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Social Judgments and Emotion Attributions about Exclusion in Switzerland

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Abstract

Adolescents' social judgments and emotion attributions about exclusion in three contexts, nationality, gender, and personality, were measured in a sample of 12- and 15-year-old Swiss and non-Swiss adolescents ($N = 247$). Overall, adolescents judged exclusion based on nationality as less acceptable than exclusion based on gender or personality. Non-Swiss participants, however, who reflected newly immigrated children to Switzerland, viewed exclusion based on nationality as more wrong than did Swiss participants, and attributed more positive emotions to the excluder than did Swiss participants. Girls viewed exclusion in nationality and personality contexts as less legitimate than boys, and they attributed less positive emotions to excluder target in the nationality context than did boys. The findings extend existing research on exclusion by focusing on both emotion attributions as well as judgments, and by investigating exclusion in a sample with a recent immigrant group.

Keywords: Social Judgments, Emotion Attributions, Exclusion, Adolescents

Social Judgments and Emotion Attributions about Exclusion in Switzerland

In an increasingly multi-cultural society, understanding how young people think and feel about social exclusion is important for enhancing social integration and reducing discrimination. Social exclusion has been investigated by assessing how children and adolescents evaluate a group's decision to exclude someone from the group on the basis of gender, race, or nationality (Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier, & Ferrell, 2009; Killen et al., 2007). Social-domain research has studied adolescents' judgments and reasoning about exclusion to understand how adolescents coordinate moral, social conventional, and personal knowledge when evaluating social events (Killen, 2007), and has shown that with age, participants are more likely to use group functioning reasons (social conventional) to justify exclusion, particularly based on gender, and to a much lesser degree based on race. Further, ethnic minority groups view interracial exclusion, for example, as more wrong than do ethnic majority groups in the U.S. context (Killen et al., 2007).

Investigating judgments about national identity provides new ways to think about exclusion, particularly with recent discussions about immigrant status which reflects a national ingroup/outgroup distinction (Fuligni, Hughes, & Way, 2009). A few examples have focused on exclusion of Muslim adolescents in the Netherlands (Gieling, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2010), Denmark (Moller & Tenenbaum, in press) and the U.K. (Abrams & Rutland, 2008). In this study, then, we examined how Swiss children evaluate exclusion based on nationality and gender, and how participants weighed various sources of influence, such as peers and parents, for decisions about exclusion. Conducting the research in a new cultural context is important given that immigration patterns have contributed to social exclusion around the globe (Pfeifer, Ruble, Bachman, Alvarez, Cameron, & Fuligni, 2007).

Most research on social exclusion has measured judgments and attitudes, focusing on how individuals evaluate the act of exclusion (legitimacy ratings) and the target of exclusion (favorability ratings). While a robust research area has focused on emotion attributions

(Arsenio, Gold, & Adams, 2006; Malti & Latzko, 2010, in press; Turiel & Killen, 2010), very little research, to date, has examined the emotions attributed to excluders or excluded individuals and emotion attributions within minority and majority populations. Thus, we investigated Swiss and non-Swiss nationals' judgments, reasons, and emotion attributions about exclusion. We measured evaluations of exclusion based on three categories: 1) nationality, 2) gender, and 3) personality traits. We were interested in exclusion based on nationality and gender due to the issues of prejudice associated with these categories. We included exclusion based on a personality trait (shyness) to provide a contrast to group membership categories, such as nationality and gender, given that attributions of psychological categories such as personality traits are often used to justify exclusion (Salmivalli & Peets, 2009).

Social Exclusion based on Nationality

The current study focused on Switzerland, which presented a set of factors that reflect the newly mobile landscape in Europe. To date, Switzerland has one of the highest immigration rates on the continent. According to the 2000 census, 22.4 percent of the total population of 7.4 million is foreign born, and 20.5 percent are foreigners, defined as persons with a foreign nationality (Efionayi, Niederberger, & Wanner, 2005). The proportion of foreigners in the population has steadily increased since 1950, when only 6 percent of the people had Swiss nationality. While Switzerland was a destination for employment-seeking French, Germans, and Italians, it recently (i.e., in the first decade of the 21st century) became home to an entirely new set of immigrants, mostly refugees and asylum seekers from areas outside of what was traditionally defined as Europe, specifically, ex-Yugoslavia, the Middle East, Asia, and Africa.

Thus, social exclusion in an immigrant context is a salient issue in Switzerland, and issues like soaring numbers of asylum applications and anti-immigrant sentiment have increasingly influenced public debate, which have implications for children and families.

Switzerland has held several widely-discussed initiatives concerning immigration issues, including the most recent minaret ban approved in referendum. Simultaneously, confidence by Swiss nationals in the integration potential of schools and the labor market has recently declined, especially since research has shown the discrimination foreigners and their children experience (Efionay et al., 2005). For example, immigrant children face disadvantages in school that native Swiss children do not (Coradi, Vellacott & Wolter, 2002).

Thus, the recent pattern of social exclusion in Switzerland presented a new context to examine how children evaluate exclusion, and specifically exclusion involving peers from a newly immigrated population, non-Swiss nationals. What makes this context salient has to do with the strong national group identity which has existed for several centuries in Switzerland. Although there is not a longstanding history of conflict between Swiss nationals and central European immigrants, these minority and majority groups in Switzerland have thus experienced cultural tensions. These tensions stem from economic and educational disadvantages and the media coverage of youth crime by foreigners, which has led the Swiss to re-debate integration issues surrounding the country's large foreign population.

In this study, nationality was incorporated into the design in two ways, first as the participant variable (participants who were Swiss and non-Swiss nationals) and, second, as the target of exclusion (exclusion based on nationality, as well as gender and personality). We chose to focus on exclusion based on Serbian nationality because foreigners from the Balkan region are a stigmatized immigrant group in Switzerland. This has to do with the social and political events of the Balkan region in the 1990s, particularly the collapse of Yugoslavia and the wars that followed initially. Between 1990 and 2002, the number of migrants from the war-torn Balkans strongly increased (Efionayi et al., 2005). The Swiss public became concerned about the increasing numbers of asylum applications, especially because the economy was in recession. Although most asylum seekers returned home, immigrants from the Balkan region continue to face a negative image in public.

To date, exclusion based on national identity has become an increasingly salient focus in the research literature (Abrams et al., 2009; Bennett & Fabi, 2008; Verkuyten, 2001), and Switzerland provides another context for investigation to better understand this phenomenon. The knowledge gained from this investigation will contribute to an emerging body of research aimed to understand the impact of immigration patterns on children's social development in countries throughout Europe and other parts of the world (Bennett & Sani, 2004; Levy & Killen, 2008; Pfeifer et al., 2007).

