Adolescents' Evaluations of those who Challenge Exclusive and Inclusive Peer Norms

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Abstract

Early and middle adolescents' judgments and reasonings about peers who challenge exclusive and inclusive peer group norms were examined across three studies with varying intergroup contexts. Study 1 participants included (N = 199) non-Arab American participants responding to an Arab American/non-Arab American intergroup context. Study 2 included (N = 123) non-Asian and (N = 105) Asian American participants responding to an Asian/non-Asian American intergroup context. Study 3 included (N = 275) Lebanese participants responding to an American/Lebanese intergroup context. Across all three studies participants responded to ingroup and outgroup deviant group members who challenged their peer groups to either include or exclude an outgroup peer with similar interests. Findings indicated that adolescents approved of peers who challenged exclusive peer norms and advocated for inclusion of an ethnic and cultural outgroup, and disapproved of peers who challenged inclusive group norms and advocated for exclusion. Non-Arab and non-Asian American adolescents displayed ingroup bias when evaluating a deviant advocating for exclusion. Additionally, age differences were found among Asian American adolescents. Findings will be discussed in light of intergroup research on those who challenge injustices.

Keywords: deviant group members, intergroup inclusion, social justice, ingroup bias

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During adolescence, racial and ethnic exclusion and discrimination is a frequently occurring event (Rivas-Drake, et al., 2014). At the same time peer groups and maintaining acceptance by peers becomes very important (Brown & Klute, 2003). While many adolescents recognize that excluding someone based on their racial/ethnic or cultural background is wrong, challenging peer group norms that advocate for exclusion is costly (Burkholder, et al., 2019). Unlike children who are less likely to be aware that deviating from group norms can result in exclusion from the group, adolescents recognize that challenging peer norms may have negative consequences including intragroup exclusion, that is rejection from the ingroup (Anonymous et al., 2014; Mulvey & Killen, 2016). Despite adolescents growing awareness of group dynamics and the consequences of deviance from group norms (Abrams et al., 2003), they continue to express support for ingroup and outgroup peers who challenge inequality, indicating that such support can transcend group membership (Abrams et al., 2008; Killen, et al. 2013).

Studies, however, indicate that approval of those who challenge unfair group norms depends on the specific type of norm. For instance, in one study 14-year-olds were more willing to include an outgroup peer who challenged ingroup norms of relational aggression than one who challenged norms of physical aggression for fear the physically aggressive group would harm the new member(Mulvey & Killen, 2017). No research that we know of has examined adolescents' judgments about those who challenge norms about inter-ethnic and inter-cultural exclusion. Inter-ethnic inclusivity serves as a gateway to inter-ethnic friendships (Tropp et al., 2016), which in turn results in improved intergroup attitudes among adolescents (Turner & Cameron, 2016).

Given the decrease of inter-ethnic friendships during adolescence compared to childhood (Brown, Herman, Hamm, & Heck, 2008), understanding adolescents' views on peers who speak out in favor of inclusion will provide a basis for determining how best to motivate adolescents to create new, more inclusive norms. Examining evaluations of both ingroup and outgroup peers was necessary to capture whether approval of those who challenge exclusion or disapproval of those who challenge inclusion transcends ingroup biases. Additionally, given that values preferring conformity and group loyalty have been shown to interfere with moral concerns of fairness and other's welfare (Rutland et al., 2010) and that some ethnic and cultural groups may adhere to these values more than others (Park et al., 2003; Ayyash-Abdo, 2001) it was important to examine these questions in different intergroup contexts and in varying ethnic and cultural groups. We aimed to address these questions in a series of studies that asked adolescents to evaluate deviance from ingroup and outgroup norms about inclusion and exclusion in three different intergroup contexts using the same methodology: Study 1: Arab American and non-Arab American; Study 2: Asian background and non-Asian background; and Study 3: American and Lebanese.

