MORAL JUDGMENTS AND EMOTIONS IN CONTEXTS OF PEER EXCLUSION AND VICTIMIZATION*

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Abstract (max 250 words)

Morality is at the core of social development. How individuals treat one another, develop a sense of obligation towards others regarding equality and equity, and understand the emotions experienced by victims and victimizers, are essential ingredients for healthy development, and for creating a just and civil society. Research on the origins of moral understanding has expanded exponentially over the past two decades. New findings on the emergence of early concepts of fairness and equality and concern for others provide a more detailed trajectory of morality than generated by the foundational research paradigms. In this chapter, we review research on two forms of social exclusion, intergroup exclusion and interpersonal victimization, from a moral development perspective, identifying distinctions as well as areas of overlap and intersections. Intergroup exclusion (defined as exclusion based solely on group membership, such as gender, race, ethnicity, nationality) is most often analyzed at the group level in contrast to interpersonal victimization (defined as the repeated infliction of physical and psychological harm on another) which is most often analyzed at the individual level. In this chapter, we assert that research needs to examine both group-level and individual-level factors for intergroup and interpersonal exclusion, and that moral development provides an important framework for investigating these phenomena.

Key words: moral judgment, moral emotions, social exclusion, victimization, peer relationships

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OVERVIEW: THE CENTRALITY OF MORALITY

Morality is implicated in both contexts of intergroup exclusion and interpersonal victimization. Intergroup exclusion, defined as exclusion based solely on group membership, such as gender, race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, or disability (and other categories), is often, but not always, viewed as a form of prejudice. Most of the research on intergroup exclusion examines the role of group norms, group identity, and various forms of implicit and explicit bias to understand the emergence, maintenance, and perpetuation of prejudicial and discriminatory attitudes. Yet, prejudicial and discriminatory treatment of others also reflects attitudes and behavior that are unfair, involving unequal treatment of others. Only recently has intergroup exclusion and prejudice been investigated from the moral development viewpoint (see Killen & Rutland, 2011); prejudice involves the violation of moral judgments about prescriptive norms for how to treat others, and how children evaluate prejudice from a moral viewpoint has provided a new window into its origins.

Interpersonal victimization, defined as the infliction of harm on others and the disregard of others' physical and psychological welfare, has been examined in the context of aggression, bullying, and/or violence. Research on interpersonal victimization involves studying the psychological, situational, and biological characteristics that contribute to cycles of aggression and violence. As well, victimization involves the violation of moral norms, although it is rarely studied from a moral development perspective (for an exception, see Eisner & Malti, in press). We assert that both forms of exclusion and victimization reflect moral transgressions even though much of the research in these two fields remains focused on only one part of the story:

group-level dynamics for intergroup exclusion, and individual-level dynamics for interpersonal victimization.

The lines of research that best reflect this intersection are those that have used multi-method approaches for analyzing peer rejection, such as social cognition and reasoning about exclusion, group identity, and intergroup attitudes (intergroup social exclusion), along with emotional experiences, friendship relationships among children, individual difference assessments, and potential at-risk factors for psychopathology and maladaptive outcomes (interpersonal victimization). We propose that this approach will help formulate the types of developmental interventions that will work to address social exclusion and victimization, and this will be discussed in this review.

In this chapter, then, we assert that research from an integrated perspective, one that examines both group-level and individual-level factors for intergroup and interpersonal exclusion, has revealed important findings regarding how moral judgment and moral emotions are integral aspects of these phenomena in childhood and adolescence. We review intergroup social exclusion theory and research, followed by theory and research on interpersonal victimization. Then we will discuss further overlaps, interactions, and comparisons between these two fields. We describe applications and intervention strategies, followed by our conclusions and future research directions.

INTERGROUP EXCLUSION AND INTERPERSONAL VICTIMIZATION

Social exclusion is a broad term and we concentrate on two forms, intergroup and interpersonal. Both forms of exclusion have the potential to result in victimization. We view the lack of intersection of research on intergroup social exclusion and interpersonal victimization as a missed opportunity. This is because one form of rejection can often lead to another, and

increasing our understanding of these connections is crucial for creating effective prevention and intervention strategies (Malti, Noam, Beelmann, & Sommer, in press). Given that one form of peer rejection can lead to another, it is time to re-examine the underlying assumptions in these two areas of research, and to identify the common as well as divergent developmental phenomena associated with intergroup social exclusion and peer victimization.

Just as social psychologists studying prejudice argued that personality trait approaches are not enough to explain prejudice and discrimination in adulthood, developmental and clinical psychologists studying prejudice and discrimination in childhood have made the same argument (Aboud & Levy, 2000). There are times when children are excluded and victimized for reasons that have nothing to do with their personality traits; exclusion stemming solely from biases about group membership, defined as "the out-group", such as categories related to race, ethnicity, religion, disability, or gender (among other group identities).

Yet, understanding the individual differences that contribute to peer victimization is important and includes personality factors, such as temperamental differences which lead children to refrain from social interactions, and unable to cope with the complexities of social engagement. Children identified as "bullies" are often rejected by their peers and have trouble reading social cues, attributing self-conscious emotions (e.g., guilt), and demonstrating empathy, as well as complex forms of theory of mind. Bullies seek out as targets children who are shy, fearful, and wary to victimize; potential victims often have social deficits that lead to these forms of vulnerability. Thus, these factors are reflected in the personality characteristics of children at risk for being bullies and victims. Nesdale (2007) has shown that children who are rejected by others are at risk for acting in a prejudicial and biased manner towards others identified as

"outgroup members." Chronic exclusion based on group membership has the potential to lead to maladaptive behavioral outcomes, such as prejudicial orientations towards others.

Research on intergroup exclusion has shown that children and adolescents often use moral reasoning to explain what makes intergroup exclusion wrong as well as attribute emotional states to those who are excluded or are excluders (Killen, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2013). Much of the research on intergroup exclusion examines how intergroup dynamics, in the form of ingroup preference and outgroup dislike, perpetuates forms of prejudice in childhood. Further, how children interpret societal-level group norms about prejudice is investigated to understand group dynamics, stereotyping, implicit and explicit bias, and discriminatory acts in childhood and adolescence (Nesdale, Maas, Griffith, & Durkin, 2003; Verkuyten, 2002). While the bulk of research is focused on group-level factors, research has revealed how moral reasoning and social judgments about groups contributes to an understanding about intergroup exclusion, that is, how it reflects prejudicial behavior and unfair treatment of others by children towards their peers as well as expectations about group identity, group norms, and group functioning (Killen, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2013; Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010).