Social Exclusion based on Gender

In addition, we were interested in investigating exclusion based on gender. This was chosen as another focus for exclusion because previous research has shown that gender constitutes a category of exclusion beginning in early childhood and throughout childhood and adolescence (Liben & Bigler, 2002; Minow, 1990). Although it is not known how Swiss female and male adolescents judge and reason about gender issues, research in the U.S. has shown that children justify gender exclusion on the basis of social conventions, traditions, and customs, as well as stereotypic expectations, unlike exclusion based on ethnicity which is viewed as wrong due to concerns about inequality (Killen et al., 2002). While gender issues are not as prominent in the Swiss media to the same extent as concerns about immigrants, gender inequalities remain pervasive in Switzerland. For example, women's occupational opportunities still lag behind those of men, and there is a highly stable occupational sex-segregation in the Swiss labor market as well as unequal pay based on gender (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2009). Additionally, Switzerland was the last republic to grant women's sufrage; women received the right to vote only as recently as 1971. The political and social history surrounding gender inequality makes it likely that gender is a salient context to study exclusion in Switzerland. How Swiss nationals and immigrant children view gender exclusion is not known and provides a comparison to exclusion based on nationality.

Social Exclusion based on Personality Traits

The interest in including exclusion based on personality traits stemmed from the peer relations literature in which the predominant focus for understanding bully-victim relationships is on measuring individual differences concerning personality profiles (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006). Children who are extremely shy or aggressive are at risk for peer rejection (Bierman, 2004). In the peer relations literature, then, the focus is less on intergroup attitudes that contribute to prejudice and more on what it is about an individual child's social skills deficit that contributes to patterns of exclusion. Because a recent study found that Korean and U.S. children and adolescents viewed exclusion based on group membership as more wrong than exclusion based on personality traits (Park & Killen, 2010), we included exclusion based on shyness as a comparison to nationality and gender.

The Present Study

Thus, we investigated judgments and emotion attributions about exclusion in Switzerland for three types of exclusion: nationality, gender, and personality. Our first set of hypotheses were that participants would view exclusion based on nationality and gender as more wrong and unfair than exclusion based on personality traits, and that they would view exclusion based on nationality as the most wrong form of exclusion.

Our second set of hypotheses was focused on our assessments about whether peer and parental pressure to exclude were influential on participants' evaluations. We expected that participants would be more critical of peer and parental pressure in the nationality and gender contexts in contrast to the personality context (Park & Killen, 2010). Regarding differences based on one's own nationality, we expected that children in the ethnic minority group would view exclusion based on national group membership as more wrong than their Swiss counterparts. Based on previous findings, we expected that girls would view exclusion based on gender as more wrong than boys. We also expected that non-Swiss participants and girls would be more critical of peer and parental pressure in the nationality and gender contexts in contrast to the personality context than Swiss participants. This expectation stemmed from the

negative images that have been presented regarding immigrants and ethnic minority individuals in Switzerland as well as personal experiences of exclusion by non-Swiss and female participants.

The third set of hypotheses concerned the emotions attributed in contexts of social exclusion. Past research with young children has revealed the "happy victimizer" effect in which young children attribute positive emotions to victimizers who receive benefits from bullying (e.g., such as getting the swing when they push someone off) (Arsenio et al., 2006; Krettenauer, Malti, & Sokol, 2008). This pattern dissipates by 8-9 years of age. We expected that a version of this effect may appear in adolescence, however, with situations in which excluding someone results in strengthening the group identity. Thus, we expected that participants would attribute positive emotions to excluders in the nationality and gender contexts, and particularly so from the ethnic majority sample and groups with high social status (i.e., boys).

We also tested whether participants attributed a wider range of emotions to excluders than to excluded targets. For example, emotions such as happiness and pride have been associated with nationality and group identity, and anger has been associated with identification with the excluded target. Typically, emotion attributions have been measured in two ways: First, the strength of basic emotions (i.e., how happy or sad you are, e.g., Krettenauer & Eichler, 2006), which has revealed age-related differences, and, second, the content of emotions (i.e., to see the different and more complex types of emotions, e.g., Arsenio, Adams, & Gold, 2009). We measured both strength and content of emotion attributions to capture both strength of more basic emotions (i.e., happy versus sad) as well as different types of positive emotions (i.e., happiness versus pride). Given the lack of previous research on emotion attributions regarding exclusion, it was an open question what types of emotions the majority or minority group attribute to the excluder. On the one hand, Swiss-nationals, as the majority group, identifying with the majority group member's decision to

exclude a minority member, might attribute positive emotions, such as being proud, more than would the minority group. On the other hand, non-Swiss nationals, identifying with the minority group, might attribute sad emotions to the excluder, viewing the role of excluder as stemming from malevolent motives. Likewise, boys, as the high social status group, might attribute more positive emotions to excluders than would girls.

The fourth set of hypotheses concerned the *reasoning* for judgments about exclusion and the emotions attributed to excluders and excluded targets (Malti & Latzko, 2010). While adolescents may view exclusion as wrong, their reasons for exclusion and their attributions of emotions reveal underlying biases that contribute to patterns of exclusion. Based on previous research, we expected the reasoning for the wrongfulness of exclusion to be based on moral considerations, and that with age, justifications based on conventions would also be used to justify exclusion (Gieling et al., 2010; Moller & Tenenbaum, in press; Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010). Additionally, we expected that justifications for the excluded target would mostly refer to the promotion of inclusion and empathy, independent of nationality, gender, and age of participations. Previous social-domain studies have measured sub-categories of the moral domain, including fairness, equality, equity, as well as empathetic and prosocial obligations and sub-categories for the conventional domain such as traditions, customs, and group functioning (Smetana, 2006).

We expected that adolescents would use more empathy/inclusion justifications than fairness reasons for the excluded target. This hypothesis was based on previous research which has shown that children use empathy when reasoning about victims of moral transgressions (Keller, Lourenço, Malti, & Saalbach, 2003). In addition, we expected that the minority group (i.e., non-Swiss; girls) would use more inclusive/empathetic reasons than the majority group (i.e., Swiss; boys) because the former is likely to have experienced exclusion which may increase sensitivity towards issues of exclusion and the associated feelings (Turiel,

2002). This expectation was drawn from prior research with ethnic minority adolescents in the

U.S. (Crystal et al., 2008).

     To examine age-related effects, we sampled two age groups: 11–12-year olds and 14–

15-year olds. Research has shown that with age, national identity becomes important to

children and serves as a basis for exclusion of others, depending on the status of minority

groups who are targets of exclusion, and the stereotypic expectations of different groups

depending on the history and status of groups within a cultural context. As a more complex

understanding of groups develops throughout adolescence (Horn, 2003), we predicted that

younger adolescents would view exclusion as less acceptable and attribute more negative

emotions to excluders than older adolescents. It was expected that with age, participants

would reject parental pressure to exclude others, but that viewpoints about peer pressure to

exclude would differ depending on the majority or minority perspective.

     Finally, we tested the relationship between evaluations of exclusion and emotion

attributions to the excluder and excluded child. Based on prior research on the relation

between judgments and emotion attributions in the context of moral transgressions (Malti,

Gasser, & Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, 2010), we hypothesized positive judgments of exclusion

to be associated with higher attributions of positive emotions to an excluder and excluded

target.