Research with both adolescents of Asian backgrounds (Park et al. 2003) and Lebanese adolescents (Ayyash-Abdo, 2001) has suggested youth representing these populations value conformity and group cohesion. Alternatively, recent research indicated that inter-ethnic and inter-cultural inclusivity was also valued within similar adolescent samples (Anonymous et al., 2020, Anonymous et al., 2021). Examining Asian American and Lebanese adolescents' views of deviant members, can provide clarity on whether approval of those who challenge exclusive group norms can be generalized across different ethnic and cultural groups, particularly those who have been underrepresented in social psychology research (e.g., Lebanese). Findings can

therefore provide cross-cultural evidence for the application of both moral and intergroup developmental theories, but also provide novel context-specific variation that further inform theories.

A social reasoning developmental framework (SRD, Rutland, et al., 2010) was used to formulate hypotheses for these studies. This theory integrates developmental social identity theories (Nesdale, 2008) and social domain theory (Turiel, 1983) to examine social reasoning about intergroup encounters. Developmental approaches to social identity theory (Nesdale, 2008; Abrams et al. 2003) inform hypotheses about how children weigh both group norms and group identity when judging those who challenge group norms. This research indicates that with age and growing knowledge about groups, youth focus heavily on group norms and are not favorable to ingroup members who violate them, but could be more accepting of outgroup members who support their ingroup norms (Abrams et al., 2003). However, research using an SRD framework has shown that when group norms are morally relevant, youth prefer those who support generic moral norms (e.g., equal resource allocation, treating others nicely) even when their ingroup opposes these generic norms (Abrams, et al., 2008; Killen et al., 2013; Mulvey & Killen, 2017). Social domain theory, helps illuminate the reasons; whether they be morally relevant or concerns for group functioning and autonomy; behind youth's evaluations about those who challenge morally-relevant norms. Thus, SRD integrates both theories and posits that, with age, adolescents are increasingly able to coordinate moral concerns about fairness with group identity considerations.

This coordination is especially needed when thinking about peer social exclusion. Research has established that most adolescents disapprove of race- or ethnic-based peer exclusion and do so citing concerns for fairness and the welfare of the excluded. However,

increasingly with age, adolescents are more accepting of exclusion due to lack of fit or similarities with the group (e.g., comparing 12 and 15-year-olds, Killen, et al., 2007). This is often motivated by older adolescents' growing concerns with group cohesion and maintaining group identity compared to younger adolescents (Rutland, et al., 2010). Similarity with others is viewed as important for maintaining group cohesion (Burkholder, et al., 2020), but similarity can be based on ethnicity or based on interests, beliefs, and opinions. Sometimes the two are confounded (Stark & Flache, 2012), especially when information about interests and opinions is unknown, and stereotypes based on one's group membership replaces such information (Horn, 2003).

In the current study we tested norms about preferring similar others and those who are different. Such norms have been established in the literature as representing exclusive and inclusive norms, respectively (Nesdale et al., 2005). However, norms about preferring similarity may be interpreted differently when held by an ingroup (e.g., similarity means similar interests) compared to when held by an outgroup (e.g., similarity means similar ethnicity/culture, Anonymous et al., 2015). To control for ambiguity regarding exclusive and inclusive norms in the current study the target of exclusion or inclusion was always different from the group in ethnic or cultural background but similar to the group in the interests they shared. This was important to do as not to confound one's ethnic/cultural background with their interests in activities, but also to make it clear that when a peer was challenging the group they were doing so based on ethnicity/culture as the criteria for inclusion or exclusion.

