focused on evaluation of the in-group relative to the out-group. Various researchers have argued that there is unlikely to be a reciprocal relationship between in-group and out-group attitudes, whereby strong in-group bias implies equally strong out-group negativity, and have therefore suggested that there may be different processes that underlie in-group and out-group aspects of differentiation in children (Aboud, 2003; Brewer, 1999; Cameron, Alvarez, Ruble, & Fuligni, 2001). Indeed, the first study in this current research program demonstrated significant effects on in-group liking but no effects on out-group liking.

However, in the context of the second study, where the salience of the out-group was increased via a threat from that group, in-group and out-group comparisons on attitudes provided for a more theoretically meaningful analysis, which lies closer to the SIT notion of in-group favouritism. As such, this method can allow for an analysis of in-group bias within a context that evokes a competitive comparison between groups. There is also the additional benefit of accounting for response biases such as the tendency to provide positive responses to both groups.

3.1.3 New Member Acceptance

Whilst the intra-group and inter-group variables were the primary focus of the present study, given that a need for belongingness enhances focus on the in-group and gaining acceptance, it would be expected that children are concerned about the in-group's members and are particularly observant of their attributes. Hence, the influence of one other variable was also of particular interest: the extent to which the attributes of another child wishing to join the in-group impacts upon the participants' attitudes towards the potential new group member. In other words, in order to provide a further test of the relevance of children's need for belongingness and acceptance on their group

attitudes, the study also examined the extent of the participant's endorsement of a new group member who was either team supportive or team non-supportive.

Research on SGD suggests that children are keenly aware of the attributes and behaviours of individual members and whether or not these behaviours support the in-group (Abrams, Rutland, & Cameron, 2003; Abrams et al., 2007; Abrams et al., 2003). Socio-cognitive theory (Aboud, 1988) also suggests that, by mid-childhood, the cognitive attainments encompassed by concrete operations, allow children to differentiate between individual members rather than just perceiving them as category members. For example, Doyle et al. (1988) found an increase in ethnic flexibility in the attribution of characteristics, and an understanding that both different and similar ethnic groups can share similar attributes. Research has also shown that children from dominant ethnic groups displayed an increase in in-group positivity and out-group negativity up to about 6 to 7 years of age, after which time there was a decrease in these attributions (e.g., Aboud, 1988; Bigler & Liben, 1993; Doyle & Aboud, 1995).

In the context of the present study, another issue of concern was the extent to which out-group threat and in-group exclusion threat influence the acceptance of a new member who was described as being team supportive or team non-supportive. Given that an in-group exclusion threat might reduce a participant's liking for the in-group and decrease his/her desire to join that group, how would that participant respond to the potential new member? One possibility is that the participant's judgments would reflect their own need to confirm membership by conforming to group expectations. That is, the new member would be rejected when the group favoured exclusion, but accepted when the group did not. However, given that a need for belonging and acceptance enhances in-group focus, the attributes of this new member would also be highly salient. Thus, it is plausible that these judgments would be influenced by whether the new member was team supportive rather than non-supportive, with the new member

more likely to be accepted under the former condition. This prediction would concur with subjective group dynamics, which focuses on the integrity of the in-group and support for in-group norms. Therefore, when searching for in-group acceptance both normative beliefs about exclusion and the attributes of another member are likely to be taken into consideration such that this new member is predicted to be most likely to be accepted under conditions of no exclusion threat and team supportive attributes.

3.1.4 Summary and Hypotheses

The second study sought to extend the first study by manipulating three variables (in-group exclusion threat, out-group threat, new member attributes) within the context of a minimal group paradigm. Given that these factors served to activate children's belongingness needs, the study assessed the children's liking ratings for the in-group versus the out-group, the desire to work with the in-group versus the out-group, the acceptance of another member, and a behavioural intention to derogate an out-group.

The study sought to test the following hypotheses. Given that children have a general need for belonging and acceptance, it was predicted that, consistent with SIT and SIDT, the in-group would always be liked more than the out-group, and that the participants would have a greater desire to work with the in-group rather than the out-group. The children were also expected to like the in-group more in the absence rather than presence of an in-group exclusion threat, and also to have a greater desire to work with the in-group under the former condition. Further, out-group threat versus no threat was expected to decrease liking for, and desire to work with, the out-group, but to have no effect on liking for, or desire to work with, the in-group. The presence rather than absence of in-group exclusion threat was also expected to lead to decreased acceptance of a new member due to a need to conform to the in-group. However, it was expected that acceptance of the new member would be least when the team member was non-supportive versus supportive. However, a need to confirm group membership was

expected to prompt an interaction between in-group exclusion threat and out-group threat on out-group derogation. It was expected that in the absence of an exclusion threat, greater derogation of an out-group would occur when an out-group threat was present versus absent. This was not expected to occur in the presence of an exclusion threat since a child was more likely to have a reduced liking for a group that provides a decreased opportunity for acceptance.

As in Study 1, several variables were manipulated within the context of a minimal group paradigm to examine their effects on children's group attitudes, as in some earlier research (Nesdale et al., 2004; Nesdale & Flessner, 2001). This paradigm again invited children to participate in a pretend inter-group drawing competition for which they were assigned membership in a particular group. The children were presented with a set of photographs representing their group, and another group against which they would be competing in the drawing competition. Following the presentation of information about each of the teams, including the manipulation of three variables (in-group exclusion threat, out-group threat, and new member attributes), the children's in-group and out-group attitudes were assessed.

The minimal group design in this study differed from the first study in a number of ways. First, the experimental manipulations were all conducted with individual participants in contrast to the class group method of the first study. Second, all manipulations were provided verbally by the experimenter. Third, in order to enhance identification, this study included taking each participant's photo, which was to be placed alongside his/her team photos. An additional photo of another potential new group member was also included in this experiment.

Most importantly, several additional dependent variables were included in this study compared with those used in Study 1. As noted above, the children's desire to work with the in-group and the out-group was assessed in order to determine whether a

measure that might assess possible peer interaction was more sensitive to a need for group belongingness than a purely affective measure. Whilst the aim was to investigate in-group versus out-group preferences, a separate measure of derogation was also used in order to determine whether mere in-group preferences might extend to out-group prejudice. In addition, the acceptance of a new group member was also assessed separately in order to determine whether a participant's need for belongingness might be reflected in their acceptance of another new member.

In sum, the study sought to investigate whether a need for group belonging and acceptance might be differentially activated in an inter-group comparative context, where the focus is both on the out-group, via a threat to the in-group's status or distinctiveness, and the in-group, via a threat of exclusion to in-group members. The process of joining a team was also made more salient by drawing attention to the attributes of another new member wanting to join the in-group.

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Participants

The sample consisted of 82 children, from grades 4 and 5 who were attending two public primary schools serving the same middle class community. These participants were made up of 52 females and 30 males aged 7-11 years, with a mean age of 9.15 years. The majority of the participants (83%) were aged between 9 and 10 years.

3.2.2 Design

The study comprised a 2 (in-group exclusion threat: exclusion threat versus no exclusion threat) x 2 (out-group threat: out-group threat versus no out-group threat) x 2 (new member attributes: team supportive versus team non-supportive) factorial between-subjects design. An approximately equal number of boys and girls were randomly allocated into each of the conditions, with slightly more girls than boys in each cell due to the gender imbalance.

3.2.3 Materials

3.2.3.1 Photos.

As outlined in Study 1, a set of photos was collected for use in order to represent the participant's in-group and the out-group against which s/he was to compete. Two sets of group photos representing the participant's in-group and the out-group were used in this study. Each gender was provided with gender-matched photos. For male participants, the first set consisted of 2 white Anglo-Australian boys representing the in-group on a single sheet of paper, and the second, 4 different photos of boys on a separate sheet representing the out-group. For female participants, the photo sets consisted of 2 girls for the in-group and 4 photos of girls for the out-group. These were selected from a previous study by Nesdale et al. (2003) with all photos matched in rated (moderate) attractiveness. The photo sets for the in-group contained a blank square at the bottom of the page. One more photo page was used for each gender representing another new member. This was a single head-and-shoulder photo of a boy or a girl. A polaroid camera, a sticky note pad and pencils were also required for this minimal groups experiment.

3.2.3.2 Response booklet.

The response booklet included all the response measures for the study. The first items were manipulation check measures for in-group exclusion threat, and new member attributes. These were followed by the seven main dependent measures, assessing in-group liking and out-group liking, desire to work with the in-group and out-group, new member acceptance, and two behavioural intention items. These items are outlined in greater detail below. Several additional filler items were also included so as to distract participants from the main thrust of the study. A copy of the response booklet is included in Appendix B.

3.2.4 Procedure

The study was carried out in two phases employing a procedure similar to the pretend drawing competition scenario described in Study 1.

3.2.4.1 Phase 1.

The children who had gained parental consent to participate were told by the experimenter that he was visiting a number of schools and inviting children to do drawings for an artistic competition. The children in this initial phase were asked to make a whole-body drawing of a person on a 15 cm x 15 cm square on a single sheet of A4 paper. They were also asked to write their names in a space provided on this drawing sheet. The participating teachers were provided with training in the specific directions to give the children during this drawing phase. The teachers were then requested to conduct the drawing phase during the week and to collect and store all of the drawings prior to the experimenter arriving for Phase 2.

3.2.4.2 Phase 2.

The second phase took place approximately 1-3 weeks after the completion of Phase 1. The teachers were asked to send one child at a time to a room set up for testing. Only those who had completed the drawing and returned the consent form were allowed to participate. The participating children were told by the experimenter that they would take part in a pretend activity, which required the use of their imagination. They were then reminded of the drawings they had completed in the first phase and were asked to pretend that they were going to take part in a big drawing competition. They were also told that as part of the pretend game the experimenter would need to take a head-and-shoulder photo of each child, which they would be allowed to keep at the conclusion of the game. Each participant's verbal consent was gained before continuing with the experiment.

At this stage the pretend game was introduced. Participants were asked to pretend that an art judge had rated all of the drawings completed by the class and that each child was going to be placed into one of two types of groups: either a team of *excellent* drawers or a team of *ok* drawers. The participants were then told that the experimenters had already taken lots of photos of *excellent* drawers and *ok* drawers from other schools and that s/he had been selected to be placed into one of these teams, which would then compete against each other in a drawing contest. The participants were asked to pretend that the prize they would be playing for was a season pass to Dreamworld (a popular theme park). Each child was then told that s/he had been selected for the *excellent* drawers since the aim was to investigate children's responses in relation to their membership of a desirable team.

Thus, each child was told "The art judge has rated your drawing and decided to place you in the team of excellent drawers". The participant was then shown a photo set containing two head-and-shoulder photos of children of the same gender and was told that they would be "your team mates in your excellent drawing team". This photo set was placed in front of the child and a sticky note with the word *excellent* attached to the top of the page. This was done as a further reminder of the status of the child's in-group. In order to reinforce the desirability of this team, the children were told that, "This is the team everyone wants to be in since they have the best chance of winning the competition". The child's own photo was then placed into the blank square on the in-group photo set. In order to build some sense of belonging to, or ownership of, the team, the participants were asked what colour they would like their team to be named. This colour name was written on the sticky note below the word *excellent*. The children were then told that their excellent drawing team still needed one more member to join them and s/he would be selected at a later time. The participants were all then provided with information about the in-group that "Your team really wants to win the

competition and the prize that comes with the win”. The preceding instructions were identical for each participant.

Following the initial instructions, each child was then randomly allocated to one of eight different conditions, which varied according to the combination of the three independent variables. The manipulation of *in-group exclusion threat* was designed to assess the impact of the presence versus absence of information about an in-group norm which prescribed how accepting the group was towards new members. Children assigned to the *exclusion threat* condition were told that:

“You’re not part of the team yet, it is your team that will decide if you should become part of the excellent team. Because they really want to win the competition they are really tough on new kids joining their team and they like everyone to be very similar.”

In contrast, children assigned to the *no exclusion threat* condition were provided no further information about their team.

Following this manipulation, a set of four photos of either boys or girls, matched in age and gender to the participant, were revealed. The four polaroid-sized head-and-shoulder photos appeared on a single A4 sized sheet of paper that was placed next to the participant’s own team photo page. The participants were told that this was the team that their own team would be competing against. To further emphasise the status difference between these two teams the participants were told that “The art judge rated their drawings as being ok, but not excellent... this means your drawings were rated as being better than their team’s”. In order to further highlight this difference and make the status more salient to the children a sticky note was attached to the front of the other team’s photo page with *ok* written on it. A colour name, different to the one chosen for the child’s own team, was also written below this label. A final verbal reminder was

provided to the children stating their team, its colour name and status, and the team they will compete against and its colour name and status.

To manipulate *out-group threat*, the children were told that there were a couple of things they needed to know about the teams. In the *out-group threat* condition, children were told that:

“Because this ok drawing team has recently beaten an excellent drawing team in a practice competition, they’re feeling very confident that they will beat you. They also said that you don’t deserve to be the excellent drawing team and they’re out to get you and make you look bad.”

Conversely, in the *no out-group threat* condition, the children were provided no further information about the *ok* drawing team.

To manipulate the final variable, *new member attributes*, the children were told that their team still needed one more member. The children were shown a single photo of either an Anglo-Australian boy or girl and told that “This is the boy/girl that wants to become part of your team”. In the *team supportive* condition the children were told that, “This boy/girl is definitely an excellent drawer and really wants to win and does not like the other team of ok drawers”. In contrast, the *team non-supportive* condition stated that “This boy/girl is not an excellent drawer and s/he doesn’t really care about winning and kind of likes the ok team”. The children were then told that the rest of their team would like his/her opinion about this new member and if s/he should be chosen. It was emphasised that the participant’s opinions would be sent to the rest of his/her team and “Your team will then decide if this boy/girl should become part of the excellent team”. In the exclusion threat condition it was added that, “Your team will then decide if you should become part of the excellent team”.

At this point, the participants were told that the researcher was interested in finding out what they thought about their team and the other team. The response booklet was

provided to the participants and a brief demonstration was given on how to respond to the 7-point bipolar scales. This booklet contained the dependent variable measures of group attitudes, behavioural intent and new member acceptance. It was again emphasised that the participant's answers were anonymous and that they were only required to record their age and gender on the form. A prompt was made informing the children that to answer some of the questions they would have to think back to information stated about their team and the other team. This prompt was the only one repeated if children were unsure about any of the questions.

3.2.5 *Dependent Measures*

3.2.5.1 *Manipulation check measures*

In-group exclusion threat. This check item consisted of a single question on a bipolar scale asking "How tough are the kids in your team to new kids joining them?" This was rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = *very tough* to 7 = *very easy*.

New member attributes. This check item consisted of a single question on a bipolar scale asking "How similar is the new member to the rest of your excellent team?" This was rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = *not at all similar* to 7 = *very similar*.

A manipulation check item on out-group threat was intentionally omitted because the inclusion of such an item might have produced a perception of threat from the out-group, even in the absence of such a threat.

3.2.5.2 *Main dependent measures*

In-group and out-group liking. Two items were used to measure in-group liking and out-group liking, both of which were measured on 7-point bipolar scales: "How much do you like the kids in your team?" and "How much do you like the kids from the other team?" Responses for each question were rated from 1 = *don't like a lot* to 7 = *like a lot*.

Desire to work with in-group and out-group. The children's desire to work with the in-group and the out-group was assessed by two items: "How much do you wish to

work with your team?” and “How much do you wish to work with the other team?”

These were rated from 1 = *not at all* to 7 = *very much* on separate bipolar scales.

Acceptance of new member. Three items were used to assess how likely the participants would be to accept a new member. These items were: “How much do you want the new member to be part of your team?”; “How much do you think the new member deserves to be part of your team?”; “How well do you think the new member would fit in to your team?” Responses to each question were recorded on separate 7-point bipolar scales ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 7 = *very much*.

Behavioural intention items. The final page of the response booklet assessed the participant’s intention to engage in specific behaviours. This intention was assessed following the presentation of a short narrative at the top of the page, which asked the participants to imagine that the drawing competition had started. The specific instructions were adapted from a study by Duffy (2004) and stated:

“For the next part, imagine that the drawing competition has just started.

Your team and the other team are asked to draw a picture of the Australian bush and the animals that live in it. Your team draws their picture and begins to colour it in. As you are doing this, your team notices that the other team’s drawing seems to be quite good and the ok team is looking very happy with it.”

Following these instructions, the participants were asked to respond to 2 questions assessing their likelihood of engaging in specific behaviours. One was an item assessing derogation “Try to put off the other team by making fun of them”. The other was an item assessing pro-social behaviour “Tell them that their drawing was really good”. Responses were recorded on separate 7-point bipolar scales ranging from 1 = *very unlikely I would do this* to 7 = *very likely I would do this*. Additional filler items were included to take the emphasis off the main dependent variables.

Following the completion of the questionnaire, the participants were thanked for taking part in the pretend game and asked if they enjoyed it. In order to ensure the participants experienced no negative effects from the simulation experiment, a debriefing was provided emphasising the pretend aspects of the game. The participants were reminded that all aspects of the game were imaginary, from the art judge rating of the drawings, to the teams to which they had been assigned. Each child was also told that the experimenter had looked at all of the drawings and that s/he could consider him/herself as being a very creative and talented drawer. The children were then allowed to keep their photo and were returned to their classrooms.

3.3 Results

3.3.1 Preliminary Analyses

An initial exploration of the data revealed no missing data and no significant concerns with the distributional requirements of ANOVA. Due to the small number of participants in the 7, 8, and 11 year old age categories, the children's responses were not grouped into ages for analysis. Further, preliminary multiple regression analyses across all the dependent measures did not reveal any significant age or gender effects.

3.3.1.1 Manipulation check data.

In-group exclusion threat. An independent groups *t*-test on the *in-group exclusion threat* manipulation check question of "How tough are the kids in your team to new kids joining them?" indicated that when an exclusion threat was present the participants rated their team as significantly tougher ($M = 2.69$, $SD = 1.93$) than when exclusion threat was absent ($M = 3.68$, $SD = 1.95$), $t(80) = 2.29$, $p < .05$, demonstrating the effectiveness of this manipulation.

New member attributes. An independent groups *t*-test on the *new member attributes* manipulation check question of "How similar is the new member to the rest of your excellent team?" indicated that when the new member was described as being *team non-*

supportive the children reported significantly less similarity ($M = 3.12$, $SD = 1.55$) than when the new member was described as being *team supportive* ($M = 4.98$, $SD = 1.82$), $t(80) = 4.96$, $p < .001$, demonstrating the effectiveness of this manipulation.

3.3.2 Main Findings

3.3.2.1 In-group and out-group liking.

Responses on the items of “How much do you like the kids in your team?” and “How much do you like the kids in the other team?” were analysed in a 2 (in-group exclusion threat: exclusion threat versus no exclusion threat) x 2 (out-group threat: out-group threat versus no out-group threat) x 2 (new member attributes: team supportive versus team non-supportive) x 2 (target: in-group versus out-group) ANOVA with the last factor within subjects. This analysis identified two significant effects. The first effect was a main effect for *target* $F(1, 74) = 29.20$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .28$, revealing that the in-group was liked significantly more ($M = 4.93$, $SD = 1.96$) than the out-group ($M = 3.17$, $SD = 1.74$).

The second effect found was a significant *out-group threat* x *target* interaction $F(1, 74) = 4.75$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$. Figure 3.1 shows that the difference in liking for the in-group versus out-group increased substantially when there was an out-group threat present versus absent. Simple effects analyses¹ were conducted to evaluate the differences between the means. This analysis revealed no significant difference in liking toward the in-group as a function of whether out-group threat was present or absent, ($M = 5.11$, $SD = 2.12$ versus $M = 4.75$, $SD = 1.79$, respectively), $F(1, 80) = .63$, *ns*. In contrast, the out-group was liked significantly less when threat was present ($M = 2.64$, $SD = 1.58$) rather than absent ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 1.76$), $F(1, 80) = 8.25$, $p < .01$.

¹ An alpha level of .05 was utilised for all simple effects analyses reported.

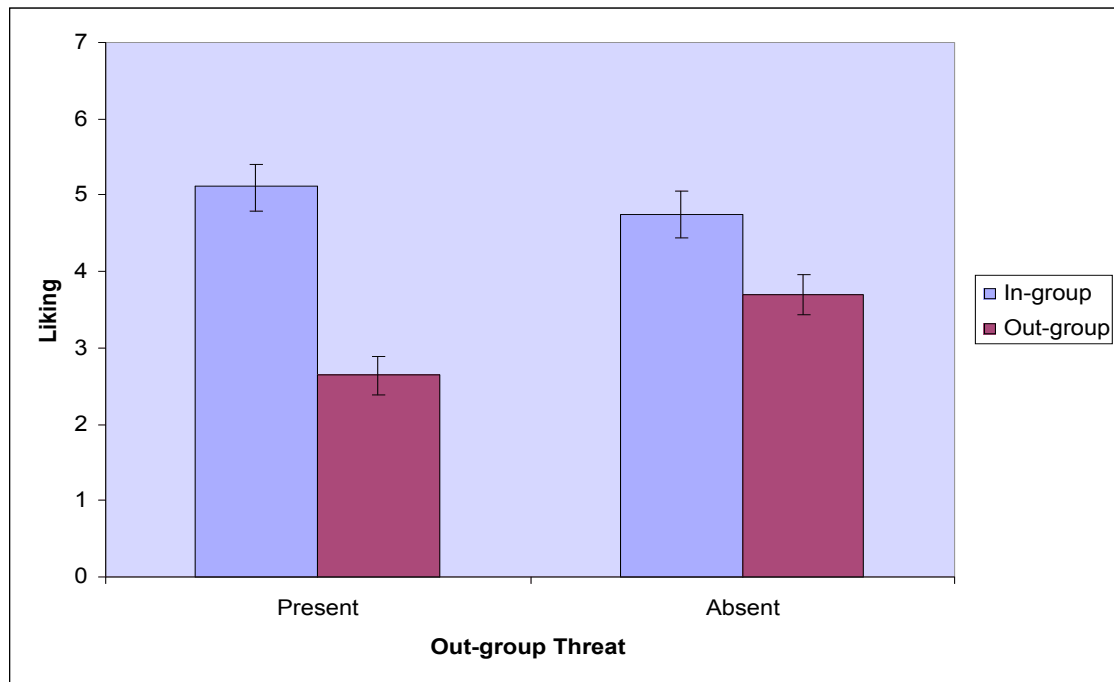


Figure 3.1. Interaction between out-group threat and liking for in-group and out-group

3.3.2.2 Desire to work with in-group and out-group.

Responses on the items of “How much would you wish to work with your team?” and “How much would you wish to work with the other team?” were analysed in a 2 (in-group exclusion threat: exclusion threat versus no exclusion threat) x 2 (out-group threat: out-group threat versus no out-group threat) x 2 (new member attributes: team supportive versus team non-supportive) x 2 (target: in-group versus out-group) ANOVA with the last factor within subjects. This analysis identified four significant effects. The first was a main effect for *target* $F(1, 74) = 81.33, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .52$, revealing that the participants wished to work with the in-group much more ($M = 5.43, SD = 1.74$) than the out-group ($M = 3.00, SD = 1.77$). However, this effect was qualified by three significant interactions.

A significant *out-group threat x target* interaction $F(1, 74) = 13.18, p < .005$, partial $\eta^2 = .15$, indicating differential responding toward each group as a function of out-group threat. Simple effects analyses were carried out to determine if this difference

occurred in both the in-group and the out-group ratings. A comparison of means showed that the participants' desire to work with the in-group was significantly greater ($M = 5.95$, $SD = 1.59$) when there was an out-group threat present versus absent ($M = 4.90$, $SD = 1.78$), $F(1, 80) = 7.80$, $p < .01$. Further, the desire to work with the out-group was significantly less ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 1.44$) when out-group threat was present versus absent ($M = 3.45$, $SD = 1.97$), $F(1, 80) = 5.65$, $p < .05$. However, even under no threat conditions the in-group was liked more than the out-group, $F(1, 80) = 11.68$, $p < .01$ (see Figure 3.2).

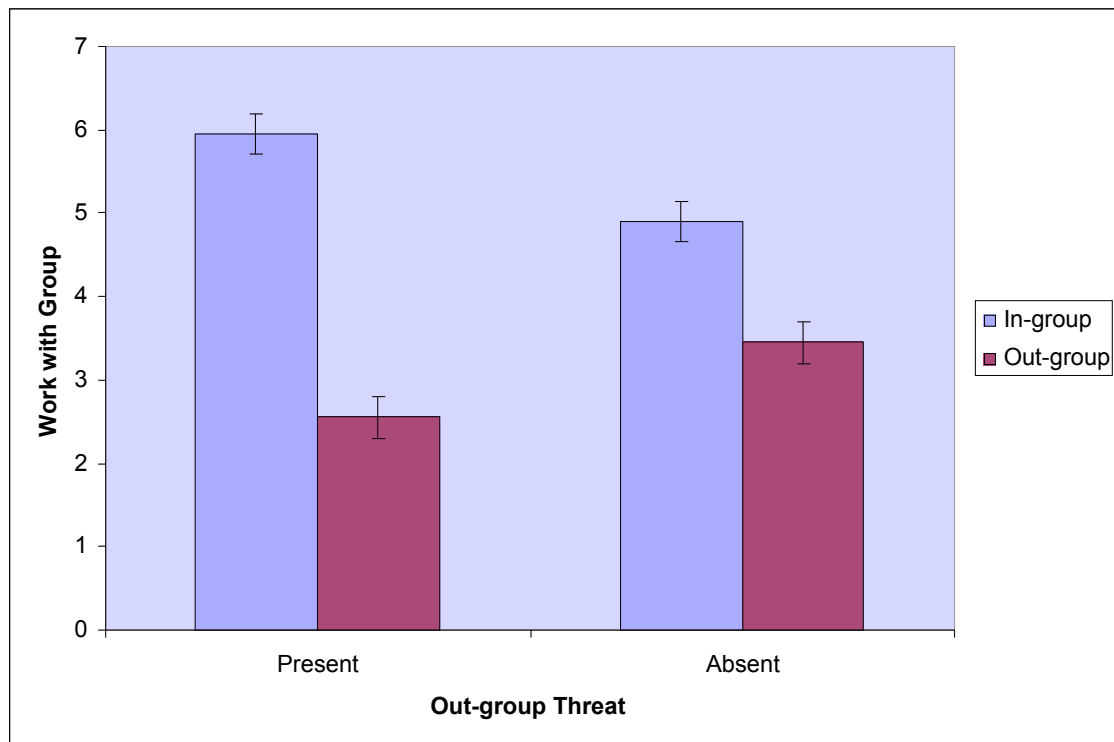


Figure 3.2. Interaction between out-group threat and desire to work with the in-group and out-group.

A significant *target x in-group exclusion threat* interaction $F(1, 74) = 8.24$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .10$ was also revealed, which showed that the participants' desire to work with the in-group ($M = 5.95$, $SD = 1.48$) rather than the out-group ($M = 2.75$, $SD = 1.59$)

was greater when there was no in-group exclusion threat, rather than when there was an exclusion threat (in-group $M = 4.90$, $SD = 1.83$; out-group $M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.91$).

The previous interaction was qualified by a significant *target x in-group exclusion threat x new member attributes* interaction $F(1, 74) = 5.39$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$.

The significance of differences between pair-wise means was computed using Duncan's Multiple Range Test². Table 3.1 shows the significance of differences between cell means. Most notably, the children had a greater desire to work for the in-group when an in-group exclusion threat was absent rather than present. When the new member was team supportive, there was also a significantly greater desire to work with the in-group when an exclusion threat was absent rather than present. In addition, in the absence of an exclusion threat, there was a significant reduction in the desire to work for the out-group when the new member was team supportive versus non-supportive. The finding is displayed in Figure 3.3.

Table 3.1

Cell Means and Standard Deviations for Target x In-group Exclusion Threat x New Member Attributes Interaction

		Exclusion Threat			
		Present		Absent	
Target		In-group	Out-group	In-group	Out-group
New Member Attributes	Supportive	4.58 (1.83) _c	3.03 (1.79) _{ab}	6.45 (1.28) _d	2.10 (1.45) _a
	Non-supportive	5.22 (1.81) _c	3.47 (2.04) _b	5.45 (1.54) _{cd}	3.40 (1.50) _b

Note. Cell means that do not share the same subscript are significantly different; Duncan's Multiple Range Test ($p < .05$)

² Due to the absence of specific predictions regarding this three-way interaction, the differences between all possible pair-wise comparisons was computed at $p < .05$.