Method

Participants

     The sample included 247 preadolescents and adolescents attending two public schools

in central Switzerland, outside of Lucerne. There were 134 5th and 6th graders ($M = 12.14$

years, $SD = 0.75$) including 70 girls (52%), and 113 8th and 9th graders ($M = 14.71$ years, $SD = 0.80$) including 56 girls (50%). Sixty-five percent of the sample were Swiss citizens (referred

to as Swiss nationals), and 35% were of other, non-Swiss nationalities (referred to as non-

Swiss nationals), reflecting the distribution of backgrounds in the schools. We collected data

from schools with high rates of immigrants. The non-Swiss participants in this sample were from predominantly European countries. The largest region represented for the non-Swiss nationality group in the schools, and reflected in this sample (14%), was a combined total of participants from the following countries from the Balkan region: Serbia, Albania, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

All participants attended public schools with the same ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds (middle to low-middle income backgrounds as determined by the school district school records). Parental permission forms were distributed at school and all students who were given parental permission to participate were included in the study, which reflected a 98% return rate. Permission from the school principals and teachers were obtained as well.

Design and Overview of Assessments

The study used a within-participants design; all participants received the Social Exclusion Task: Judgments and Emotions (Malti, Killen, & Gasser, 2009), which was a modification of a prior exclusion interview task (Killen & Stangor, 2001). The instruments were developed in English and translated to German by the first and third authors who are bilingual (English and German); thus, both English and German versions of the instruments are available. The instrument was administered in German; all non-Swiss participants were fluent in German. There were three measurement sections: 1) *Judgment* and *Emotion Attributions* (*Likert* (6-point scale, 1 = not at all okay/very bad feelings, 6 = very much okay/ very good feelings), 2) *Content of Emotion Attribution* (responses to different emotions, i.e., proud, happy, sad, neutral, angry, fearful, guilty, ashamed, empathetic; 0 = not crossed, 1 = crossed), and 3) *Justification* (responses to "Why?"). Two identical versions, except for the gender of the protagonists, were administered (versions matched the gender of the participant).

Social exclusion vignettes. There were three vignettes, each representing one of three targets of exclusion, administered to all participants: 1) *Gender*, exclusion based on gender

(female; boys excluding a girl from gymnastics); 2) *Personality*, exclusion based on

personality characteristics (shy personality; theater students excluding a shy peer from a

theater club); and 3) *Nationality*, exclusion based on nationality (Serbian nationality; Swiss

excluding a Serbian peer from attending a soccer game). The story order was held constant

(gender, personality, nationality), following previous research in which the least likely to be

condoned form of exclusion was described last to avoid creating a negative response pattern

across all three stories (Killen et al., 2002).

The vignette for the nationality target was as follows:

"Michael and some of his friends are going to a soccer game; Switzerland is playing against

Serbia. Milan, a Serbian boy, and Markus, a Swiss boy, both want to join the game. Both

know a lot about soccer. There is only one more ticket for the game. Michael and his friends

invite the Swiss boy Markus to come along to the soccer game because they want to keep it a

Swiss group who goes to see the match."

The Serbian nationality served as the nationality target group for the exclusion

vignette because this category reflects a recently immigrated, same - race group to

Switzerland which has experienced exclusion at the societal level, discrimination and tensions

(OECD, 2006). Rather than try to match the excluded target with the participant, which would

result in participants evaluating different targets (creating different associations and various

levels of familiarity), we controlled for the target identification and chose a target that all

children recognized as one reflecting a recent immigrant with patterns of discrimination at the

societal level, and that represented the group reflecting the highest proportion of recent

immigrant children in the school system.

Judgment and emotion attributions. For each vignette, participants were asked to

make judgments and attribute emotions states for the excluder and the excluded individual

(based on a modification of an instrument by Killen et al., 2002, for judgments, and Malti,

Gummerum, Keller, & Buchmann, 2009, for emotion attributions). Six items referred to the

excluder's *judgments* and evaluations: 1) *Evaluation of the Exclusion* ("Is it all right or not all right for Michael and his friends to not let Milan join the soccer game because he is Serbian?" *Likert; 1 = not at all okay to 6 = very much okay*); 2) *Justifications for the Evaluation of the Exclusion* ("Why?"); 3) *Parental Influence* ("What if Michael's parents say that it's all right for them to not let Milan join because he is Serbian. Would it be okay then to not let him join?" *Likert; 1 = not at all okay to 6 = very much okay*); and 4) *Justification for Parental Influence* ("Why?"); 5) *Peer Influence* ("What if the other kids who want to join the game think that they should not let Milan join because he is Serbian. Would it be okay then to not let him join?" *Likert; 1 = not at all okay to 6 = very much okay*); and 6) *Justification for Peer Influence* ("Why?").

Six items referred to the *attribution of emotions of the excluder* or excluded targets (derived from Malti et al., 2009): 1) *Emotion Attribution of Excluder* ("How do you think Michael will feel when he decides to exclude Milan? *Likert; 1 = very bad to 6 = very good*); 2) *Justifications for the Emotion Attribution of Excluder* ("Why?"); 3) *Content of Emotion Attribution Excluder* ("Can you please check the feeling that best reflects Michaels's feelings? You may check one or two emotions"; proud, happy, sad, neutral, angry, fearful, guilty, ashamed, empathetic; 0 = not crossed, 1 = crossed); and 4) *Emotion Attribution of Excluded Child* ("And how does Milan feel when he will not be invited to the soccer game? *Likert; 1 = very bad to 6 = very good*); 5) *Justification for the Emotion Attribution of Excluded Child* ("Why?"); and 6) *Content of Emotion Attribution of Excluded Child* ("Can you please check the feeling that best reflects Milan's feelings? You may check one or two emotions"; proud, happy, sad, neutral, angry, fearful, guilty, ashamed, empathetic; 0 = not crossed, 1 = crossed).

Procedure

Three trained research assistants distributed questionnaires to the children during a school hour for approximately 45 minutes. Children were informed that there were no right or

wrong answers. All open-ended questions for the questionnaire were transcribed and coded

for analysis.

Coding and reliability. The justifications were assessed from the open-ended

questions for the social exclusion task and later coded using a validated, modified coding

system used in previous research (Killen et al., 2002; Killen & Stangor, 2001). As mentioned,

previous research on social reasoning has identified a number of sub-categories for both the

moral and conventional domain. Pilot testing revealed the top most frequently used categories

which were employed in the present study. The sub-category "moral/inclusion/empathy," for

example, was incorporated into this study based on pilot data and the hypotheses. Pilot data

indicated that participants were using inclusion/empathy justifications such as "It's wrong not

to include him/her because he will be sad and feel left out" which were distinct from fairness

justifications (see Smetana, 2006).