Extensive research on interpersonal victimization that focuses on the individual factors that contribute to victimization such as personality traits, aggressiveness, extreme shyness, fearfulness, and a general lack of social skills provides one part, but not the whole story about factors that contribute to developmental psychopathology. Victimization involves the infliction of psychological and/or physical harm on others. Children's judgments and moral emotions about victimization and bullying reflect age-related changes concerning the attributions of emotions of bullies and victims as well as the judgments about when aggressive actions reflect intentional states (Malti, Gasser, & Buchman, 2009; Malti & Krettenauer, 2013). In fact,

research on moral judgments and emotions in the context of interpersonal victimization has reflected several new lines of research (Arsenio, 2014; Keller, Lourenço, Malti, & Saalbach, 2003; Malti & Ongley, 2014).

MORAL JUDGMENTS AND MORAL EMOTIONS

In developmental psychology, there is a strong tradition for the study of children's and adolescents' moral judgments (Killen & Smetana, 2015; Turiel, 2002) and moral emotions (Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Knafo, in press; Malti & Latzko, 2012). Both are inevitably embedded into, and influenced by, situational factors, including group-level norms, normative group processes, status within the peer group, and social hierarchies. While many of these situational features distinguish contexts of social exclusion from situations involving interpersonal victimization, the boundaries are often fluid, particularly in proximal, real-time processes of peer exclusion and victimization, where peer victimization can easily lead to exclusion as a consequence and vice versa. An emerging literature on the intersection of intergroup exclusion and victimization from an integrative moral developmental and clinical-developmental viewpoint provides a new window into the origins of both phenomena.

Research on moral development in contexts of intergroup exclusion and inclusion has examined judgments and emotions attributed to excluders or excluded individuals and emotion attributions within minority and majority populations. Conceptually, the assumption is that peer groups are likely to influence these judgments and emotions following exclusion in complex ways, especially when children find themselves in the role of the excluder or excluded child. Investigating contexts of intergroup exclusion also elucidate the role of children's emotions and reasoning in their actual exclusive and inclusive behavior (Hitti, Mulvey, Rutland, Abrams, & Killen, 2013). As such, this line of work provides insight into how children negotiate moral

principles of fairness and equality with peer group processes, norms, and functioning. Ultimately, this knowledge can help us understand when intergroup exclusion is viewed as legitimate, how it may manifest in peer interactions, and when peer exclusion is judged as morally wrong and elicits feelings of guilt, remorse, and concern for excluded children.

Yet, despite an increasing number of integrative developmental studies on moral judgments and emotions in contexts of peer exclusion, it is still an evolving field. This line of research has examined judgments and/or emotions attributed to victimizers and victimized children across a variety of situational contexts, such as infliction of physical or psychological harm, the omission of prosocial duties, or unfair treatment (Arsenio, 2014; Malti & Ongley, 2014).

As has been extensively documented, social exclusion and peer victimization are pervasive problems in childhood, leading to negative long-term outcomes. The consequences of social exclusion range from mild anxiety and depressed motivation to academic achievement to social withdrawal and disengagement. Chronic victimization can lead to a number of even more detrimental outcomes, such as persistent psychopathology, low well-being, and low productivity. While the majority of children report experiences of being excluded by their peers at some point during childhood, chronic victimization is more rare, reported by a minority of children, and also more severe. We turn to three sets of models, social reasoning developmental model, developmental theories of social and group identity, and moral emotions clinical developmental theory to report on integrated research on social exclusion and morality.

SOCIAL REASONING DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL (SRD)

Social exclusion has been studied from a Social Developmental Reasoning (SRD) model, that integrates social domain research (Smetana, 2006; Turiel, 2002) with intergroup attitudes,

stemming from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The SRD model provides a framework for investigating social and moral judgments and reasoning regarding social exclusion and the origins of prejudice (Killen & Rutland, 2011; Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010), as well as social identity theory, and specifically developmental theories about how children form group identity, intergroup attitudes, and beliefs about others. Research based on this model has shown how children use reasoning based on conventions, customs, and traditions to justify the exclusion of others, and how reasoning based on fairness, equal treatment, or concern for others to reject forms of social exclusion such as racial and ethnic exclusion.

As an example, when asked about exclusion based on stereotypic expectations (excluding a girl from a baseball club), children at 7, 10, and 13 years of age were likely to reject this form of exclusion and use moral reasons, such as unfairness. When the situation was described as one in which group functioning was threatened, such as including someone who was not talented regarding the goals of the club, however, children condoned exclusion and used group functioning reasons. For example, a 13 year old participant stated that "You should pick the boy for the baseball club because he will know a lot more about baseball than the girls and be better at it." In contrast, another 13-year old asserted that "You should pick the girl because she might be really good at baseball and you should give her a chance; then you'll have more people to choose from." Surprisingly, there were few gender of the participant findings; instead, participants were more likely to view the exclusion of boys from ballet as more legitimate from exclusion of girls from baseball, supporting findings regarding the asymmetry of gender prejudice. As reviewed by Ruble, Martin, and Berenbaum (2006), stereotypes about cross-gender behavior for boys are more rigid than those for girls. This asymmetry pattern for gender

exclusion was also demonstrated in a recent study on the perceived costs for challenging exclusion based on gender stereotypes (Mulvey & Killen, in press).

One implication of this finding is that children who view gender exclusion, for example, as legitimate due to conventional or traditional reasons need to understand that there are times when stereotypes contribute to expectations about group functioning. If girls are assumed to be poor at baseball, then children and adolescents are more likely to allow exclusion based on conventional reasons. In these cases, this form of exclusion involves unfair treatment towards others. Moreover, children's use of conventional reasoning (e.g., "It's okay because the group will be uncomfortable with someone who is different") is often inconsistently applied across various forms of group identity. For example, conventional reasoning to justify exclusion is more common for gender than racial exclusion in the case of clubs at school, in which using race as a reason to not allow someone to join a club is viewed negatively (e.g., "It would be unfair to not include him in the group just because of his race, Killen & Stangor, 2001)

In the case of friendships, however, children and adolescents view personal choice as the basis by which one should decide whom to spend time with during and after school. As has been well documented, cross-race friendships decline with age, and this may be due to the fact that, with age, adolescents' views about both autonomy and group identity increase in salience. Thus, engaging in intimate cross-race relationships such as dating, is both viewed as a personal choice as well as a violation of conventional expectations. Research reveals that group identity, group conventions, and fairness considerations are involved with group-based and peer based exclusion by middle childhood. Determining when these forms of exclusion involve unequal treatment often needs to be identified for children and adolescents, especially when many societal messages reinforce the conventions and customs associated with these forms of exclusion.