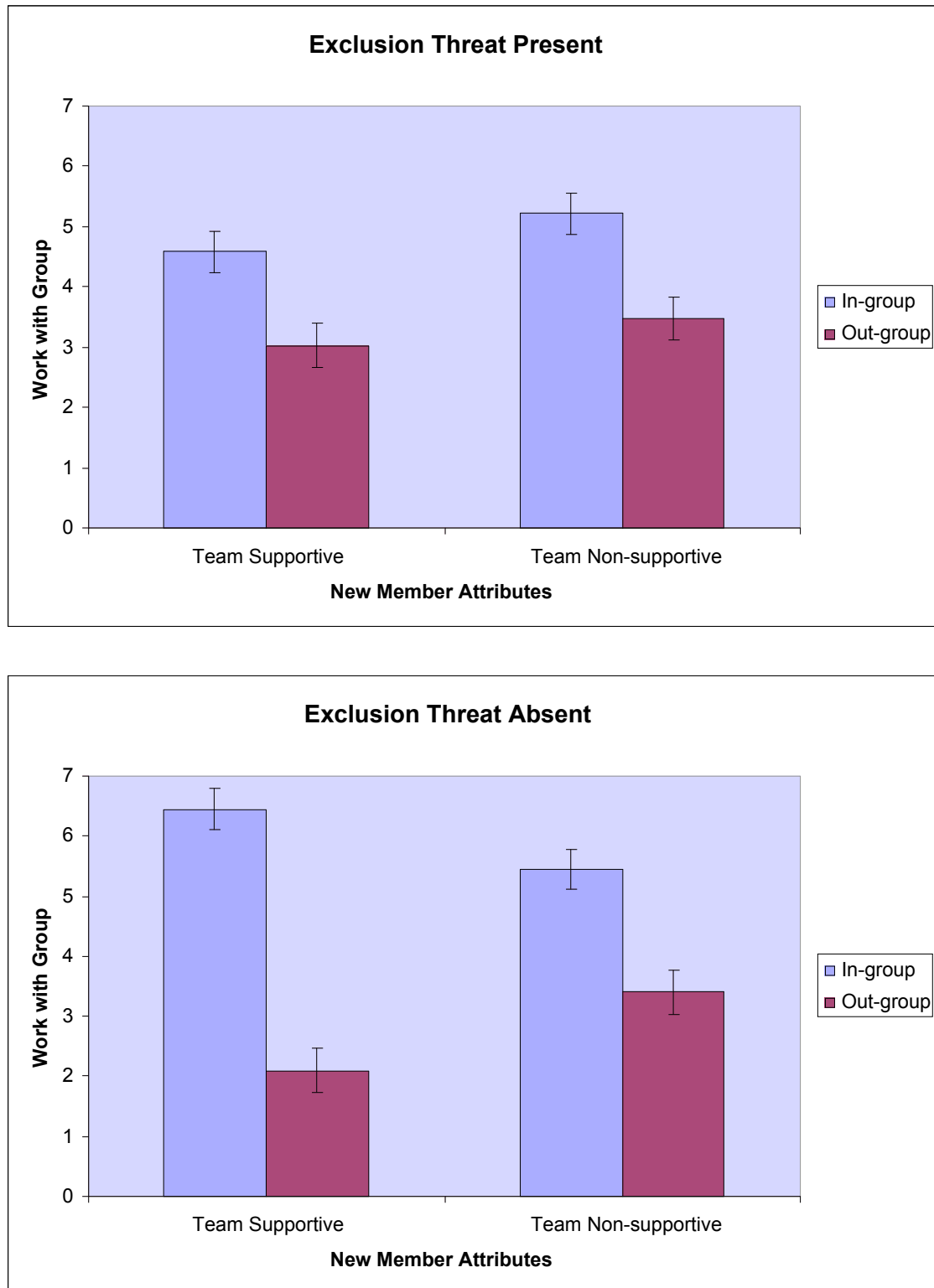


Figure 3.3. Interaction between target (in-group versus out-group) and new member attributes on ratings of desire to work with each team at both exclusion threat and no exclusion threat.

3.3.2.3 New member acceptance.

The three items used to measure the new member acceptance, including “How much do you want the new member to be part of your team?”, “How much do you think the new member deserves to be part of your team?”, and “How well do you think the new member would fit in to your team?” were analysed for significant correlations. Analysis revealed strong correlations between the items, which ranged from .73 to .76 ($p < .01$) indicating MANOVA as the best method of analysis.

The three items comprising the new member acceptance measures were subjected to a 2 (in-group exclusion threat: exclusion threat versus no exclusion threat) x 2 (out-group threat: out-group threat versus no out-group threat) x 2 (new member attributes: team supportive versus team non-supportive) MANOVA. The results of the MANOVA revealed two significant multivariate main effects on new member acceptance. The first was a significant multivariate main effect for *in-group exclusion threat* $F(3, 72) = 3.11$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .12$. Follow-up univariate tests on each of the three items were then conducted to determine the most significant contributors to this multivariate main effect.

At a univariate level all individual items were significant at the .01 level. The most significant effect was on the item, “How well do you think the new member would fit in to your team?” $F(1, 74) = 8.02$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .10$. The new member was reported to fit in the team better when in-group exclusion threat was absent ($M = 5.53$, $SD = 1.54$) rather than present ($M = 4.59$, $SD = 1.65$). The next most significant effect was on the item, “How much do you think the new member deserves to be part of your team?” $F(1, 74) = 7.52$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .09$. A higher deservedness rating was revealed when in-group exclusion threat was absent ($M = 5.93$, $SD = 1.46$) rather than present ($M = 5.01$, $SD = 1.69$). The third effect was on the item, “How much do you want the new member to be part of your team?” $F(1, 74) = 7.20$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .09$. Results

showed that children were more likely to want the new member to be part of the team when there was an in-group exclusion threat absent ($M = 5.63, SD = 1.75$) versus present ($M = 4.64, SD = 1.69$).

The second multivariate main effect identified was for *new member attributes* $F(3, 72) = 5.72, p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .19$. The children were more likely to accept the new member when s/he was team supportive rather than team non-supportive. At a univariate level only two of the items were significant contributors to this effect. The first significant effect was on the item “How well do you think the new member would fit in to your team?” $F(1, 74) = 14.48, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .16$. Children thought that the new member was more likely to fit in when s/he was team supportive ($M = 5.69, SD = 1.47$), than when s/he was team non-supportive ($M = 4.43, SD = 1.59$). The second significant effect was on the item “How much do you think the new member deserves to be part of your team?” $F(1, 74) = 8.52, p < .0125$, partial $\eta^2 = .10$. Children thought that the new member deserved to be part of the team more when s/he was team supportive ($M = 5.96, SD = 1.28$), than when s/he was team non-supportive ($M = 4.98, SD = 1.81$).

3.3.2.4 Behavioural intention.

The first behavioural intention item which measured derogation behaviour (“Try to put off the other team by making fun of them”) was analysed in a 2 (in-group exclusion threat: exclusion threat versus no exclusion threat) x 2 (out-group threat: out-group threat versus no out-group threat) x 2 (new member attributes: team supportive versus team non-supportive) ANOVA. However, no significant effects were found.

The second behavioural intention item, which measured pro-social behaviour (“Tell them that their drawing is really good”) was analysed in a 2 (in-group exclusion threat: exclusion threat versus no exclusion threat) x 2 (out-group threat: out-group threat versus no out-group threat) x 2 (new member attributes: team supportive versus team non-supportive) ANOVA. This analysis revealed an *in-group exclusion threat x new*

member attributes interaction $F(1, 74) = 4.62, p < .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .06$. Simple effects analyses revealed that in the absence of an exclusion threat there was no significant difference in the children's likelihood of telling the out-group that their drawing was good whether the new member was team supportive ($M = 3.85, SD = 2.08$) or team non-supportive ($M = 5.00, SD = 2.17$), $F(1, 78) = 3.62, ns$. Similarly, when an exclusion threat was present there was no significant difference in the likelihood of telling the out-group that their drawing was good whether the new member was team supportive ($M = 4.22, SD = 1.72$) versus team non-supportive ($M = 3.57, SD = 1.63$), $F(1, 78) = 1.10, ns$. However, it was found that when a new member was team non-supportive there was a significantly greater likelihood of telling the out-group their drawing was good when an exclusion threat was absent rather than present, $F(1, 78) = 5.67, p < .05$ (see Figure 3.4).

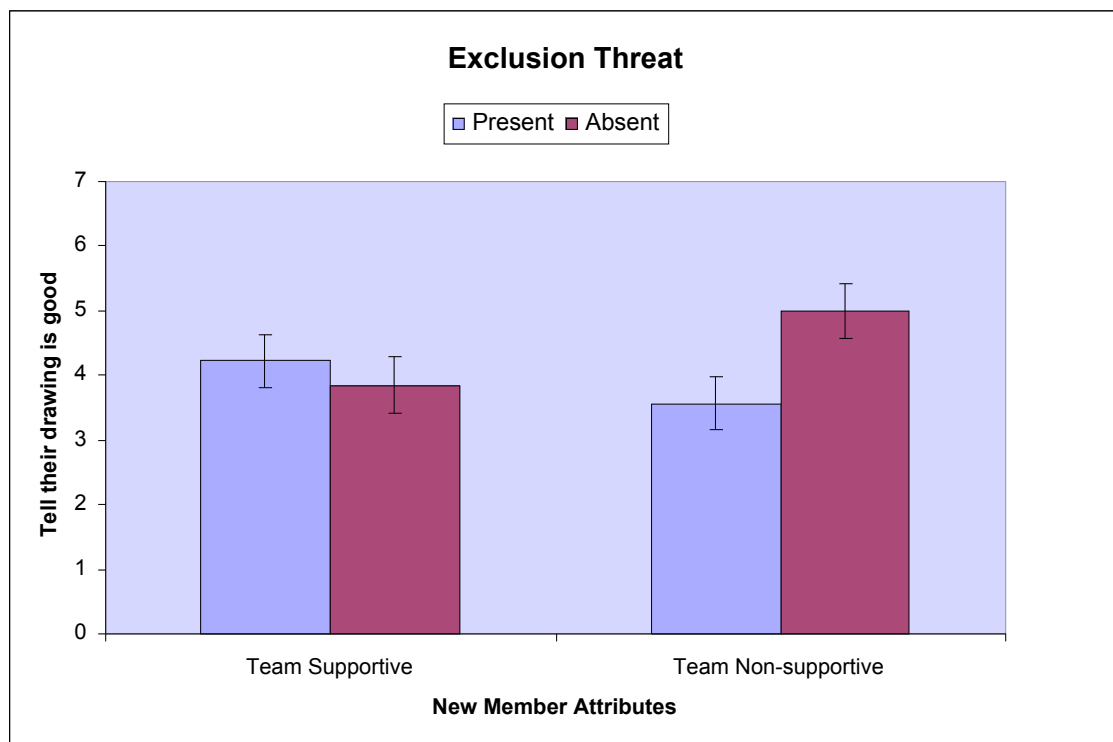


Figure 3.4. Interaction between new member attributes and exclusion threat on ratings of the likelihood of telling the out-group their drawing is really good.

3.4 Discussion

The present study sought to extend Study 1 by investigating children's group attitudes and intentions in response to an in-group exclusion threat and a threat from an out-group. The aim was to investigate whether a context that instigates a focus on the out-group via a status or distinctiveness threat might differentially activate the children's need to belong and be accepted, hence impact on their group attitudes. In addition, the composition of the in-group was made salient through both an in-group norm of exclusion and the attributes of another member wanting to join the in-group. From a need for belonging and acceptance account it was expected that the in-group would always be liked more than the out-group. The children were also expected to like the in-group, and have a greater desire to work with them, in the absence rather than presence of an in-group exclusion threat. Further, out-group threat was only expected to impact on out-group attitudes. In addition, the new member was expected to be endorsed to a greater extent when s/he was supportive versus non-supportive and when in-group exclusion threat was absent rather than present. Finally, in the absence of an exclusion threat, greater derogation of an out-group was expected when an out-group threat was present versus absent. Mixed support was found for these predictions.

3.4.1 In-group and Out-group Liking

The liking measures provided some support for predictions based on the assumption that children's need for belonging and acceptance would be differentially activated by the independent variables. As expected, a main effect for *target* revealed that the in-group was liked significantly more than the out-group. This is a finding that has been often reported in research with children (e.g., Aboud, 1988; Bigler, 1995; Bigler et al, 1997; Nesdale et al, 2003). Within the context of the current experimental design, this finding suggests that a high status in-group will always be liked more than an out-group. Since children had been assigned to this in-group, a need for acceptance would

be expected to manifest itself in increased liking for the in-group rather than the out-group. However, Nesdale and Flessner (2001) demonstrated that the status of the in-group was not necessarily a prerequisite for liking the in-group more than an out-group. Hence, further research would be required to determine whether a need for belonging and acceptance is activated to the same extent in low status groups (see Chapter 5).

The liking measures also revealed a significant *out-group threat* x *target* interaction. This provided support for the activation of a need for belonging and acceptance. As expected, an out-group threat increased differentiation between the groups on the liking measure. Specifically, the difference in liking for the in-group versus the out-group increased substantially in the presence versus absence of an out-group threat. However, simple effects analyses revealed that there was no significant difference in liking toward the in-group whether an out-group threat was present or absent. Findings revealed that it was the out-group that was liked significantly less when threat was present rather than absent. Hence, consistent with predictions, it would appear that the salience of a threat from an out-group does increase differentiation, but this occurs primarily in terms of liking for the out-group.

Consistent with predictions derived from SIT, this finding does provide some evidence of children's awareness of a threat to an in-group's status or distinctiveness by an out-group and the subsequent effects on differentiation between the groups. However, both SCT and SIT would predict that in-group liking would increase in the presence of an out-group threat as a need to increase the positive distinctiveness of the in-group would become a significant motivator. Although it might be argued that this result would also be predicted from a need for belonging and acceptance perspective, such is not necessarily the case. Rather, a need for belonging and acceptance approach would simply argue that, regardless of out-group threat, a group member would identify with, and like the in-group. The previous findings are consistent with this. That is, the

findings indicate that an inter-group comparative context that promotes a distinctiveness threat does not affect rating of the in-group and instead instigates a greater affective response toward the out-group. Consistent with SIDT, this finding also provides further support for the possibility that in-group bias and out-group dislike are separate processes that are not necessarily reciprocally related. This finding concurs with Nesdale, Maass, et al. (2005) who found that out-group threat had a greater impact on prejudice toward the out-group, rather than liking toward the in-group.

Contrary to predictions, in-group exclusion threat was not found to have a significant effect on liking toward the in-group. It was expected that a group that reduced the likelihood of fulfilling a need for acceptance by threatening exclusion would be liked less. This finding was in contrast to the first study, which revealed a greater liking toward an open than a closed group. However, the design of the present study did not include an open and accepting in-group, and instead compared an in-group which had an exclusion threat, versus one that had no exclusion threat information. Hence, if children are driven by a need for belonging and acceptance, at least in terms of in-group liking, information about an open and accepting in-group is apparently more salient than information about an in-group that threatens rejection. Therefore, a liking measure might be more sensitive to the salience of positive information about an in-group that increases acceptance. Another possibility concerns the specific inter-group context evoked in this experiment. In-group exclusion threat might not have impacted on liking if the children thought that the group was just trying to be tough on members so that they can be a great group and win the competition.

The findings also raise the possibility that once a threat from an out-group is made salient, the affect shifts away from the in-group in terms of the participant's liking responses. It is possible that if an in-group's positivity toward new members was made more salient, an out-group threat might shift concerns back on to increasing the

distinctiveness of the in-group, as a child might feel a greater desire to belong to that group. It is also possible that in this case an out-group threat had such a strong effect on participant's affect towards them that the primary focus was on displaying out-group dislike, perhaps as a means of confirming in-group membership. In a sense, in the presence of an out-group threat a child might have thought that, "I do like my team, but I definitely don't like the other team".

3.4.2 Desire to Work with the In-group and the Out-group.

Consistent with predictions based on children having a primary need for belonging and acceptance, the results revealed that participants wished to work with the in-group much more than the out-group. Also in line with expectations, the desire to work with the in-group rather than the out-group was much greater when there was an absence versus presence of an in-group exclusion threat. In addition, the desire to work with the in-group rather than the out-group was greater when there was an out-group threat present rather than absent. However, contrary to the liking ratings, this difference occurred on both the desire to work with the in-group and with the out-group. That is, as well as a decrease in the desire to work with the out-group in the presence versus absence of out-group threat, there was also a significantly greater desire to work with the in-group when an out-group threat was present versus absent. It might have been expected that if a primary concern for children was to belong to, and be accepted by, the in-group, then an inter-group variable (i.e., out-group threat) should not have influenced the desire to work with the in-group. This was not the case. Whilst liking toward an in-group was not affected by an inter-group variable, there is the possibility that a different process operates in the desire to work with a group. This difference might reflect a more straightforward choice of "do I want to work with this team?" This choice might simply be based on the practicalities of working with one's team and the implications these interactions with one's team members have on the participant's own likelihood of

acceptance or possibility of exclusion. Therefore from this perspective, the findings are not entirely inconsistent with a need for belonging and acceptance.

More importantly, a significant *target x exclusion threat x new member attributes* interaction was also found. In the presence of an in-group exclusion threat, there was no significant difference in the desire to work with the in-group versus the out-group when the new member was team supportive or team non-supportive, although children always had a greater desire to work with the in-group than the out-group. In contrast, when an in-group exclusion threat was absent the children had a significantly greater desire to work with the in-group rather than the out-group when the new member was team supportive versus team non-supportive. In addition, when there was an absence of an in-group exclusion threat, the desire to work with the out-group was significantly lower when the new member was team supportive versus team non-supportive.

It would appear that in this particular experimental design the manipulation of both the new member attributes and an in-group exclusion threat exerted a significant impact on children's desire to work for the in-group versus the out-group. When an in-group exclusion threat was absent, being provided with a contrary attitude held by another potential in-group member increased the desire to work with the out-group, although they still would have much rather worked with the in-group. However, more significant was the finding that in the absence of an in-group exclusion threat, the children reported a greater desire to work with the in-group, when a new member was team supportive rather than non-supportive. This is a noteworthy finding, since it implies that not only might children be motivated to monitor normative or deviant individual group members (see for example, Abrams et al., 2003; Nesdale & Brown, 2004), but also to take into account the attributes of these members, when making decisions about which teams to join themselves. The implication is that children might take the lead from other individual members based on the extent to which they support the team. It was also

significant that this effect only occurred in the absence of an exclusion threat, where a presumably more accepting in-group was seen as more desirable when another member wanting to join the team was supportive of group norms. The children might have thought that “this must be a team worth joining if s/he is trying so hard to get in”.

When an in-group exclusion threat was present there was likely to be less interest in the in-group, and the new members wishing to join them, since there would have been a reduced drive toward group belongingness. These findings also provide some indirect support for subjective uncertainty reduction theory (Hogg & Mullin, 1999), whereby a need for acceptance motive might have been complemented by a possible motive to reduce uncertainty and base decisions on other members when making decisions on the group to join. However, this would only occur if the group was accepting and provided a greater likelihood of fulfilling a need for belongingness.

It is worth noting that whilst all the variables impacted on the desire to work with the in-group and the out-group, only out-group threat impacted on liking (and only on out-group liking). One possibility is that exclusion threat and new member attributes do not impact on in-group liking to the same extent as the desire to work with an in-group. The latter measure might be based on a more cognitive, rational motivation in which children consider all the variables before making a decision on which group they prefer, or perhaps more simply based on having to interact with them versus not. Presumably the desire would then be greatest for the team that afforded the greatest likelihood of acceptance. This interpretation was supported by the findings which demonstrated that the greatest desire was shown for the team which had no threat of exclusion and the new member was very keen to join and was highly supportive. These conditions subsequently led to the lowest desire to work for the out-group. The implication is that children are not indiscriminating, because exclusion threat and new member attributes impact on the practical reality of working with the in-group versus the out-group.

3.4.3 *New Member Acceptance.*

Responses on the three items comprising the new member acceptance measures revealed a main effect for *exclusion threat* which showed that children were less likely to want the new member to be part of the team when there was an exclusion threat present rather than absent. A second main effect for *new member attributes* indicated that children were more likely to accept the new member when s/he was team supportive rather than team non-supportive.

These findings indicated that the presence of an exclusion threat was an important variable when it came to selecting an in-group member. One possible interpretation for this effect might be children's desire to prove their worth as a group member by conforming to expectations, even if the team is undesirable (since it is still "my" team). Therefore, conformity to the in-group attitude of being tough on a new member when an exclusion threat was present rather than absent might demonstrate loyalty. Thus, even if children are less likely to want to join a team themselves, they nevertheless conform to in-group norms of exclusion by being tough on other new members, possibly as a means of confirming membership. Another possible interpretation might involve a child having a desire to protect another new member from an undesirable group that might exclude the child. This would also mean that participant's would be less likely to endorse a new member when an exclusion threat was present rather than absent. This interpretation would imply that children's own need for belonging and acceptance allows them to empathise with another child in a similar situation of wanting to gain acceptance and subsequently think "you don't want to be in that group, you might get kicked out".

Given a need for belonging and acceptance, the composition of the members of one's own group may become more central than the out-group. In a competitive scenario children may direct their focus more on to the in-group leading to harsher

judgments of members of their own group than out-group members, especially if they are team non-supportive. This was supported by the finding that team supportive new members were more likely to be accepted than those that were team non-supportive. This also provided support for the operation of subjective group dynamics (Abrams et al., 2000) whereby anti-normative in-group members are judged more harshly than out-group members (e.g., Abrams et al., 2007; Abrams, Rutland, & Cameron, 2003; Abrams et al., 2003).

Overall, these findings provided some indirect support for the operation of a need for belonging and acceptance motive when it came to endorsing another new member. Since children much preferred to work for the in-group than the out-group, regardless of their perceptions about their probable acceptance by the in-group, it appeared that children responded to the norm of exclusion. Whilst two possible interpretations for this result were raised, the findings nevertheless demonstrated that children do take into account the qualities of an in-group when choosing other members. Further, the greater acceptability of a team supportive new member might confirm membership by demonstrating allegiance and support for the in-group, and enhancing its distinctiveness by selecting supportive team members. Hence, a need for belonging and acceptance would be expected to enhance concern about the make up of the in-group, such that children will be discerning and not just endorse anyone regardless of the conditions.

3.4.4 Behavioural Intention.

The first behavioural intention item of “Try to put off the other team by making fun of them” did not reveal any significant effects due to the manipulations. This absence of effects was not entirely surprising given that this measure was likely to be affected by social desirability concerns over endorsing negative behaviours. The lack of significant effects produced by the manipulations on out-group derogation seems to suggest three possibilities. First, that the experimental manipulations were not strong enough to

outweigh socially desirable responses. Given the very negative phrasing of the items and the presence of the experimenter during the experiment, many children may have viewed the behaviours as a form of bullying resulting in providing anti-bullying responses regardless of the manipulations. Second, out-group derogation simply may not yet occur in the early phases of group formation where there may be an overriding focus on in-group bias. Hence these results might again demonstrate the difficulties encountered due to the positive-negative asymmetry effect in which in-group bias does not always extend to out-group derogation in minimal group designs (Otten et al., 1996; Verkuyten, 2001; Wenzel & Mummendey, 1996). Third, the tendency to derogate out-groups might to some degree be influenced by individual differences in level of identification or a general need for belongingness and the desire to confirm membership.

The second behavioural intention item expressing pro-social behaviour of “Tell them that their drawing is really good” revealed an *exclusion threat x new member attributes* interaction. It was found that when a new member was team non-supportive there was a significantly greater likelihood of telling the out-group their drawing was good when an exclusion threat was absent rather than present. It is interesting to note that, in contrast to out-group derogation, a positively phrased behavioural intention item led to a significant effect. It seemed that in behavioural intention, participants’ responses might have been guided by another salient potential in-group member. However, the difference between the presence and absence of in-group exclusion threat only occurred when the new member’s attributes were team non-supportive. When exclusion threat was absent, being provided with counter-normative information about a new member that described him/her as liking the out-group, potentially provided a pretext for participants to go against the in-group norms and tell the out-group that their drawing

was good. In contrast, when an exclusion threat was made salient this behavioural intention decreased significantly.

A possible explanation of this result is that when a child is aware of a threat of exclusion, s/he might be more motivated to distance him/herself from a deviant in-group member in order to confirm membership. In this case it would result in displaying less pro-social behaviour toward the out-group. However, in the absence of an exclusion threat, a child might feel more secure about his/her membership and be more willing to side with a deviant group member and tell an out-group that their drawing was good. This explanation would implicate both need for acceptance and self-presentational motives that lead to the reduction of the expression of behaviours toward the out-group that reduce the positive distinctiveness of the in-group. The increase in pro-social behaviour in the absence of exclusion threat is more likely to reflect implicit attitudes, which are then moderated to attitudes that are closer in line with in-group norms when an exclusion threat is salient. These findings suggest the operation of an intra-group and inter-member comparative process that might potentially elicit a self-presentational display of behaviours in order confirm membership. However, the above interpretations for behavioural intention, at this stage, can only be applicable to changes in intention when the behaviour is positive.

3.4.5 General Conclusions and Implications

In sum, the findings from the current study provided some support for a need for belonging and acceptance motive elicited by a threat of exclusion, out-group threat and new member attributes. Some support was also found for SIDT and SCT. The findings suggested that an in-group exclusion threat and an out-group threat might operate relatively independently, since no interactions were observed between these variables. The findings also suggested that an exclusion threat had a greater impact on the desire to work with the in-group than on in-group liking. This discrepancy might have been

due to the measures which varied from a more affective response (liking) versus a more practical behavioural response (desire to work with group), with the latter possibly reflecting a more conscious decision about working for the group that provides the best opportunity to be accepted. Further, whilst threat from an out-group did not influence in-group liking, it did impact upon the desire to work with both the in-group and the out-group. This finding did provide some indirect support for a need for belonging and acceptance since it is possible that an out-group threat places an emphasis of siding with, or showing loyalty to, one's own group when threatened.

The attributes of the new member were also shown to interact with in-group exclusion threat to increase desire to work with the in-group, and on positive behavioural intentions. Finally, some support was provided for the need for acceptance motive on participants' decisions to accept another new member. However, the lack of support for some hypotheses raises the possibility that, at least in scenarios in which children are assigned to groups, individual differences in the need for group belongingness or a desire to confirm membership might account for some of the variability.

3.4.6 Individual Differences

Previous studies with both adults and children have generally assessed individual differences in group identity through measures of group identification with the specific group manipulated in the experiment (e.g., Jetten et al., 1997a; Jetten et al., 2002; Nesdale, Durkin, et al., 2005). This creates the likelihood that any variability in levels of group identification and its effect on measures such as in-group bias or out-group derogation is merely an artefact of liking toward the specific group described in the study. Indeed some studies have shown that assessing individual differences such as level of empathy independently of the minimal group paradigm can greatly influence in-group and out-group liking (Nesdale, Griffiths, et al., 2005). The limited studies into

national identification have similarly provided some emerging evidence of higher levels of national identity leading to greater in-group bias in children (e.g., Bennett et al., 1998; Verkuyten, 2001). However, these have generally employed correlational methods and have not specifically assessed any need for belonging and acceptance within a minimal group paradigm.

Given the apparent support for the activation of a need for belonging and acceptance in children in the preceding two studies, there are good grounds for an explicit exploration of such an individual difference variable, and its effects, in children. That is, a child's need for group belongingness needs to be measured and accounted for in experimental research. It is reasonable to assume that children are likely to vary greatly in their need for group belongingness, meaning that accountability, whether through surveillance or exclusion threat, might not have the same effect on every child. The following chapter outlines the development of an individual difference measure concerning a child's need for group belongingness.

4.0 STUDY 3: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEED FOR GROUP BELONGINGNESS SCALE

The first two studies in the present research program provided some evidence that specific manipulated variables might activate the need for group belonging and acceptance within an inter-group context. Evidence was found that manipulated variables such as in-group surveillance and the openness of the in-group (how accepting an in-group is of new members) increased in-group liking, apparently implicating a motive toward group acceptance. Findings also revealed that the attributes of another potential in-group member instigated concerns for the in-group and subsequently led to differential responding in the desire to work with the in-group and the out-group. Indirect support for the need for belonging and acceptance account also came from findings on the judgment of this new member who was endorsed to a greater extent when s/he was team supportive, rather than non-supportive, and an in-group exclusion threat was absent, rather than present.

In sum, the minimal group experiments suggested that the assignment of children to a group apparently differentially activated a need for belongingness in response to variables such as surveillance, in-group openness and in-group exclusion threat. A need to confirm membership and fulfil a need for belongingness was expressed via an increased concern for the in-group and subsequent magnification of in-group liking. However, given that there was diversity in the extent to which participants expressed in-group liking it is reasonable to assume that social motivational considerations such as a need for belonging and acceptance are highly variable across individuals. Hence, in order to determine the extent to which participants' responses reflect differences in their desire to belong and be accepted, individual variability in the need for group belongingness needs to be accurately measured and accounted for in experimental designs.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the development of a new scale designed to assess a child's need for group belongingness. The aim in developing this new instrument, the Children's Need for Group Belongingness (CNGB) scale, was twofold. The first aim was to develop and validate a simple self-report scale that would directly assess children's need to belong to a social group, including measuring the core dimensions of a need for group belongingness. The second aim was to use this scale in a subsequent study to determine the extent to which individual differences in the need for group belongingness might assist in predicting group attitudes and behaviours.

4.1 Rationale for Scale Development

4.1.1 Background

The absence of reliable and valid measures to assess children's social needs or drives emphasises the importance of developing an individual difference measure of group belongingness in order to investigate group effects found in social development research. Much of the social identity research with both adults and children has typically sought only to assess a sense of belongingness via group attitudes using a single item measure or a handful of simple items (e.g., Jetten et al., 2002; Nesdale & Flessler, 2001; Verkyuten, 2001), or to infer it from the amount of in-group bias displayed in minimal group studies. Clearly, any attempt to draw inferences about a child's need to belong and be accepted through these studies might be confounded by the context in which the child is asked to rate his/her level of liking for the in-group. The majority of the studies with both adults and children have sought to assess group attitudes and bias within the context of an inter-group comparative scenario (e.g., Jetten et al., 2002; Jetten et al., 1997a, 1997b; Nesdale & Flessler, 2001; Nesdale, Maass, et al., 2005; Yee & Brown, 1992). It is then unclear whether group attitudes can be generalised to a need for group belongingness and acceptance, since the questions are context specific, focusing for example on nationality or ethnicity. This suggests that a

child's need for group belongingness is a variable that needs to be assessed reliably prior to, or in addition to, subjecting participants to experimental manipulations. It is this rationale that formed the basis for the development of the CNGB.

There are also other benefits of being able to measure a child's need for group belongingness. A single global measure of this need may provide a simple predictive guide to specific children's responses in new group situations. It may provide teachers in schools the advantage of being able to socially engineer new groups in order to allow for more harmonious interactions. It can also be useful for children who derive a greater sense of identity from group belongingness to be placed in more accepting groups in order to reduce the possibility of rejection and the consequent impact this might have on a sense of self-worth. In addition, children who are both high in the need for group belongingness and at risk for behavioural problems can be placed in more positive, friendly and accepting groups. A scale that contains a number of facets thought to make up a child's need for group belongingness might also assist in further differentiating children who are driven by a need to generate positive feelings by being included in a group or enhancing a group's distinctiveness, from those who are focused on reducing negative affectivity due to a fear of being rejected.

The CNGB was designed to be a simple, easy to administer, self-report measure of the need for group belongingness. The rest of this chapter outlines the process involved in the development of this scale. The rationale for the generation of items for this scale, as well as how its proposed dimensions were informed by inter-group research and existing scales incorporating social needs are discussed.