The coding system, then, was comprised of three categories, including: 1)

Moral/Fairness, which referred to fairness, equality, rights (e.g., "Everyone should be treated

the same; "It's not fair to not let him join them"); 2) *Moral/Inclusion/Empathy*, which referred

to the promotion of inclusion and empathy with the excluded (e.g., "It is wrong for him to not

invite him because he will feel sad and lonely and he should be included"); 3) *Social-

conventional,* which refers to group functioning, traditions, stereotypes, or peer and parental

influence (e.g., "He likes to go as a Swiss team"); and *Other/Undifferentiated/Uncodable*,

which referred to unelaborated, undifferentiated, or non-codable statements (e.g., "It's bad").

Participants' answers were coded as 0 = no use of a category; .5 = partial use of a

category; and 1.0 = full use of the category (only the first two justifications were coded as no

participants used more than 2 categories). However, only very few participations used more

than one reason (< 1 %). In the rare cases when two justifications were used, each justification

received a score of 0.5 for proportional weighting of the use of the category (thus proportions

reflected the total sample) (see Posada & Wainryb, 2008, for a full description of this ordinal

scale for coding justifications). Justifications were the proportions of moral/fairness, moral/inclusion/empathy, and social-conventional categories.

Two independent coders rated a randomly selected quarter of the transcripts. Interrater reliability was determined by the raters' independent coding of a randomly selected subsample of 50 questionnaire transcripts (i.e., 20% of the data). The interrater agreement was $\kappa = .83$; range: 0.82 - 0.85. The raters discussed disagreements with each other until a consensus was reached and the consensus was then coded.

Coding of content of emotion attributions. Adolescents could attribute up to two emotions for the excluder, excluded, includer, and included child. Pilot data indicated that adolescents rarely attributed more than two emotions in contexts of exclusion. Proportional scores were again calculated (participants' answers were coded as 0 = no use of a category; .5 = partial use of a category; and 1.0 = full use of the category). Furthermore, preliminary analysis indicated low occurrence of fearful emotions ($< 5\%$), and this category was thus dropped from further analysis. The category 'neutral' emotion attribution was not considered in final analyses, because we had no specific hypotheses regarding these types of emotions. Thus, the following seven categories were used for the data analysis: pride, happiness, sadness, guilt, shame, anger, and empathy.

Data analytic strategy. ANOVA-based statistical tests to analyze proportions were used due to our repeated measures design (which are not easily analyzed using other approaches such as log-linear), following data analytic procedures in social cognitive developmental studies (for similar approaches, see Smetana, 2006). This approach has been adopted over the past 3 decades and a recent review of analytic procedures for these types of data (covering 10 years in APA psychology journals) confirmed the validity and appropriateness of this data analytic approach. Linear models with repeated procedures, particularly ANOVA, are appropriate compared to log-linear analysis for this type of within-

subjects design (see Posada & Wainryb, 2008, for a fuller explanation and justification of this data analytic approach; Wainryb, Shaw, Laupa, & Smith, 2001, footnote 4).

Results

Social Judgments of Exclusion

To test our hypothesis regarding whether social judgments of exclusion for different targets varied by the nationality, gender, and age of the participants, three separate 2 (Nationality) x 2 (Gender) x 2 (Age) repeated measures ANOVAs (analyses of variance) with context (gender, nationality, personality) as the repeated measure were performed on the dependent social judgment variables (*Exclusion evaluation, Peer influence, Parental influence*). Follow-up t-tests (using an adjusted alpha level) were used to test for between-subjects and within-subjects differences.

There was a main effect for context on evaluation of exclusion, $F(2, 237) = 8.00$, $p <$ .001, $\eta^2 = .06$, revealing that exclusion was less accepted for the nationality than the gender and personality contexts, ps $< .05$ (for the means, see Table 1). Central to the expectations of the study, there were Context x Nationality and Context x Gender interactions ($F(2, 237) =$ 4.75, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .04$; $F(2, 237) = 10.20$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .08$), respectively. The Context X Nationality interaction indicated that Swiss participants judged it as more okay to exclude based on nationality than did non-Swiss participants, $t(244) = -2.15$, $p < .01$ (Swiss, $M = 3.08$, $SD = 1.85$, non-Swiss, $M = 2.57$, $SD = 1.61$; see Figure 1). There were no significant differences for the gender and personality contexts. Thus, most participants viewed exclusion based on nationality as wrong. Yet, non-Swiss adolescents viewed this type of exclusion as more wrong than did Swiss adolescents. The Context X Gender interaction revealed that girls viewed exclusion based on nationality and personality as less legitimate than did boys, $t(244)$ $= -2.62$, $p < .01$; $t(242) = -4.99$, $p < .001$ (Nationality context: Girls, $M = 2.62$, $SD = 1.57$, Boys, $M = 3.21$, $SD = 1.95$; Personality context: Girls, $M = 2.73$, $SD = 1.52$; Boys, $M = 3.76$,

$SD = 1.78$). This finding confirmed our expectations about gender of the participants based on previous research.

In addition, our age-related hypotheses were confirmed: there was a main effect of age, $F(1, 237) = 6.72$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$, indicating that older children judged exclusion more legitimate than did younger children (Older, $M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.15$; Younger, $M = 3.00$, $SD = 1.19$).

Peer influence. Regarding our hypotheses about peer influence for judgments about exclusion, there was an expected main effect of context, $F(2, 236) = 28.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .20$, revealing that peer influence (in which peers condoned exclusion) was judged more wrong for the nationality context than for the personality and gender contexts, $ps < .01$. Participants viewed peer influence as particularly wrong in the nationality context as compared to the other two contexts (for the means, see Table 1). A main effect of gender, $F(1, 236) = 8.65$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .04$, revealed that girls judged peer influence as more wrong than did boys, $p < .001$, but as indicated by a Context x Gender interaction, $F(2, 236) = 7.79$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .06$, this finding was only for the personality context, $t(242) = -4.84$, $p < .01$ (Girls, $M = 2.50$, $SD = 1.63$, Boys, $M = 3.56$, $SD = 1.81$); there were no differences in how boys and girls evaluated the gender and nationality contexts.

Parental influence. We found a main effect for judgments about parental influence, $F(2, 239) = 7.52$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .06$, revealing that parental influence to exclude others was viewed as more wrong for the nationality than for the gender context, $p < .01$ (for the means, see Table 1). Again, as a central focus of our study, Context x Nationality, $F(2, 239) = 3.91$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = 02$, and Context x Gender interactions, $F(2, 239) = 9.24$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .04$, indicated that Non-Swiss participants judged that parental influence about exclusion based on nationality was more wrong than did Swiss participants, $t(244) = -2.41$, $p < .05$, Swiss, $M = 2.81$, $SD = 1.89$, non-Swiss, $M = 2.24$, $SD = 1.56$ (see Figure 1).