Moreover, with age, children recognize that group preferences are different from individual preferences, and that the favorability of a group towards an ingroup member who violates the expectations of the group may result in exclusion by the group members. Thus, even when a child views social exclusion as unfair, they may expect that the group will exclude a deviating member to preserve the identity of the group; with age, children recognize that there often exists a cost to challenging the group (Mulvey, Hitti, Rutland, Abrams, & Killen, 2014).

As described by developmental social identity theories (Abrams & Rutland, 2008), intergroup social exclusion creates specific group-level norms that serve to exclude others and enhance the in-group identity. These groups can be organized along any type of criteria, distinguishing an in-group from an out-group to enhance self-esteem. At the same time, children also rely on societal expectations about groups to create in-groups and out-groups, such as gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, and other categories. These forms of group identification increase with age as children are exposed to a wider range of group biases and stereotypes that permeate most cultures. Determining high and low status for the societally-derived group identities is often derived from the larger societal level. Peer groups, however, also form their own sources of stigma, such as those that exist in adolescence that are created by one group to exclude another group (such as gangs). As has been documented, social hierarchies exist regarding high and low status individuals in both forms of peer exclusion, intergroup and victimization. We turn to developmental theories of social and group identity, which has been informative about how social hierarchies are embedded in children's social interactions and judgments.

DEVELOPMENTAL THEORIES OF SOCIAL AND GROUP IDENTITY

According to social identity theory (SIT), individuals are motivated to make favorable evaluations based on ingroup membership, and are thus more susceptible to expressing outgroup biases (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). SIT was not originally formulated as a developmental model, and a group of SIT trained researchers formulated developmental social identity theories to chart age-related changes in childhood through adolescence (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Nesdale, 2008; Verkuyten, 2007). Nesdale (2004) identified social identity development theory (SIDT) which focuses on the role that context and motivation play in eliciting a particular social identity that leads individuals to favor their ingroup and dislike the outgroup (or both). His model suggests that prejudice depends on how much children identify with their social group, whether the group holds a norm that reflects a prejudicial attitude, and whether the ingroup believes that the outgroup is a threat to their identity.

In their studies, Nesdale and colleagues (2004) have shown that an awareness of group identity emerges prior to group preference and forms of group prejudice. As children get older, they bolster their sense of social identity by excluding outgroup others from their social ingroup (Nesdale, 2004; Verkuyten & Steenhuis, 2005). An important point demonstrated by Nesdale (2004) is that children do not automatically dislike peers from outgroups. Outgroup dislike is a result of contextual conditions being present that create outgroup threat and bias. These conditions include when: a) children identify with their social group; b) prejudice is a norm held by the members of the child's group; c) the in-group members believe that their group is threatened in some way by the members of the outgroup (Nesdale, 2007). Further, Nesdale's research has shown that children pay attention to different levels of norms, distinguishing peer-based from school-based norms about bullying and aggression (Nesdale & Lawson, 2011).

Abrams and Rutland (2008)'s developmental subjective group dynamics (DSGD) model focuses on children's social cognitive competencies that play a role in their age-related understanding of groups and group dynamics. Research from this model has shown that, with age, children focus on group norms to define their group identity more than group membership. This means that group identity is not just whether someone is the same gender, ethnicity, or race, but whether they share the same values and norms. One way to test this form of competence is to determine how children evaluate social inclusion and exclusion. Groups share membership, but they also share norms and values. When a member of the ingroup deviates from the norms of the group, do children view this as a form of disloyalty? If so, are they willing to exclude someone who deviates from the group?

Abrams and Rutland (2008) tested this expectation by asking children whether they differentially evaluated a normative member (someone who espouses a group's norm) and a deviant member (someone who rejects the group's norm). Then, they asked children who they thought the group would prefer to have in their group, a deviant ingroup member (someone who challenged the group norm but shared membership) or an outgroup member who supported the ingroup norm? The example they used in one of their first studies was about norms related to nationality, whether children would expect a group to prefer having an English child in a soccer club who rooted for the German team (deviant in group) or a German child who rooted for the English team (outgroup member supporting the ingroup norm). The findings revealed that, with age, children expected that groups would give priority to norms over membership (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier, & Ferrell, 2009).

One question that arose regarding this set of studies had to do with the type of norm held by a group. Do children treat all norms the same? Social domain theory has demonstrated that

children treat moral norms different from conventional (societal) ones (Smetana, 2006; Turiel, 2002). In a series of collaborative studies, Killen and her colleagues (Killen et al., 2013) found that children had different ideas about whether it is legitimate to deviate from a group when the norm was about equality than when the norm was about modes of dress or conventions. Research by Abrams and Rutland (2008) has revealed the social cognitive developmental changes regarding how children understand group dynamics, particularly the factors that contribute to understanding when groups are favourable or unfavourable towards ingroup members who deviate from group norms, and the contexts that enable children to expect groups to like outgroup members. Abrams and Rutland (2008) refer to social cognitive changes as children's acquisition of "group nous," which is an understanding of the group dynamics associated with social interactions. For example, when children understand that their own perspective on what groups will do or who they will be favourable towards in their in-group may be different from the group's perspective then this is a form of "group nous" (which we elaborate on more below when we discuss integrative perspectives).

Verkuyten and his colleagues (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2001) extended social identity to ethnic relationships and ethnic victimization by conducting investigations to understand whether multicultural education in The Netherlands has been effective for reducing prejudice. They found that the more that majority Dutch adolescents positively evaluated multiculturalism, the likelier they were to view the out-group positively. Conversely, strong endorsement from the minority groups was related to positive ingroup feelings. One of the inferences from his research is that the impact of multicultural education differs for majority and minority groups.

In fact, the way that multiculturalism is taught it is targeted more for minority groups, in celebrating their identity, than for the majority groups, who tend to support assimilation, which is

contrary, in some respect, to integration (assimilation focuses on subsuming one's minority identity to take on the identity of the majority group). More recently, Thijs and Verkuyten (2012) found that the Turkish and Moroccan-Dutch preadolescents who had better relationships with their native Dutch teachers had more positive attitudes towards the Dutch out-group, especially in segregated classrooms. The closeness of the relationship (positive aspects) was more important than the conflicts (negative aspects) that existed for how they viewed their majority ethnic peers. These findings show, again, that context and social relationships make a difference regarding children's ingroup preference and ingroup bias.