4.1.2 Conceptual Basis of New Scale

The development of the need for belongingness scale proceeded from a working model that proposed that the overall need for group belongingness consisted of several related dimensions comprising both positive and negative affective elements: a need for

group membership; a need for group distinctiveness; a need for similarity to the in-group; and a fear of exclusion. This working conceptualisation of a need for group belongingness, consisting of several component needs, drew upon the existing literature on social group motives in children and adults. Importantly, whereas earlier scales have focused more on acceptance by friends and classmates and perceptions of popularity in general (see for example, Coopersmith, 1967; Harter, 1985), the proposed scale sought to measure (1) positive affective elements, such as distinctiveness, pride and similarity, as well as (2) negative affective elements such as fear of exclusion.

Theoretically, the scale was intended to encompass subscales that would tap into related yet distinct components of an overall need for group belongingness. The theoretical framework that provided the foundation upon which to generate the pool of items was based on the need for belonging and acceptance account outlined in this research as well as the tenets of social identity theory and its more recent elaborations. Four factors were proposed to constitute an overall measure of a child's need to belong to a group. The rationale for these components is considered more fully in the following sections.

4.1.2.1 A need for group membership.

An important aspect in the development of the scale was to include items assessing positive affect toward being part of a group in general. It would be expected that most children are drawn toward group membership as a means of increasing positive feelings. Indeed, social identity development theory (SIDT; Nesdale, 1999a, 2004) states that children and adolescents have a fundamental need to belong, which motivates them to establish friendships and become members of social groups. Similarly, Baumeister and Leary (1995) have provided a self-presentational view that fitting into a group, or the need to belong is one of the most fundamental of human needs and people

are motivated by this need to present themselves in ways that will ensure their belongingness.

Experimental evidence has consistently shown that children prefer and like an in-group more than an out-group (e.g., Nesdale et al., 2003; Nesdale & Flessner, 2001; Vaughan et al., 1981). In more natural groups, Verkuyten (2001) applied SIT to examine national identification in a sample of Dutch children aged 10-12 and found that positive in-group evaluation among high national identifiers caused more positive momentary self-feelings. The children scoring high on national identification seemed to be concerned with enhancing the in-group. The social identity literature to date is beginning to provide a clearer picture of the importance of groups to children and the greater positivity and liking toward one's own group that ensues from membership. A need for belonging and acceptance account would similarly be expected to motivate positive affect toward one's own group in order to enhance self-esteem. Especially in early to mid-childhood the need to be included in any group and to derive a sense of pride from group belongingness would be expected to be an important developmental task that helps to establish a positive self-concept.

4.1.2.2 Need for group distinctiveness.

Although there appears to be accumulating evidence of the importance to children of in-group membership, there is also some evidence that children might want to be in distinctive groups. A premise of both SIT and SCT is that people are motivated to see their own group as being positively distinct from other groups. Research with adults utilising SIT has consistently demonstrated that perceived similarities between groups can motivate individuals to search for group distinctiveness and social identity by differentiating their in-group from similar out-groups on relevant dimensions of comparison through in-group bias (Brown & Abrams, 1986; Diehl, 1988; Jetten et al., 1996; 1997b; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social identity theory has emphasised the role of

positive distinctiveness and the underlying need for self-esteem or self-enhancement as the driving force behind many aspects of inter-group relations (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Consistent with SIT, experimental studies with children as young as 5 years of age have shown that they prefer a high status group over a low status group (Nesdale & Flessler, 2001; Nesdale et al., 2004; Yee & Brown, 1992) and show greater in-group bias when in a high status group (Bigler et al., 2001). Within ethnic identity and prejudice research, evidence also suggests that children from 6 to 7 years of age have an increasing ability to identify their own ethnic group and begin to display in-group preferences as well as attributing positive traits and qualities to their own group whilst attributing negative traits to out-groups (see reviews by Aboud, 1988; Nesdale, 2001). SIDT similarly suggests that by 4 or 5 years of age children become aware of which ethnic groups are more highly regarded and begin to show a preference toward high rather than low status groups (Nesdale et al., 2004, see also Davey, 1983; Aboud, 1988). This preference emerges as children attempt to derive a positive sense of social self-esteem from group membership.

However, whilst there has been some evidence implicating the importance of distinctiveness to children, it is also noteworthy that findings have shown that children like their own group even when it is of low status compared with a comparison group (Nesdale & Flessler, 2001). One possibility for this finding is that perhaps a need for belonging and acceptance comes first, followed by a need for distinctiveness. Consistent with this, Ruble and her colleagues (Ruble et al., 2004; Ruble and Flett, 1988; Ruble & Frey, 1991) have found that from a developmental perspective only at around 7 years of age do children begin to draw upon social comparison information when making judgments about the self. Sani and Bennett (2004) similarly argue that only by mid-childhood does the increase in cognitive flexibility in self-concepts allow for a stereotypical representation of in-group members, including the self with regard to

the context. Whilst there is some dispute over potential age-related changes in the selection and expression of differentiation strategies, the research on the whole suggests that being in distinctive groups is an important motivator in children that often leads to inter-group discriminatory behaviours. It is even a possibility that a need for distinctiveness is a drive that all children possess to some degree with its explicit expression being moderated by self-presentational concerns within group contexts (see for example, Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

4.1.2.3 Need for similarity.

Another important dimension that was theorised to possibly comprise children's need for group belongingness was a need for members of a group to perceive themselves as more similar to members of their own group than to others. This theoretical component was again derived from SIT and SCT. It would be expected that children even from a young age have a need to belong and to be seen as being like the other kids in their group, especially if this group is high in desirability or status. Recent research has begun to demonstrate that in experimental conditions, children rate themselves as being more similar to their own group than another competing group. For example, Nesdale et al. (2003) found that children as young as 5 years of age were just as sensitive as 9 year olds to perceived ethnic similarity. SIT argues that by five years of age children's focus on the positive distinctiveness of their own in-group can also result in them seeing themselves as more similar to the in-group than to the out-group (Nesdale, Maass, et al., 2005).

Studies demonstrating the effect of group norms on prompting conformity in attitudes, also lends support to the inclusion of a need for similarity subscale. Within adult research employing social identity principles, it has been found that high identifiers compared with low identifiers conformed more strongly to group norms, and self-stereotyped themselves in line with the salient norm (Jetten et al., 1997a; Jetten et

al., 2002). Similarly, in ethnicity studies, children have been shown to conform to group norms prescribing inclusion or exclusion of out-groups (Nesdale, Griffiths, et al., 2005; Nesdale, Maass, et al., 2005).

In another line of research exploring intra-group judgments about group members, Abrams et al. (2003) argued that as children get older they have a greater ability to recognise variation between individuals within the group and the extent to which they preserve or deviate from norms that are important to the group. Abrams et al. found that both normative in-group members and deviant out-group members were evaluated more positively than deviant in-group members and normative out-group members. Similarly, attitudes towards bullying have been found to be more acceptable when prescribed by the in-group norm (Ojala & Nesdale, 2004). These studies raise the possibility that a process of conformity to group norms might imply the fulfilment of a basic need to be seen as similar to a desirable group in order to ensure inclusion and a need for acceptance. Whilst other explanations, incorporating more self-categorisation based approaches, such as the need to reduce subjective uncertainty (see Hogg & Mullin, 1999) might account for conformity within new group situations, it is reasonable to assume that a striving toward similarity can support both cognitive and motivational processes in the need for group belongingness.

4.1.2.4 Fear of exclusion.

In addition to the theorised need to obtain and maintain positive affect from group belongingness, it was speculated that a more anxiety-related affective component was also likely to be a part of a child's need for group belongingness. Specifically, it was postulated that an important component of children's overall need for belongingness might be a fear of exclusion and rejection. It is reasonable to assume that a need to belong and ensure acceptance inevitably leads to comparisons with one's peers. In fact, studies conducted by Harter (1999) have revealed that disapproval from peers such as

classmates is able to better predict self-evaluations than is disapproval from one's close friends. It is plausible that an increased focus on one's position within the group, salient in-group norms, and comparisons with other in-group members might elicit a certain sense of social apprehension or anxiety in some children. As previously discussed, research into subjective group dynamics has provided evidence that children are aware of in-group norms and respond by judging anti-normative in-group members more harshly than out-group members (Abrams et al., 2003; Abrams, Rutland, & Cameron, 2003). If children are aware of the potential of being evaluated negatively when deviating from in-group norms, then this knowledge is likely to elicit anxiety in some children about being seen as different.

Recent research by Banerjee and colleagues (Banerjee, 2000, 2002a; Banerjee & Yuill, 1999a, 1999b) has suggested that by the end of primary school, children's understanding of self-presentational motives allows them to predict and explain behaviour such as laughing along at an uncomprehended joke to avoid being seen as stupid. Based on their research, Banerjee (2002a) has argued that both cognitive and motivational factors are likely to be involved in the selection of self-presentational strategies, such that children need to think about how others are thinking about them, and at the same time be concerned about social evaluation.

There is also some recent evidence to suggest that children can vary in their level of rejection sensitivity which can impact upon interpersonal relations. Downey and colleagues (Downey & Feldman, 1996; Downey, Lebolt, Rincorn, & Freitas, 1998; Feldman & Downey, 1994) developed the notion that individuals have an internalised working model of relationships that can lead some to defensively expect, perceive and overreact to rejection. These individuals are known as rejection sensitive. Downey et al. developed the Children's Rejection Sensitivity Questionnaire (CRSQ) in order to differentiate between children who anxiously or angrily expect rejection and those who

do not. A longitudinal study of primary school children over a one year period demonstrated that the CRSQ was useful in predicting that rejection sensitive children behaved more aggressively and developed greater interpersonal difficulties over time. This study provided some emerging evidence that rejection sensitivity can be measured and that it is an individual difference variable that can have differential effects on peer relations. However, given that the CRSQ has not specifically focused on the relationship between anxious expectations of rejection and group-related behaviours ranging from favouritism to one's own group to overt derogation of an out-group, the extent to which it is able to predict behaviour in group contexts is unknown.

Whilst a number of measures have been recently developed to assess anxiety in children (see for example, March et al., 1997; Spence, 1998), the assessment of social anxiety in these scales has tended to be confined to a specific subscale within a general measure of anxiety. Further, the items that form the social anxiety subscales of many of these measures do not focus specifically on a child's own group. The focus has been primarily on comparisons with people in general and anxiety precipitated by fear of embarrassment and humiliation or performing in any social situation that involves others. In fact, no measure of social anxiety has specifically focused on a child's own reference group.

4.1.3 The CNGB Target Population

During the development of the scale any potential limitations in children's language and cognitive development had to be taken into account. Since the primary purpose was to design a simple and easy to administer self-report instrument, children were required to have a level of verbal ability that enables understanding of concepts about the self as a group member. Some researchers have stated that children younger than 8 years of age do not yet have the cognitive ability to comprehend abstract self-related concepts such as "Who are you?" (e.g., Harter, 1983). Others have argued that even if children have a

sense of self at a young age, a lack of language skills would make it difficult for them to express it (Eder, 1990). However, other researchers have demonstrated that even young children are able to understand abstract ideas about the self if the questions are explicit. Children have an easier time answering questions like “Do you like being a boy/girl?” rather than a more vague “Do you like who you are?” and that simple and direct questions are often the best way to obtain reliable information (Damon & Hart, 1988; Eder, 1989; Marsh, Craven, & Debus, 1991).

The current scale was intended for use with children in the middle childhood years with a lower age limit of 7-8 years being set due to the format of the proposed self-report instrument. This age limit was set in order to reduce the potential impact of limitations in children’s verbal ability and understanding of the self and group related concepts. Self-report measures with children any younger than this age are likely to encounter more difficulties with gaining adequate reliability. In a recent meta-analysis of existing self-esteem measures in younger children, Davis-Kean and Sandler (2001) found that the age of children across 22 different measures had a strong impact on reliability. Instruments were more reliable with children aged 6-6.5 years of age than with 4-5 year olds. The current research focused on the development of this scale for an age range of 7 to 12 years with the potential for future use in older (high school) children. However, the primary rationale for the selection of this age group was the need for an individual measure of group belongingness during an age at which the group first plays a significant role in the formation of the self-concept. Indeed, recent literature on social identity development in children highlights the emerging importance of social motivational needs such as the desire to belong to a high status group in children as young as 7 years of age (e.g., Nesdale et al., 2004; Yee & Brown, 1992).

4.2 Overview of Questionnaire Development

The process involved in the development of the Children's Need for Group Belongingness scale consisted of five phases. These were:

- 1) Item Generation: a pool of items was developed for the scale based on relevant literature.
- 2) Piloting: the scale was administered to a small sample of children in order to ensure adequate understanding of the items and language used.
- 3) Full-Scale Administration, Sample 1: a total of 270 children were administered the newly developed questionnaire. The aim of this phase was to reduce the scale in size from the initial pool of items and identify the underlying factor structure of this scale. Additional data were also obtained regarding the scale's reliability.
- 4) Full-Scale Administration, Sample 2: a second sample of 210 middle and late primary school aged children was administered the scale in order to confirm the factor structure obtained from the previous phase. Further reliability and validity data were acquired at this stage. In addition, evidence of the scale's validity was assessed through correlations with relevant subscales from existing measures.
- 5) Full-Scale Administration, Sample 3: a final sample of 246 middle and late primary school aged children were administered the scale in order to attempt to replicate the factor structure obtained in the previous two phases following minor modifications to item wording. The reliability of the scale and subscales were also assessed.

4.3 Stage 1: Item Generation for Proposed Dimensions

The first stage in scale construction was the development of a pool of items that would sufficiently define all possible dimensions of a need to be a part of a group, to feel accepted and to gain a sense of group belonging. The aim in the development of the CNGB scale was to identify basic needs for group belonging and acceptance that would be expected to operate beyond specific category identification with a national, gender or

ethnic group. The scale was designed to include questions that would have an affective element whereby feelings about inclusion in a group could be assessed. In addition, the intention was to include items that addressed what was important to children about groups, and fears they would have about not being accepted as part of a group.

4.3.1 Item Generation

4.3.1.1 Need for membership items

Based on the research discussed earlier, it is reasonable to assume that any measure assessing an overall desire for group belongingness needs to incorporate items assessing a child's general sense of liking or attraction toward group membership. Hence, the first proposed CNGB dimension of need for membership sought to incorporate several items loading on to the desire to be part of, and accepted by, a group in general. This factor was designed to consist of items containing high levels of positive affect with a focus on liking and pride (e.g., "I like hanging out with kids from my group" and "I am proud of being part of my group").

4.3.1.2 Need for distinctiveness items

Many of the items generated for the need for group distinctiveness dimension of the CNGB contained positive affective elements. Consistent with SIT, several items were developed that sought to define the need for one's own group to be positively distinct from others (e.g., "My group is better at most things than other groups"). However, SIT research with children has also suggested a desire to belong to high status groups that have superiority over others. As such items were also included that comprised this element (e.g., "It is important for me to be a member of a strong and powerful group"). Therefore a general need for distinctiveness was conceptualised as consisting of both comparative distinctiveness and superiority derived statements. Hence, items were created that would access children's perceptions regarding their own group versus

another as well as positive feelings derived from being part of a desirable and high status group.

4.3.1.3 Need for similarity items

The research outlined above suggests that along with a group distinctiveness motive that might increase positive feelings about group membership, a motivation toward similarity to one's own group might similarly increase positive feelings and affirm a positive group identity and a sense of acceptance. Therefore the initial pool of CNGB items included several that were related to this construct (e.g., "I enjoy doing the same things as the other kids in my group" and "I am more similar to kids in my group than to other kids").

4.3.1.4 Fear of exclusion items

The CNGB sought to specify the group-related nature of rejection or exclusion anxiety in order to be applicable to intra- and inter-group effects. In the development of the CNGB several statements concerning fears about being in a group were included in the initial pool of items (e.g., "I worry about appearing stupid in front of my group" and "I'm often afraid that the kids in my group might laugh at me"). Many of these items were adapted from commonly used clinical measures such as the Spence Children's Anxiety Scale (SCAS; Spence, 1998) and the Multidimensional Anxiety Scale for Children (MASC; March et al., 1997).

4.3.1.5 Additional items.

Since the factor structure and interrelationships between the dimensions of the CNGB were yet to be validated, further items were included that might have fallen outside of the four hypothesised dimensions. This was undertaken in order to determine the extent to which any other items might suggest additional dimensions comprising a need for group belongingness. For example, some of these items were based more on normative behaviour (e.g., "I prefer to say I agree with other kids in my group even if I

really disagree”). In order to avoid a response set where all children might answer in the positive (i.e., agree a lot), a number of reverse-scored items were included such as, “I don’t like being part of a group – I prefer to be alone”. The number of items generated for this initial pool totalled 40. However, issues of fatigue or short attention span should not be a significant concern at this age. In fact, in a recent meta-analysis Davis-Kean and Sandler (2001) found that, across 22 different measures of self-esteem in children aged 4 to 6.5 years, as the number of items in a scale increased so too did the reliability of the instruments. Marsh et al. (1998) also found that fatigue did not impact on reliability and stated that the use of a large number of items may assist in teaching children how to respond accurately to a scale. Whilst the research proposed the existence of four primary dimensions of group belongingness, the initial stages of scale development were exploratory in nature so as to not exclude the possibility of other dimensions that might constitute a need for group belongingness.

4.3.2 Response Format

A response format needed to be chosen that would adequately differentiate between children high and low in the need for group belongingness. A Likert-type response format was chosen and used a 7-point bipolar scale in which the children would respond by choosing their level of agreement with statements. Hence the scale ranged from a rating of 1 = *disagree a lot*, to a rating of 7 = *agree a lot*. A mid point of 4 was to represent neither agreement nor disagreement with an item. Due to the age range targeted for this measure an issue that needed consideration was the children’s verbal ability and capacity to comprehend this type of rating scale. The cognitive developmental level of younger children might impact on the use of a Likert-type scale. Research by Fantuzzo, McDermott, Manz, Hampton, and Burdick (1996), for example, found that low-income young children had difficulty comprehending Likert-type increments in self-report measures. However, more recent experimental studies have

shown that children as young as five years of age are able to comprehend the use of simple rating scales such as these (e.g., Nesdale et al., 2003).

A Likert-type response format was also preferred to others such as *like me-unlike me* and *never, sometimes, often, always*, since these formats tend to be more forced-choice and limit variability in responding. For a limited subset of items the scale can easily lead to a response bias thereby missing out on the variability that would be expected in a need for group belongingness and distort scores due to social desirability concerns. Harter (1982) has argued that any *true-false, like me-unlike me* format employing only two choices draws out socially desirable responding and that the self-esteem scores in scales such as the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (Coopersmith, 1967) were correlated with both a lie scale and a scale of social desirability. Similarly, within inter-group research measuring trait attributions, some researchers have argued against the use of a forced-choice format, which leads to the acceptance of one quality whilst rejecting another (e.g., Aboud, 1988; Cameron et al., 2001).

4.4 Stage 2: Piloting of the CNGB

4.4.1 Method

4.4.1.1 Participants

The scale was administered to one grade 4 class from a primary school in the South-East Queensland region. A total of 15 children consisting of six males and nine females aged 8-9 years participated in this piloting phase. Consent from school principals and parents were gained prior to the administration of the questionnaire.

4.4.1.2 Materials

The materials for this initial piloting phase comprised a 7-page questionnaire booklet containing the 40 items of the proposed CNGB scale. The first page contained brief instructions and stated the following:

This questionnaire asks you about groups of kids that you might spend time with. It can be a group at school or outside school. To be a member of a group means that there are three or more kids your own age that you hang out with. Some groups may have just a few kids in it. Others may be large and have six or more members.

This introduction page also contained three short check items asking the children if they spend time with peer groups or prefer to be on their own. These items were: “Do you have a group of friends that you like to hang out with?”; “Have you ever had a group of friends that you liked to do things with in the past?”; “Do you have just one friend rather than a group of kids you hang out with?” These items were included in order to assess differences in responding between those who have had experience spending time within groups and those who have not. The second page of the booklet provided an example of how to use the 7-point bi-polar rating scale. The third page began with the 40 items of the CNGB.

4.4.1.3 Procedure

Following the collection of parent consent forms, the 15 participating children were separated to one part of the classroom. They were told that the experimenter was interested in finding out about their attitudes and feelings about being part of a group and that their help was being sought to improve a questionnaire that had been developed. A brief explanation was provided about what usually makes up a group. This was similar to the instructions stated on the first page of the questionnaire. The participating children were asked to answer the questions as honestly as possible and to circle any difficult words or questions that were hard to understand.

Initially, the children were asked to complete the first instruction page and then stop. At this point any difficulties with the instruction page were identified. Prior to completing the rest of the questionnaire, participants were shown how to use the 7-point

bipolar rating scale. An example was provided on the chalkboard. Participants were also directed to the example on the second page if they had any difficulties. They were then asked to complete the rest of the questionnaire. Following the completion of the questionnaire a group discussion was held during which the children identified any difficulties encountered with the language used. The flow of the questions, spacing, and overall appearance of the questionnaire were all discussed. In addition, the children's comprehension of the bi-polar rating scale was reviewed. At the conclusion, the participants were thanked for their assistance and assured that their responses would remain confidential.

4.4.2 Results and Discussion

The participating children completed the questionnaire in approximately 20 minutes. Analysis of the items revealed a spread of responses using the 7-point bi-polar scale with no evidence of a response set for any participant. Minor floor and ceiling effects were identified for a subset of items. However these tended to be more apparent for items that had a greater affective loading such as "I really like being part of my group" and "I don't like to be part of a group – I prefer to be by myself". It was expected that responses to several items would be influenced by considerations of social desirability and that responses would be clustered more towards one end of the scale.

Following a group discussion, no difficulties were identified with the wording of the items. However, the children did comment on many of the items appearing to be very similar. The discussion identified a couple of further difficulties. The first related to the format of the 7-point response scale. The pilot version only had labels above the numbers of the two extreme ends: 1 = *disagree a lot* and 7 = *agree a lot*. Whilst the children were instructed on how to use the 7-point scale prior to commencing the questionnaire, most agreed that it would be easier if each number had a semantic label attached. Some concerns were also raised regarding the overall appearance of the

questionnaire. It was reported to appear a little too crowded in its spacing and difficult to flow from one question to the next.

Overall, the piloting phase did not reveal any major difficulties with the types of items included in the scale. Since the CNGB was designed to be an easy to administer self-report inventory, it was important that the language used matched the reading ability of the youngest children in this age group. Most importantly, the piloting phase revealed that the items were reported to be clear and easy to understand, and, with some minor changes to the bipolar response format, children as young as 8 years of age did not encounter any difficulties in completing the CNGB.

4.5 Stage 3: Full-Scale Administration of the CNGB- Sample 1

The third stage of the scale development had two primary aims. The first was to identify the underlying factor structure of the scale. The second aim was to reduce the initial pool of items to its most parsimonious set and to gather evidence regarding the reliability of the scale.

4.5.1 Method

4.5.1.1 Participants

Two government primary schools in the South-East Queensland region were selected for this phase of the research. Following the consent of the participating school principals, a total of 270 children returned parent consent forms and participated in this study. The sample was collected from grades 4 to 7, with participant ages ranging from 8 to 13 years of age. Due to a substantial amount of missing data on the demographic items, the precise age and gender distributions were not known.

4.5.1.2 Materials

The only materials required for this study was the 40-item CNGB scale refined from the previous piloting phase. Following feedback from participants in the pilot sample the opening page included a clearer set of instructions in an easier to read font. The first

two pages of the booklet were similar to the pilot version and contained the same general instructions about the purpose of the questionnaire, the three check items about past and current experience of membership in a group, and an example of how to use the 7-point rating scale. Since there were some difficulties with the three check items in the pilot study, the instructions for these were simplified. These were designed to be *yes/no* skip items whereby responding *yes* would require the participants to skip the next two questions and turn the page. If there was a *no* response, participants were directed to continue the questions. The instructions following the response simply stated: “If ‘YES’ Stop here and turn the page / If ‘NO’ go to (B)”

The response format of the CNGB was changed to include labels above each of the numbers on the response scale. The number 4 stated *neither agree nor disagree* whilst numbers 2 and 3 stated *disagree a fair bit* and *disagree a little bit*. Numbers 5 and 6 were the same except on the *agree* pole. The layout of the questionnaire included shading to assist in distinguishing one question from another. The refined CNGB was contained within an 8-page questionnaire booklet. A copy of the 40-item CNGB is included in Appendix C.

4.5.1.3 Procedure

A standard set of instructions for completing the questionnaire was given to each class group tested. A demonstration was given on how to use the rating scale. It was emphasised that the questionnaire was anonymous and that the participating children were to answer as honestly as possible. The children were, however, asked to write their age and gender on the questionnaire. The general instructions simply stated that the researchers were interested in finding out about what the children think and feel about some of the groups to which they might belong. The specific instructions were read out by the experimenter as follows:

I'm interested in finding out what you think and feel about some of the groups you may be a part of. I will hand out a questionnaire that asks you about a group of kids that you may spend time with. It can be a group at school or outside school and it would usually be three or more kids your own age that you might hang out with. I would like you to answer a questionnaire that asks you how you feel about these groups. It would be great if I could get your help with this task. It is not a test and there are no right or wrong answers. All you need to do is circle a number that best fits how you feel, but try to be as honest as you can. Page two will show you an example of how to answer the questions. Read the instructions very carefully and answer all the questions even though a lot of them might seem pretty similar. You don't need to put your name on it – that way no one will find out how you have answered. But could you please write your age and whether you're a boy or girl on the top corner of the questionnaire. Ok, you may start when ready.

The questionnaires were then handed out to the participating children in class groups of various sizes. In some testing sessions participating children were removed to another classroom. In other sessions they were moved to one part of the room whilst non-participating children read quietly by themselves. The class groups completed the questionnaire in 20-25 minutes. Children with reading difficulties were identified and excluded from the study.

4.5.2 Results

4.5.2.1 Preliminary analyses.

An initial exploration of the data revealed 10 participants with missing data. These participants were removed, leaving the total sample size at 260. In order to maintain consistency in the subsequent studies, a general criterion of exclusion of any participant

with missing data was applied. Further, a high percentage of excluded participants revealed missing data on two or more variables. Therefore, it is likely that these participants were generally more easily distracted with their scores being less likely to reflect true attitudes. Mean scores on the items ranged from 2.09 ($SD = 1.66$) on “I don’t like being part of a group – I prefer to be by myself,” to 6.34 ($SD = 1.34$) on “I really like being part of my group,” with the majority of items revealing mean scores between 4 and 6. Exploration of the distribution of scores for each of the items revealed significantly non-normal distributions, therefore potentially violating the assumption of normality required for this analysis. However, it has been argued that departures of normality in factor analysis are only an issue in the sense that they diminish the observed correlations (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1995). An investigation of the correlation matrix of the 40 items indicated that the majority of bivariate correlations were significant.

Due to approximately one third of the participants failing to answer preliminary questions about age and gender, relationships between these variables and responses on the CNGB scale were not calculated.

4.5.2.2 Factor analysis.

A series of principal component factor analyses were carried out during which several criteria were used to determine whether an item was retained in the analyses. Each item had to be significantly correlated with at least one other item at a level of .30 or above. The Kaiser Meyer Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was also used to determine whether an item was retained. Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black (1998) suggest that ranges from .60 to .70 are mediocre to middling. Thus, a cut off of .65 was used when evaluating each item on the anti-image correlation matrices, with items falling below this level discarded. The communality, or the proportion of the item’s variance explained by the set of factors, also had to be above .30. In addition, in this

initial exploration of the scale an item had to load on a factor at a level of .30 or above to meet minimum requirements of practical significance (Hair et al., 1998). If only three or fewer items loaded on a factor, this factor was not interpreted. Complex items, which loaded above .30 on more than one factor, were also not considered in the analysis unless that item loaded above .30 on a conceptually related factor. Visual inspection of the Scree plot was also used to aid in the decision on how many factors to extract.

Applying these criteria, the final factor solution contained 20 items of the original 40-item set. When the final factor solution was obtained the presence of significant correlations among the variables was assessed by Bartlett's test of sphericity which was found to be significant $\chi^2(190) = 1325.36, p < .001$. The Kaiser Meyer Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was average to good at .78.

The principal components factor analysis revealed 5 factors with eigenvalues greater than one. These factors explained 55.50 % of the variance. However, upon inspection of the scree plot, the bend in the curve suggested that only four of the factors should be retained for interpretation. The final factor contained lower factor loadings and only two items that loaded on it at a level above .30. These were complex items loading on the fifth factor that also loaded on other factors to which they were more conceptually related. Hence the final factor was not interpreted. However, the two complex items that loaded on the fifth factor were retained since they had a greater conceptual relationship with the final four factors. The four factors accounted for 49.93% of the variance. The factor structure for the 20 items was interpreted following an orthogonal rotation. The rotated factor structure is outlined in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1

*Factor Structure of the Children's Need for Group Belongingness (CNGB) Scale:**Sample 1 (N = 260)*

Item	Factor 1 Need for Group Membership	Factor 2 Need for Distinctiveness	Factor 3 Fear of Exclusion	Factor 4 Need for Similarity
I feel proud when one of the kids from my group does something well	.77			
I really like being part of my group	.76			
I'm proud of being part of my group	.75			
It's important to stick up for other kids in my group	.61			
I like hanging out with kids from my group	.57			
I don't like being part of a group- I prefer to be by myself	-.30			
The kids in my group are much cooler than the kids in other groups		.74		
Being in a popular group is important to me		.73		
I'm happy to be in an unpopular group		-.70		
It is important for me to be a member of a strong and powerful group		.70		
I think my group is better at most things than other groups		.63		
I'm often afraid that the kids in my group might laugh at me			.75	
I worry that the other kids in my group think that I don't belong			.71	
I often worry about what other kids in my group are thinking of me			.63	
I often worry that the other kids in my group think that I am different			.61	
I often worry about appearing stupid in front of my group			.60	
I like to be just like the other kids in my group				.76
I am more similar to kids in my group than to other kids				.69
I enjoy doing the same things as the other kids in my group				.59
It is important to me that kids in my group think that I am like them			.38	.51
Eigenvalue	4.01	2.77	2.01	1.29

Note. Only the first four factors were chosen for interpretation. Factor 5 did not have enough items to be considered a stable factor. For ease of interpretation only factor loadings greater than .30 are reported.