Early (12-13 years) and middle (15-16 years) adolescents were sampled because understanding group dynamics as they relate to group identity and deviance from group norms begins in early adolescence (Abrams et al., 2003). Additionally, compared to early adolescents

15-year-olds would have had ample experience with groups (Brown & Klute, 2003) and a more complex knowledge about group processes. Therefore, according to SRD, a comparison of these two age groups would capture developmental differences in group identity and group norm considerations. Consequently, according to SRD it was hypothesized that adolescents' moral concerns will motivate approval of those who challenge exclusive peer group norms by being ethnically or culturally inclusive and disapproval of those who challenge inclusive group norms by advocating for ethnic or cultural exclusion. Second, because group identity is salient during adolescence, and more so in middle adolescence (French et al., 2006) it was expected that ingroup bias would manifest in older adolescents' judgments. This can be indicated by more positive evaluations of ingroup members compared to outgroup members who challenge group norms.

The first study aimed to examine adolescents' evaluations and reasoning about those who challenged exclusive and inclusive peer norms in an Arab American/non-Arab American inter-ethnic context. Non-Arab Americans were sampled due to high rates of prejudice and discrimination aimed at Arab American peers (Flanagan, et al., 2009). Research in the United States evidenced misconceptions and stereotypes about Arab Americans (e.g., "they are all Muslim", "they are racist"), which were associated with lower likelihood of including peers of Arab background into one's ingroup (Anonymous, 2015). Additionally, the Arab/non-Arab intergroup context is understudied and not as well understood as other intergroup contexts in the United States.

Study 1

Methods

Participants

Participants included 199 non-Arab American 6th and 10th graders attending public middle and high schools in a school district serving a low middle- to middle-income population in the United States. The sample consisted of 102 children (12-year-olds, 52% female, $M = 12.08$ years, $SD = 0.49$) and 97 adolescents (16-year-olds, 53% female, $M = 16.16$, $SD = 0.82$). These included 48% European Americans, 17% African Americans, 8% Asian Americans, 7 % Latin American, 15% biracial; and 5% other races or ethnicities. Two 6th graders and one 10th grader reported being of Arab descent; these participants were removed from the sample due to the study design, leaving a total of 199 for the final sample. Power analysis conducted in G*Power 3.1(Faul, et al., 2009) indicated a minimum sample size of 24 was needed for a 2×2×2 ANOVA with two repeated-measures, to detect medium effects with 80% statistical power.

Procedure

Parental consent forms were distributed and all students who had parental consent participated. Written surveys were distributed to students in groups of 20-25. The survey took 30-40 minutes to complete as it was part of a larger study examining the impact of inclusive and exclusive group norms and stereotypes on youth's intergroup evaluations (Anonymous, 2015).

Design

All participants assessed two hypothetical stories about a group of Arab American friends and a group of non-Arab American friends who hung out after school (see Figure 1a), each having different group norms that were challenged by a deviant group member. Thus, two factors were varied within the survey; (1) *Group ethnic identity* (Arab American and American), and (2) *Deviant Act* (exclusive and inclusive). Two versions of the survey were randomly administered (Version 1: 49.7 %, $n = 99$; Version 2: 50.3 %, $n = 100$, evenly divided by age and gender).

Version 1 included a story about an exclusive Arab American group and an inclusive American group; the group norms were reversed in Version 2. Surveys were gender-matched to participants.

Participants first completed a *Group Identification Task* in which they were told they belonged to a 'non-Arab' American group of friends illustrating four peers with non-Arab names (e.g., Sandra, Michael) and illustrations of three types of activities that their group liked to do (e.g., filming, roller blading, trumpet). The *Group Identification Task* was modified from Nesdale et al., (2005) and used to help participants identify with their group. Participants were asked to give their group a name, choose a group end-of-year activity to do, and pick a group symbol.

Next, participants were introduced to the Arab American outgroup through an illustration of four 'Arab' peers (see Figure 1a) all given Arabic names which were written phonetically using the English alphabet (e.g., Samya, Rami) and illustrations of three types of activities that this group liked to do (e.g., painting, tennis, photography). Members of this group were depicted to have darker hair and eyes, but had varying skin tones. This was intended to represent heterogeneity within the Arab American peer group as Arab Americans can come from numerous regions around the world. The group had similar clothing styles as the American group, so as not to have clothing customs impact children's judgments about each group. A statement written in Arabic, which translates to "Arab group of friends", was shown above the picture of the group. Next participants read about the norms of each group:

Exclusive group norm:

> "In the past when your/this group of American/Arab American friends, who are your age, invited others into their group, they would invite only those who were *similar* to them."