The SRD model draws on these developmental theories of SIT by investigating the context of group norms and how children conceptualize these norms. Moreover, developmental theories of SIT have provided a set of issues to investigate concerning intergroup attitudes using social domain categories. For example, subjective group dynamics research has shown that by $6-8$ years of age children develop a dynamic relationship between their judgments about peers within groups and about groups as a whole (i.e., intergroup attitudes; Abrams & Rutland, 2008). Changes in children's social cognition means they can often both exclude a peer because they are from a different social group (i.e., intergroup bias) and exclude a peer from within their group who deviates from the group's social-conventional norms (i.e., intragroup bias), such as increased liking or support of an outgroup member.

An SRD perspective involves examining the social domain of the group norm (is it about fairness or conventions?), the status of group membership (are the groups of equal or unequal status?), and the reasoning by the individual evaluating group dynamics (e.g., is favorability of the group based on moral, conventional, or psychological considerations?). As one example, when groups have norms that violate moral principles of equality, children are favorable to

outgroup members who support equality (Killen et al., 2013). Children use moral reasoning about fairness to explain why they dislike the disloyal in-group member. Yet, with age, children also recognize the cost of challenging the group, and that this will often result in exclusion from the group. This becomes particularly salient in late childhood when group identity is enhanced. Children will often express reluctance to reject a group norm even when it is based on inequality. Understanding group norms and group identity is essential for judging groups that have anti-social norms and for recognizing when these norms should be challenged or changed.

Moreover, the SRD model makes a fundamental difference between excluding someone based on ingroup preference and on the basis of individual traits (e.g., rejecting someone due to individual abilities). The former behavior is connected to group identity, which is part of social development (belonging to groups); the latter behavior is connected to personality traits, in some cases, or personality characteristics that deviate markedly from societal expectations and conventions (i.e., excluding someone who is extremely shy or overly aggressive). Children who are treated differentially due to their group membership (race, gender, religion) face different consequences from those children who are treated differentially due to their social deficits, which, in extreme cases, may be reflective of developmental psychopathology and maladaptive functioning (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006).

As mentioned earlier, intergroup social exclusion often serves as a source of psychological stress for many children which, when experienced extensively, leads to anxiety, depression, and social withdrawal (Rubin et al., 2006). Developmental literature on peer rejection in childhood (e.g., bullying and victimization) has often suggested that victims of exclusion invite rejection by their peers because of specific individual traits, such as shyness or aggressiveness (Rubin et al., 2006). While assessing individual characteristics is important, stereotypic information related to

the victim's social group membership that excluders may attribute to an individual has to be understood as well, given that this source of exclusion does not stem from the excluded individual but from the excluder (Killen et al., 2013).

MORAL EMOTIONS CLINICAL DEVELOPMENTAL THEORY

As mentioned, interpersonal victimization is different from intergroup exclusion. Interpersonal victimization has been studied from the perspective of clinical-developmental theory. Most recently, victimization has been studied from Moral Emotions Clinical-Developmental Theory that integrates Affect-Event and Affect-Cognition models. One goal of this theory has been to explain why children behave aggressively and victimize others, while others refrain from aggression and bullying behavior in peer groups (Malti, 2014; Malti & Ongley, 2014). A basic premise of this theory is that social and moral emotions, such as guilt, empathy, or respect, serve important motivational functions to resolve interpersonal conflict and to understand children's aggression, bullying behavior, and victimization. Because emotions in social and moral situations highlight the negative consequences of acts of victimization and bullying for self and others, they provide insight into children's motivation to engage in, or reframe from, aggression. An interesting and unanswered question, to be described in more detail later, is whether these emotions are related to children's motivation to engage in intergroup exclusion such as prejudice and bias. A study by Sierksma, Thijs, and Verkuyten (in press) is one of the first to examine this relation. However, we first need to examine what is known about individual motivation based on moral emotions.

Developmental researchers have pointed to the relevance of emotions such as guilt and sympathy for understanding the genesis of interpersonal aggression and victimization. Self-conscious moral emotions (i.e., guilt), and other-oriented moral emotions (i.e., sympathy and

respect), are conceptually linked to aggression, violence, and antisocial conduct. These emotions can help children and adolescents link emotional consequences that others face to specific events (e.g., anticipating feeling guilty about hitting another child because he/she will feel sad), as well as to the severity of these events (e.g., hitting another child may have more serious physical and psychological consequences for the child than not helping a child finish homework) (Arsenio, 2014; Arsenio & Lemerise, 2004; Malti, 2014). Developmental research has identified event-related differences in anticipated emotions to self and others. For example, the anticipation of guilt feelings and related emotions differs across domains of social knowledge (Menesini & Camodeca, 2008; Smetana, 2006). This research is essential in understanding the normative development of moral emotions from early childhood to adolescence because it points to situational influences on development, as well as links to experiences of aggression, bullying, and victimization.

The anticipation of moral emotions such as guilt and sympathy also involves coordination of affective experiences with judgments, decision-making, and an understanding of others' intentions (Malti & Ongley, 2014; see Lagattuta, 2014). With age, children develop social-cognitive skills, that help them coordinate their affective responses with their judgments of, and reasoning about, moral events. For example, the anticipation of complex moral emotions, such as guilt, indicates that children can coordinate their judgments of the wrongfulness of the act (e.g., it is not right to hit others) with other-oriented concern (e.g., it hurts), which may produce empathy-induced guilt as a consequential affective state.

According to this integrative clinical-developmental model of moral emotions, both specific types of events as well as links between cognition and affect account for differences in the anticipation of moral and social emotions. This, in turn, has important implications for

children's engagement in aggression and victimization. In line with this theorizing, an absence of

the self-evaluative emotion of guilt following one's own wrongdoing has been associated with

increased levels of aggression and bullying in community-based and clinical samples ranging

from early childhood to early adulthood (Eisner & Malti, in press; Malti & Krettenauer, 2013).

Similarly, low levels of other-oriented concern and sympathy have been shown to be positively

related to aggression and bullying (van Noorden, Haselager, Cillessen, & Bukowski, 2014).

Thus far, links between bullying and victimization, and affective experiences associated

with these events, have been mostly studied in contexts of straightforward moral transgressions,

such as the infliction of harm on another person and stealing desired resources. For example,

much of developmental research on links between aggression and guilt has been conducted in the

happy victimizer paradigm. In this paradigm, children have been presented with hypothetical

moral transgressions, such as stealing another child's chocolate. After presentation of the

transgression, children are typically asked to anticipate the emotions in the role of the victimizer.