The first factor accounted for 13.69% of the variance and was labelled *need for membership*. Six items loaded on this factor. The items “I feel proud when one of the kids from my group does something well” and “I really like being part of my group” had the highest loadings on this factor at .77 and .76 respectively. The items making up this factor suggest a dimension of positive affect gained from group membership. However, one of the items was complex and loaded on two factors. The item “I don’t like being part of a group – I prefer to be by myself” loaded on both *need for membership* and the fifth factor which was not interpreted.

The second factor included five items and accounted for 13.61% of the variance and can be called a *need for group distinctiveness* with items such as “the kids in my group are cooler than the kids in other groups” and “being in a popular group is important to me” revealing the highest factor loadings of .74 and .73 respectively.

The third factor included five items and accounted for 12.90% of the variance and appeared to represent a negative affective element of *fear of exclusion*. The items all tapped into peer group related worries with the highest factor loading of .75 on the item “I’m often afraid my group might laugh at me.”

The final factor consisting of four items accounted for 9.72% of the variance and can be described as a *need for similarity*. Items such as “I like to be just like the other kids in my group,” with a loading of .76, and “I’m more similar to kids in my group than to other kids,” loading at .69, suggest a focus on intra-group comparisons and one’s position within the group. One of the items loaded on two factors “It is important to me that kids in my group think that I am like them.” However, the item loaded above the .50 level considered to be practically significant (Hair et al., 1998) on the factor to which it was expected to be most conceptually related.

4.5.2.3 Scale reliability.

The reliability of each of the four factors was then calculated using Cronbach alpha coefficients. An alpha value of .70 or above was considered to be an acceptable level of internal reliability, with a .60 level at the lower limit of acceptability (Hair et al., 1998). As shown in Table 4.2, acceptable levels of internal consistency were found for the first three factors with alpha levels ranging from .71 to .76. However, the alpha of .63 for *need for similarity* was at the lower limit of acceptability. The removal of items did not result in any sizeable increases in the alpha levels of any subscale. The total scale alpha was acceptable at .71.

Table 4.2

Cronbach Alpha Coefficients and Descriptive Statistics for the CNGB Subscales:

Sample 1 (N = 260)

Subscales	Alpha	N	Mean	SD
Need for membership	.73	6	36.87	5.39
Need for distinctiveness	.76	5	20.53	7.14
Fear of exclusion	.71	5	20.05	7.08
Need for similarity	.63	4	19.70	5.15

Descriptive statistics and subscale correlations. The total summed subscale scores were used to investigate the correlations between the subscales. Two items were reverse scored: “I don’t like being part of my group – I prefer to be by myself” and “I’m happy to be in an unpopular group.” The scores on each of the items loading highest on a factor were summed to provide total subscale scores for the CNGB. The mean scores ranged from 19.70 ($SD = 1.42$) on the *fear of exclusion* subscale, to 36.87 ($SD = 5.39$) on the *need for membership* subscale (see Table 4.2). The total 20-item CNGB score

ranged from 47 - 134 with a mean of 97.15 ($SD = 14.29$). Summed scale correlations are presented in Table 4.3. *Need for membership* was related to the other three subscales, and *need for similarity* and *need for distinctiveness* were significantly correlated to each other. However, *fear of exclusion* revealed a negative correlation with *need for membership* only.

Table 4.3

Correlations Between the CNGB Subscales: Sample 1 (N = 260)

	CNGB subscales			
	Membership	Distinctiveness	Exclusion	Similarity
Membership	-	.23*	-.23*	.35*
Distinctiveness		-	-.01	.34*
Exclusion			-	.06
Similarity				-

* $p < .01$.

4.5.3 Discussion

The exploratory factor analysis of the CNGB revealed a number of key findings. First, as expected, the initial solution suggested the presence of at least four underlying factors that appeared to make up a general sense of group belongingness. Second, the four interpreted factors appeared to represent unique, yet interrelated constructs that ranged from affective need for belonging elements, anxiety based insecurity about group membership, and more cognitive motivational elements about a child's perceptions about group membership. Third, whilst each of the factors contained only

four to six items, reliability of three of the four potential subscales was acceptable with one factor at the lower limit of acceptability.

It appeared that the items loading on the first factor, such as “I really like being a part of my group” and “I am proud of being part of my group” described an overall need for group membership and pride. These items seem to contain a greater positive affective element than the items comprising the other factors. However, it was worth noting that some items, such as “I feel proud when one of the kids from my group does something well” and “It’s important to stick up for other kids in my group” perhaps emphasise a greater sense of togetherness or belongingness to other members of the group. This factor did contain one complex item, “I don’t like being part of a group – I prefer to be by myself”, raising some concerns over the inclusion of this item. However, whilst not loading particularly highly on this factor, it met the minimum requirements and does appear to be conceptually related to a need for group belongingness. It is possible that a negatively phrased (and reverse scored) item emphasising dislike of groups does not tap into a sense of group belonging and acceptance as directly as positively phrased items. However, removing this item did not significantly increase the reliability of the need for membership subscale, suggesting it still has an important association with the other items. Each of the items loading on this factor correlated with at least two other items in this subscale above a level of .30.

Overall, this factor might be somewhat akin to the “Importance to Identity” subscale of Luhtanen and Crocker’s (1992) collective self-esteem scale, which assessed the importance of one’s membership in a social group to one’s self-concept. However, this scale was developed for adults and has limited applicability to children.

The second factor extracted included items such as “Being in a popular group is important to me” and “The kids in my group are much cooler than the kids in other groups”. This factor emphasised the desire to see one’s own group as being

comparatively distinct and positive compared to other groups. The factor seemed to reflect a child's need to be in a strong, and comparatively high status group. All of the item loadings on this factor were high, as was the reliability coefficient, suggesting a fairly robust dimension of group belongingness needs. This was not surprising given the increasing evidence within inter-group research demonstrating children's desire to belong to distinctive and high status groups (e.g., Nesdale & Flessner, 2001; Nesdale et al., 2004; Yee & Brown, 1992). This factor was also most consistent with the importance accorded by SIT and SCT to the positive distinctiveness of one's own group compared with other groups. Whilst some of these items appeared to have a stronger "personal need" based component, others appeared to represent an importance to identity or a need to view one's group in a particular way.

The items loading on the third factor, such as "I worry that the other kids in my group think that I don't belong" and "I'm often afraid that the kids in my group might laugh at me", appear to access a child's worries and anxiety about being either rejected or seen as not fitting in. This factor suggests another affectively loaded component of group belongingness, which is defined by a more negative affective state of anxiety as opposed to the more positive affectivity of pride or liking derived from the first factor. This factor also proved to be internally consistent with the majority of inter-item correlations above .30 and an acceptable reliability coefficient alpha. If it is assumed that children are driven by a need for group acceptance, then this need might, at the same time, raise concerns about their position or security within the group. It is possible that insecurity about acceptance primes a negative affective state of a fear of exclusion in some children.

Consistent with this, recent studies have revealed that children can vary in their levels of rejection sensitivity to other people (e.g., Downey et al., 1998). A fear of exclusion might instigate the need to reduce this negative affective state, which raises

the possibility that these children might be more strongly motivated to confirm membership than those who would simply like to be part of a group. The presence of an internally consistent and coherent fear of exclusion factor is an important finding because it demonstrates that an individual difference variable of group related anxiety can be reliably measured and does appear to be associated with an overall need for group belongingness. Previously, the only other measure developed specifically for children that sought to identify sensitivity toward rejection was the Downey et al. Children's Rejection Sensitivity Questionnaire (CRSQ). However, this did not focus on rejection anxiety relating to a child's own in-group, or a group to which s/he aspires to become a member.

The fourth factor suggested an emphasis on comparisons with the self and the group. Items that loaded on this factor, such as "I like to be just like the other kids in my group" and "I am more similar to kids in my group than to other kids", reflect a need to view oneself as being similar to others in the group. This concurs with some of the recent ethnic identity research showing that by 5 years of age children are already focusing on the positive distinctiveness of their own in-group resulting in seeing themselves as being more similar to the in-group rather than the out-group (e.g., Nesdale & Flessler, 2001; Nesdale et al., 2003). However, the set of items comprising this factor did not have the same level of internal consistency as the previous factors. This finding might have been partly due to the limited number of items contained in this subscale. In addition, it is also a possibility that a need for similarity may not be as well developed in mid-childhood as in early adolescence. Children might simply be more driven by wanting to be part of a group, preferably high status, and not get excluded. The finding that a similarity factor was extracted does implicate some role for similarity needs, at least in certain children. Hence, this factor needs to be more carefully evaluated in future studies.

Whilst the above factors appeared to provide generally cohesive dimensions of group belongingness, it was worth noting that the fear of exclusion subscale revealed a negative relationship with need for membership and non-significant associations with the other subscales. This suggests that the relationship between fear of exclusion and the other presumed need for belongingness subscales is not as straightforward as first assumed. It is possible that each of these needs exists in different magnitudes within children, with some needs perhaps inhibiting others or being more dominant. Whilst a total summated scale score might provide a useful overall global measure of the need for belongingness, children presumably differ in the specific focus of their need. Thus, an increase in the scores of any of the four subscales is likely to be associated with a greater need for group belongingness.

This initial exploratory phase analysing the underlying factors of the CNGB scale provided evidence of the existence of the four proposed group belongingness needs. It appears that the factors of need for membership and need for distinctiveness, to a greater extent, reflect positive feelings derived from one's group membership and the need to enhance group strength and distinctiveness. The factors of fear of exclusion and need for similarity appear to reflect greater intra-group level needs where the salience of one's position within the group comes to the fore.

From a theoretical perspective, based on tenets of SIT, SIDT and the need for acceptance account, these four factors may represent the most parsimonious set of interrelated constructs reflecting a general need for group belongingness. These four factors represent both positive and negative affective components as well as cognitive evaluative elements concerning comparisons of one's own group with other groups, and one's self with the in-group. More importantly, this first stage of scale development provided evidence that an individual difference variable can consist of dimensions traditionally related to social identity theory, self-categorisation theory as well as social

identity development theory. In other words, the factor analysis suggested the presence of a set of cohesive individual factors or motives within children, which have previously been primarily elicited through experimental manipulations seeking to prime inter-group comparisons. Put simply, the four motives or needs could be summarised from a child's perspective as: I really like (and want) to be part of a group; I want my group to be the best; I'm exactly like the kids in my group; but sometimes I worry that I don't belong. Most children would be expected to vary along each of these dimensions. For example, some children might have a greater need to emphasise group distinctiveness whilst others might be more motivated to confirm their position within the group through greater in-group liking and similarity.

What this initial exploratory phase of scale development highlighted was that a combination of both intra- and inter-group motives is likely to best define a child's within-group and between-group needs. In this sense the scale draws some parallels with Brewer's (1991) optimal distinctiveness theory in which a person is driven toward both group inclusion and group differentiation.

4.6 Stage 4: Full-Scale Administration of the CNGB- Sample 2

The fourth stage of the scale development had two specific aims. The first was to conduct a confirmatory factor analysis of the proposed four-factor model hypothesised from stage three. The second aim was to provide evidence of convergent and discriminant validity by examining correlations between the CNGB and other related subscales of existing measures of social self-esteem and social anxiety.

4.6.1 Method

4.6.1.1 Participants

Two government primary schools in the South-East Queensland region were selected for this phase of the research from the same middle class community. Following the consent of the participating school principals, a total of 214 children returned parent

consent forms and participated in this study. The sample consisted of children from grades 5 to 7. Ages ranged from 9 to 13 years with a mean age of 11.21. The children's parents' nationalities consisted of 73.3% Australian or New Zealander and about 20% Asian, reflecting the national profile. The sample was evenly split into 107 participants from each gender.

4.6.1.2 Materials

A questionnaire booklet was provided for the participating children comprising the revised Children's Need for Group Belongingness (CNGB) scale (see Appendix D), and subscales from three other commonly used self-report measures assessing social self-esteem, social anxiety and social acceptance. The questionnaire booklet consisted of four sections. Part 1 contained all six items from the social acceptance subscale of the Self-Perception Profile for Children (SPPC; Harter, 1985). In these items children were asked to select one of two choices that described them best, such as "some kids are popular with others their age" or "other kids are not very popular", after which they chose how well this statement described them; *really true for me* or *sort of true for me*. This subscale measures the degree to which a child is accepted by peers or feels popular and has reliability alphas ranging from .75 to .80 (Harter, 1985).

Part 2 comprised the 20-item CNGB, with each of the self-report items rated on 7-point bipolar scales ranging from *disagree a lot* to *agree a lot* to statements such as, "Being in a popular group is important to me."

Part 3 of the booklet contained the full six item subscale for social anxiety from the Spence Children's Anxiety Scale (SCAS; Spence, 1998) in which children respond to statements such as "I feel afraid if I have to talk in front of my class" with four choices of *never*, *sometimes*, *often*, or *always*. The SCAS has been demonstrated to be an effective tool in differentiating between clinically anxious and control children.

Subscale scores have been shown to predict the specific anxiety disorder of a clinical sample (Spence, 1998).

Part 4 contained all eight items from the Social Self-Peers subscale of the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI; Coopersmith, 1967). Items consisted of short statements such as “I’m a lot of fun to be with”, and were answered *like me* or *unlike me*. The school version of the SEI was designed for use with students 8 through 15 years of age. This measure has generally provided adequate reliability and validity and has been demonstrated to measure distinguishable features of a child or youth’s self-concept (e.g., Chiu, 1985; Robertson & Miller, 1986).

4.6.1.3 Procedure

Following the collection of parent consent forms, questionnaires were handed out to the participating children in class groups that ranged in size from 10 to 30 children. The following instructions were then provided by the experimenter:

“I’m interested in finding out a little about you and what you like. I would also like to know a little about what it is like for you to spend time with a group of kids. Shortly, I will hand out a questionnaire that asks for your thoughts and feelings about yourself and some of the groups you may be a part of. It is not like a test and there are no right or wrong answers. You do not need to put your name on this booklet and all your answers are private. Could you all first begin by filling out the details on the first page and then stop before starting the questionnaire on the next page.”

The children then completed the demographic details page. Due to the complexity of the response format of the SPPC, the children were guided through the instructions on page two of the booklet before commencing. As a final reminder, the children were asked to keep their answers to themselves and to complete all of the questions. After completing this section, the children were asked to stop and wait until everyone had

finished. They were then directed to the instructions on part 2 of the booklet containing the CNGB. The instructions, which were worded as follows, were read out to the class by the experimenter.

“This part asks you about groups of kids that you might spend time with. It can be a group at school or outside school. To be a member of a group means that there are three or more kids your own age that you hang out with. Some groups may have just a few kids in it. Others may be large and have six or more members.”

The children were then asked to answer the three questions about group membership. A brief example was provided on how to answer using the 7-point bipolar scale. Children were then requested to complete the rest of the questionnaire booklet ensuring they read all the instructions carefully at the top of each new section before answering the questions. As the children completed their questionnaires they were asked to double check their responses on each page of the booklet. As the experimenter collected the booklets, a final visual inspection was conducted to ensure all questions had been answered.

4.6.2 Results

4.6.2.1 Preliminary analyses.

Prior to conducting a confirmatory factor analysis on the four-factor model, the data were examined to determine the extent of missing data and whether the assumption of multivariate normality was met. Four cases were found to contain missing data and were thus removed from subsequent analyses. This left a sample size of 210. Two items were reverse scored prior to the analyses. Mean scores on the items ranged from 3.16 ($SD = 2.02$) on “I’m afraid that the kids in my group might laugh at me”, to 6.45 ($SD = 1.05$) on “I really like being part of my group”, with the majority of items averaging between 4 and 6.5. Exploration of the distribution of scores for each of the items

revealed significantly non-normal distributions, therefore potentially violating the assumption of normality required for this analysis. An investigation of each of the variables in the CNGB revealed substantial negative skew for five of the items. However, since all five items in the scale were skewed in the same direction, it was decided to retain the variables in their raw form. An examination of each of the variables revealed no significant outliers or extreme scores. Inspection of the correlation matrix of the 20 items indicated that a majority of bivariate correlations were significant.

4.6.2.2 Confirmatory factor analysis.

To validate the factor structure of the CNGB developed in Stage 3, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted. Based on the results of the exploratory factor analysis in the previous stage, the 20 items of the four-factor model were expected to load as follows: six items on the *need for membership* subscale; five on the *need for distinctiveness* subscale; five on the *fear of exclusion* subscale; and four on the *need for similarity* subscale.

The Maximum Likelihood (ML) Estimation procedure was chosen for the CFA since this is generally the method of choice for smaller sample sizes, with a sample size from 100 to 200 recommended for this estimation procedure (Hair et al., 1998). However, the primary concern in utilising this approach is that it assumes multivariate normality. West, Finch, and Curran (1995) stated that the chi square goodness of fit test will not produce an accurate assessment of fit when variables are non-normal, whilst at the same time increasing the chances of rejecting too many true models. Kline (2005) suggested that there are a few alternate methods to deal with non-normal distributions. The first option is to transform the data and use standard ML estimation. The second is to analyse the original data set using a corrected normal theory method by using robust standard errors and corrected test statistics. The Satorra-Bentler index is commonly used to

adjust downward the value of chi square. West et al. (1995) recommend the use of the Satorra-Bentler statistics for sample sizes ranging from 200-500 assuming that the model has been correctly specified. Hu and Bentler (1995) in a meta-analysis also found that the Satorra-Bentler Scaled chi square performed acceptably based on ML estimation, especially when the sample size was small.

The third option is to utilise an estimation procedure that does not assume multivariate normality such as the asymptotic distribution free (ADF) or arbitrary distribution function. These methods make no distributional assumptions. However, ADF requires very large sample sizes (Kline, 2005), so this procedure would not be suitable for the current analysis.

The method chosen for the CFA was an ML estimation procedure using untransformed data and an adjustment in the chi-square value using the Satorra-Bentler index. The analysis was computed on LISREL 8.52. All items were forced to load on their intended latent factor, with no cross loadings and no covariances between error terms permitted. The fit of the model was evaluated using several criteria: the chi-square/degrees of freedom ratio (values below 2.0 being viewed as acceptable); the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA; values less than .08 acceptable), the Bentler and Bonett (1980) non-normed fit index (NNFI) and the Bentler (1990) comparative fit index (CFI; values greater than .90 indicating good fit). In order to determine the most accurate representation of the data, the fit of the hypothesised model was compared with that of two competing models. Thus, a total of three models were subjected to CFA: (a) the hypothesised model in which the four-factors are all correlated, (b) a four-factor model where the factors are uncorrelated, and (c) a four-factor model where the *fear of exclusion* factor is correlated only with the *need for membership* factor whilst all other pairs of factors remain correlated. In all models, the variances of the latent variables were constrained to unity to permit scaling.

Results of the confirmatory factor analyses are presented in Table 4.4. The hypothesised four-factor correlated model revealed a chi-square/degrees of freedom ratio of 1.94 and the RMSEA of .067 indicated an acceptable fit for the original four-factor correlated model. However, the NNFI (.84) and the CFI (.86) suggested a less satisfactory fit.

Table 4.4

Goodness of Fit Indexes of Three Models of the Children's Need for Group Belongingness Factor Structure: Sample 2 (N = 210)

Model	Satorra-Bentler χ^2	df	χ^2/df	RMSEA	NNFI	CFI
Four-factor correlated	318.01	164	1.94	.067	.84	.86
Four-factor uncorrelated	415.69	170	2.44	.083	.79	.81
^a Four-factor partial correlation	321.08	166	1.93	.067	.84	.86

^a Fear of exclusion only correlated with need for acceptance (all other factors correlated).

All factor loadings were significant ($p < .001$) for the hypothesised four-factor correlated model, with the lowest loading being for “I like to be just like the other kids in my group” (loading (λ) = .45, standard error (SE) = .09, $t = 5.11$). Table 4.5 presents a summary of the factor loadings.

Two other competing models were subjected to a CFA to determine which best represented the data. The uncorrelated four-factor model provided a poor fit to the data with the chi-square/degrees of freedom ratio increasing substantially to 2.44 (see Table 4.4). Application of the chi-square difference test revealed the four-factor correlated model was a significantly better fit than the four-factor uncorrelated model, $\Delta \chi^2(6) = 97.68, p < .001$.

Table 4.5

Factor Loadings and Goodness of Fit Statistics from Confirmatory Factor Analysis on the Four-factor Correlated Model: Sample 2 (N = 210)

Item number	Maximum Likelihood Parameter Estimates (Factor Loadings) ^a
Need for Membership	
9. I really like being part of my group	.88
5. I am proud of being part of my group	.85
1. I like hanging out with kids from my group	.75
7. I don't like being part of a group- I prefer to be by myself	.62
14. I feel proud when one of the kids from my group does something well	.59
16. It is important for me to stick up for other kids in my group	.58
Need for Distinctiveness	
13. The kids in my group are much cooler than the kids in other groups	.75
2. Being in a popular group is important to me	.74
17. It is important for me to be a member of a strong and powerful group	.72
10. I think my group is better at most things than other groups	.58
3. I would be happy to be in an unpopular group	.55
Fear of Exclusion	
18. I worry that the other kids in my group think that I don't belong	.91
19. I'm often afraid that the kids in my group might laugh at me	.72
11. I often worry about what other kids in my group are thinking of me	.72
4. I often worry that the other kids in my group think that I am different	.64
15. I often worry about appearing stupid in front of my group	.56
Need for Similarity	
12. I enjoy doing the same things as the other kids in my group	.78
8. I am more similar to kids in my group than to other kids	.51
6. It is important to me that kids in my group think that I am like them	.49
20. I like to be just like the other kids in my group	.45
Goodness of Fit Statistics	
Chi-Square (df = 164)	318.01
RMSEA	.067
NNFI	.84
CFI	.86

^a All factor loadings were significant ($p < .001$).

Whilst it was predicted that three of the subscales would be highly correlated (need for membership, need for distinctiveness, and need for similarity), there was a possibility that the *fear of exclusion* subscale might be correlated with the *need for membership* subscale only. The CFA of this four-factor partial correlation model

revealed that it described the data set as well as the model which has all factors correlated. The chi-square difference test revealed that there was no significant difference in fit between the four-factor correlated model and the four-factor partial correlation model, $\Delta \chi^2(2) = 3.07, ns$ (see Table 4.4). Thus, on this evidence, the more parsimonious (partially correlated) model would be preferred over the fully correlated alternative. An additional CFA was conducted on a two-factor model with fear of exclusion as one factor with the other three subscales comprising another factor. However, this provided a poor fit to the data.

The CNGB scale included three initial check items to determine any previous history of belonging to a group. Analysis indicated 94.3% of participants responded *yes* to the item “Do you have a group of friends that you like to hang out with?” Out of the final sample size of 210, 12 participants responded in the negative. Only six participants responded that they had never had a group of friends and that they hang out with just one friend rather than a group of children. A further CFA was conducted on the four-factor partial correlation model removing these six participants from the analysis to determine if there was any change in the fit of the model. This analysis indicated a slightly improved fit, with the chi-square/degrees of freedom ratio improving to 1.86 and the RMSEA to .064. The NNFI and the CFI were unchanged.

These results suggest a marginal but adequate fit for the original model using the traditional rule of thumb for evaluating fit indexes. However, there has been a great deal of debate recently over the use of the traditional $> .9$ cut-off rule of thumb for indices such as the CFI. A number of researchers have suggested that traditional cut-off points are too stringent. West et al. (1995) stated that non-normality leads to modest underestimation of fit indexes such as the CFI. Similarly, Knight, Viridin, Ocampo, and Roosa (1994) have questioned the traditional cut-off points and suggested that although a CFI of $> .90$ is a good fit, $.80$ to $.89$ can be considered to be an adequate but marginal

fit. In evaluating model fit using the RMSEA, Loehlin (2004) has proposed the following criteria: $< .08$ indicates good fit; $.08$ to $.1$ indicates a moderate fit and $> .1$ indicates a poor fit.

Given these inconsistencies in model evaluation, it may be that the cut-off points for fit indexes for the current model were too stringent, especially when considering that the sample size was not large, the observed variables non-normally distributed, and the latent variables moderately correlated. Using Loehlin's (2004) criteria, the current model can be said to have achieved a good fit on the RMSEA. Similarly, the CFI was greater than $.85$ suggesting an adequate fit according to Knight et al. (1994). However, it needs to be noted that some experts would consider these criteria as not being sufficiently conservative. Several authors propose rules of thumb that are even more conservative suggesting that a CFI should be above $.95$ to be considered adequate (Hu & Bentler, 1998, 1999; Raykov & Marcoulides, 2000). Thus, it needs to be acknowledged that different authors recommend different cut-off points for a variety of fit statistics.

4.6.2.3 Scale reliability.

Reliability analyses across the four subscales indicated that the scale was internally consistent, revealing substantial alphas for the first three subscales (ranging from $.77$ for the *need for distinctiveness* subscale, to $.81$ for the *need for membership* subscale). The *need for similarity* subscale was at the lower limit of acceptability at $.61$. The total scale alpha was $.76$ reflecting an acceptable level of internal consistency (see Table 4.6).

Descriptive statistics and subscale correlations. The total summed subscale scores were used to investigate the correlations between the subscales. In line with the previous phase, the scores on each of the items loading on a factor were summed to produce subscale totals for the CNGB. The mean scores ranged from 17.79 ($SD = 7.46$) on the *fear of exclusion* subscale, to 37.44 ($SD = 5.22$) on the *need for membership*

subscale (see Table 4.6). The total CNGB score ranged from 51 – 129 with a mean score of 94.98 ($SD = 14.36$). These means were consistent with those observed in the first administration of the CNGB.

Table 4.6

Cronbach Alpha Coefficients and Descriptive Statistics for the CNGB Subscales:

Sample 2 (N = 210)

Subscales	Alpha	N	Mean	SD
Need for membership	.81	6	37.44	5.22
Need for distinctiveness	.77	5	20.74	6.55
Fear of exclusion	.80	5	17.79	7.46
Need for similarity	.61	4	19.01	4.58

The highest correlation was found between the *need for distinctiveness* and *need for similarity* subscales ($r = .46, p < .01$). This was followed by a moderate correlation between the *need for membership* and *need for similarity* subscales ($r = .36, p < .001$). The correlation between *need for membership* and the *need for distinctiveness* subscales was not as high but still significant ($r = .21, p < .01$). Consistent with findings from Sample 1, the *fear of exclusion* subscale had very low correlations with the *need for distinctiveness* ($r = .10, n.s$) and *need for similarity* ($r = .12, n.s$) subscales, whilst a low, but significant inverse relationship was present between *fear of exclusion* and *need for membership* ($r = -.22, p < .01$).

4.6.2.4 Scale validity.

The full score CNGB and subscales were correlated with relevant subscales of existing measures of social self-esteem and social anxiety in order to provide evidence of both convergent and divergent validity. Participants with missing data on any of the scales were excluded from the analysis. This left a sample size of 192 children. Table 4.7 presents the total CNGB and subscale correlations with relevant subscales from the

Self-Perception Profile for Children (SPPC; Harter, 1985), the Spence Children's Anxiety Scale (SCAS; Spence, 1998), and the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI; Coopersmith, 1967).

Table 4.7

Correlations between the Total and Subscales of the CNGB, and the Social Acceptance Subscale of the SPPC, the Social Anxiety Subscale of the SCAS, and the Social Self-Peers Subscale of the SEI.

Existing Subscales	CNGB Total	CNGB subscales			
		Membership	Distinctiveness	Exclusion	Similarity
SPPC ^a	.26**	.41**	.29**	-.22*	.29**
SCAS ^b	.28**	-.12	.00	.56**	.07
SEI ^c	.22*	.41**	.28**	-.26**	.23*

^aSelf-Perception Profile for Children.

^bSpence Children's Anxiety Scale.

^cCoopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory.

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

All three existing measures showed modest but significant linear associations with the CNGB total score with correlations ranging from .22 to .28. In investigating the subscale correlations of the CNGB it was found that the *fear of exclusion* subscale had the highest correlation with the social anxiety subscale of the SCAS ($r = .56, p < .001$). This subscale also revealed an inverse relationship with the social self-peers subscale of the SEI ($r = -.26, p < .001$) and the social acceptance subscale of the SPPC ($r = -.22, p < .01$). Importantly, whilst the social anxiety subscale of the SCAS was correlated with

the CNGB *fear of exclusion* subscale, it was not correlated with the remaining three CNGB subscales, thus providing evidence of discriminant validity. Moderate correlations were also found between the CNGB *need for membership* subscale and two of the three existing measures: the social acceptance subscale of the SPPC ($r = .41, p < .001$) and the social self-peers subscale of the SEI ($r = .41, p < .001$). The correlations between the *similarity* and *distinctiveness* subscales and the SPPC and the SEI were found to be statistically significant but modest and ranged from .23 to .29.

4.6.3 Discussion

The main aim of this stage of scale construction was to test the robustness of the four factors of the CNGB using an independent sample. In addition, the scale was correlated with the subscales of existing measures of the social self and social anxiety to evaluate convergent and divergent validity. The CFA provided adequate support for the four factors proposed to make up an overall measure of children's need for group belongingness. As predicted, the four correlated factors described the data more adequately than an uncorrelated model. An alternative model, which defined the correlations between the subscales, such that fear of exclusion was only correlated with need for membership, also demonstrated that a more parsimonious model might explain the data just as adequately.

These findings suggest an interesting set of interrelationships amongst the factors. As expected, it would seem that the need for membership, distinctiveness and similarity all tap into a sense of positive affect derived from group membership. In contrast, fear of exclusion appears to assess negative affectivity about group membership, which subsequently revealed an inverse relationship with the need for membership subscale only. This was consistent with the findings from Sample 1. This raises the possibility that whilst both subscales presumably contribute to an overall measure of group belongingness, each tap into a potentially different "driver" or a need for belonging and

acceptance. This might implicate that one need inhibits another. That is, as the importance of one need for a child increases the other decreases. Further, in contrast with the fear of exclusion, the need for membership subscale contained the items tapping into the greatest positive affect. Since the need for distinctiveness subscale can be defined as a group enhancement motive, and does not focus on one's position within the group, it was not expected to be highly correlated with fear of exclusion. However, the finding that need for similarity was not highly related to the fear of exclusion was interesting since it might have been expected that the need to fit in and be similar may predict fear of exclusion. This finding will be discussed further in the following section.