This was an important finding as it indicated a difference in the minority/majority perspective on exclusion. There were no nationality of participant differences for the gender and personality contexts (Gender context: Swiss, $M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.93$, non-Swiss, $M = 3.05$, $SD = 1.88$; Personality context: Swiss, $M = 2.81$, $SD = 1.80$, non-Swiss, $M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.83$). Thus, while most participants viewed parental influence to exclude others as wrong, non-Swiss adolescents viewed it as more wrong in the nationality context than did Swiss adolescents. Furthermore, girls judged parental influence less legitimate for the nationality and personality contexts than did boys, $t(244) = -3.49$, $p < .01$; $t(243) = -4.32$, $p < .001$ (Nationality context: Girls, $M = 2.23$, $SD = 1.56$; Boys, $M = 3.03$, $SD = 1.97$; Personality context: Girls, $M = 2.43$, $SD = 1.61$; Boys, $M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.89$).

Emotion Attributions of Exclusion

Quantitative scale of negative to positive emotions. To test our hypothesis for whether emotion attributions of exclusion varied by context, nationality, gender, and age, separate 2 (Nationality) x 2 (Gender) x 2 (Age) x 3 (Context: nationality, gender, personality) repeated measures analyses of variance with context as the repeated measure were performed on the emotion attribution scale for the excluder and the excluded targets.

The findings for the excluder emotions confirmed our expectations that there would be a main effect of context on the emotions attributed to the excluder, $F(2, 239) = 4.68$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .02$. This indicated that adolescents attributed more positive emotions to the excluders for the gender context than for the nationality and personality contexts (for the means, see Table 2). There was also a main effect of nationality, $F(1, 239) = 6.17$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$, indicating that non-Swiss participants attributed more positive emotions to the excluder than did Swiss participants (non-Swiss, $M = 3.92$, $SD = 1.01$, Swiss, $M = 3.60$, $SD = 0.92$) (see Figure 2). This was an unexpected finding as there was no prior research on this topic. Thus, minority participants (non-Swiss) were more likely to attribute positive emotions to the excluder, that is, the Swiss-national, than were the majority participants (Swiss national). In addition, a

Context x Gender interaction, $F(2, 239) = 3.86$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .02$, showed that boys attributed

more positive emotions for the nationality context than did girls, $t(244) = -2.21$, $p < .05$

(Boys, $M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.33$, Girls, $M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.24$).

The findings revealed a main effect of context on the emotions attributed to the

excluded child, $F(2, 237) = 3.10$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$, indicating that the target in the gender

context, that is, the girl, would feel better than would the target in the nationality or

personality contexts (for the means, see Table 2).

Content of emotions. Regarding the content of emotion attributions, the findings

indicated that participants attributed pride, happiness, sadness, guilt, shame, empathy, or

anger to the excluder (Pride, $M = .10$, $SD = .16$; Happiness, $M = .18$, $SD = .22$, Sadness, $M =$

.10, $SD = .19$; Guilt, $M = .18$, $SD = .25$, Shame, $M = .11$, $SD = .19$; Empathy, $M = .26$, $SD =$

.32; Anger, $M = .05$, $SD = .16$; see Figure 3). To test our hypothesis if the content of emotion

attributions of exclusion varied by target (excluder, excluded), separate repeated measures

ANOVAs were performed on each of the mean proportions of content of emotions variable.

As displayed in Figure 3, participants predominantly attributed sadness to the excluded target,

with some participants attributing anger to the excluded target (Sadness, $M = .61$, $SD = .24$;

Guilt, $M = .01$, $SD = .06$; Shame, $M = .07$, $SD = .15$; Anger, $M = .28$, $SD = .23$; Pride, $M =$

.01, $SD = .05$; Empathy, $M = .02$, $SD = .07$; Happiness, $M = .02$, $SD = .06$). Participants

attributed more pride, happiness, guilt, shame and empathy to excluder than excluded targets

(ps $< .001$). In contrast, participants attributed more sadness and anger to excluded than

excluder targets (ps $< .001$).

Justifications of Social Judgments and Emotion Attributions

In line with our hypotheses, the findings for justifications of exclusion evaluation

indicated that multiple forms of reasoning, moral/fairness, moral/inclusion/empathy, and

social-conventions, were used for all contexts of exclusion (gender, personality, nationality),

revealing that acts of exclusion were not just viewed as strictly moral transgressions (see

Table 3 for the means). For each context of exclusion, a majority of the reasoning for social

judgments was moral/fairness and moral/inclusion/empathy, but conventional reasoning was

also present. Thus, most participants judged exclusion as wrong for reasons based on fairness

and the need to be inclusive and empathetic.

To test our hypothesis if justifications of exclusion evaluation and emotion attributions

to excluder target varied by context, nationality, gender, and age, separate 2 (Nationality) x 2

(Gender) x 2 (Age) x 3 (Context: nationality, gender, personality) repeated measures analyses

of variance with context as the repeated measure were performed on the mean proportions of

justifications. Regarding the justifications for exclusion, younger participants used more

moral/fairness reasons than did older children, $F(1, 207) = 9.98$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .05$; ($M = .32$,

$SD = .28$, older) ($M = .46$, $SD = .35$, younger). There were no age differences for the

moral/inclusion/empathy category. Instead the analyses revealed a context effect, $F(2, 206) =$

16.18, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .14$ (used for the nationality context), which was qualified by a context x

nationality interaction, $F(2, 206) = 4.14$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .04$, indicating that non-Swiss nationals

showed more moral/inclusive/empathy justifications than Swiss nationals in the nationality

context, ($Ms = .33, .16$, $SDs = .46, .39$), $t(235) = 2.23$, $p < .05$, as hypothesized.

Moral/inclusive/empathetic justifications supported non-Swiss national participants'

judgments that this type of exclusion was wrong, but it extended beyond the moral categories

of fairness as it involved perspective-taking of the recipient of exclusion. The findings for the

conventional justifications showed a context effect, $F(2, 207) = 5.50$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .05$, which

was qualified by a context x gender interaction, $F(2, 207) = 5.57$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .05$; girls used

this category less frequently than boys in the personality context ($Ms = .23, .43$, $SDs = .41$,

.50), $t(225) = -3.40$, $p < .001$. There was also a context x participant nationality interaction,

$F(2, 207) = 4.73$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .04$; Non-Swiss nationals provided less conventional reasoning

than Swiss nationals in the nationality context ($Ms = .13, .31$; $SDs = .46, .32$), $t(235) = -3.18$,

$p < .01$. Together, these findings for justifications matched the pattern for judgments and provided a measure of social reasoning in addition to "yes/no" judgments regarding intergroup exclusion. The justifications point to what aspect of exclusion was viewed as wrong and why.

Regarding the justifications of emotion attributions to excluder target, the findings similarly indicated that multiple forms of reasoning, moral/fairness, moral/inclusion/empathy, and social-conventions, were used for all contexts of exclusion (gender, nationality, personality; see Table 3 for the means). For each context of exclusion, a majority of the reasoning was moral, and conventional reasoning was less often applied to exclusion judgments. Regarding the moral/fairness category of emotion attributions to excluder, a main effect of gender, $F(1, 206) = 6.51$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$, showed that girls more frequently used moral/fairness justifications than boys ($Ms = .27, .18$; $SDs = .31, .25$). There were no significant effects for the moral/inclusion/empathy and conventional reasoning categories.