One major finding of research using this paradigm is that younger children (i.e., 3- to 4-

year-olds) tend to attribute happy emotions to the self in the role of the victimizer because they

focus on the short-term gains associated with the transgression (i.e., eating chocolate). In

contrast, the majority of older children (i.e., 7- to 8-year-olds and older) tend to attribute sad

emotions to the self in the role of the victimizer (guilt, sadness, or shame) because they

understand the negative long-term consequences of the transgression for the self as victimizer

(e.g., guilt), the other, victimized child (e.g., sadness), and the relationship between victimizer

and victim (e.g., conflict). Despite developmental change in anticipated moral emotions, meta-

analytic evidence indicates that the absence of negative emotion attributions following one's own

transgressions is associated with aggression and bullying, independent of age (Malti &

Krettenauer, 2013).

Another approach to the study of judgments and emotions in contexts of victimization has

been to use narratives of the child's own moral and social experiences (e.g., Wainryb, Brehl, &

Matwin, 2005; Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, Malti, & Gasser, 2010). Because narratives represent

contextualized social interactions, it is likely that moral emotions and moral reasoning are

different for narratives of real-life situations and for hypothetical scenarios (Malti & Ongley,

2014).

Moral emotions clinical-developmental theory has offered a conceptual framework from

which to systematically study affective moral development in relation to bullying and

victimization. The model integrates across past traditions that have focused on the development

of moral emotions, as well as research that has studied interpersonal experiences of bullying and

victimization in the context of peer group interactions. This latter literature typically utilizes

sociometric status as an indicator of being liked or disliked and/or of being popular or unpopular

(i.e., peer acceptance and social status). In the sociometric literature, children who are identified

as involved in bullying behavior and children who are being victimized tend to differ in terms of

social status and dominance (e.g., Olthof, Goossens, Vermande, Aleva, & van der Meulen,

2011). Specifically, if social status is defined as power, victimizers (i.e., bullies) tend to score

higher than children who are being victimized. Bullies are often highly visible in the peer group

and can be seen as popular.

Yet this high status comes with high costs because these children also tend to be disliked

(Cillesen & Rose, 2005). Importantly, this indicates that high status that is solely based on power

and dominance has its limitations when it comes to interpersonal functioning, for instance

establishing and maintaining friendship and mutual respect among peers (see Berndt, 2004).

Thus, emotions and judgments about bullying and victimization are embedded in peer group

dynamics, and peer acceptance and social status influence how children feel and think about

bullying and victimization. This has considerable implications for social development and mental

health outcomes. For example, children with severe levels of aggression may become disliked

and, as a consequence, rejected by their peers. They may also face a lack support from friends,

and/or may be excluded from the peer group. Thus, status and hierarchies in peer groups affect

children's anticipation of emotions and judgments about victimization and exclusion in various

ways, and our paper outlines integrative approaches to account for the role of social status and

hierarchies on judgments and emotions about victimization and exclusion.

The anticipation of social and moral emotions can also highlight the affective

consequences of social exclusion and inclusion. Research examining the emotions attributed to

excluders or excluded individuals in addition to emotion attributions within minority and

majority populations reveals more information about the dynamics of exclusion. Because

contexts of social exclusion are multifaceted, typically involving both moral concerns and

considerations about peer group functioning, peer group norms, and group identity, children and

adolescents are expected to anticipate a wider range of emotions in these contexts (e.g., sadness,

guilt, and shame, as well as pride, happiness and mixed emotions). As peer group norms become

particularly important during adolescence (Abrams et al., 2009), the anticipation of moral

emotions may progress in a less linear fashion from early childhood to late adolescence than in

straightforward moral contexts. For example, it is likely that adolescents attribute pride to

excluders because it serves to maintain peer group functioning and enhance ingroup identity,

which is much less likely going to play a role in contexts of straightforward moral transgressions

(e.g., harming others psychologically or physically). Taken together, these first studies on the intersection are promising and reveal when children may condemn exclusion based on individual characteristics that can be associated with victimization.

In summary, moral emotions theory posits that emotions in moral contexts provide new insights on intergroup attitudes and reveal important information on the motivations that are associated with decision-making, attitudes and (mal) adaptive behaviors. For example, feelings of guilt and sadness help children view bullying, victimization, and intergroup bias as unfair and anticipate negative emotions to the self and others with these events. On the micro level, linking proximal real-time processes of victimization and exclusion with emotional responses can facilitate further understanding of affect-event links and how they affect children's and adolescents' intergroup attitudes and experiences of victimization and exclusion.

INTERVENTIONS FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE AND VICTIMIZATION

Given the negative immediate and long term effects of peer exclusion and victimization on children's well-being, health, and social development, interventions for reducing experiences of peer exclusion and victimization are essential. Yet, interventions designed to ameliorate intergroup social exclusion and interpersonal victimization are quite different, focusing on prejudice reduction for intergroup social exclusion, on the one hand, and social skills training for decreasing interpersonal victimization, on the other hand. Social skills training for decreasing interpersonal victimization is most often focused on the individual traits of a victim or bully that need to be changed to prevent the cycle of abuse. In contrast, reducing prejudice that results from intergroup exclusion requires changing attitudes of the group, often the group with high status, reflecting the majority. When one form of exclusion reflects both intergroup attitudes and lack of

social competence, however, the form of intervention may need to be multi-method, that is focused on both group-level and individual-level strategies.

One of the most significant factors in reducing prejudice is intergroup contact, a group-level form of intervention. Intergroup contact alone, however, does not necessarily reduce prejudice or improve intergroup relationships. The optimal conditions that must be met for contact with members of outgroups to reduce prejudice include equal status, common goals, authority sanctions (supporting mutual respect) and cross-group friendships (such as cross-race friendships; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Meta-analyses by Tropp and Prenovost (2008) with children, adolescents, and adults reveal that cross-group friendships is the most significant predictor for prejudice reduction among majority or high status groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008). The interpretation is that being friends with someone from an "outgroup" helps children to challenge stereotypes that they encounter in the culture ("My friend is not like that").