The internal reliability of the CNGB was also found to be acceptable within three of the subscales; the need for membership, fear of exclusion and need for distinctiveness. However, the internal reliability of the final subscale of need for similarity was at the lower limit of acceptability. The most straightforward explanation for the lower reliability in this scale might simply have been due to the small number of items. Another explanation is that this need may not be as well developed in children of this age as the other dimensions. Potential differences in cognitive development across the age range of the sample might have led to differences in the activation of particular aspects of the need for belongingness. As highlighted by Barrett et al. (2003), younger children rated age and gender identity as more important to them than national identity, which contains a more complex set of traits and characteristics. This might indicate that more cognitively complex needs involving intra-group comparisons of one's similarity to other in-group members might not be as dominant as the more strongly affectively loaded items constituting a desire to belong to a group, especially a distinctive group and not be rejected. These considerations may account for greater reliability of the first three factors which contained a greater affect derived from group membership as

opposed to the more practical need of confirming membership by positioning oneself in the group as being similar to others and hence a prototypical member.

It is also possible that the context in which the questionnaires were completed (i.e. within a large group setting) made inter-group comparisons more salient and subsequently primed SIT based aspects of the social self, such as the need for distinctiveness. This again might have led to the more affective elements of the CNGB becoming more dominant. As some research with adults has pointed out, the salience of particular aspects of identity may be primed by situational factors such as the topic or focus of discussion (e.g., van Knippenberg et al., 1994).

Evidence was obtained for the construct validity of the scale through the examination of correlations with existing measures assessing the related constructs of social acceptance derived self-worth and social anxiety. In order to examine how this new scale might be positioned relative to some of these existing measures, the correlations between the total and subscale scores of the CNGB and the relevant subscales of the Self-Perception Profile for Children (SPPC; Harter, 1985), the Spence Children's Anxiety Scale (SCAS; Spence, 1998) and the Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI; Coopersmith, 1967) were of great importance. This revealed a number of important findings. First, the CNGB total scale score was only modestly correlated with subscales of the SPPC, the SCAS and the SEI. This suggests that the overall CNGB score measures a construct that represents more than just social acceptance or social anxiety on its own. This was to be expected since the CNGB was intended to be an inclusive measure of group belongingness that represents not only elements of social self-worth but also a need for togetherness and anxiety about acceptance. Whilst the correlation between the CNGB total and the each of the subscales of the existing scales was low it was statistically significant indicating that there is significant overlap in the constructs.

Since each of the existing measures represents only a single dimension, their correlation with the total scale would be expected to be in the low to moderate range.

The moderate to high correlation between the fear of exclusion subscale and the SCAS indicated that this subscale was correlated with social anxiety as expected. This was not a surprising finding given that the items were similar with the main difference being the shift of focus on to the child's own reference group. However, since the correlation between fear of exclusion and the SCAS was not extremely high, it suggests the presence of a dimension that is sufficiently different from social anxiety in general, which may comprise a more specific in-group related social anxiety. The finding that this subscale revealed low negative correlations with the subscales of the SPPC and the SEI, which primarily assess feelings of self-worth derived from group acceptance, was also noteworthy. It suggests that this subscale is related to feelings of peer acceptance and social self-esteem and appears to represent a negative state, as opposed to the positive affective state assessed by the SPPC and the SEI subscales. It may also indicate a subtle relationship between the two, in that the more a child feels accepted and derives a positive social identity the less s/he will experience a sense of rejection or exclusion anxiety.

The moderate relationships revealed between the need for membership subscale and both the SPPC and the SEI suggests that this subscale of the CNGB reflects some degree of similarity to the peer acceptance dimension assessed by these scales. Since the aim of the need for membership subscale was to measure a general sense of positive affect and pride derived from group inclusion, this subscale was expected to reveal the highest correlations with the SPPC and the SEI subscales. These were indeed higher than the correlations found between the distinctiveness and similarity subscales and the SPPC and the SEI subscales. It would appear that whilst the distinctiveness and the similarity subscales have only a partial overlap with existing measures of social self-

esteem, they may be assessing a component that reflects what a child values and desires from his/her group rather than how accepted s/he currently feels. As such, these subscales highlight the main distinction between the CNGB and existing measures; the focus on specific needs and desires about belonging to a social group versus current feelings of self-worth or self-esteem derived from popularity or acceptance.

Overall, the correlations between the CNGB subscales and the three subscales of the SPPC, SCAS and the SEI were at about the levels expected given that these existing measures do not specifically assess a child's own in-group related positive affect, social motivations or anxiety. However, the findings do provide enough evidence of both convergent and discriminant validity to suggest that the scale does indeed assess aspects of both group belongingness involving positive affect and social acceptance concerns relating to anxiety.

The CFA suggested that the hypothesised four-factor model for the CNGB fitted the data only moderately well. This may be explained in several ways. It is possible that the data collection strategy may have increased error variance. The collection of data in large classroom groups is a likely source of error due to increased levels of noise and distractibility. Another potential source of error variance may be that the term "my group" was differentially interpreted when answering the questions. Due to the phrasing of the instructions some children may have accessed specific close friendship groups as a reference group whilst others may have referred to less established classroom groups when responding to statements. In addition, since the phrasing highlighted the "groups you may be a part of", this may have made it difficult for children who do not spend time with groups to identify with many of the statements. Whilst removing those children who reported to have no group, or just one friend, did not reveal major changes in the fit statistics of a separate CFA, social desirability concerns may have led some children to falsely report being in a group even if they only had one friend.

In sum, this second factor analysis on the original four-factor model using a confirmatory approach provided further evidence of the existence of four dimensions of group belongingness needs in children. However, due to some concerns over the wording of items and the small sample size used, it was considered important to conduct one final CFA on a revised version of the CNGB on a larger sample size prior to its use in an experimental design.

4.7 Stage 5: Full-Scale Administration of the CNGB- Sample 3

The primary aim of the fifth stage of scale development was to conduct a final confirmatory factor analysis of the proposed four-factor model assessed in Stage 4 following minor modifications to the wording of the instructions and some of the items in the scale. This was administered to a larger sized sample than in the previous stage. Reliability of the modified scale was also assessed. In addition, age and gender differences in this final version of the scale were explored.

4.7.1 Method

4.7.1.1 Participants

Two government primary schools in the South-East Queensland region were selected for this phase of the research. Following the consent of the participating school principals a total of 249 children from grades 5 to 7 returned parent consent forms and participated in this study. The sample comprised 150 female and 96 male participants with a mean age of 9.75 years. The ages ranged from 7 to 13 years with 98% of the participants aged between 8 and 12 years.

4.7.1.2 Materials

The modified 20-item CNGB was contained within a three-page questionnaire booklet. The first page included instructions on answering the questions and a section that asked for the child's age and gender. Based on the results of the confirmatory factor analysis in the previous stage a number of small modifications to the questionnaire were

made. The first of these were some minor changes in the wording of the instructions. The emphasis was taken off prompting the child to think about a specific group to which s/he may belong. Instead, the instructions now simply stated:

“This is a questionnaire that asks you about your thoughts and feelings about yourself and how much you like being part of a group. Think about what it is like to be in a group. Here are some sentences about what it would be like to hang out or play with a group of kids.”

This change in the wording was made in order to ensure all children are able to complete the questionnaire even if they do not have a specific group to which they may belong. It is reasonable to assume that a small percentage of children are excluded from groups or might simply lack the social skills to join groups. The fact that they are not currently part of a group does not exclude the possibility of these children having a great need for group belongingness. This change in the emphasis and wording of the instructions means that all children can at least imagine what it would be like being in a group.

This minor modification in the shift of the frame of reference, from a group to which the child currently belongs, to the idea of being part of a group in general was also reflected in subtle changes in the wording of some of the items in the scale. In the version of the CNGB administered in the previous stage many items were specific to a child’s current friendship group. These included items such as “I like hanging out with kids from my group”, and “I really like being part of my group”. These were changed to “I like hanging out with kids in a group” and “I really like being part of a group”. However, some items retained the “my group” wording when they stated general feelings about being in a group. These items were modified to shift the statement to how a child would like to perceive him/herself as a group member. For example, “I am more similar to kids in my group than to other kids” was modified to become “I like to be

more similar to kids in my group than to other kids". In all, eight of the final 20 items in the CNGB were modified to reflect this subtle shift in frame of reference.

These changes were not expected to alter the factor structure obtained from the previous stage. In fact, it was likely that these minor modifications would provide a more stable and replicable factor structure due to the scale focusing more specifically on children's liking for, and desire to be accepted by, a social group. This is something that all children can answer whether they're in a group at present or not. The only other minor modification to the CNGB was in the sequencing of the items. The item "I am happy to be in an unpopular group" was moved to the second page so it did not immediately follow another item focusing on group popularity. A copy of the final version of the CNGB is included in Appendix E.

4.7.1.3 Procedure

Following the collection of parent consent forms, the participating children in each class were removed to another room. Questionnaires were administered in either small class groups or individually. Participants were told that the experimenter was interested in finding out about their attitudes and feelings about being part of a group. A standard set of verbal instructions for completing the questionnaire were given to each class group or individual tested. The specific verbal instructions were as follows:

"I'm interested in knowing a little about what it's like for you to hang out with a group of kids. A group is usually three or more kids that spend time together and it could be a group at school or outside of school. I would like you to answer some questions in a small booklet about what it is like to be in a group. It is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. All you need to do is circle a number that you think fits you the best. I'll show you an example of how to answer the questions (a demonstration was given on how to use the rating scale) All the answers will be on a rating scale that goes

from 1 to 7 and you will have sentences like: (an example was read out).

You then need to decide how much you agree or disagree with this (the number 5 was circled). Circling this one would mean you agree a little bit.

The more towards 7 that you answer the more strongly you agree. Also the closer to 1 you circle the more strongly you disagree.”

The questionnaires were then handed out to the participating children. Any children with reading difficulties were identified and excluded from the study. Participants were then asked to start the questionnaire and were prompted:

“Remember, there are no right or wrong answers. It’s just about how you feel. You don’t have to put your name on it so no one will know how you have answered. All you need to do is put your age and tick the box for boy/girl. Make sure you answer every question and don’t skip any. Start off by reading the instructions at the top.”

At the completion of the questionnaire the children were thanked for their participation and allowed to return to their class. A large proportion of participants from selected schools also participated in a second study immediately upon completion of the questionnaire. This study will be outlined in chapter 5.

4.7.2 Results

4.7.2.1 Preliminary analyses.

The data were initially examined to determine the extent of missing data and whether the assumption of multivariate normality was met. Three cases contained missing data and were thus removed from any further analysis. This left a sample size of 246.

Preliminary analyses indicated that mean scores on the items ranged from 3.19 ($SD = 2.05$) on “I’m afraid that the kids in my group might laugh at me”, to 6.23 ($SD = 1.40$) on “It is important for me to stick up for other kids in my group”. Item mean scores

were consistently lower than in the previous stages, with 50% of items rating below the mid-point of four.

Exploration of the distribution of scores for each of the items revealed significantly non-normal distributions, therefore potentially violating the assumption of normality required for this analysis. However, the items with the most significant skew were all contained within the *need for membership* subscale. Since these items were all skewed in the same negative direction, it was decided to retain the variables in their raw form. All items revealed a good range of responding over the 7-point scale. Inspection of the correlation matrix of the 20 items indicated that a majority of bivariate correlations were significant.

4.7.2.2 Confirmatory factor analysis.

The responses of 246 children were subjected to a confirmatory factor analysis. The CFA on the original four-factor model was conducted using a ML estimation procedure with an adjustment in the chi-square value using the Satorra-Bentler index. The analysis was computed on LISREL 8.52. The fit of the model was evaluated using the same criteria described in the previous stage of scale validation. In order to determine the most accurate representation of the data, the models tested were the same as in Stage 4.

Results of the confirmatory factor analyses are presented in Table 4.8. The chi-square/degrees of freedom ratio of 1.67 and the RMSEA of .052 indicated a good fit for the original four-factor correlated model. The NNFI (.89) and the CFI (.91) similarly suggested a good fit. These results revealed a substantially improved fit of the four-factor correlated model tested in the previous stage of scale validation.

Table 4.8.

*Goodness of Fit Indexes of Three Models of the Children's Need for Group**Belongingness Factor Structure: Sample 3 (N = 246)*

Model	Satorra-Bentler χ^2	df	χ^2/df	RMSEA	NNFI	CFI
Four-factor uncorrelated	414.77	170	2.44	.077	.83	.85
Four-factor correlated	274.06	164	1.67	.052	.89	.91
^a Four-factor partial correlation	299.78	166	1.93	.057	.88	.90

^a Fear of exclusion only correlated with need for acceptance (all other factors correlated).

All factor loadings were significant ($p < .001$) for the hypothesised four-factor correlated model, with the lowest loading being for “It’s important to stick up for other kids in my group” (loading (λ) = .42, standard error (SE) = .08, $t = 5.11$). Table 4.9 presents a summary of the factor loadings.

In line with the previous stage, two other competing models were subjected to a CFA to determine which best represented the data. An uncorrelated four-factor model again provided a poor fit to the data, with the chi-square/degrees of freedom ratio increasing substantially to 2.44. Application of the chi-square difference test revealed that the four-factor correlated model was a significantly better fit than the four-factor uncorrelated model, $\Delta \chi^2(6) = 140.71, p < .001$.

However, again it was predicted that three of the subscales would be highly correlated (need for membership, need for distinctiveness, and need for similarity) and that the *fear of exclusion* subscale would be moderately correlated with only the *need for membership* subscale. In contrast to the previous stage of scale development, the chi-square difference test revealed the four-factor correlated model was a significantly better fit than the four-factor partial correlation model, $\Delta \chi^2(2) = 25.72, p < .001$.

Table 4.9

Factor Loadings and Goodness of Fit Statistics from Confirmatory Factor Analysis on the Four-Factor Correlated Model: Sample 3 (N = 246)

Item number	Maximum Likelihood Parameter Estimates (Factor Loadings) ^a
Need for Membership	
8. I really like being part of a group	.95
4. I would be proud of being part of a group	.77
1. I like hanging out with kids in a group	.73
14. I feel proud when one of the kids from my group does something well	.60
6. I don't like being part of a group- I prefer to be by myself	.54
16. It is important for me to stick up for other kids in my group	.42
Need for Distinctiveness	
9. I like my group to be better at most things than other groups	.78
13. I like the kids in my group to be much cooler than the kids in other groups	.77
17. It is important for me to be a member of a strong and powerful group	.70
2. Being in a popular group is important to me	.69
11. I am happy to be in an unpopular group	.45
Fear of Exclusion	
18. I worry that the other kids in my group think that I don't belong	.82
19. I'm often afraid that the kids in my group might laugh at me	.80
10. I worry about what other kids in my group are thinking of me	.63
3. I would worry that the other kids in my group think that I am different	.57
15. I often worry about appearing stupid in front of my group	.55
Need for Similarity	
20. I like to be just like the other kids in my group	.73
5. It is important to me that kids in my group think that I am like them	.62
7. I like to be more similar to kids in my group than to other kids	.55
12. I enjoy doing the same things as the other kids in my group	.49
Goodness of Fit Statistics	
Chi-Square (df = 164)	274.06
RMSEA	.052
NNFI	.89
CFI	.91

^a All factor loadings were significant ($p < .001$).

4.7.2.3 Scale reliability.

Reliability analyses revealed substantial alphas for the first three subscales (.79 for the *need for membership* subscale, .77 for the *need for distinctiveness* subscale, and .77 for the *fear of exclusion* subscale). The *need for similarity* subscale was again at the

lower limit of acceptability at .65 (see Table 4.10). The total scale alpha was .82 reflecting a good overall level of internal consistency.

Table 4.10

Cronbach Alpha Coefficients and Descriptive Statistics for the CNGB Subscales:

Sample 3 (N = 246)

Subscales	Alpha	N	Mean	SD
Need for membership	.79	6	35.79	6.40
Need for distinctiveness	.77	5	18.04	7.09
Fear of exclusion	.77	5	17.50	7.35
Need for similarity	.65	4	18.22	5.29

Descriptive statistics and subscale correlations. The total CNGB mean score ranged from 40 – 127 with a mean score of 89.54 ($SD = 17.56$). Mean scores for each of subscales of the CNGB were then computed. These ranged from 17.50 ($SD = 7.35$) on the *fear of exclusion* subscale, to 35.79 ($SD = 6.40$) on the *need for membership* subscale (see Table 4.10). Consistent with the findings from the previous stage of scale development, the highest correlation was found between the *need for distinctiveness* and *need for similarity* subscales ($r = .51, p < .001$). This was again followed by a moderate correlation between the *need for membership* and *need for similarity* subscales ($r = .47, p < .001$). The correlation between *need for membership* and the *need for distinctiveness* subscales was not as high but still significant ($r = .23, p < .01$). In contrast to the previous study, the *fear of exclusion* subscale revealed a moderate correlation with *need for distinctiveness* ($r = .32, p < .01$) and a low, yet significant, correlation with *need for similarity* ($r = .24, p < .01$). In addition, the relationship between *fear of exclusion* and *need for membership* was not significant (see Table 4.11).

Examination of the correlations between the subscale scores and the CNGB total scale score revealed that the *need for distinctiveness* and the *need for similarity* subscales had the highest correlations of .77 and .78 respectively. Correlations between the total scale score and the *need for membership* and *fear of exclusion* subscales were substantially lower at .56 and .59, respectively.

Table 4.11.

Correlations between the CNGB Subscales: Sample 3 (N = 246)

	CNGB subscales			
	Membership	Distinctiveness	Exclusion	Similarity
Membership	-	.23*	-.08	.47*
Distinctiveness		-	.32*	.51*
Exclusion			-	.24*
Similarity				-

* $p < .01$

4.7.2.4 Age and gender differences.

The total CNGB scores for males ranged from 40-127, with a mean of 89.81 ($SD = 18.12$). The total scores for females ranged from 40-122, with a mean of 89.37 ($SD = 17.25$). Due to a limited number of participants in the upper and lower age ranges, age effects were explored by collapsing participants into two categories; ages 7-9 years and 10-13 years. Consequently, any potential age and gender differences on the total CNGB score were analysed in a 2 (gender: male versus female) x 2 (age: 7-9 years versus 10-13 years) ANOVA. The ANOVA revealed only a significant main effect for *age*, $F(1, 242) = 4.75$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$. Results indicated that the 7-9 year old age group scored significantly higher ($M = 91.64$, $SD = 17.93$) than the 10-13 year old age group

($M = 87.38$, $SD = 16.97$). Table 4.12 presents the mean scores for age and gender groups.

Table 4.12

Means and Standard Deviations on the CNGB for Age and Gender Categories:

Sample 3 (N = 246)

CNGB subscales	Age	
	7-9 years	10-13 years
Need for membership		
Male	37.02 (5.54)	34.78 (6.91)
Female	35.47 (7.15)	36.07 (5.60)
Total	36.04 (6.62)	35.54 (6.18)
Need for distinctiveness		
Male	18.83 (6.88)	18.60 (7.43)
Female	17.77 (7.75)	17.44 (6.23)
Total	18.16 (7.43)	17.92 (6.75)
Fear of exclusion		
Male	17.65 (7.39)	15.42 (7.00)
Female	18.96 (7.37)	17.23 (7.33)
Total	18.48 (7.37) _a	16.48 (7.22) _a
Need for similarity		
Male	20.52 (4.97)	17.12 (4.90)
Female	18.04 (5.62)	17.68 (5.04)
Total	18.96 (5.50) _b	17.45 (4.97) _b
CNGB Total		
Male	94.04 (17.14)	85.92 (18.29)
Female	90.24 (18.33)	88.41 (16.03)
Total	91.64 (17.93) _c	87.38 (16.97) _c
N		
Male	46	50
Female	79	71
Total	125	121

_{a b c} Cell means sharing the same subscript are significantly different ($p < .05$)

Differences in the subscale scores of the CNGB were analysed in a 2 (gender: male versus female) x 2 (age: 7-9 years versus 10-13 years) MANOVA. The analysis

revealed only a significant multivariate effect for *age*, $F(4, 239) = 3.18, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$ using Pillai's Trace statistic. At the univariate level this effect was significant for the CNGB *need for similarity* subscale, $F(1, 242) = 7.75, p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$. Mean scores indicated that 7-9 year old children scored significantly higher ($M = 18.96, SD = 5.50$) than 10-13 year old children ($M = 17.45, SD = 4.97$). In addition, a significant effect was found for the *fear of exclusion* subscale of the CNGB, $F(1, 242) = 4.33, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, with 7-9 year olds scoring significantly higher ($M = 18.48, SD = 7.37$) than 10-13 year olds ($M = 16.48, SD = 7.22$).

4.7.3 Discussion

The aim of this final stage of scale construction was to confirm the existence of the four-factor structure following minor modifications to the wording of the CNGB items and instructions. This final CFA provided further support for the four factors proposed to make up an overall measure of children's need for group belongingness. As predicted, and consistent with the previous stage of validation, the four correlated factors described the data more adequately than an uncorrelated model. However, on this occasion, the fit of the model was less adequate when specifying that fear of exclusion was uncorrelated with need for distinctiveness and need for similarity. Contrary to the previous stage of scale development, the correlation between the need for membership and fear of exclusion was found to be non-significant, with all other subscale correlations significant. Most importantly, the four-factor structure in this final CFA appeared to provide more consistent factor loadings than in the previous phase. All fit indexes showed some improvements over their Stage 4 levels, which indicated that the fit of the model improved from merely adequate to good in this final stage.

These improvements may have partly been due to the minor modifications in the wording of several questions, which may have reduced error variance. Combined with the shift of focus in the wording of the instructions for the scale, these might have aided

respondents to work from the same frame of reference and allowed for greater consistency in responding. Another consideration was that the questionnaires were completed in much smaller group sizes or in many cases individually. Not only might answering these questions in the presence of other classmates inflate error variance due to noise and distraction, it is also possible that a greater number of socially desirable responses may be recorded. Subscales such as the fear of exclusion are more likely than the other subscales to be sensitive to distortions due to social desirability. Children who are high on this quality are unlikely to express it accurately, even in a questionnaire, if there are peers present who may observe their answers. If the items in this scale are sensitive to changes in group contexts, then completing the questionnaire privately is likely to lead to a more accurate measure of a need for belongingness. It may indeed have been the more private responding in this phase, which led to significant correlations between the fear of exclusion subscale and distinctiveness and similarity, which were not present in Stage 4 analyses. In addition, Study 1 in the present research program demonstrated that surveillance influenced in-group liking. Hence, it was also possible that any likelihood of surveillance by classmates when completing the questionnaires in class groups in Stage 4 might have magnified scores on the membership, distinctiveness and similarity subscales and reduced ratings on fear of exclusion, in comparison to Stage 5.

In Stage 5, the reliability of three of the four subscales was again acceptable to good, with a minor improvement being revealed in the need for similarity subscale. The lower levels of reliability found in relation to the need for similarity subscale might again have been due to it containing only four items. It is possible that there are still some other unmeasured facets of this factor that could be measured, and this gain in content validity may result in higher levels of reliability. There might also be a possibility that a need for similarity is more context-dependent than the other factors and requires the

presence of an in-group or an in-group/out-group comparison for it to be activated to the same extent. The first three factors can be said to contain a greater affective element and are likely to be more salient and easier to access even in the absence of a group context.

It was noteworthy that there were some age-related differences in the total CNGB score and two of the subscales. Results indicated that the 7 to 9 year old age group scored significantly higher than the 10 to 13 year old age group on the total CNGB score. This finding might suggest that younger children are more motivated to highlight their group belongingness needs than older children. However, the main difference was found in the need for similarity and fear of exclusion subscales, in which 7 to 9 year old children scored significantly higher than 10 to 13 year old children. This raises the possibility that younger children are more concerned than older children about their intra-group position as reflected by similarity to other group members and a fear of exclusion. However, it is also possible that older children are more willing to assert their independence than younger children who might be more uncertain about membership.

There is some evidence to suggest that the salience of particular categorisations might vary across age. For example, Barrett et al. (2003) found that when investigating the importance of national identity compared with other social identities in 5 to 11 year old children, the youngest children rated their age and gender identities as being more important to them than their national identity. However, the middle and older age groups rated their national identity as being more important than either age or gender. Socio-cognitive theory might also suggest age-related changes due to cognitive acquisitions that allow for greater differentiation between mere category members and individuals (Aboud, 1988). In regard to similarity, it is possible that younger children are more focused on defining themselves as a group member and subsequently

motivated toward similarity, whereas older children might be more motivated to focus on their individuality.

Whether concerns about group position reflect a greater need for belongingness in younger children is unclear. The absence of any differences on need for membership and group distinctiveness across age ranges indicates that a need to belong to a group, especially one that is of relatively high status is important to all children. Given the relatively small sample size within the age groups, future studies might need to explore the possibility of age related changes within subscales, specifically the need for similarity dimension, to determine whether a need for belongingness is relatively invariant through childhood and into adolescence.

4.7.3.1 General conclusions

The five stages of scale development outlined sought to provide evidence of the existence of four dimensions of group belongingness in children. Support was consistently found through the five stages for the four dimensions of: a need for group membership, a need for group distinctiveness, fear of exclusion, and a need for similarity. The initial exploratory factor analysis revealed that a set of 20 items loaded on the proposed factors. These items consistently loaded on the four factors in subsequent confirmatory factor analyses, with three of the four factors demonstrating good reliability across studies. The correlations between these factors revealed some inconsistencies during the final two confirmatory factor analyses. However, a four-factor correlated model always provided a significantly better fit than an uncorrelated model suggesting that there are significant associations between these proposed dimensions of an overall need for group belongingness.

In sum, sufficient evidence was gained over the five phases to support the four-factor model, and suggest that the CNGB might be of great value in predicting intra- and inter-group effects. Most importantly, this scale development phase demonstrated that group

belongingness and acceptance are not just facets that are activated within inter-group contexts, but they can be conceptualised as needs that vary between individuals. In the context of the present research program, an important consideration was the extent to which this individual difference measure of group belongingness might be able to account for children's need for belonging and acceptance within inter-group contexts. This was addressed in the final study of the research program outlined in the next chapter.

5.0 STUDY 4: GROUP STATUS, NORMS, POSITION AND BELONGINGNESS AND GROUP ATTITUDES.

5.1 Introduction

Studies 1 and 2 revealed several findings consistent with the proposition that children are motivated to belong to, and be accepted by, social groups. The findings from Study 1 suggested that children were aware of, and responded to, intra-group norms such as the openness of the in-group in their liking ratings of the in-group but not the out-group. Evidence was also provided for surveillance playing a role in the level of liking displayed toward the in-group but not the out-group. Study 2 extended these findings by revealing that the desire to work for the in-group was significantly reduced when an in-group exclusion threat was present versus absent. It was also found that an inter-group comparative context that emphasised threat from an out-group only had a significant effect on liking toward and out-group. In contrast, an out-group threat compared with no-threat increased the desire to work with the in-group. However, results suggested that the attributes of another new member wanting to join the in-group led children to be concerned about the composition of the in-group, consequently endorsing those members that provided greater support for the in-group. In addition, supportive versus non-supportive members who wanted to join the in-group increased the participant's desire to work with the in-group.

These studies suggested that a need for belonging and acceptance didn't mean that children automatically always demonstrated high in-group liking. Rather, children apparently take notice of the groups that have an increased likelihood of acceptance and the attributes of other members wanting to join these groups. In other words, children are not indiscriminating when seeking to be part of a group.

Given that these findings were generally consistent with the view that children have a need for belonging and acceptance, chapter 4 outlined the development of a scale

measuring individual variability in the need for group belongingness. The findings through several stages demonstrated that this need can be reliably measured in children, and that it encompasses at least four factors: need for membership, need for distinctiveness, fear of exclusion and need for similarity.

The aim of Study 4 was twofold. Based on the assumption of children's need for belonging and acceptance, the first aim was to examine the impact of three further variables on children's in-group and out-group attitudes, in a minimal group experiment. These variables included, the relative status of the in-group compared with the out-group, the in-group's norms, and the position of the participant in the in-group. The second aim was to re-administer the revised Children's Need for Group Belongingness (CNGB) scale in order to continue the validation of this newly developed scale with the specific aim of providing evidence of predictive validity. Thus, the aim was to examine the extent to which children's measured levels of belonging and acceptance, via the CNGB, accounted for variance in in-group liking, desire to work with the in-group and out-group derogation, over and above that accounted for by the three manipulated variables.

5.1.1 In-group Status

In-group status was chosen as one of the variables that might be expected to influence group attitudes. As reviewed previously, some experimental research has suggested that children do prefer being part of higher rather than lower status groups (e.g., Bigler et al, 2001; Nesdale & Flessler, 2001; Yee & Brown, 1992). Similarly, adolescent research has revealed that membership in a high status group was more attractive than membership in a low status group (Ellemers et al., 1992). In a recent study, Bigler et al. found that children's inter-group attitudes were affected by the manipulation of high versus low status attributes and that only children who were members of high status groups developed in-group biased attitudes.

In addition, it has been found in more naturalistic studies that a significant proportion of minority group children exhibited out-group preferences (Davey, 1983), and attributed more positive traits to members of the majority ethnic group and negative traits to members of the minority ethnic group (see review by Aboud, 1988). Bruce et al. (1998) also found out-group favouritism in the attribution of positive behaviours in young minority Maori children in New Zealand. More recently, Pfeifer et al. (2007) found that for ethnic minority children, the evaluation of one's in-group more positively than out-groups was predicted by their immigrant status.

However, while there is evidence that children would prefer to change to a high status group, given the opportunity, Nesdale & Flessner (2001) also found that children always liked the group to which they had been assigned more than the out-group, regardless of the groups' relative status. In addition, Nesdale et al. (2004) found no status effect on liking but showed that children would prefer to change to the higher status group.

In sum, there is research suggesting that children always like the in-group more than the out-group (consistent with the need for belonging and acceptance account), and evidence that children like higher than lower status in-groups (consistent with positive distinctiveness). In addition, there is evidence that children prefer to move to a higher status group if at all possible (consistent with positive distinctiveness), but that children like low status in-group more than a high status out-group (consistent with need for belonging and acceptance account). Given the variability in these findings, one aim of the present study was to re-examine the impact of high versus low status of the in-group and out-group. Further, the study also examined the extent to which children wanted to work with each group, depending on the relative status of the in-group versus out-group. If a need for positive distinctiveness is important to children as suggested by SIT, then high status in-groups should be liked more than low status in-groups.