As expected, the majority of participants used moral/inclusive/empathetic justifications of emotion attributions to excluded for all contexts of exclusion (Gender context, $M = 0.78$, $SD = 0.41$; Nationality context, $M = 0.81$, $SD = 0.39$; Personality context, $M = 0.79$, $SD = 0.40$).

Relationships Between Social Judgments and Emotion Attributions

Finally, we tested our hypothesis on positive relationships between evaluations of exclusions and emotion attributions to the excluder and excluded child. For the gender context, positive evaluations of exclusion were related to positive emotion attributions to the excluder, $r(246) = .15$, $p < .05$, and the excluded child, $r(244) = .32$, $p < .001$. For the nationality context, positive evaluations of exclusion were associated with positive emotion attributions to the excluder, $r(245) = .13$, $p < .05$ and the excluded child, $r(244) = .17$, $p < .01$. For the personality context, positive evaluations of exclusion were related to positive emotion attributions to the excluded child, $r(243) = .26$, $p < .001$.

Discussion

The present study investigated adolescents' judgments and emotion attributions about three types of social exclusion: 1) regarding newly-arrived immigrants in Switzerland; 2) regarding gender; and 3) regarding personality traits. The cultural context of Switzerland provided a unique opportunity to examine evaluations of exclusion between an ethnic majority group with centuries of national identity and a newly immigrated group from countries outside of what was traditionally defined as Europe. Unlike studies in North America, where race has been a predominant factor for the target of exclusion, the focus of this study on recent immigrants in the context of social exclusion evaluations was novel. Additionally, we compared exclusion based on nationality with gender and personality to understand the full scope of social exclusion decisions in this multicultural context. Gender inequalities are present in Switzerland and understanding one form of exclusion provides insight into how other forms of exclusion are rejected or accepted. Moreover, the focus on both judgments and emotion attributions provided a new perspective on how adolescents evaluate social exclusion.

Swiss and non-Swiss national children and adolescents viewed exclusion based on nationality as less legitimate than exclusion based on gender and personality traits, supporting the same pattern for exclusion evaluations in other cultural contexts, such as the U.S. research on exclusion regarding race and ethnicity, and the Danish research on religion. Yet, the minority group in this study, the non-Swiss participants, evaluated exclusion based on nationality as less legitimate than did the majority group, the Swiss participants. There were few minority/majority differences, however, for exclusion based on gender and personality traits.

The findings for minority/majority status, social reasoning and emotion attributions proved to be revealing about when exclusion is viewed as legitimate, however, and how it manifests in peer interactions. Although equality is viewed as one of the cornerstones of the

system of direct democracy in Switzerland, recent immigration creates conflicts and tension in Swiss society (Efionay et al., 2005), and there is media coverage of youth crime by foreigners from the Balkan region. Thus, this might explain why Swiss nationals viewed exclusion based on nationality as more legitimate than non-Swiss nationals. Further, non-Swiss nationals judged parental influence condoning exclusion based on nationality as less legitimate than did Swiss participants. Participants from the Balkan region are both recent immigrants and have a negative image in public. This finding resonates with prior developmental research in the U.S. on ethnic-minority and majority children's reasoning as well as the difficulties that immigrants have faced in the U.S. from Central and South America (Fuligni et al., 2009) as well as what Muslims have faced in both Europe and the U.S. in the past decade.

The emotion attribution findings provided further evidence for understanding the minority viewpoint on exclusion in Switzerland. The findings revealed that non-Swiss participants attributed more positive emotions to the excluder target than did Swiss participants, such as "He will feel very good because he is Swiss and the other boy is from Serbia, and he probably just does not like foreigners". This finding provides another window into differences in the minority-majority viewpoint, and specifically regarding how a peer will feel when they do not include someone from a different nationality to a peer-oriented activity. Non-Swiss participants (i.e., the outgroup) may understand mechanisms of group functioning (such as the anticipation of positive affect and pride associated with good group functioning), and this may be more salient for them than for Swiss participants (i.e., the ingroup) due to their experiences with exclusion.

In addition, it has been argued in the literature that individuals who do not have high status in the social hierarchy may be more aware of what makes exclusion wrong (Turiel, 2002). Thus, the non-Swiss participants may be aware of the consequences of social exclusion due to their own minority place within the social hierarchy and own experiences of exclusion

and associated power inequality. This position in the culture may have led them to the conclusions that excluders of the majority group would feel happy when they can preserve group norms and the associated power (see Arsenio & Gold, 2006).

Although Swiss nationals judged it less wrong to exclude by nationality than non-Swiss nationals, they attributed fewer positive emotions to excluder targets. Swiss participants may be aware that they should anticipate negative emotions in these contexts due to increasing public awareness of problems surrounding immigration, and a focus on integration of young immigrants in Swiss society. For example, the Swiss apprenticeship system including vocational training schools, mentoring, and networking activities is considered a key mechanism to integrate immigrant adolescents (OECD, 2006). Future research needs to investigate how group functioning affects emotion attributions to excluder targets in different contexts.

Our findings also indicated that girls viewed exclusion in nationality and personality contexts as less legitimate than did boys, and they also judged parental influence as less okay than did boys. Further, boys attributed more positive emotions to excluder target in the nationality context than did girls. These findings are in line with previous studies and may provide some support for gender differences in children's and adolescents' judgments and emotions associated with experiences of social exclusion and well as social group dynamics (Leman, Ahmed, & Ozarow, 2005). Perhaps this finding reflects the fact that females experience more exclusion than do males and this experience contributes to an empathetic perspective about exclusion of others in peer contexts. The finding may in part relate to the different social status and occupational sex segregation women still face in Swiss modern society (see Buchmann & Kriesi, 2009; Malti & Buchmann, 2010), which may contribute to understanding what makes exclusion wrong. As mentioned, this finding parallels the pattern documented for nationality, indicating that experience with exclusion contributes to a higher degree of understanding about what makes it wrong.

Interestingly, participants attributed pride, happiness, guilt feelings, shame, or empathy to the excluder target, whereas the excluded target was expected to predominantly feel sad or angry. Thus, different forms of emotions were attributed to the excluder than to the excluded target. We propose that attributing emotions to the excluder target requires balancing group functioning and moral norms in contrast to attributing emotions to the excluded target which is viewed in more negative affective terms. The fact that all participants recognized that the excluded target would feel negative emotions indicates that both Swiss nationals and non-Swiss nationals understand the consequences of exclusion, even for those who viewed it as legitimate in terms of group functioning and group norms. The attribution of pride feelings to excluder targets may reflect the emotional salience and importance of group functioning and group harmony. In contrast, the attribution of anger to the excluded might increase intergroup tensions. Further multi-method research on the type of emotions is needed to more fully capture their meaning for intergroup functioning and moral norms.