Moreover, the affiliation and friendship creates positive bonds that lead to a new common ingroup identity (e.g., "We both like music"). Research has shown that intergroup contact in the form of cross-group friendships increases the use of moral reasoning to reject racial exclusion (Crystal, Killen, & Ruck, 2008) and reduces the use of stereotypes to justify exclusion (Killen, Kelly, Richardson, Crystal, & Ruck, 2010). Moreover, longitudinal studies with Turkish and German children have shown that cross-group friendships are related to an increase in positive ethnic attitudes towards the outgroup by the majority (German) group (Feddes, Noack, & Rutland, 2009; Jugert, Noack, & Rutland, 2011). Recent debates have arisen regarding the effectiveness of intergroup contact for minority or low-status individuals (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). While intergroup contact enables high status group members to affiliate with

low-status members, it does not necessarily empower or engage low-status members to improve their social status. From a developmental science perspective, however, it has been argued that cross-group friendships in childhood may be even more powerful than in adulthood, because these experiences have the potential to inhibit the acquisition of stereotypes for both majority and minority participants.

Direct and indirect forms of contact have been shown to be effective in reducing prejudice and bias. While direct contact (friendships) is most effective, indirect contact in the form of reading stories about interracial or intergroup peers (Cameron & Rutland, 2006) serve as explicit parental messages to support the goals of respect and inclusiveness, and the teaching of the historical context for how and why a group comes to be associated with low status (through maintaining hierarchical status and economic viability) reduces discriminatory attitudes (Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Hughes, Bigler, & Levy, 2007). Moreover, studies in which children have been organized into new groups identified by an overarching identity (common ingroup identity) has been shown to be effective (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005).

In contrast, interventions for reducing chronic victimization and bullying are typically either targeted with a focus on at-risk and/or high-risk populations and emphasize the promotion of social skills, and/or they implement a whole-school approach to prevent and reduce bullying and victimization in school contexts (Strohmeier & Noam, 2012). Intervention research indicates that effective programs often utilize both prevention and intervention strategies. For example, bullying and victimization prevention and intervention programs often targets bullies, victimizers, and bystanders at the general level which includes children designated as "average" in terms of friendships but who are vulnerable. This is done because of the recognition that bullying is a peer group phenomenon and that silent bystanders perpetuate bullying behavior

(Salmivalli, 2010; see Olweus, 1993). Effective bullying intervention therefore requires not only

immediate interventions by peers or teachers and/or social skills training with individual

children, but prevention and intervention strategies at the classroom and school level, such as

changes in school climate and the promotion of a safe school environment.

INTEGRATING GROUP-LEVEL AND INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL MODELS

In complex social situations the boundaries between peer exclusion and victimization often

overlap. For example, even chronic victimization that involves one individual child as a target

often involves various group processes and norms at the level of the classroom, grade, and/or

school (e.g., bias, prejudice). This speaks to the need for a three-tiered framework that addresses

the necessity to change norms on the large scale (i.e., a whole-school approach), as well as

targeted strategies to reduce victimization and incidences of bullying among children. Research

supports the notion that chronic victimization and serious bullying need more intense, targeted

treatment, often involving multiple referrals and multidisciplinary services. In order to

effectively reduce social exclusion and interpersonal victimization in school contexts, a

combined intervention approach seems warranted. Such an intervention approach should address

norms to help reduce stereotypes and bias and to promote principles of fairness, inclusion, and

respect on a large scale, and include "best practices" evidence-based intervention techniques to

reduce bullying and victimization and increase mental health.

A few recent studies have examined children's knowledge about social exclusion based on

behavior or personality characteristics (Ojala & Nesdale, 2004). What these studies have in

common is that they examine exclusion based on individual characteristics, such as personality

or behavioral characteristics that are associated with victimization and bullying. For example,

Malti and colleagues (2012) examined 12- and 15-year-old Swiss and non-Swiss adolescents'

judgments and emotion attributions about social exclusion and how these vary when exclusion is based on different characteristics of the excluded individual, including nationality, gender, and personality (i.e., shyness) (Malti, Killen, & Gasser, 2012). Adolescents judged exclusion based on nationality as less acceptable than exclusion based on personality. Non-Swiss adolescents, who reflected newly immigrated children to Switzerland, viewed exclusion based on nationality as more wrong than did Swiss nationals, and attributed more positive emotions to the excluder than did Swiss children. These findings revealed the interrelationships of moral judgments and emotion attributions, as well as the distinction children made between intergroup and interpersonal exclusion.

In a series of studies, Gasser and his colleagues (2014) studied judgments and emotion attributions about the exclusion of disabled children (Gasser, Malti, & Buholzer, 2013, 2014). Based on a sample of 442 children from Switzerland, the researchers studies how 6-, 9-, and 12-year-old children judge and feel about exclusion based on disabilities (Gasser et al., 2014). Overall, the majority of children judged as morally wrong to exclude children with mental or physical disabilities. Yet, participants were less likely to expect the inclusion of children with mental or physical disabilities in academic and athletic contexts compared to social contexts. As shown in Figures 1a and 1b, 6-year-old children did not coordinate situational context with disability type when making decisions about inclusion and exclusion of children with physical disability and attributing emotions to excluders. In contrast, 9- and 12-year-olds differentiated athletic from social contexts when making decisions about exclusion and anticipating moral emotions when excluding children with physical disabilities. With age, children were less likely to expect the inclusion of children with physical disabilities in athletic contexts, and they attributed less moral emotions to excluders in athletic than social contexts for situations

describing children with physical disabilities. These findings resonate with studies on social exclusion based on race and ethnicity. They indicate that children sometimes judge it as right to exclude children with certain individual characteristics in relevant contexts because they balance group norms with moral considerations when evaluating exclusion. Emotion attributions to excluders may reveal underlying biases because these emotions reflect the anticipated ambivalence in contexts in which peer group norms and moral norms collide. Importantly, these biases do not seem to decrease but rather increase with age, suggesting that group considerations become increasingly important in middle and late childhood. Interestingly, children with high levels of sympathy towards children with disabilities were more likely to report frequent contact with children with disabilities (Gasser et al., 2013). This finding shows that the anticipation of other-oriented emotions to out-group peers (e.g., sympathy, respect) may support intergroup relationships and decrease bias (Malti, Zuffianò, Cui, Colasante, Peplak, & Bae, 2015).

Recently, Sierksma and colleagues (in press) examined children's intergroup helping intentions, which is the positive side of intergroup relationships. Based on a large sample of children, findings revealed that in low need situations and when helping behavior was public, children intended to help out-group peers more than in-group peers. When the need was relatively high, children's empathy concerns outweighed children's group norm considerations. This study reveals one way in which moral emotions, such as empathy, provide motivation for intergroup helping behavior, a connection not previously made in the literature. Future research may help to clarify if and when judgments of exclusion based on individual characteristics (e.g., mental disability) are associated with interpersonal rejection and victimization as well the role emotions play, such as empathy, in reducing ingroup preference and bias.