5.1.2 Group Norms

As discussed previously, the influence of group norms on children's attitudes towards out-groups is now becoming increasingly evident (e.g., Nesdale, Griffiths, et al. 2005, Nesdale, Maass, et al., 2005; Ojala & Nesdale, 2004). For example, Nesdale, Maass, et al. revealed that prejudice was greater when the in-group had a norm of exclusion. The influence of normative beliefs has also been implicated in bullying research (e.g., Ojala & Nesdale, 2004; Salmivalli et al., 1997; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004) and aggression amongst primary school aged children (Henry et al., 2000; Stormshak et al., 1999). For example, Henry et al. found that classmates' normative beliefs about the acceptability of aggression predicted aggressive behaviour in children.

As discussed in a previous chapter, studies investigating SGD have also suggested that in-group norms influence children's attitudes toward an in-group member who deviated from group norms as well as out-group members (Abrams et al., 2007; Abrams, Rutland & Cameron, 2003; Abrams, et al., 2003). Hence, in-group norms, whether they are beliefs about the in-group or the out-group, or relate to specific behaviours, are likely to be highly relevant to children when searching for group acceptance.

Indeed, in-group norms in the first two studies of the present research program were found to be highly influential in both, in-group liking (Study 1) and desire to work with the in-group (Study 2). Together, these studies demonstrated that in-group norms about in-group members (openness, threat of exclusion), had differential effects on children's in-group attitudes, presumably reflecting their need for belonging and acceptance. However, to what extent might in-group norms about out-groups instigate concerns for the in-group and subsequent conformity in order to affirm group membership? SCT might predict that conformity would arise simply through a process of depersonalisation to the in-group prototype with subsequent conformity to in-group norms occurring

relatively automatically. However, as previously postulated, a need for belonging and acceptance would predict that children are discerning about the extent to which a particular group affords a high likelihood of acceptance. Whilst conformity to in-group norms might be a strategy to gain group acceptance, conformity would be expected to occur to a greater extent when an in-group is open and friendly rather than unfriendly.

The present study differed from the first two in the research program, in that its emphasis was on normative beliefs about out-groups, in contrast to group norms focusing on the in-group. Specifically, in this study, the group norm specified that group members were friendly versus unfriendly towards the children in the out-group. This distinction was made in order to determine whether a shift in the focus of the in-group norm from in-group members to out-group members impacts upon in-group liking, out-group derogation, or both. Given children's need for belonging and acceptance, it was predicted that in-groups with a friendly versus unfriendly norm toward out-group members would be liked more. At the same time, however, in order to ensure acceptance, conformity to in-group norms would be predicted such that, an out-group would be disliked and derogated more under an unfriendly in-group norm, and liked more under a friendly in-group norms.

5.1.3 Group Position

The final variable considered to impact on the need for belonging and acceptance was the group position of participants. According to SCT, an individual's position within the group can be defined according to the extent of their prototypicality. That is, the more an individual differs from out-group members and the less s/he deviates from in-group members, the greater the prototypicality of the person (Turner, 1991). More specifically, SCT argues that prototypicality involves conformity to an in-group prototype that occurs through the process of categorisation and subjective identification with the in-group.

The present research examined the extent to which the manipulation of children's position within a social group (prototypical versus peripheral) would impact on their in-group and out-group attitudes given that a need for acceptance motivates children to become group members. Since prototypical members best represent the in-group, and are likely to receive more positive evaluations by fellow in-group members than peripheral members (Turner et al., 1987), then it follows that children would prefer to be prototypical rather than peripheral members, and that the former would like the in-group more. Research on SGD again provides findings consistent with this proposition, in that children express greater positivity toward normative (and hence prototypical) group members than deviant (or peripheral) members (Abrams et al., 2007; Abrams, Rutland & Cameron, 2003; Abrams et al., 2003). Also in research with adults, Jetten, Branscombe and Spears (2002) extended these findings by revealing that participants who were initially peripheral but anticipated becoming more prototypical displayed greater in-group bias than those who expected to remain peripheral.

However, it is less clear how prototypical versus peripheral children would react toward out-group members. In research with adults, prototypical members reported in-group and out-group stereotyping as well as in-group bias, but the participants were subjected to a distinctiveness threat from an out-group (Jetten et al., 1997b). Some research has also revealed an increase in in-group bias and out-group derogation when adult participants were on the periphery of a group. For example, Noel et al. (1995) found that peripheral group members derogated an out-group more, when their responses were public rather than private. In contrast, prototypical members did not differ across conditions. However, it is important to note that research explicitly manipulating group position has been conducted primarily with adults.

Given that the findings concerning group position are mixed, and that most of the extant research has been carried out with adults, another aim of the present study was to

examine the effect of group position on children's group attitudes. Given that children are motivated by a need for group belonging and acceptance, it would be expected that prototypical versus peripheral children would like the in-group more, and desire to work with them more, since their position actually underscores their difference in in-group acceptance. Further, prototypical versus peripheral members would be expected to conform more strongly to in-group norms. This means that prototypical versus peripheral members would be expected to be more friendly or unfriendly toward out-groups, depending on the prescriptions of the in-group norms.

5.1.4 Predictive Significance of Measured Belongingness

Another important consideration of the present study was the extent to which individual differences in children's need for belongingness might account for additional variance in children's group attitudes, over and above the effects of the manipulated variables. Relatively few studies have sought to explore individual difference variables within social group research. However, some studies have shown that assessing individual differences such as level of empathy can predict in-group and out-group liking (Nesdale, Griffiths, et al., 2005). Emerging evidence from national identification research has also indicated that higher levels of national identity led to greater in-group bias in children (e.g., Bennett et al., 1998; Verkuyten, 2001). In addition, Downey et al. (1998) provided some evidence that rejection sensitivity can be measured in children, and that it is an individual difference variable that can have differential effects on peer relations.

Accordingly, the current study also aimed to provide evidence of an association between group attitudes and scores on the Children Need for Group Belongingness (CNGB) scale, outlined in chapter 4. If it is assumed that a need for belongingness is linked to a desire to be part of an in-group, then it would be expected that participants' scores on the CNGB scale would be positively associated with in-group liking, but not

out-group liking. Further, if children are concerned about acceptance, then each of the need for membership, need for distinctiveness, need for similarity, and fear of exclusion subscales of the CNGB should also be positively correlated with in-group liking.

However, the need for distinctiveness subscale should not only be correlated with in-group liking but also out-group derogation. It would be expected children high in a need for distinctiveness are more aware of inter-group comparisons, and are subsequently more likely to engage in out-group derogation in order to maintain the distinctiveness of the in-group.

5.1.5 Summary and Hypotheses

It was expected that group status, in-group norms, and in-group position would all be influential variables on children's group attitudes, reflecting their need for group belongingness and acceptance. However, whilst these variables were expected to impact upon in-group/out-group attitudes, it was also likely that individual variability in group belongingness needs would affect these attitudes. Consequently, the current study sought to determine the extent to which in-group liking and out-group derogation might be predicted by scores on the CNGB scale above and beyond the manipulated variables.

Six hypotheses were evaluated in this study. Consistent with previous findings and discussion, it was expected that: (1) children would always express greater liking for, and desire to work with, their in-group; (2) in line with SIT, children would display greater liking for, and desire to work with, a high compared with a low status in-group; (3) whilst children would be expected to show greater liking for a friendly, rather than unfriendly, in-group, greater dislike and derogation of the out-group would be displayed when the in-group norm prescribed unfriendly attitudes and behaviours rather than friendly attitudes; (4) prototypical group members would display greater liking for the in-group, desire to work with them, and conformity to in-group norms than peripheral members; (5) after accounting for the three manipulated variables, scores on the CNGB

would predict greater in-group liking and out-group derogation; (6) the CNGB need for distinctiveness subscale would account for variability in out-group derogation.

These hypotheses were evaluated within the context of a similar minimal group paradigm to that outlined in Study 2. In order to draw comparisons with the previous phases of research, a similar age group (8-13 years) of children were recruited for this study.

5.2 Method

5.2.1 Participants

The sample consisted of 96 children, from grades 4 to 7. Ages ranged from 8 to 13 years with a mean age of 10.27 years. The sample consisted of 56 females and 40 males. Two government funded public primary schools participated in this study, each serving the same middle class community.

5.2.2 Design

The study comprised a 2 (in-group status: high versus low) x 2 (in-group position: prototypical versus peripheral member) x 2 (in-group norm: friendly versus unfriendly to other groups) factorial between-subjects design. An approximately equal number of boys and girls were randomly allocated into each of the conditions. The dependent variables were measures of in-group and out-group attitudes and behavioural intent.

5.2.3 Materials

The materials for this study included: the 20-item CNGB contained in a three page questionnaire booklet; a second three page questionnaire booklet containing measures of in-group and out-group attitudes; a photo folder containing 12 sets of head-and-shoulder photos of children aged between 8 and 13 years of age; a polaroid camera; and a sticky note pad and pencils.

5.2.4 Procedure

The study was carried out in two phases employing a similar pretend drawing competition scenario to Study 2 outlined in chapter 3.

5.2.4.1 Phase 1.

The children whose parents had given permission to participate were told by the experimenter that he was visiting a number of schools and getting children to do drawings for an artistic competition. The children in this initial phase were asked to make a whole-body drawing of somebody they knew (e.g., a friend or a family member) on a 15 cm x 15 cm square on a single sheet of A4 size paper. They were also asked to write their names in a space provided on this drawing sheet. The participating teachers were provided with training in the specific directions to give the children during the drawing phase. The teachers were then requested to conduct the drawing phase during the week and to collect and store all of the drawings prior to the experimenter arriving for Phase 2.

5.2.4.2 Phase 2.

The second phase took place approximately one week after Phase 1. The teachers were asked to send one child at a time to a room set up for testing. Only those who had completed the drawing and returned the consent form were allowed to participate. The testing sessions were carried out by the author of the present research and a research assistant with previous experience in this type of experimental simulation. The participating children were told that there would be two completely different tasks for them to complete during the session.

Task 1. The participating children were initially asked to complete a questionnaire booklet comprising the Children's Need for Group Belongingness (CNGB) scale. A standard set of verbal instructions for completing the questionnaire was given to each

child. These instructions were identical to those provided in Stage 5 of the scale development study.

Task 2. Following the completion of this questionnaire the minimal groups experiment was conducted. At the conclusion of Task 1, the children were told that they would now take part in something completely different. They were told that the next phase would involve an activity which required the use of their imagination. They were also told that as part of the pretend game the experimenter would need to take a head-and-shoulder photo of each child. The participants' verbal consent was gained before continuing with the experiment. The children were then reminded of the drawings they had completed a few days earlier and were asked to pretend that they were now going to take part in a big drawing competition and that they would be placed in a team based upon their earlier drawing. Each child was then randomly allocated into one of eight different conditions, which varied according to the combinations of three independent variables.

For the *in-group status* manipulation, children were asked to pretend that an art judge had rated all of the drawings in the class and that the participant was going to be placed into one of two types of groups; either a team of *excellent* drawers or a team of *ok* drawers. The participants were then told that the experimenters had already taken lots of photos of *excellent* drawers and *ok* drawers from other schools and that s/he had been placed into one of these teams which would then compete with the other team in a drawing contest. To manipulate the *status* of the in-group, the participant was given one of two verbal instructions. For the *high status* group the child was told "The art judge has rated your drawing and decided to place you in the team of *excellent* drawers". For the *low status* group, *excellent* drawers was replaced with *ok* drawers. The participant was then shown a photo set containing two age and gender matched head-and-shoulder photos of children and told that these will be "your team mates in your *excellent/ok*

drawing team”. These photos were selected from a previous study by Nesdale et al. (2003) with all photos matched in rated attractiveness. This photo set was placed in front of the child and a sticky note with either the word *excellent* or *ok* was attached to the top of the page. This was done as a further reminder of the child’s in-group status.

To manipulate *in-group position*, two photo sets were used. For participants allocated to the *prototypical member* condition, a blank square was positioned in the centre, between two other photos of children. The participant was to place his/her own photo in this space. For the *peripheral member* condition the blank square was positioned at the bottom, or the end of the two other photos. In addition, two sets of verbal instructions were used. For the *prototypical member* condition, participants were told that:

“Your drawing ability definitely placed you as a main member of this team. You’re in the middle of this team and one of the more important kids. That means you’re just like the others in this team in drawing ability.”

In contrast participants allocated to the *peripheral member* condition were provided with the following information:

“Your drawing ability only just placed you as an outside member of this team. You’re more on the edge of the team and not one of the most important kids in this team. That means you’re not quite the same as the others in this team in drawing ability.”

In order to build some sense of belonging or ownership to the team, the participants were then asked what colour they would like their team to be named. This colour was written on the sticky note below the word *excellent/ok*. The children were then told that before being accepted into their team there was one important thing that they needed to know about their team. It was at this point that the final manipulation was presented.

The final manipulated variable of *in-group norms* again used two sets of verbal instructions. Children assigned to the *friendly norm* condition were informed that:

“Kids in this team really like kids in the other team and are very friendly to them. So if you want to stay in this team then you will also have to like kids from the other team and be friendly to them.”

In contrast, the children in the *unfriendly norm* condition were provided with the following information:

“Kids in this team really don’t like kids in the other team and are not friendly to them. So if you want to stay in this team then you can’t like or be friendly to any of the kids from the other team.”

Following the manipulations, another set of three age and gender matched pictures of children were revealed to the participant. The three polaroid sized head-and-shoulder photos on a single A4 sized sheet of paper were placed next to the participant’s own team photo page. The participants were told that this was the other team they would be competing against. To further emphasise the status difference between the two teams, the participants were given two sets of verbal instructions about the other team which varied according to the status of the participant’s own group. Thus, a participant assigned to a *high status* group was told that “the art judge rated their drawings as being ok... this means your drawings were rated as being better than their team’s”. The opposite information was provided to participants assigned to a *low status* group, in that the other team’s drawings were rated as “excellent... and their drawings were better than your team’s”. In order to further highlight this difference and to make the status more salient to the children, a sticky note was attached to the front of the other team’s photo page with either *ok* or *excellent* written on it. A name of a colour different to the one chosen for the child’s own team was also written below this label. A final verbal

reminder was provided to the children pointing out their team, its name and status, and the team they would compete against and its name and status.

At this point the participants were told that the researchers were interested in finding out what they thought about their team and the other team. A second questionnaire was provided to the participants and a brief demonstration was given on how to answer using the 7-point bipolar scales. This second questionnaire contained the dependent variable measures of in-group and out-group attitudes. It was again emphasised that the participants' answers were anonymous and that they were only required to record their age and gender on the form. A prompt was made informing the children that to answer some of the questions they would have to think back to information stated about their team and the other team. This prompt was repeated if children were unsure about any of the questions.

Following the completion of the questionnaire, the participants were thanked for taking part in the pretend game. In order to ensure the participants experienced no negative effects from the simulation experiment, a debriefing was provided highlighting the pretend aspects of the game. The participants were reminded that all aspects of the game were pretend, from the art judge's rating of the drawings, to the teams to which they had been assigned. Each child was also told that the experimenter had looked at all of the drawings and that s/he could consider him/herself as being a very creative and talented drawer. The children were then permitted to keep their photo and were returned to their classrooms.

5.2.5 Dependent Measures

5.2.5.1 Manipulation check measures

Three manipulation check items were included in order to assess the effectiveness of the experimental manipulations.

Status. The first item asked “How good at drawing are the members of your team?” This was rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = *very poor* to 7 = *excellent*.

In-group norm. The second check item asked “How friendly are the kids in your team to the other team?” with the response format ranging from 1 = *very unfriendly* to 7 = *very friendly*.

In-group position. The final check item assessed the children’s awareness of their position within their team and asked “Did your drawing place you as a main member of your team or a member on the edge of the team?” The 7-point scale for this item ranged from 1 = *member on edge of team* to 7 = *definitely main member*.

5.2.5.2 Main dependent measures

The same set of attitude items from Study 2 were included in the response booklet, measuring group liking, and desire to work with each group. Study 2 suggested that a need for belonging and acceptance might be differentially reflected in items assessing liking for, versus desire to work with, the in-group and the out-group. Consequently, any differences in responding between these two items needed to be examined. In addition, similar behavioural intention items to Study 2 were also included. These items were again selected in order to determine the extent to which a need for group belongingness might be reflected in items that contained a greater affective element versus those which tapped into an intention to behave in a specific manner. A copy of the response booklet is included in Appendix F.

In-group and out-group liking. The main dependent measures in the experimental phase of this study consisted of two items measuring in-group liking and out-group liking (“How much do you like the kids in your team?” and “How much do you like the kids from the other team?”), which were measured by 7-point bipolar scales. Responses for each question were rated from 1 = *don’t like a lot* to 7 = *like a lot*.

Desire to work with in-group and out-group. The children's desire to work with the in-group versus the out-group was assessed by two items ("How much do you wish to work with your team?" and "How much do you wish to work with the other team?"). These were rated from 1 = *not at all* to 7 = *very much*, on 7-point bipolar scales.

Behavioural intention. Behavioural intention was measured through two items asking participants the extent to which they would be likely to engage in specific behaviours. This intention was assessed following the presentation of a short story, which asked the participants to imagine that the drawing competition had started. These instructions were adapted from a study by Duffy (2004). The specific instructions were as follows:

"For the next part imagine that the drawing competition has just started.

Your team and the other team are asked to draw a picture of the Australian bush and the animals that live in it. Your team draws their picture and begins to colour it in. As you are doing this, your team notices that a member of the other team is upset because they think their picture is not very good."

Following these instructions the participants were asked to respond to two questions assessing their likelihood of engaging in specific behaviours. These included one intention item expressing derogation, "Say something mean about the person because they got upset" and one item assessing a pro-social behaviour, "Cheer them up by telling them their drawing is really good". Responses to each question were recorded on 7-point bipolar scales ranging from 1 = *very unlikely I would do this* to 7 = *very likely I would do this*. The pro-social item was included in order to investigate whether a behaviour that would typically be most endorsed by society might be inhibited under certain conditions. In addition, several filler items were included to take the emphasis off the main dependent measures.

5.3 Results

5.3.1 Children's Need for Group Belongingness Scale (CNGB)

The data were initially explored to determine the extent of missing data and whether the distributional requirements of ANOVA were met. No missing data were found leaving the total sample size at 96. An investigation of the distributions for each item, the CNGB subscales, and the total CNGB score revealed departures from normality. However, most items were expected to show some degree of negative skew due to the phrasing of the items which were generally high in positivity. Therefore, some degree of social desirability in responding was expected. The overall distribution for the CNGB total score did not reveal any significant departure from normality. The total mean score for the 96 participants who completed the CNGB was 88.55 ($SD = 18.02$).

5.3.1.1 Scale reliability.

The internal consistency of each CNGB subscale was assessed through the use of Cronbach alpha coefficients. Analyses revealed acceptable levels of internal consistency for all four subscales of the CNGB. However, the Cronbach's alpha for the need for similarity subscale was again found to be substantially lower than the alpha's for the other subscales (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1

Cronbach Alpha Coefficients for the CNGB Subscales: Study 4

Subscales	Alpha	N	Mean	SD
Need for membership	.77	6	36.54	5.46
Need for distinctiveness	.77	5	17.33	6.50
Fear of exclusion	.82	5	16.74	7.48
Need for similarity	.66	4	17.94	5.05

5.3.1.2 Gender and age differences.

Due to a limited number of participants in the upper and lower age ranges, age effects were explored by collapsing participants into two categories: ages 8-10 years and 11-13 years. Subsequently, any potential age and gender differences in the subscale scores of the CNGB were analysed in a 2 (gender: male versus female) x 2 (age: 8-10 years versus 11-13 years) MANOVA. The analysis did not reveal any significant age or gender multivariate effects.

5.3.2 In-group versus Out-group Attitude Results

5.3.2.1 Preliminary data analyses.

Exploratory data analyses were carried out to ensure that the children's scores on each of the 7-point scales met the distributional requirements of ANOVA. Most of the individual items for in-group and out-group attitudes revealed significant negative skew. However, these were all skewed in the same direction and hence should not affect interpretation of the results unduly.

Further preliminary analyses were conducted to determine whether age and gender effects were present. A series of 2 (gender: male versus female) x 2 (age group: 8-10 years versus 11-13 years) ANOVA's were conducted for each of the dependent measures. Analyses indicated that neither age nor gender had systematic effects on the dependent variables; no age or gender effects on the liking measures, desire to work with the out-group, and out-group derogation were revealed. However, a gender effect was observed on the behavioural intent item of "Cheer them up by telling them their drawing is really good" with females ($M = 5.57$, $SD = 1.73$) more likely to engage in this behaviour than males ($M = 4.70$, $SD = 2.21$), $F(1, 92) = 5.80$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .06$. An age effect was also found on desire to work with the in-group, with the younger age group ($M = 5.69$, $SD = 1.63$) showing a greater desire than the older age group ($M = 4.56$, $SD = 1.48$), $F(1, 92) = 10.94$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .11$.

5.3.2.2 Manipulation check data.

Status manipulation. An analysis of the mean scores on the status manipulation item of “How good at drawing is your team?” revealed that, using an independent samples *t*-test, children who were assigned to the high status condition ($M = 6.25$, $SD = 1.09$) rated their team as being significantly better drawers than those who were assigned to the low status team ($M = 4.17$, $SD = 1.02$; $t(94) = 9.72$, $p < .001$).

In-group norm. An analysis of the mean scores on the group norm manipulation check item of “How friendly are the kids in your team to the other team?” revealed that, using an independent samples *t*-test, children who were assigned to the friendly in-group norm condition ($M = 5.98$, $SD = 1.35$) rated their team as being significantly more friendly than those who were assigned to the unfriendly in-group norm condition ($M = 2.52$, $SD = 2.04$; $t(94) = 9.80$, $p < .001$).

In-group position. The mean scores on the in-group position manipulation check item of “Are you a main member or a member more on the edge?” were evaluated using an independent samples *t*-test. A significant difference was found on this item, $t(94) = 15.73$, $p < .001$. Consistent with the intent of the manipulation, children who were described as being a main member of their team (i.e., prototypical) rated themselves as being closer to the main member end of the 7-point scale ($M = 5.85$, $SD = 1.37$), than the children who were described as only just making the team (i.e., peripheral) who rated themselves as being closer to the edge of the team ($M = 1.69$, $SD = 1.22$).

5.3.2.3 Main findings

In-group and out-group liking. Responses on the items of “How much do you like the kids in your team?” and “How much do you like the kids in the other team?” were analysed in a 2 (in-group status: high versus low) x 2 (in-group position: prototypical versus peripheral member) x 2 (in-group norm: friendly versus unfriendly to other groups) x 2 (target: in-group versus out-group) ANOVA with the last factor within

subjects. This analysis identified three significant effects. The first effect was a within subjects main effect for *target* $F(1, 88) = 6.12, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$, revealing that the in-group was liked significantly more ($M = 4.94, SD = 1.90$) than the out-group ($M = 4.40, SD = 1.82$). The second effect was a between subjects main effect for *in-group norm* $F(1, 88) = 51.6, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .37$, which showed that the children had much greater liking for both groups when the in-group norm was friendly toward out-groups ($M = 5.54, SD = 1.48$) rather than unfriendly ($M = 3.79, SD = 1.80$). The third effect obtained was a between subjects main effect for *in-group position* $F(1, 88) = 14.16, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .14$, which indicated that children liked both groups more when the participant was a prototypical in-group member ($M = 5.13, SD = 1.78$), rather than a peripheral group member ($M = 4.21, SD = 1.83$).

Desire to work with in-group and out-group. Responses on the items of “How much would you wish to work with your team?” and “How much would you wish to work with the other team?” were analysed in a 2 (in-group status: high versus low) x 2 (in-group position: prototypical versus peripheral member) x 2 (in-group norm: friendly versus unfriendly to other groups) x 2 (target: in-group versus out-group) ANOVA with the last factor within subjects. This analysis identified three significant effects. The first effect was a within subjects main effect for *target* $F(1, 88) = 22.91, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .21$, revealing that the participants wished to work with the in-group much more ($M = 5.22, SD = 1.66$) than the out-group ($M = 3.96, SD = 1.89$). The second effect was a between subjects main effect for *in-group norm* $F(1, 88) = 18.54, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .17$, which indicated that the children wished to work for both groups more when the in-group norm was friendly toward out-groups ($M = 5.07, SD = 1.42$) rather than unfriendly ($M = 4.10, SD = 1.94$). The third effect obtained was a between subjects main effect for *in-group position* $F(1, 88) = 6.02, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$, which

indicated that children showed greater desire toward working for both groups when they were a prototypical in-group member ($M = 4.87$, $SD = 1.68$) rather than a peripheral in-group member ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.79$).

Behavioural intention. The first behavioural intention item of “Say something mean about the person because they got upset” was analysed in a 2 (in-group status: high versus low) x 2 (in-group position: prototypical versus peripheral member) x 2 (in-group norm: friendly versus unfriendly to other groups) ANOVA. However, no significant effects were found.

The second behavioural intention item expressing pro-social behaviour of “Cheer them up by telling them their drawing is really good” was analysed in a 2 (in-group status: high versus low) x 2 (in-group position: prototypical versus peripheral member) x 2 (in-group norm: friendly versus unfriendly to other groups) ANOVA. This analysis revealed one significant main effect for *in-group norm*, $F(1,88) = 15.21$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .15$. An analysis of the means showed that children reported that they were more likely to cheer up an out-group member when the in-group norm was friendly ($M = 5.96$, $SD = 1.37$) versus unfriendly ($M = 4.48$, $SD = 2.23$).

5.3.2.4 Correlations between the CNGB and group attitudes

The predicted associations between the CNGB, its subscales and measures of in-group liking, out-group liking, desire to work with the in-group and the out-group, and out-group derogation were explored. An investigation of Pearson’s correlations revealed low but significant correlations primarily between the CNGB, its subscales and the measure of in-group liking. As indicated in Table 5.2, in-group liking showed low but significant positive correlations with the CNGB total score ($r = .27$, $p < .01$), the fear of exclusion subscale ($r = .31$, $p < .01$), and the need for distinctiveness subscale ($r = .27$, $p < .05$). Similarly, significant associations were found between the CNGB total score

and desire to work with the in-group ($r = .23, p < .05$), and fear of exclusion and desire to work with the in-group ($r = .21, p < .05$).

The findings indicated that as an individual's need for group belongingness increased so did his/her liking toward, and desire to work with, an in-group to which s/he had been assigned. However, Table 5.2 shows that the CNGB and its subscales were not significantly correlated with the expression of attitudes toward an out-group, with the exception of one dependent measure; out-group derogation. In this case, it appeared that as children's need to be part of a distinctive group increased, so too did the intention to display out-group derogation ($r = .31, p < .01$).

Table 5.2

Correlations Between the CNGB Total, Subscales and Measures of In-group Liking, Out-group Liking, Desire to Work for In-group and Out-group, and Out-group Derogation

	In-group liking	Out-group liking	Work for in-group	Work for out-group	Out-group derogation
CNGB total	.27**	.14	.23*	.08	.18
Need for membership	.05	.06	.09	.15	-.12
Need for distinctiveness	.27**	.02	.19	-.06	.31**
Fear of exclusion	.31**	.16	.21*	.05	.17
Need for similarity	.11	.15	.15	.12	.12

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

5.3.2.5 Predictive significance of the CNGB on in-group liking, desire to work with in-group and out-group derogation.

An important consideration of this study was the extent to which children's need for group belongingness might account for their in-group liking, desire to work with the in-group, and out-group derogation, beyond that accounted for by the manipulated

variables. In order to determine the amount of additional variance explained by the CNGB on these measures, a series of hierarchical regression analyses were conducted with *in-group position* and *in-group norm* entered first. Group status was excluded from the analyses due to non-significant effects in the analysis of variance.

In-group liking. The influence of the CNGB variables on the children's ratings of in-group liking was assessed in a hierarchical multiple regression analysis. The independent variables from the minimal groups experiment expected to have the greatest effect were entered first. Two separate regression analyses were conducted in relation to the predictions of in-group liking.

In the first regression analysis, *in-group position* was entered at Step 1, and *in-group norm* at Step 2. This was followed at Step 3 with the total CNGB score. The results are shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3

Hierarchical Regression Analysis of In-group Position, In-group Norm, and CNGB

Total Scale Score in Predicting In-group Liking.

Step	Variables entered	R^2	ΔR^2	$B (SE)$	β	sr^2
1	In-group position	.08**	.07**	-1.04 (.38)	-.28**	.076
2	In-group position In-group Norm	.30**	.29**	-1.04 (.33) -1.79 (.33)	-.28** -.47**	.224
3	In-group position In-group Norm CNGB total	.34**	.32**	-.96 (.32) -1.73 (.32) .02 (.01)	-.25** -.46** .21*	.043

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

Overall, 34.3% of the variance in In-group Liking was accounted for by the relationship of the three variables to In-group Liking $F(1, 92) = 15.98, p < .001$. At Step 1, *in-group position* accounted for 7.6% of the variance in In-group Liking $F(1, 94) =$

7.71, $p < .01$. Being a prototypical group member predicted greater In-group Liking (-.28). The squared semi-partial correlation at Step 2 showed that the inclusion of *in-group norm* contributed an additional 22.4% of unique variance to the relationship indicating that a friendly in-group norm predicted greater In-group Liking, with both *in-group position* and *in-group norm* being significant predictors (-.28, -.47, respectively). The partial F for in-group norm produced a significant effect $F(1, 93) = 29.79, p < .001$. The squared semi-partial correlation at Step 3 revealed that the addition of the CNGB total scale score contributed a further 4.3% of unique variance in explaining In-group Liking. The higher the score on the CNGB the higher the reported levels of In-group Liking. The partial F for this additional variable produced a significant effect $F(1, 92) = 5.95, p < .05$. All three variables of *in-group position*, *in-group norms* and CNGB total were significant predictors (-.25, -.46, .21, respectively).

The second regression analysis assessing variation in In-group Liking entered *in-group position* and *in-group norm* simultaneously at Step 1. Following these variables the two CNGB subscales showing the greatest correlations with In-group Liking were entered next. The CNGB fear of exclusion subscale was entered at Step 2 followed by the need for distinctiveness subscale at Step 3.