The findings also revealed that evaluations of exclusion and emotion attribution to excluder and excluded target were interrelated. This bears on recent integrative approaches emphasizing the interrelatedness of cognition and affect in situations of social exclusion and peer victimization (Arsenio et al., 2006; Helwig, 2008; Hoffman, 2000; Malti et al., 2009, 2010; Malti & Keller, 2010; Turiel & Killen, 2010). Future research that replicates the current integrative investigation seems warranted to better understand the complexity of cognitions and emotions involved in children's and adolescents' everyday experiences of exclusion.

Similarly to past research, adolescents used multiple forms of reasoning for judgments in nationality, gender, and personality contexts. Extending previous research on justifications of judgments, adolescents also justified emotions to excluder targets not just in moral terms or with empathy, but also based on social conventions. This finding indicates that both judgments of exclusion and emotions attributed to excluders in multifaceted situations are

perceived in moral and conventional forms. In contrast, adolescents justified the emotions of the excluded target predominantly by the need to be inclusive and empathetic. Adolescents, thus, are aware of the negative feelings of the excluded and the need for inclusion.

Contextual factors influenced adolescents' judgments about exclusion, and they were more likely to condemn exclusion based on nationality than on gender and personality. This finding supports social domain research by revealing contextual influences on children's and adolescents' social knowledge (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Ruck, Abramovitz, & Keating, 1998; Rutland et al., 2010; Turiel, 1998). Participants were willing to condone exclusion when peers or parents applied pressure to exclude in the gender or personality contexts, but not in the nationality context. These findings are similar to findings by Moller and Tenenbaum (in press), who found that Danish children viewed teacher efforts to exclude others as wrong, indicating that children view authority efforts (parents and teachers) to exclude minority children as unfair.

Extending this line of findings, adolescents also attributed more positive emotions to the excluder target for the gender context than in nationality and personality contexts. They were also more likely to invoke inclusive reasons for vignettes involving nationality than gender or personality. In contrast, participants used very little conventional reasoning to go along with peer influence or even parental influence in the nationality context, in contrast to the other contexts of exclusion. Young individuals may perceive multifaceted contexts of gender and personality exclusion as an accepted social conventional practice because they frequently experience teachers and parents relying on gender or personality differences, for example, to structure classroom activities or chores (Bigler & Liben, 2006).

This research also contributes to developmental difference in children's and adolescents' judgments and emotions about experiences of social exclusion: Older participants judged exclusion more legitimate than younger participants, and they attributed more positive emotions to excluder targets in nationality contexts than younger individuals.

Thus, by age, adolescents increasingly understand the role of group functioning, pride, and the maintenance of stability of the ingroup. These group norm orientations need to be balanced with moral norms (Rutland et al., 2010). It is interesting that the emotion attribution effect was restricted to nationality contexts. This may again support the argument that the nationality context is affectively salient in regards to the establishment of group norms and group conventions in the cultural contexts involving exclusion of recent immigrant groups.

The present research provided new insights into how judgments and emotions are applied to contexts of social exclusion. This understanding is of interest not only for theoretical reasons, but also because of its relevance to interventions aimed at promoting intergroup tolerance (Malti, in press). Educational professionals in Switzerland have not yet begun to create programs designed for promoting inclusion in the way that has been done for several decades in other areas in Europe as well as in North America. Thus, these findings may be particularly helpful for educators in contexts with recently immigrated minority children and adolescents. Only by better understanding the factors that affect exclusion and discrimination can we successfully prevent its antecedents.

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Table 1

Means (and Standard Deviations) of Positive Social Judgments about Exclusion

	Gender context	Personality context	Nationality context
Exclusion evaluation[a]	3.45 (1.76)	3.24 (1.73)	2.89 (1.78)
Peer influence[a]	3.37 (1.86)	3.01 (1.80)	2.35 (1.70)
Parental influence[a]	3.08 (1.91)	2.90 (1.81)	2.61 (1.81)

[a] Range: 1 - 6 (1 = not okay, 6 = very much okay).

Table 2

Means (and Standard Deviations) of Positive Emotion Attributions about Exclusion

	Gender context	Personality context	Nationality context
Excluder [a]	3.88 (1.15)	3.57 (1.24)	3.67 (1.29)
Excluded child[a]	2.16 (1.03)	1.98 (1.05)	1.98 (1.04)

[a] Range: 1 - 6 (1 = very bad, 6 = very good).

Table 3

Mean Proportions (and Standard Deviations) of Moral/Fairness, Moral/Inclusion/Empathy and Social-Conventional Justifications about Exclusion Evaluation and Emotion Attributions

	Gender Context		Nationality Context		Personality Context	
	Exclusion evaluation	EA[a] Excluder	Exclusion evaluation	EA Excluder	Exclusion evaluation	EA Excluder
Moral/Fairness	0.39	0.22	0.38	0.23	0.43	0.22
	(0.48)	(0.41)	(0.48)	(0.42)	(0.49)	(0.42)
Moral/Inclusion/	0.08	0.25	0.24	0.30	0.11	0.28
Empathy	(0.26)	(0.43)	(0.42)	(0.45)	(0.30)	(0.45)
Social-	0.38	0.22	0.25	0.18	0.32	0.20
Conventional	(0.48)	(0.41)	(0.43)	(0.38)	(0.46)	(0.39)

[a] EA = Emotion attribution.
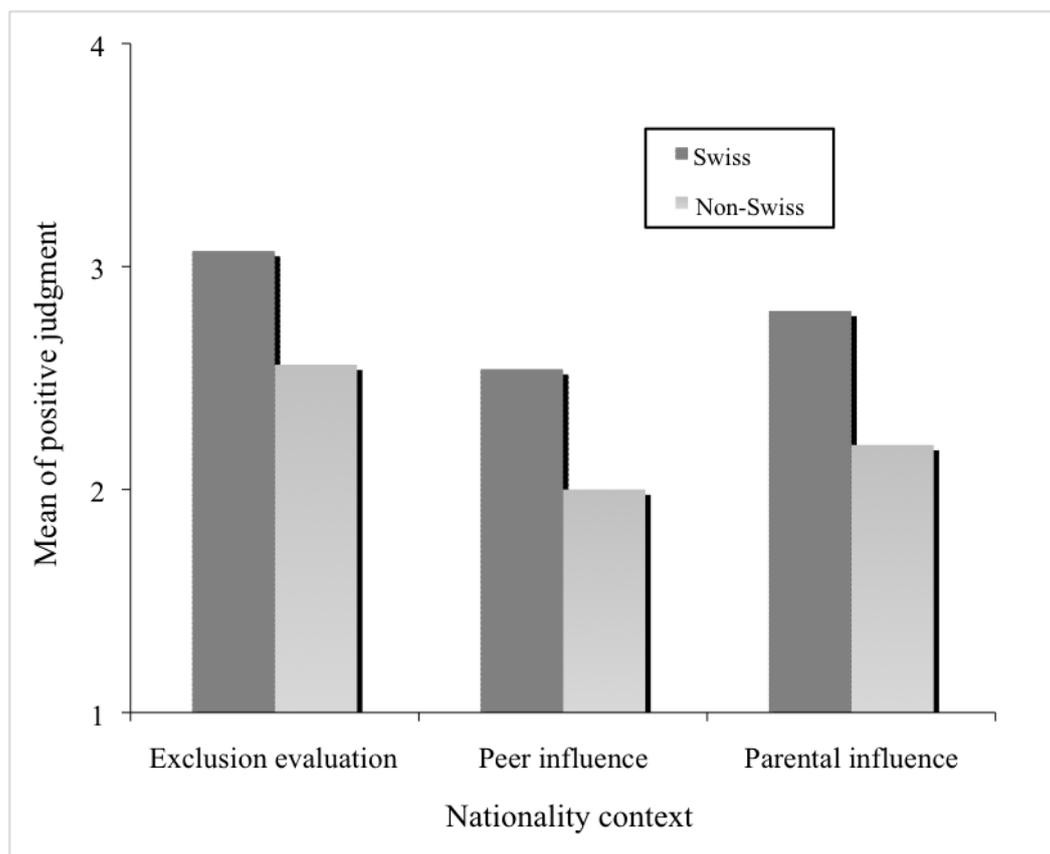
Figure Captions.