In another set of studies, Hitti and her colleagues (Hitti & Killen, under review; Hitti,

Malti, & Killen, in prep) investigated three factors, group norms, individual characteristics, and stereotypes that contributed to intergroup exclusion based on ethnic membership. Specifically, non-Arab American adolescents evaluated inclusive decisions by their own group or the "out-group" to invite a member to join who was the same ethnic group but had different interests from the group (e.g., music and sports) or the "other" ethnic group with the same interests. The goal was to determine whether participants gave priority to ethnicity, a group-level factor, or shared (or lack of) interests, which was an individual-level factor. There were two conditions, group norms that were inclusive ("We like others who are different from us.") and exclusive ("We like others who are similar to us.").

As shown in Figure 2, the findings indicated that when both groups have exclusive norms, non-Arab American adolescents expected their own group would be inclusive but that Arab-American peers would base their decisions on cultural identity, preferring other Arab peers, even when they had different interests over non-Arab American peers with the same interests. This type of asymmetry in group-level expectations can perpetuate ethnic segregation, unfortunately. This is because when children and adolescents expect members of an "outgroup" to be exclusive they are less likely to initiate integrated social encounters with the anticipation of rejection. This outcome is even more likely when the majority "high status," group holds an expectation that the minority, "low status," group will be exclusive. Moreover, participants who reported stereotypes expected their in-group to be less inclusive, and age-based exclusion increased with age. The relationship of stereotypic attributions to exclusive behaviour reflects another factor contributing to segregated interactions in early development.

In a follow-up study with the same design, results on emotion attributions indicated that with age, adolescents attributed more positive emotions, more apathy and less sadness to ethnic

outgroups in the context of intergroup exclusion than did younger adolescents, suggesting that emotion attributions provides another window into understanding the dynamics of social exclusion (Hitti, Malti, & Killen, in prep).

In summary, moral concerns are clearly involved in both contexts of peer exclusion and victimization. Both contexts concern principles of justice, others' welfare, and care, and both require children and adolescents to distinguish, reflect upon, and balance group functioning, moral norms, and self-oriented interests. In children's everyday interactions with peers, the boundaries of these contexts often overlap, thus emphasizing the need to understand the complex interplay between moral concerns, individual desires and needs, and group processes more completely.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we aimed to deepen our understanding of social exclusion and victimization by discussing individual-group relationships and the role of social hierarchies, context, and attributions of emotions and intentions of others in social exclusion and victimization. We reviewed both theoretical accounts and lines of research on exclusion and victimization, as well as research at the intersection of these considerations, as this integrative research will be particularly useful for identifying best practices and intervention strategies to address exclusion and victimization. More recent research at the intersection of these two lines of work is particularly promising, and future research that systematically investigates similarities and differences in children's reasoning about, and emotions associated with, experiences of social exclusion and victimization will help refine and contribute to this integrative approach.

It is clear that the boundaries between experiences of exclusion and bullying are difficult to disentangle. For example, if a child bullies others in an extreme way, it is likely that this child is

being rejected and excluded from the peer group at some point. Children who are being excluded because of their ethnic group membership might become increasingly angry or disengaged over time, which may lead to increasing intergroup tension and/or bullying incidents. Therefore, combining these two lines of research will contribute to the question when the boundaries between exclusion and victimization become difficult to differentiate, how children and adolescents think and feel about exclusion and victimization based on individual characteristics (e.g., shyness), and if and how combined experiences of exclusion and victimization have negative cumulative effects on children's development and long-term health outcomes.

Longitudinal approaches appear particularly useful since they can address questions of when and how exclusion and victimization overlap over the developmental course, how hierarchies and status differences change over time and affect role changes (e.g., from being excluded to being included), and how changes in group processes and individual development contribute to exclusion and victimization. Given that actual bullying or exclusion stories are often complex, it will also be important in future research to carefully assess and identify the excluder or excluded, and/or the victim or victimizer.

Ultimately, this work can also contribute to the question of whether psychological interventions against bullying in childhood and adolescence become more effective if social exclusion at large is addressed, and why. It is important to emphasize that the relations between experiences of exclusion and victimization are intertwined, as they involve societal structures that can contribute to contradictions, ambivalence, and conflict. This is because incidents of exclusion and victimization reflect, in part, social hierarchies and status differences among individuals. These differences can be subtle at the surface, but tend to have their roots in the different environmental conditions in which children grow up, and, at a larger scale, in social

inequalities. With respect to experiences of peer exclusion, hierarchies may be entrenched in stigma that stems from societal markers (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender), unequal opportunities, economic inequalities, and/or cultural boundaries. With respect to experiences of victimization, status differences may emerge because of power imbalances between the bully and the victim, which inherently affect dynamics of social interaction and how bullies treat potential victims and observing, third-party peers.

Facilitating the development of these principles in childhood and adolescence is important beyond the absence of extreme bullying and victimization. Morality in the form of promoting equality, mutual respect, and fairness creates healthy societies. Cultures that are solely based on power-induced status differences and hierarchies are ultimately limited and contradict humans' basic needs for freedom, mutual respect, and for reaching one's potential (Appiah, 2005; Nussbaum, 1999; Sen, 2009). Extreme cases of social exclusion and victimization of children creates the conditions for inequality and inequity throughout development, contributing to discontent and turmoil among social relationships in adulthood (Abrams & Killen, 2014). Thus, integrating theoretical and empirical approaches to the study of peer exclusion and victimization has great potential to advance our understanding of what, when, and why these experiences matter for maladaptive and adaptive outcomes, and how we can best intervene to reduce their occurrence and potential long-term negative impact.