Overall 37% of the variance in in-group liking was accounted for by the relationship of the four variables to In-group Liking $F(1, 91) = 13.40, p < .001$. At Step 1, *in-group position* and *in-group norm* accounted for 30% of the variance in In-group Liking $F(1, 93) = 19.93, p < .001$, with both variables being significant predictors (-.28, -.47, respectively). At Step 2, the squared semi-partial correlation showed that the inclusion of the CNGB subscale of fear of exclusion contributed an additional 5.3% of unique variance to the relationship suggesting that the greater the fear of exclusion the greater the level of reported In-group Liking (.23). The partial F for fear of exclusion produced a significant effect $F(1, 92) = 7.52, p < .01$. At Step 3, the squared semi-partial

correlation revealed that the addition of the need for distinctiveness subscale of the CNGB contributed a further 1.8% of unique variance in explaining In-group Liking. However, the partial F for need for distinctiveness produced a non-significant effect $F(1, 91) = 2.57, ns$. When all four variables were considered together in the relationship only *in-group position* and *in-group norm* were significant predictors (-.25, -.44, respectively), with fear of exclusion and need for distinctiveness non-significant (.18, .15, respectively). The results are shown in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4

Hierarchical Regression Analysis of In-group Position, In-group Norm, Fear of Exclusion and Need for Distinctiveness in Predicting In-group Liking.

Step	Variables entered	R^2	ΔR^2	$B (SE)$	β	sr^2
1	In-group position	.30**	.29**	-1.04 (.33)	-.28**	
	In-group Norm			-1.79 (.33)	-.47**	
2	In-group position	.35**	.33**	-.95 (.32)	-.25**	
	In-group Norm			-1.69 (.32)	-.45**	
	Fear of Exclusion			.06 (.02)	.23**	.053
3	In-group position	.37**	.34**	-.95 (.32)	-.25**	
	In-group Norm			-1.67 (.32)	-.44**	
	Fear of Exclusion			.04 (.02)	.18	
	Need for Distinctiveness			.04 (.03)	.15	.018

** $p < .01$

Desire to work with the in-group. The influence of the CNGB variables on the children's Desire to Work with the In-group was assessed in a hierarchical multiple regression analysis. Due to age differences identified in the preliminary analyses on the Desire to Work with the In-group, *age group* was included as a variable in the subsequent analysis. Hence, *in-group position*, *in-group norm*, and *age group* were entered simultaneously at Step 1. The CNGB total scale score was then entered at Step 2. Overall, 34.6% of the variance in the Desire to Work with the In-group was accounted for by the relationship of the four variables to the Desire to Work with the In-

group, $F(1, 91) = 12.04, p < .001$. At Step 1, *in-group position*, *in-group norm* and *age group* accounted for 33.4% of the variance in the Desire to Work with the In-group, $F(1, 92) = 15.37, p < .001$, with all being significant predictors (-.30, -.37, -.30 respectively). At Step 2, the addition of the CNGB total contributed a further 1.2% of unique variance to the relationship (.11). However, the partial F did not indicate this was significant $F(1, 92) = 1.68, ns$.

Out-group derogation. One final regression analysis was conducted on the single item measure of out-group derogation “Say something mean about the person because they got upset”. *In-group position* and *in-group norm* were entered simultaneously at Step 1. The two CNGB subscales expected to show the greatest associations with out-group derogation were entered next. The CNGB fear of exclusion subscale was entered at Step 2, followed by the need for distinctiveness subscale at Step 3. The results are shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5

Hierarchical Regression Analysis of Group Position, In-group Norm, Fear of Exclusion and Need for Distinctiveness in “Saying Something Mean”.

Step	Variables entered	R^2	ΔR^2	$B (SE)$	β	sr^2
1	In-group Position	.01	-.01	.19 (.22)	.09	
	In-group Norm			.02 (.22)	.01	
2	In-group Position	.04	.01	.23 (.22)	.11	
	In-group Norm			.07 (.22)	.03	
	Fear of Exclusion			.03 (.02)	.18	
3	In-group Position	.11*	.08*	.23 (.21)	.11	
	In-group Norm			.09 (.21)	.04	
	Fear of Exclusion			.01 (.02)	.06	
	Need for Distinctiveness			.05 (.02)	.30**	

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

Overall, 11.4% of the variance in Saying Something Mean about the out-group was accounted for by the relationship of the four variables to this dependent variable, $F(1, 91) = 2.93, p < .05$. At Step 1, *in-group position* and *in-group norm* accounted for only 0.8% of the variance in the Saying Something Mean $F(1, 93) = .36, ns$, with neither being significant predictors (.09, .01, respectively). At Step 2, the addition of the fear of exclusion subscale contributed a further 3.2% of unique variance to the relationship (.18). However, the partial F did not indicate this was significant $F(1, 92) = 3.04, ns$. At Step 3, the addition of the need for distinctiveness subscale contributed an additional 7.4% of unique variance to the relationship. Therefore it appeared that an increase in the need for distinctiveness predicted greater ratings of Saying Something Mean about the out-group (.30). The partial F for this additional variable revealed a significant effect $F(1, 91) = 7.65, p < .01$.

5.4 Discussion

The aim of the current study was twofold. The first aim was to manipulate three variables that might be expected to differentially activate children's need for belonging and acceptance; these variables included children's position within an in-group, the relative status of the in-group compared with the out-group, and the in-group norms. The study sought to determine whether these variables impacted on in-group and out-group attitudes. The second aim was to extend the validation of the CNGB by determining whether this scale had predictive significance in relation to children's group attitudes. The following discussion outlines the findings obtained in relation to the manipulated variables and follows by discussing the influence of the CNGB on group attitudes.

5.4.1 In-group and Out-group Liking

The liking measures provided mixed support for the assumption that children's need for belonging and acceptance would be differentially activated by the manipulated

variables. Results revealed three main effects for in-group and out-group liking. The first was the predicted main effect for *target*, indicating that the in-group was always liked more than the out-group, regardless of manipulations. This finding was again consistent with the previous minimal group studies in the present research project and concurs with the recent literature, demonstrating children's bias toward their own group (e.g., Aboud, 1988; Bigler, 1995; Bigler et al., 1997; Nesdale et al., 2003). According to a need for belongingness and acceptance motive, children would be always expected to feel greater liking toward their own group than any other group.

The second main effect indicated that the *in-group position* of the participant had a significant effect on affect toward the in-group and the out-group. The children that were led to believe they were a main member of their team, and hence prototypical, expressed a greater liking toward both teams than those that were informed they were more peripheral and on the edge of the team. This finding provided some support for the need for belonging and acceptance motive. Consistent with predictions, and the subsequent regression analyses, the in-group was liked more when the participant was a prototypical rather than peripheral member. This finding was in contrast to some of the research with adults, which has suggested that being on the periphery of an in-group has a greater effect on in-group bias and out-group attitudes (Jetten et al., 2002; Noel et al., 1995).

The implication of the current findings is that, at least with children, being positioned as prototypical is likely to raise the salience and importance of the in-group to the child, and subsequently increase in-group liking as a child might think "I'm an important member of this team". Hence, a child might have a greater sense of attachment to the in-group since greater prototypicality assures greater positivity from other in-group members, and subsequently increases the likelihood of being accepted. From a need for belongingness and acceptance perspective, peripheral members, on the

other hand, might have perceived a lower likelihood of acceptance and thought that “I’m not really part of this group anyway”. Essentially, children who were positioned on the edge of the team might have felt like outsiders, and therefore have a lower sense of commitment to the in-group. It is possible that peripheral children subsequently protected themselves from rejection by distancing themselves from the group via lower levels of liking, thereby making the group less central to their self-esteem. Hence, the above results indicate that children are very much aware of their position within the in-group, and that this intra-group focus plays an important role in determining the extent of in-group liking.

However, there is an important caveat to the above interpretations, in that both the in-group and the out-group were liked more when the participant was prototypical rather than peripheral. One interpretation for this finding is the possibility that prototypical group members already felt a sense of acceptance, which might have led to a more positive affective state that subsequently increased liking for both groups. Whilst still showing greater in-group liking than peripheral members, they might have felt more secure in their membership and as a result were not concerned about displaying liking toward the out-group as well. However, it is important to note that the in-group was still liked more than the out-group. As discussed above, another possibility is that being assigned peripheral membership in a group to some extent deactivates the need for belongingness and the importance of the social group to a child’s sense of self-worth. As a protective mechanism a child might completely disregard both groups and think that, “I don’t care about these groups anyway”. If a peripheral in-group member had been given some hope that s/he could become a prototypical member, then in-group liking might have increased, as it did in the Jetten et al. (2002) study, as this might have then reactivated a need for acceptance. Taken

together, the absence of differential in-group versus out-group effects also raises the possibility that children are not that driven by comparison and distinctiveness.

The third main effect identified was for *in-group norm*. Both the in-group and the out-group were liked significantly more when the in-group norm toward the out-group was friendly rather than unfriendly. This finding again provided support for the need for belonging and acceptance account. Given that a child is motivated by a need for belongingness, in-group norms that might enhance acceptance should become highly salient and instigate a greater liking toward these groups. Thus, it is possible that children perceived a friendly in-group norm toward out-groups as also prescribing friendly attitudes and acceptance of others, including in-group members. As such, a perception of overall positivity toward others, as implied by a friendly group norm, might have increased the desirability of the in-group, and the perceived likelihood of acceptance.

Further, increased liking for the out-group when an in-group norm was friendly rather than unfriendly, also suggested that a need for acceptance was more likely to be fulfilled via conformity to in-group norms. It was worth noting that whilst in-group liking was lower in the presence of an unfriendly in-group norm, the children did still conform to this norm by also displaying less liking for the out-group. These findings also provided some support for SCT based assumptions, whereby conformity might have occurred through subjective norm internalisation and simply being categorised as a group member. However, if mere categorisation was a primary instigator for these effects, then liking for the in-group in a comparative context should not have decreased when the in-group norm was unfriendly toward out-groups. As such, these findings provide more support for a motivational account, which is underscored by a need for belongingness.

The absence of any significant interactions between the manipulated variables on the liking measures indicated that group position and in-group norms had strong independent effects. Thus, prototypicality and friendly in-group norms independently increased liking toward both the in-group and the out-group, whilst peripheral membership and unfriendly in-group norms had the opposite effect.

It was noteworthy that the status manipulation did not reveal the effects predicted by SIT. The relative status of the in-group compared with the out-group appeared to have no effect on ratings of in-group liking. This is in contrast to the preference for high status groups often reported with children (e.g., Bigler et al, 2001; Nesdale et al., 2004; Yee & Brown, 1992). An important finding was that the in-group was always liked more than the out-group, even when it was of comparatively low status. This finding is consistent with Nesdale and Flessner (2001) who also reported this effect. Similarly, Nesdale et al. (2004) found no status effects on group liking. The fact that children still liked, and wanted to work with, a comparatively low status in-group more than a high status out-group suggests that once assigned to a group children are motivated to like their group more than others potentially as a means of reducing uncertainty about membership and fulfilling a need for group belongingness. An effect due to status would have implicated the importance of comparison and a motivation toward positive distinctiveness. However, the latter does not appear to be as important as mere acceptance and being a group member.

5.4.2 Desire to Work with In-group and Out-group

The same pattern of results was obtained for the desire to work with the in-group and out-group as in the liking measures: there was always a greater desire to work with the in-group rather than the out-group, there was a greater desire to work with both groups when the participant was prototypical rather than peripheral, and when an in-group norm was friendly rather than unfriendly. In line with the liking results, both

prototypicality and a friendly group norm appeared to activate a greater need to want to work for the in-group and the out-group than peripheral membership and unfriendly norms. Hence further support was provided for the prediction that these variables would differentially activate a need for belongingness and acceptance, rather than comparison and distinctiveness.

It is worth noting that an age effect was found on the desire to work with the in-group. The younger age group (8-10 year olds) expressed a greater desire to work with the in-group than the older age group (11-13 year olds). This might suggest that a need for group belongingness and acceptance is a stronger motivator for younger children, especially when first assigned to a group. This finding was consistent with Stage 5 of the scale development study in the present research program which indicated that 7 to 9 year old children scored significantly higher than 10 to 13 year old children in the need for group belongingness, as measured by the CNGB.

Consistent with the liking measures, no effect for in-group status was found on the desire to work with either team. This absence of effects due to status is perhaps more noteworthy than the liking measures. Not only did children like the in-group more than an out-group, children still had a greater desire to work for the lower status in-group rather than the higher status out-group. This suggests that within an inter-group context, once children are assigned to a team a need for acceptance leads to a greater commitment and desire to work with one's own team regardless of status. It also raises the possibility that children might be motivated to ensure they do not give any impression of rejecting their own team since this, again, would reduce the probability of fulfilling a need for belonging and acceptance. Uncertainty about the likelihood of successfully joining any other team might drive children toward the group to which they already have "one foot in the door" and the subsequent need to prove one's commitment to this in-group.

5.4.3 Behavioural Intention.

These items were intended to tap into behavioural intention following the experimental manipulations. The predicted effects for out-group derogation, as measured by the item “Say something mean about the person because they got upset”, were not found. It might have been expected that a prototypical in-group member would have conformed more strongly to in-group norms leading to greater out-group derogation. The fact that this interaction was not found raises the possibility that conformity, at least in attitudes toward out-groups, is not as strongly related to a need for group belonging and acceptance. As evidenced by the first two studies in this research program, group belongingness needs are presumably more salient and activated more strongly when there is a focus on rating the in-group rather than the out-group. It is also possible that for prototypical members, feeling a greater sense of acceptance led to a level of satisfaction that might have inhibited any need to be negative toward the out-group.

Consistent with Study 2 in the present research program, it would again appear that the absence of effects on out-group derogation highlights the difficulties associated with the positive-negative asymmetry effect found with both adults and children (Otten et al., 1996; Rutland et al., 2007; Wenzel & Mummendey, 1996; Verkuyten, 2001). It was also very likely that wider community social norms prohibiting derogation led to some degree of social desirability concerns when responding. This is a finding often noted in ethnicity studies in which children become increasingly aware of the unacceptability of negative attitudes and behaviours toward minority groups (e.g., Brown & Bigler, 2004; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Killen, Pisacane, Lee-kin, & Ardila-Rey, 2001; Rutland, Cameron, Milne, et al., 2005).

In contrast, on the item defining a positive behaviour, “Cheer them up by telling them their drawing is really good” an effect for in-group norm was found. Children

reported that they were more likely to cheer up an out-group member when there was a friendly in-group norm rather than an unfriendly in-group norm. This again was consistent with the liking measures. As discussed earlier, the motivation to conform to a friendly norm might have been instigated by a perception of the in-group as being more likely to fulfil a need for acceptance. Therefore, conformity was likely to have been more than just categorisation-based conformity. However, it is unclear as to the extent to which children's conformity occurred due to the in-group being presumably more desirable or due to the prescribed normative behaviour being seen as more socially appropriate.

5.4.4 General Implications

Overall, the findings extended Study 2 in the present research program by suggesting that whilst belongingness might be a fundamental motive, children do not want to be accepted in just any group. The findings suggest that a need for belonging and acceptance involves a critical cognitive element, whereby children make decisions based on whether a particular group has the potential to fulfil a need for belongingness. The current study found that both a friendly (rather than unfriendly) in-group and a child's prototypical (rather than peripheral) position within the group increased the desire to work with the in-group. This was consistent with Study 2, in which in-group exclusion threat reduced the desire to work with the in-group compared with a no threat condition, and that a team supportive new member increased the desire to work with the in-group.

However, it is important to note that, whilst these variables had differential effects on the desire to work for the in-group, the in-group was always preferred to the out-group. This has the implication that children always want to be accepted by their in-group regardless of the probability of acceptance, which is then magnified when this

probability is increased by either the openness of the in-group itself, or a child's more central or prototypical position within the group.

5.4.5 The CNGB and Group Attitudes

Another significant finding revealed in the study concerned the prediction of in-group liking by the individual difference measure CNGB. After accounting for the variance due to in-group position and in-group norm, individual differences in the need for belongingness, as measured by the CNGB, provided additional predictive power in explaining in-group liking. Thus, those children that had a greater need for group belongingness expressed greater liking for the in-group. This finding represented the first evidence implicating the role of individual differences in the need for belonging and acceptance in children's in-group liking. That is, liking toward one's own group is inextricably linked with group belongingness needs.

In a further examination of the relationship between the CNGB subscales and in-group liking, it was found that the fear of exclusion subscale significantly predicted in-group liking after accounting for in-group position and in-group norms. Hierarchical regression analyses indicated that the higher the fear of exclusion, the higher the in-group liking. This finding suggests that children who have a greater sense of insecurity about their membership and fear being excluded, might be more strongly motivated to try and gain acceptance through magnified in-group liking. Whilst need for distinctiveness was significantly correlated with in-group liking, when group position and in-group norms were taken into account, no further variance was accounted for by this variable. The implication of this finding is that individual differences in the need for distinctiveness are subsumed by the contextual variables manipulated in the experiment. That is, a need for distinctiveness was activated by group position and in-group norms, which was then reflected in enhanced in-group liking. Subsequently,

individual variability in the need for distinctiveness was not able to account for further in-group liking.

It is reasonable to assume a similar conclusion on the desire to work for the in-group regression analysis. Whilst the CNGB was shown to be significantly correlated with the desire to work with the in-group, this effect was diminished after accounting for group position, in-group norms, and age. This again suggests that the contextual variables were more influential in the desire to work for the in-group. A further implication is that in the desire to work for an in-group, children's group belongingness needs were activated and deactivated in line with the manipulations.

Another finding of importance was the positive correlation between the CNGB subscale of need for distinctiveness and out-group derogation. Hierarchical regression analyses indicated that after accounting for the manipulated variables, the need for distinctiveness was found to significantly predict out-group derogation. However, this was the only subscale associated with a concern for the out-group. This finding suggests that, in the context of the current experiment, children high in the need for group distinctiveness might be more focused on the out-group than children low in this need. The fact that the manipulated variables had no significant effect on out-group derogation raises the possibility that some children are more primed to instigate negativity toward out-groups due to a greater need for group distinctiveness. Future research would need to determine whether a combination of variables such as out-group threat, and group norms of derogation, interact with an individual's own needs for group distinctiveness.

There were some unexpected findings regarding the relationship between the CNGB and in-group liking. Whilst the total CNGB score was correlated with in-group liking, when the subscales with the highest correlations with liking (i.e., fear of exclusion and need for distinctiveness) were included in the regression model, both became non-

significant (compared with being significant predictors on their own). However, fear of exclusion on its own had the greatest predictive power in explaining in-group liking. This finding suggested that the fear of exclusion subscale contributed the most to an overall belongingness need with an effect also obtained for the CNGB total due to the combination of all four subscales. These findings perhaps also suggest a more complex set of interrelationships between the CNGB subscales than first expected. It was also curious that the need for membership subscale was not significantly correlated with in-group liking. This raises the possibility that the need for membership was not activated to the same extent as the other presumed aspects of a need for group belongingness. It is possible that due to the design of the minimal group study, fear of exclusion was in this case more strongly associated with a need for group belongingness and led to differential effects on in-group liking. These issues will be further discussed in the final chapter.

Whilst studies have shown how some individual difference variables such as level of identification can moderate in-group bias (e.g., Bennett et al., 1998; Verkuyten, 2001), the findings from the current study expand on these effects by demonstrating that the inclusion of a multidimensional measure of social group belongingness needs can further our understanding of traditional inter-group effects such as in-group bias and out-group derogation. This finding might also raise the possibility that many inter-group effects accounted for by individual differences in variables such as in group identification, whether based on ethnicity or nationality (e.g., Nesdale, Durkin, et al., 2005; Verkuyten, 2001), may be superseded at times by a more basic need for group belongingness, especially when first joining a group.

In sum, the findings provided further support for a need for acceptance motive in inter-group contexts. The in-group was always liked more than the out-group, with prototypicality and group norms of friendliness increasing liking for both groups. The

overall findings also demonstrated that an individual's need for group belongingness can exert some influence on the expression of positive affect toward one's own group, but not an out-group. Higher scores on the CNGB were associated with greater levels of liking toward the in-group. However, the need for distinctiveness subscale of the CNGB significantly predicted out-group derogation.

Finally, although the above findings have provided support for group belongingness needs and their subsequent influence on group attitudes, there are several limitations that need to be noted. One limitation concerns the sample size of the minimal groups experiment. Whilst there were 12 participants in each of the cells in the study, future research would benefit from larger sample sizes that allow for greater reliability in the measurement of group belongingness needs. A second limitation concerns the design of the experimental manipulations. Whilst simulation experiments have recently been very successful in investigating a variety of group-related effects (e.g., Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Nesdale et al., 2003), greater generalisability might be gained from naturalistic studies of children's group needs.

The third limitation of this study concerned the generalisations based on the CNGB for this age group. In contrast to the scale development phase outlined in chapter 4, no significant age effects were found in the CNGB scores in this sample. However, age was differentially influenced by the manipulated variables on the desire to work with the in-group. Whilst at this stage evidence suggests that group belongingness needs might be relatively invariant across age and gender, larger sample sizes would also permit a more thorough exploration of the CNGB. Further research manipulating variables that might influence the need for similarity and need for membership would also provide greater insight into the role of the different aspects of a need for belongingness.

6.0 GENERAL DISCUSSION

This final chapter aims to provide an overview of the most significant findings from the current program of research. Specifically, it highlights the key findings that shed light on the extent to which children's intra- and inter-group attitudes reflect a need for group belongingness and acceptance. These results are discussed in relation to past findings from research derived from social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and its more recent elaborations such as self-categorisation theory (SCT; Turner et al., 1987) and social identity development theory (SIDT; Nesdale, 1999a). Implications of the current research findings and the extent to which they contribute to a deeper understanding of children's group attitudes are discussed.

6.1 Activating Children's Need for Group Belongingness and its Impact on Group Attitudes

SIT and SCT, both emphasise the importance of inter-group comparison and the critical significance of positive distinctiveness of group membership. Given the mixed support for this position with regard to both adults and children, the present research program aimed to explore the possibility that children, especially in early to mid childhood, may be more focused simply on group belonging and acceptance, and securing a position within their own group. Three studies were carried out to explore this possibility. In each study, variables were manipulated that were considered likely to differentially activate a need for belonging and acceptance and hence would impact on children's in-group liking and/or out-group derogation.

Study 1 explored the role of two variables: surveillance by the in-group, and the openness of the in-group. If children do have a comparatively straightforward need for belonging to, and acceptance by, a social group, it was expected that both in-group surveillance and openness would instigate differential responding on in-group and out-group liking. Importantly, the results showed that under conditions of surveillance,

children displayed increased liking for the in-group whilst out-group liking was unaffected. This finding supported the expectation that surveillance might activate children's need for belonging and acceptance and hence instigate a concern to be seen as a committed in-group member, subsequently resulting in greater liking when surveillance was present, rather than absent. In addition, and also consistent with a belongingness need, Study 1 revealed that an open and accepting in-group was liked much more than a closed and non-accepting in-group, with this variable again having no impact on liking toward the out-group. Again, if children do have a belongingness need, it is plausible that they would be more attracted to an open versus closed group, hence accord higher liking for the former.

Thus, the first study highlighted that a presumed need for belonging and acceptance does not mean children indiscriminately display considerable liking for their own in-group, as would be suggested by SIT and SCT. The children were, in fact, quite perceptive and responsive to surveillance and openness, and consequently displayed greater affect toward groups when it might assist in confirming membership (i.e., under surveillance) and when a group might be more likely to fulfil a need for belonging and acceptance (i.e., an open in-group). Hence, in contrast to SIT and SCT, mere categorisation as a group member did not result in the same levels of liking for the in-group, irrespective of its qualities.

In order to further examine intra- and inter-group effects, Study 2 sought to extend Study 1 by investigating the extent to which a need for group belonging and acceptance might be differentially activated in an inter-group comparative context, where the focus was both on the out-group, via a threat to the in-group's status or distinctiveness, and the in-group, via a threat of exclusion to in-group members. This was achieved by experimentally manipulating these variables in a similar minimal group design as was used in Study 1. Importantly, the study extended the scope of Study 1 by also assessing

children's desire to work with the in-group versus the out-group, the acceptance of another member, and a behavioural intention to derogate an out-group.

A primary issue addressed in this study was whether an out-group threat raised more concerns about the in-group or the out-group. SIT predicts that a fundamental motive is to enhance the distinctiveness of the in-group relative to an out-group. According to this approach, a threat to the status or distinctiveness of the in-group by an out-group might have been expected to increase the motive to differentiate between the groups, to increase in-group cohesion, and to display greater in-group liking. In contrast, SIDT predicts that a threat from an out-group is more likely to result in out-group derogation than enhanced in-group liking (Nesdale, 2004).

The results provided some support for SIT in that inter-group differentiation on liking increased in the presence versus absence of an out-group threat. However, in contrast to SIT and SCT predictions, out-group threat had no impact on in-group liking. In line with SIDT, it only impacted on liking toward the out-group, consistent with the findings reported by Nesdale, Maass, et al. (2005). However, it is worth noting that in contrast to liking, the desire to work with the in-group and the out-group was influenced by an out-group threat. The desire to work with the in-group increased significantly when an out-group threat was present versus absent. In line with liking, it might have been expected that only the desire to work with the out-group would be affected by out-group threat. This was not the case. However, this finding is not entirely inconsistent with a need for belonging and acceptance since a child might also be motivated to increase group cohesion and defence of the in-group when under threat. That is, without impacting on liking, out-group threat might yet encourage group members to put more effort into the task of "defending the fort", which in turn might help affirm membership through loyalty.

In addition, Study 2 revealed that other intra-group factors significantly influenced in-group attitudes, in that children reported a greater desire to work with their team when there was no in-group exclusion threat, rather than an exclusion threat. Further, children were keenly aware of the attributes of another potential in-group member, which meant that the greatest desire to work with the in-group was reported when there was no exclusion threat and another potential member who wished to work with the team was team supportive rather than non-supportive. It would appear that when children are seeking to join a team they not only take into account an in-group's qualities (e.g., norms) but also take note of other children who want to join that team and their qualities. From a need for belonging and acceptance perspective, it is possible that children take into account all sources of information that are consistent with an increased likelihood of acceptance by an in-group.

This awareness of other potential in-group members also impacted on the degree to which participants endorsed these new members. Consistent with a need for belonging and acceptance account, new members were less likely to be endorsed when an in-group exclusion threat was present versus absent. Presumably, this finding simply reflected their own view of how much they would want to work with a group that had an exclusion threat.

Consistent with this, another potential in-group member was more strongly endorsed by the participant when s/he was team supportive rather than team non-supportive. From a need for belonging and acceptance perspective, one simple explanation might be that endorsing a supportive versus non-supportive new member increases the likely cohesion of the group, as well as the chances of the participant being accepted in the team. Interestingly, this finding also appears to be consistent with much earlier cognitive consistency theories such as balance theory (Heider, 1946; Cartwright & Harary, 1956) and cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957). In short, the principle

underlying balance theory is that people prefer to maintain consistency, or balance, in both attitudes towards, and relationships with, other people and aspects of the environment. Thus, from this perspective, a new candidate who is team supportive, and also wants to join the team, is consistent with the participant, and is likely to generate greater liking from the participant toward this person, in order to maintain balance in the relationships. In contrast, when the participant wants to work with the team and a potential new member is team non-supportive, then the triad is out of balance and the new member will be disliked in order to restore balance. The present findings were thus consistent with balance theory.

This finding also draws some parallels with results commonly found in research derived from subjective group dynamics (SGD; Abrams et al., 2000) where children favoured the target from either group who showed relatively greater support for in-group norms (Abrams et al., 2003; Abrams, Rutland, & Cameron, 2003; Abrams et al., 2007). However, these studies were not specifically focused on new members wanting to join the team. Further, the studies by Abrams and colleagues demonstrated a developmental trend where these effects were more common in older children (10-11 year olds). The current study revealed no evidence of such trend between the ages of 7 and 11 years of age suggesting that, at least when it comes to selecting a new member, even young children show greater acceptance for members who are team supportive rather than team non-supportive. However, in order to provide greater generalisability to these findings it would be important for future research to investigate attitudes within wider age ranges and larger sample sizes.

It is important to note that Study 2 did have some mixed findings which need to be considered for their possible implications for a need for belongingness motive. Contrary to expectations, an in-group exclusion threat had no impact on in-group liking, even though it significantly influenced the desire to work with the in-group. The most

straightforward account of this apparent discrepancy is simply that liking for a group might not always be strongly correlated with a more practical decision such as whether a child wants to work with that group. That is, whereas exclusion threat, for example, might not impact on in-group liking (“this is my group regardless”), it could still impact on the child’s desire to work with the in-group because of the demands such a threat would likely place on group members.

However, while the foregoing appears to provide a plausible account of the seeming discrepancy between the liking and work findings in Study 2, it still leaves unanswered the question of why the variables impacted on in-group liking in Study 1 but not Study 2. Thus, Study 1 revealed an effect on in-group liking due to in-group openness, whereas there was no effect on in-group liking due to in-group exclusion threat in Study 2. One possibility is simply that a closed in-group is considered by children to be an unattractive quality in an in-group. In contrast, the possibility of being excluded by one’s group for not pulling one’s weight, or not fitting in, or not conforming to norms, is accepted as being “part of the territory” of being a group member. In addition, an open and accepting group is likely to be viewed positively especially in relation to a need for belonging and acceptance. Therefore, the absence of salient positive information about the in-group (i.e., a highly accepting group) in Study 2 may also provide a partial explanation for this discrepancy in liking and work. Further research will need to explore these issues.

Study 4 also used a minimal group simulation experiment to manipulate two variables likely to differentially activate children’s need for group belongingness: in-group norms (friendly versus unfriendly toward the out-group), and the position of the participant in the in-group (prototypical versus peripheral). In addition, the relative status of the in-group compared with the out-group was also manipulated to test the positive distinctiveness approach (SIT).

Consistent with Study 2, the results of Study 4 also revealed that the in-group was always liked more than the out-group. More importantly, consistent with the need for belonging and acceptance account, prototypicality and in-group norms of friendliness both independently increased in-group liking and desire to work with the in-group. That is, in-group qualities that were attractive (friendly in-group norm) increased in-group liking as in Study 1 (openness in-group norm). In addition, children who identified most with an in-group (prototypical members) liked the in-group more than those who identified less with the in-group (peripheral members). However, prototypicality and a friendliness in-group norm also influenced out-group liking. That is, the out-group was also liked more when the in-group had a friendliness norm, and the participant was a prototypical member. One possible explanation for these findings is that perhaps prototypicality and a friendliness in-group norm simply contributed to children being generally positive toward the world.