Figure 1. Positive social judgments about nationality exclusion by nationality status of
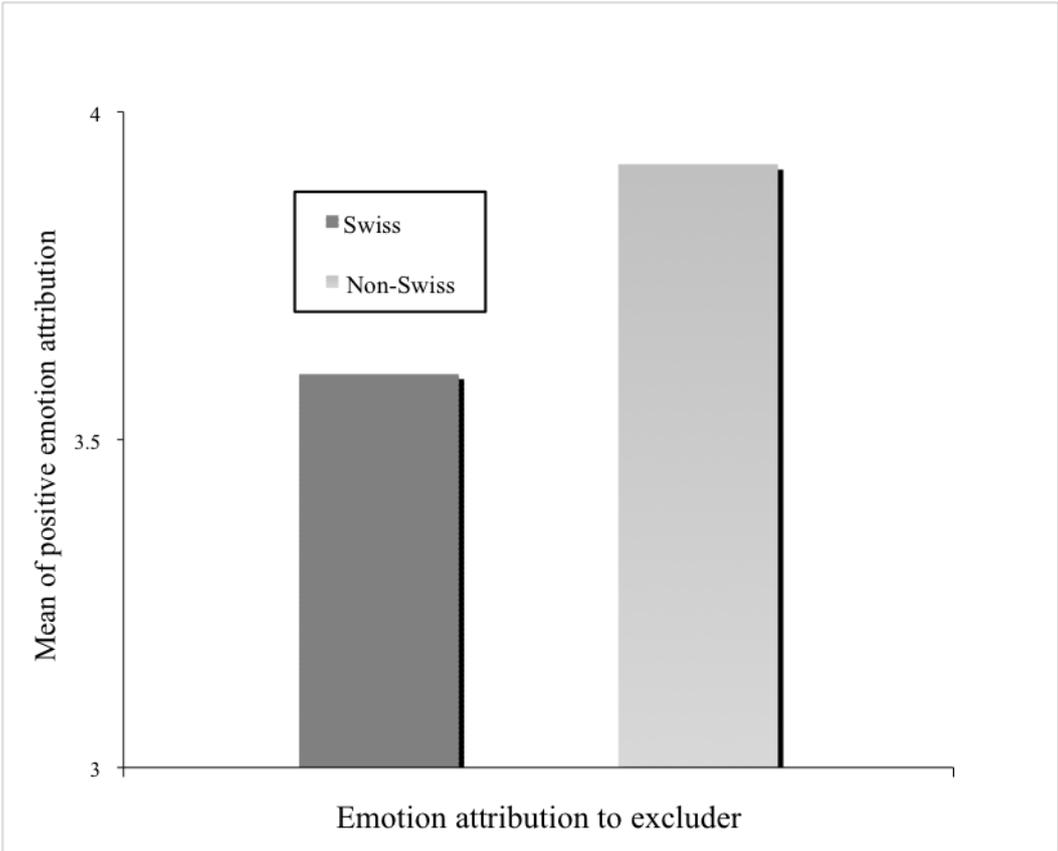
participant.

Figure 2. Positive emotion attributions to excluder target by nationality status of participant.
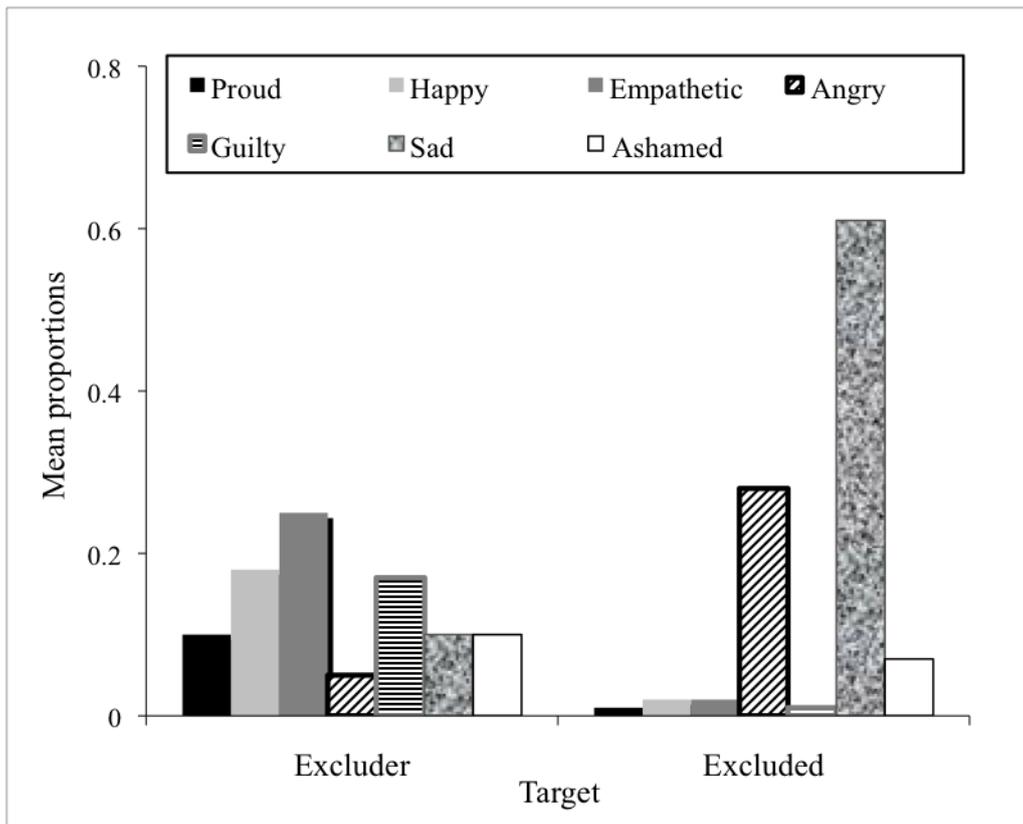
Figure 3. Content of emotion attribution by target (i.e., excluder, excluded).