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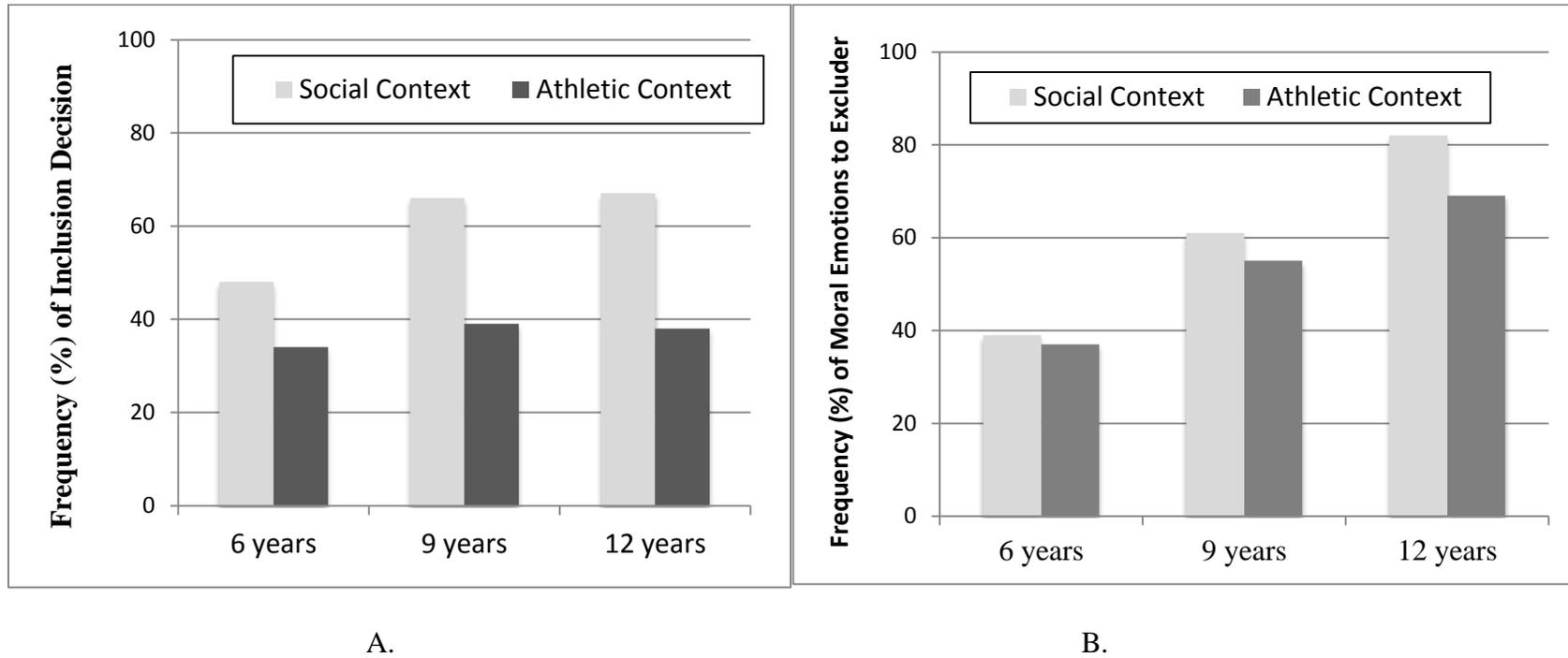
Figure Captions

Figure 1a. Reprinted data from Gasser, Malti, and Buholzer (2014). Expected Decision About Inclusion of Children With Physical Disabilities By Age Group and Situational Context (i.e., Social vs. Athletic).

Figure 1b. Reprinted data from Gasser, Malti, and Buholzer (2014). Expected Moral Emotions to Excluders of Children With Physical Disabilities by Age Group and Situational Context (i.e., Social vs. Athletic).

Figure 2. Reprinted data from Hitti and Killen (in press). Group Inclusion Judgments for Both Targets by Ethnic Group Identity and Group Norm.

A.

B.

Figure 1a.   Reprinted data from Gasser, Malti, and Buholzer (2014): Expected Decision About Inclusion of Children With Physical Disabilities By Age Group and Situational Context (i.e., Social vs. Athletic).

Figure 1b.   Reprinted data from Gasser, Malti, and Buholzer (2014): Expected Moral Emotions to Excluders of Children With Physical Disabilities by Age Group and Situational Context (i.e., Social vs. Athletic).
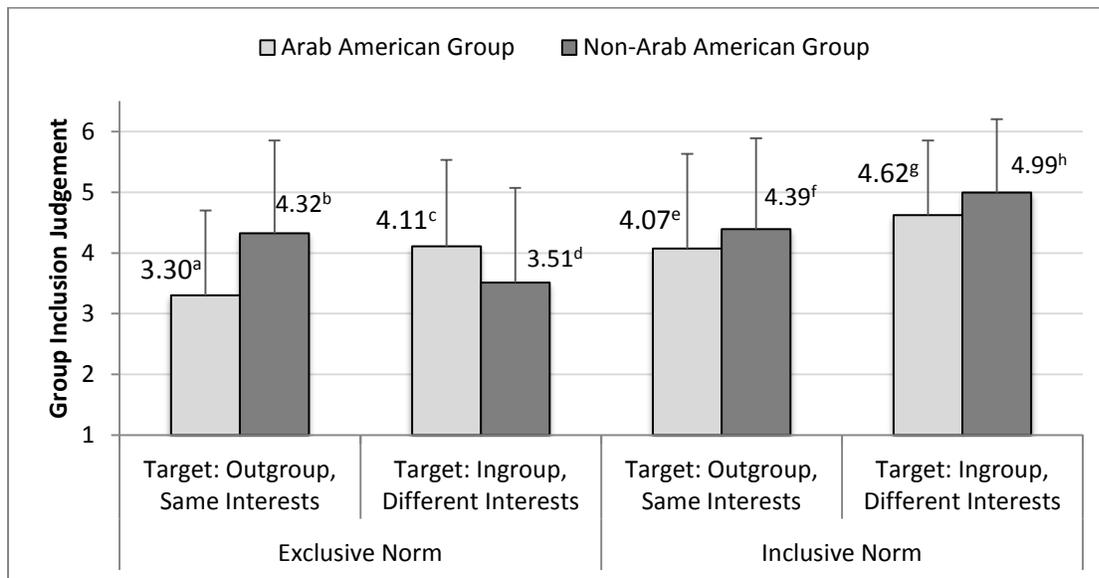
Figure 2. Reprinted from Hitti and Killen (in press), TBA. Group Inclusion Judgments for Both Targets by Ethnic Group Identity and Group Norm. *Note: Inclusion judgments were made on a Likert-type scale, 1=Really not likely, to 6 = Really likely. Error bars represent standard deviations.*

[a] n.s. compared with 3.5 midpoint inclusion judgment

[b] $t(99) = 5.47, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.55$

[c] $t(97) = 4.19, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.42$

[d] n.s. compared with 3.5 midpoint inclusion judgment

[e] $t(97) = 3.60, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.36$

[f] $t(98) = 5.57, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.56$

[g] $t(99) = 9.20, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.92$

[h] $t(97) = 11.31, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 1.00$