However, inconsistent with a motive toward positive distinctiveness was the absence of an effect due to in-group status. If a need for positive distinctiveness was important to children, then it might have been expected that high status in-groups would have been liked more than low status in-groups. However, it appeared that the in-group was always liked more than the out-group regardless of its relative status, consistent with the findings of Nesdale and Flessner (2001). More importantly, the children had a greater desire to work with their in-group versus the out-group, even if the in-group was of comparatively low status. The greater liking toward the in-group versus the out-group regardless of group status suggests that inter-group comparisons and the relative positive distinctiveness of the in-group is not as important as merely belonging to this group.

In addition, since the findings revealed that prototypicality and group norms of friendliness increased liking for both groups, it appeared that differentiation between the

groups was not a main focus for children as it would be predicted by SIT and SCT. The findings indicated that a need for belonging and acceptance involved a concern for the in-group and a child's position within the group that subsequently had no impact on between-group differentiation.

In sum, the minimal group studies in the present research program provided some broad support for the assumption that children have a greater (or earlier) need for belonging and acceptance than for positive distinctiveness, and it is the former that underpins their interest in being group members, at least initially. In general, whilst greater support was found for the possible activating role of intra-group factors such as in-group norms (openness, threat of exclusion), surveillance and prototypicality, some evidence was also found for inter-group variables such as out-group threat. The implications from these findings will be discussed further in the final section. These findings raise a number of considerations for future research. First, to what extent does a need for belonging and acceptance implicate children's cognitive-perceptual and/or affective processes? Second, does a need for belongingness become activated to the same extent in more broad social groups (e.g., based on ethnicity or nationality) versus social or peer groups? Third, under what conditions might a need for belongingness become subsumed by other needs such as group distinctiveness or status? These issues will need to be explored in further research, both experimental and naturalistic.

6.2 Belongingness as an Individual Difference Variable

Given the evidence from the experimental studies that a need for group belonging and acceptance might be activated by contextual factors relating to the in-group and inter-group situation, it was also presumed that children might vary in the extent to which they are driven by a need for group belongingness. Hence, Study 3 was designed to develop a multidimensional scale for assessing an individual's need for group belongingness in order to examine whether this variable accounted for additional

variance in the Study 4 of the research program. The scale development phase drew upon SIT principles to inform the four hypothesised dimensions of a need for belongingness: a need for group membership; need for distinctiveness; fear of exclusion; and a need for similarity.

Over five stages of scale development, exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses provided support for the presence of the above four factors. The total CNGB score and subscale scores were generally consistent across samples. Whilst some concerns were noted over the need for similarity subscale, which indicated lower reliability alphas than the other subscales, each of the four dimensions generally revealed consistent factor loadings with evidence of convergent and discriminant validity obtained from correlations between existing measures of social self-esteem and social anxiety. Most importantly, the scale development phase suggested that children clearly vary in their need for group belongingness and that this is a construct that appears to be multidimensional and replicable across samples.

Whilst gender differences were not a feature across samples on the CNGB and its subscales, it was noteworthy that a significant age effect was revealed with younger children (aged 7-9 years) scoring higher than older children (aged 10-13) on the overall total score, as well as on the subscales of need for similarity and fear of exclusion. One possibility is that this age effect might suggest that children have an early and more desperate need to be included versus a later understanding that they can, and mostly will, get into groups in which they have an interest. This finding raises the possibility that in early and mid-childhood the need for group belonging and acceptance is more dominant than in late childhood. This would concur with some of the age effects noted in research on children from dominant ethnic groups who displayed an increase in in-group positivity and out-group negativity up to about 6 to 7 years of age, after which time there was a decrease in these attributions (e.g., Aboud, 1988; Bigler & Liben,

1993; Doyle & Aboud, 1995). Similarly, cognitive acquisitions with increasing age have been linked to a decrease in children's gender and racial stereotyping (e.g., Bigler, 1995; Bigler & Liben, 1993). However, the above studies have focused on inter-group comparisons and have not explored age-related effects in belongingness needs.

The findings from the present study raise the possibility that similar age based effects may occur in relation to the need for group belongingness. However, the extent to which these are influenced by cognitive acquisitions and/or social knowledge remains to be answered. Further, age effects were not consistent across the studies in the present research program. Hence, in relation to a need for belongingness, the extent of age related changes is unclear, with further research required to more systematically explore these effects using larger sample sizes.

Regardless of some mixed age-related effects, the CNGB appeared to provide a generally reliable measure of group belongingness in children aged between 7 and 13 years. Subsequently, the CNGB was used in Study 4 to determine whether individual variability in the need for group belongingness would predict group attitudes over and above the effects due to the manipulated variables.

After accounting for the variance due to the manipulation of in-group position and in-group norm in Study 4, individual differences in the need for belongingness, as measured by the CNGB, had a significant impact on the expression of positive affect toward one's own group, but not an out-group. Thus, those children that had a greater need for group belongingness expressed greater liking for the in-group. Further, it was found that the most significant predictor subscale was fear of exclusion, with a significant positive correlation revealed between this variable and in-group liking. This finding suggested that children who have a greater sense of insecurity about their membership and fear being excluded, might be more strongly motivated to try and gain acceptance and magnify their in-group liking as a result.

Research has indicated that peer rejection is associated with high levels of internal distress, such as, anxiety, anger, unhappiness, depression and a negative self-concept (Sandstrom & Zakriski, 2004; Sandstrom, Cillessen, & Eisenhower, 2004). There is also evidence that rejected children are generally more aggressive, display less social competence, have more negative interactions with teachers, and experience less success in joining others (Coie, Dodge, & Kupersmidt, 1990; McDougall, Hymel, Vaillancourt, & Mercer, 2001; Rubin & Coplan, 1992). These difficulties have been shown to be further exacerbated by their peers who tend to view them as misfits, harass them to a greater extent, and attribute more negative qualities to them (Nagle, Erdley, & Gold, 1996). Given these potential consequences, especially in regard to the internal distress caused by rejection, a strong component of the need for group belongingness might be the desire to avoid or reduce a negative and aversive internal state caused by a fear of exclusion. The need to reduce this fear then leads to the enhancement of in-group liking in order to confirm membership.

Whilst in-group liking was associated with a need for belongingness, also of note was that out-group liking was unaffected by the CNGB. This would have been expected since the focus was on “my group” and not inter-group comparisons. The implication of this finding is that liking and affect toward one’s own group is inextricably linked with group belongingness needs. This finding was noteworthy in that it represented the first evidence implicating the role of individual differences in the need for group belongingness and acceptance within a manipulated inter-group context.

However, also of importance was the finding that the need for distinctiveness subscale of the CNGB significantly predicted out-group derogation. This would suggest that whilst a motive toward belonging and acceptance drives in-group liking, children might also show individual variability in the extent to which they are concerned about in-group/out-group comparisons. Children high in the need for distinctiveness might

then be more driven toward out-group comparisons and the need to derogate this group in order to increase in-group distinctiveness.

However, one qualification to the above needs further consideration. This concerned the correlations between the individual subscales of the CNGB and in-group liking. Contrary to expectations, the need for group membership subscale was not found to be significantly correlated with in-group liking in the final study. Although surprising, there are several possible explanations for this absence of effect. The first possibility is due to the items in the scale itself, with some concerning group pride. This might have, in some cases, activated a child's current social or peer group rather than liking related to group membership in general. Working from this frame of reference, this subscale might not then be highly related to liking toward another group. Another possibility concerns the timing of the CNGB and the minimal groups experiment. Perhaps a need for group membership is an individual quality that needs to be activated by a context in which a child is attempting to join a group. Hence, a need for group membership might not be highly activated when a child is prompted to think about groups in general when completing the CNGB. Future research would need to explore whether scores on the CNGB might vary when children are primed toward a new group scenario. The fact that fear of exclusion was related to in-group liking might suggest that this is a quality that is more strongly activated in some participants than need for group membership.

A further explanation might also be based on the qualities of the in-group described in the experiment. The absence of explicit information about how accepting the in-group was of new members might have partly accounted for a lack of correlation between liking and the need for group membership scale. It is possible that the need for group membership subscale might be more strongly associated with groups that have a positive quality that makes new member acceptance highly salient.

Given the CNGB was in its early stages of development, further research is required in order to provide more generalisability to findings, particularly in regard to scale and subscale validity. Specifically, it would be important to determine the extent to which the items in the subscales adequately measure all components of the defined dimensions, and whether the scale might benefit from the addition or modification of items. Due to minor inconsistencies in the correlations between the subscales, future studies using larger sample sizes and structural equation modelling procedures might also be able to clarify the relationships between the subscales. In addition, predictive validity might be extended by exploring the relationship between this scale and other dependent measures in experimental studies such as group identification, group stereotyping and behavioural intention toward in-group members. Further, both scale reliability and validity would benefit from administration to larger sample sizes and extended age ranges which would allow for a more systematic exploration of any age or gender effects. Whilst the scale might benefit from further refinements and a clarification of the interrelationships between the subscales, the present research demonstrated that group belongingness needs can be accounted for and measured in children aged between 7 and 13 years.

6.3 General Implications and Conclusions

The minimal group studies provided general support for the view that the need for belonging and acceptance would make children differentially responsive to the different levels of a manipulated variable and hence impact on their group attitudes. However, a crucial issue was raised regarding the interaction of intra- and inter-group variables. This concerned the inter-group comparative context. Whilst some support was found for the critical role of in-group/out-group comparison espoused by SIT and SCT through increased differentiation and in-group bias, it was also evident that increasing the salience of an inter-group factor via an out-group threat had very little effect on liking

for the in-group. Whilst out-group threat did impact upon the desire to work with the in-group and out-group, it was also found that both in-group exclusion threat and new member attributes had a significant influence on the desire to work with the in-group. Overall, it appeared that intra-group factors such as openness of in-group, surveillance, in-group exclusion threat and group position had more consistent effects on in-group rather than out-group attitudes implicating a primary role for a group belongingness motive.

Another finding that emphasised the importance of a need for belonging and acceptance in comparison with group distinctiveness was the apparent lack of effects due to the relative status of the in-group found in Study 4. In line with SIT, a concern for inter-group comparisons and positive group distinctiveness should have resulted in greater liking toward a higher rather than lower status in-group. The fact that intra-group factors such as in-group position and in-group norms were influential, but group status was not, suggests that comparison and distinctiveness are not as important to children as mere acceptance. Similarly, concern for inter-group comparison and distinctiveness might have been expected to lead to significantly greater differentiation between the in-group and the out-group as a function of in-group position and in-group norms in Study 4. This again, was not the case. In-group position and in-group norms influenced both in-group and out-group attitudes to the same extent. This suggests that children were not driven by comparison and distinctiveness and hence were unconcerned about strongly differentiating between the groups.

It is also worth noting that in both studies 2 and 4, a behavioural intention to derogate an out-group was unaffected by either out-group threat (Study 2) or by in-group norms that prescribed derogation (Study 4). However, pro-social behavioural intention was most likely to occur when friendliness was prescribed by in-group norms (Study 4), and when there was no in-group exclusion threat and another new member

liked an out-group (Study 2). This finding is of significance since it implies that a concern for the in-group, as assumed by a need for belonging and acceptance motive, can extend to an out-group focus via behavioural intention only if these behaviours are consistent with a group that is more likely to accept a participant (i.e., friendly groups or groups that have no exclusion threat). This was consistent with findings reported by Nesdale, Griffiths, et al. (2005) that showed that liking for a different ethnicity out-group increased when the in-group had a norm of inclusion. In order to explore whether derogation might occur due to a need for belonging and acceptance, future research would need to investigate the interactive effects of groups that are highly accepting of new members yet at the same time derogatory toward out-groups.

The overall findings highlight the possible temporal importance of factors such as group belongingness, group distinctiveness and out-group derogation. It is possible that when first attempting to join a group the initial concern is on fulfilling a need for group belonging and acceptance. This reduces the salience and influence of out-group attributes when expressing attitudes toward the in-group and enhances concern for the in-group. This was consistent with the first two studies which demonstrated the influence of intra-group variables on in-group liking (Study 1) and desire to work with the group (Study 2).

But what of the SIT tenet specifying individuals' needs for positive distinctiveness? It is possible that once a group identity has been securely established, it is at this point that a motive toward comparative group distinctiveness is activated as a child becomes more aware of the qualities of both the in-group and the out-group. It is also at this point that subjective group dynamics might begin to play a more influential role as children are motivated to maintain group cohesion. Out-group derogation would then subsequently only occur when an inter-group context promotes competition and there is a threat from an out-group and children look toward the in-group prototype or norms as

to how to respond. It is also a possibility that group belongingness needs at this stage become more driven by group distinctiveness and need for similarity.

This type of formulation is consistent with the phases of ethnic prejudice outlined in SIDT (Nesdale, 1999a, 2004), whereby the group focus and social motivations of children shift as they develop and gain increasing social knowledge. However, whilst SIDT emphasises a need for belongingness it also suggests that children are drawn toward groups that are high in positive distinctiveness. The current findings suggest a qualification to, or refinement of, SIDT by suggesting that children are initially more focused and concerned about acceptance than the positive distinctiveness of the group. Whilst positive distinctiveness has an important role it is possible that it is a secondary or subsequent motive, which only gets activated once a need for belongingness has been fulfilled. However, as shown in Study 4, a need for distinctiveness might also be an individual difference variable that might have differential effects on a child's in-group versus out-group concerns and subsequent attitudes.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between group distinctiveness and the need for belonging and acceptance, several further considerations need to be addressed in future research. These might involve considerations such as a child being given a choice as to which team to join, varying the extent to which different teams might want this child, and providing more salient consequences for specific attitudes and behaviours. In addition, enhancing other factors that increase in-group/out-group comparisons such as salient group stereotypes and competition for a limited resource, might provide insight into the extent to which a need for belonging and acceptance overrides group distinctiveness needs or vice versa. Due to limitations based on simulation experiments, naturalistic studies might be able to further explore the extent to which a desire to maintain group membership in an already

established group might be related to group belongingness needs and subsequent group attitudes and behaviours.

In sum, the findings of the present research program suggest that group attitudes in children are influenced by more than just mere categorisation as a group member and conformity, as suggested by SCT, or through enhanced bias toward the in-group instigated by a comparative context, as suggested by SIT. Importantly, children appear to be very responsive to intra-group variables, which magnify concerns about the in-group and its qualities, which then impacts upon in-group liking and desire to work with them to a much greater extent than on out-group attitudes. This implicates a much more personal rather than group enhancement motive. In addition, whilst subjective group dynamics are implicated via enhanced awareness of in-group members, a need for belongingness motive appears to extend the desire for in-group cohesion to also impact upon the desire to work with a particular in-group. Most significantly, not only were group attitudes affected by the possible activation of a need for belonging and acceptance via manipulated variables, but also by individual differences in the need for belongingness, which again had the most significant effect on in-group liking.

Based on the findings from the present research program, one conclusion is clear. Children are keenly aware of the attributes and qualities of the in-group, which has a significant effect on attitudes toward the in-group and much less so on the out-group. These findings all implicate something possibly more fundamental, or at least primary, to children than comparative positive distinctiveness in the mid to late childhood period, that is, the desire to fulfil a need for belonging and acceptance.

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*Appendix A**Experimental Booklet: Study 1.***ARTISTIC COMPETITION: Judge's Report**

CONGRATULATIONS! Your drawing has been graded by an art judge and you have been placed in the top 5% of the most talented drawers.

Out of all the schools tested your drawings were very imaginative and you have the ability to become a great drawer.

WELL DONE!



PLEASE DO NOT SHARE THIS INFORMATION WITH YOUR CLASS

PLEASE TURN THE PAGE TO FIND OUT WHO ELSE IS IN YOUR TEAM.

YOUR TEAM!

These are the other kids in your group of very talented drawers picked from a number of schools.

Write your name in the blank square at the end of the photos.

			NAME _____
--	--	--	---------------

You will get the chance to meet your group soon.

Before you do it may help you to know a little bit about them.

Kids as talented as those in your group have always won previous sculpting competitions.

- Your group is a very closed group and they don't usually like new kids joining them³.

versus

- *Your group is pretty easy going and are always happy about similar kids joining them*

- Your group wants to know a little about you, so your answers on the next page will be sent to the other kids in your group before you meet them.

versus

- *Your answers in this booklet will not be shared with anyone else*

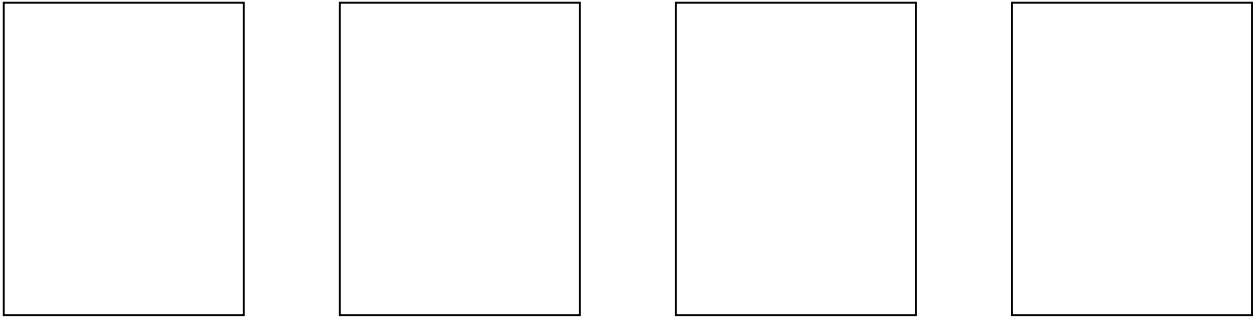
The other team you will compete against is shown on the next page.

³ All four conditions are contained within this same page for illustrative purposes.

THE OTHER TEAM!

This is the group of kids you will be competing against.

They are not as talented at drawing as your group.

Four empty rectangular boxes are arranged horizontally, intended for drawing or sketching.

Before being placed in your team of very talented drawers we would like you to answer some questions about your group.

**THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS,
JUST CIRCLE WHAT YOU FEEL FITS YOU THE BEST.**

In this part we would like to know what you think about YOUR team of drawers and the OTHER team you will compete against.

1) Does your group usually like other kids joining them?

Yes

No

2) How much do you like the other kids in your team?

Don't like a lot

1

2

3

4

5

6

Like a lot

7

3) How good do you think your team would be at clay modelling?

Poor

1

2

3

4

5

6

Very Skilful

7

4) How much do you like the kids from the other team?

Don't like a lot

1

2

3

4

5

6

Like a lot

7

5) How good do you think the other team would be at clay modelling?

Poor

1

2

3

4

5

6

Very Skilful

7

6) How much fun do you think your team would be?

Very Boring

1

2

3

4

5

6

A lot of Fun

7

7) How much fun do you think the other team would be?

Very Boring

1

2

3

4

5

6

A lot of Fun

7

*Appendix B**Response Booklet: Study 2***Questionnaire**

Subject No. _____

Class: _____

Age: _____

Gender: _____

Condition: _____

In this part we would like to know what you think about YOUR team of drawers and the OK team you will compete against.

1) How tough are the kids in your team to new kids joining them?

Very tough								Very Easy
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		7

2) How similar is the new member to the rest of your "excellent" team?

Not at all								Very
Similar								Similar
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		7

3) How much do you like the kids in your team?

Don't like a lot								Like
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		a lot
								7

4) How much fun do you think your team would be?

Very Boring								A lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		of Fun
								7

5) How much would you wish to work with your team?

Not at all								Very much
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		7

6) How much do you like the kids from the other team?

Don't like a lot							Like a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7

7) How much fun do you think other team would be?

Very Boring							A lot of Fun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7

8) How much would you wish to work with the other team?

Not at all							Very much
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7

The next part asks you what you think about the new member wanting to join your team.

9) How much do you want the new member to be part of your team?

Not at all							Very much
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7

10) How much do you think the new member deserves to be part of your team?

Not at all							Very much
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7

11) How well do you think the new member would fit in to your team?

Not at all							Very much
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7

For the next part, imagine that the drawing competition has just started. Your team and the other team are asked to draw a picture of the Australian bush and the animals that live in it. Your team draws their picture and begins to colour it in. As you are doing this, your team notices that the other team's drawing seems to be quite good and the other team is looking very happy with it.

How likely is it that you would:

12. Tell them that their drawing is really good.

Very unlikely I would do this							Very likely I would do this
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

13. Try and put off the other team by making fun of them.

Very unlikely I would do this							Very likely I would do this
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

14. Ignore them and keep working on your team's drawing

Very unlikely I would do this							Very likely I would do this
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

*Appendix C**The Original 40-item Children's Need for Group Belongingness Scale (CNGB)*

This is a questionnaire that asks you about your thoughts and feelings about groups.

It is not a test - there are no right or wrong answers

This questionnaire asks you about groups of kids that you might spend time with. It can be a group at school or outside school. To be a member of a group means that there are three or more kids your own age that you hang out with. Some groups may have just a few kids in it. Others may be large and have six or more members.

All your answers are completely private. You do not need to put your name on the booklet

Please begin by answering question A:

A) Do you have a group of friends that you like to hang out with?

YES NO **If "YES" Stop here and turn the page / If "NO" go to (B)**

B) Have you ever had a group of friends that you liked to do things with in the past?

YES NO **If "YES" Stop here and turn the page / If "NO" go to (C)**

C) Do you only hang out with one friend rather than a group of kids?

YES NO

The next pages ask you how much you agree or disagree with sentences. Please circle the number that best fits how you feel. For example, circling the number 7 would mean that you agree a lot. Circling number 2 means that you might disagree a fair bit. Number 4 means that you're kind of in the middle - you don't really agree or disagree.

Remember, this is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. The sentences are about how strongly you might feel about certain things.

Example:

I like helping my friend with his homework

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

NOW TURN OVER THE PAGE AND ANSWER ALL THE QUESTIONS MAKING SURE YOU DON'T SKIP ANY.

Think about the group of kids your own age you might hang out with. Or think about a group of kids that you have hung out with in the past. If you have not been part of a group before think about a group to which you would like to belong.

Now think about what it is like to be in this group. How do you feel about being a member of this group?

Answer all the questions below.

1) It is important for me to belong to a group of kids my own age

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2) I like hanging out with kids from my group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3) I would not want to be part of any other group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4) It is important to me that other kids in my group like me

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5) I would be happy to be in an unpopular group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6) I often worry that the other kids in my group think that I am different

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7) I like to be one of the main members of my group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8) I don't care if I make a fool of myself in front of the other kids in my group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9) I am proud of being part of my group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10) I don't like being a part of a group - I prefer to be by myself

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11) Being in a popular group is important to me

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12) I would be upset if the other kids in my group didn't like me

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13) I don't need to be popular in my group, it's good enough just to be a member

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14) I really like being a part of my group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15) It would bother me if the kids in my group thought that I didn't really fit in

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

16) I think my group is better at most things than other groups

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

17) I never worry about how I act in front of other members of my group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

18) The kids in my group are much cooler than the kids in other groups

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

19) It would not upset me at all if other kids in my group disliked me

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

20) I feel proud when one of the kids from my group does something well

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

21) I often worry about appearing stupid in front of my group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

22) I enjoy doing the same things as the other kids in my group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

23) It is important for me to stick up for other kids in my group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

24) I often worry about what other kids in my group are thinking of me

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

25) I like to be different from the other kids in my group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

26) It is important for me to be a member of a strong and powerful group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

27) Some other groups are better than mine

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

28) I feel good when other kids want me to be a member of their group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

29) I worry that the other kids in my group think that I don't belong

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

30) It would not upset me if others made fun of my group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

31) I'm often afraid that the kids in my group might laugh at me

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

32) I am more similar to kids in my group than to other kids

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

33) I never talk about the kids in my group with others

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

34) When I am not sure about what to do, I look to other kids in my group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

35) I like to be just like the other kids in my group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

36) I prefer to say I agree with other kids in my group even if I really disagree

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

37) It would not bother me if the kids in my group didn't want me anymore

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

38) It is important to me that kids in my group think that I am like them

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

39) I find it easy to tell other kids in my group that I disagree with them

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

40) I like telling other kids about my group

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

*Appendix D**Original 20-Item Children's Need for Group Belongingness Scale (CNGB)****Questionnaire Booklet***

- This is a questionnaire that asks you about your thoughts and feelings about yourself and some of the groups you may be a part of.
- ***It is not a test - there are no right or wrong answers***
- It is important to answer all the questions- PLEASE DO NOT SKIP ANY
- You do not need to put your name on this booklet - all your answers are private.
- But we would like some information about you so please fill out the part below.

Gender (tick): boy girl

Age: _____

In what country were your parents born? _____

PART 2

This part asks you about groups of kids that you might spend time with. It can be a group at school or outside school. To be a member of a group means that there are three or more kids your own age that you hang out with. Some groups may have just a few kids in it. Others may be large and have six or more members.

(A) Do you have a group of friends that you like to hang out with?

YES NO **If "YES" go to (D), If "NO" go to (B)**

(B) Have you ever had a group of friends that you liked to do things with in the past?

YES NO **If "YES" go to (D), If "NO" go to (C)**

(C) Do you only hang out with one friend rather than a group of kids?

YES NO

(D) The next pages ask you how much you agree or disagree with sentences. Please circle the number that best fits how you feel. For example, circling the number 7 would mean that you agree a lot. Circling number 2 means that you might disagree a fair bit.

Example:

I like helping my friend with his homework

Disagree a lot	Disagree a fair bit	Disagree a little bit	Neither agree nor disagree lot	Agree a little bit	Agree a fair bit	Agree a
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Think about a group of kids your own age you might hang out with. Or think about a group of kids that you have hung out with in the past. If you have not been part of a group before think about a group to which you would like to belong.

Now think about what it is like to be in this group. How do you feel about being a member of this group?

Answer all the questions below.

1) I like hanging out with kids from my group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

2) Being in a popular group is important to me

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

3) I would be happy to be in an unpopular group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

4) I often worry that the other kids in my group think that I am different

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

5) I am proud of being part of my group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

6) It is important to me that kids in my group think that I am like them

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

7) I don't like being a part of a group - I prefer to be by myself

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

8) I am more similar to kids in my group than to other kids

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

9) I really like being a part of my group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

10) I think my group is better at most things than other groups

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

11) I often worry about what other kids in my group are thinking of me

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

12) I enjoy doing the same things as the other kids in my group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

13) The kids in my group are much cooler than the kids in other groups

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

14) I feel proud when one of the kids from my group does something well

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

15) I often worry about appearing stupid in front of my group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

16) It is important for me to stick up for other kids in my group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

17) It is important for me to be a member of a strong and powerful group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

18) I worry that the other kids in my group think that I don't belong

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

19) I'm often afraid that the kids in my group might laugh at me

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

20) I like to be just like the other kids in my group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
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Appendix E

Final 20-Item Children's Need for Group Belongingness Scale (CNGB)

Questionnaire Booklet

- This is a questionnaire that asks you about your thoughts and feelings about yourself and how much you like being part of a group.
- ***It is not a test - there are no right or wrong answers***
- It is important to answer all the questions- PLEASE DO NOT SKIP ANY
- Think about what it is like to be in a group. Here are some sentences about what it would be like to hang out or play with a group of kids. A group usually would mean three or more kids. Circle the number that best fits how you feel about each sentence. That is how much you disagree or agree with each.

AGE: _____

GENDER: Boy Girl Answer all the questions below.

1) I like hanging out with kids in a group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
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2) Being in a popular group is important to me

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

3) I would worry that the other kids in my group think that I am different

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

4) I would be proud of being part of a group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

5) It is important to me that kids in my group think that I am like them

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

6) I don't like being a part of a group - I prefer to be by myself

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
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7) I like to be more similar to kids in my group than to other kids

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

8) I really like being a part of a group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
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9) I like my group to be better at most things than other groups

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

10) I worry about what other kids in my group are thinking of me

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

11) I am happy to be in an unpopular group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
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12) I enjoy doing the same things as the other kids in my group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

13) I like the kids in my group to be much cooler than the kids in other groups

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

14) I feel proud when one of the kids from my group does something well

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

15) I often worry about appearing stupid in front of my group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
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16) It is important for me to stick up for other kids in my group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

17) It is important for me to be a member of a strong and powerful group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

18) I worry that the other kids in my group think that I don't belong

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

19) I'm often afraid that the kids in my group might laugh at me

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------

20) I like to be just like the other kids in my group

Disagree a lot 1	Disagree a fair bit 2	Disagree a little bit 3	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little bit 5	Agree a fair bit 6	Agree a lot 7
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*Appendix F**Response Booklet: Study 4*

Subject No. _____

Class: _____

Age: _____

Gender: _____

Condition: _____

In this part we would like to know what you think about **YOUR** group of drawers and the **OTHER** group you will compete against.

1) How good at drawing are the members of your team?

Very Poor							Excellent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

2) How friendly are the kids in your team to the other team?

Very Unfriendly							Very Friendly
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

3) Did your drawing place you as a main member of your team or a member on the edge of the team?

Member on Edge of team							Definitely main member
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

4) How much do you like the kids in your team?

Don't like a lot							Like a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

5) How much fun do you think your team would be?

Very Boring							A lot of Fun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

6) How much would you wish to work with your team?

Not at all							Very much
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

9) How much do you like the kids from the other team?

Don't like a lot							Like a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7

10) How much fun do you think other team would be?

Very Boring							A lot of Fun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7

11) How much would you wish to work with the other team?

Not at all							Very much
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7

For the next part imagine that the drawing competition has just started. Your team and the other team are asked to draw a picture of the Australian bush and the animals that live in it. Your team draws their picture and begins to colour it in. As you are doing this, your team notices that a member of the other team is upset because they think their picture is not very good.

How likely is it that you would:

1. Try to cheer them up by telling them that their drawing is really good.

Very unlikely I would do this							Very likely I would do this
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7

2. Say something mean about the person because they got upset

Very unlikely I would do this							Very likely I would do this
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7

3. Ignore them and keep working on your team's drawing

Very unlikely I would do this							Very likely I would do this
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7