Inclusive group norm:

"In the past when your/this group of American/Arab American friends, who are your age, invited others into their group, they would invite those who were *different* from them."

In each story participants were reminded about the norm of the group and were introduced to an outgroup peer with similar interests seeking entry into the group (e.g., "Zeina/Julie is Arab American/American and wants to join the group, she likes these activities"). Then the deviant group members were described as follows:

Ethnically exclusive deviant group member (peer group had an inclusive norm):

"Ayah/Brenda is a member of this/your group, but she is the one member of this/your group who likes kids who are similar to her and because of this she tells the group they should not invite Julie/Zeina to the group."

Ethnically inclusive deviant group member (peer group had an exclusive norm):

"Ayah/Brenda is a member of this/your group, but she is the one member of this/your group who likes kids who are different from her and because of this she tells the group they should invite Julie/Zeina to the group."

Measures

Participants were asked to evaluate the exclusive and inclusive deviant group member, using (1) *Evaluation of Exclusive/Inclusive Deviant Act* ("How okay was it for Ayah/Brenda to tell the group that they should not invite/invite Zeina/Julie?" *Likert; 1=Really not okay* to *6 = Really okay*). They were also asked to reason about their evaluations (2) *Evaluation of the Deviant Act Reasoning* ("Why?"). Due to space limitations the reasoning data are reported in the Supplemental Materials. As shown in the Supplemental Materials, three categories were used by

participants to justify their evaluations, Social Justice/Others' Welfare, Group Functioning, and Autonomy.

Analyses

When testing hypotheses about evaluations of ethnically exclusive versus inclusive deviant group members, 2 (Age Group: 12 years, 16 years) × 2 (Gender: females, males) × 2 (Group Identity: Arab, non-Arab) × 2 (Deviant Act: exclusive, inclusive) repeated-measures ANOVAs with *Deviant Act* as the repeated measure were conducted. Age, gender, and group ethnic identity (Arab, non-Arab) were examined as between-subject factors. Gender was included as a factor given previous research indicating that females were more disapproving of exclusion than males (Killen et al., 2002). To test for ingroup bias, planned comparisons along the group identity and age factors were conducted, using Bonferroni adjustments to control for Type I error. Interaction effects were followed-up with pairwise comparisons using Bonferroni adjustments. Huynh-Feldt tests were reported where sphericity was violated. Only significant findings will be reported across the three studies.

Results

It was expected that, participants would be more approving of an inclusive deviant than an exclusive deviant and older adolescents would exhibit some bias in evaluations. A main effect for *Deviant Act* was found, $F(1, 188) = 194.26$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .50$, indicating participants were more approving of the peer who challenged an exclusive group norm by being ethnically inclusive ($M = 4.68$, $SD = 1.50$), and not approving of the peer who challenged an inclusive group norm by being ethnically exclusive ($M = 2.54$, $SD = 1.62$). An interaction between *Group Identity* and *Deviant Act* was also found, ($F(1, 188) = 4.28$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$). Pairwise comparisons examining this interaction, indicated, across both ethnic groups, it was more okay to

deviate from a group's exclusive norm than it was to deviate from a group's inclusive norm, all *ps* < .001 (see Figure 2a). Further, pairwise comparisons along the group identity factor showed participants evaluated the Arab group deviant more negatively than the non-Arab group deviants, $p < .001$, only when the deviant was being exclusive (see Figure 2a). Additionally, this bias was found for both age groups disconfirming hypotheses that the older age group would exhibit more bias (Exclusive Deviant Act: 12-year-olds: $M_{Non\text{-}Arab}$= 2.86, $SD_{Non\text{-}Arab}$= 1.86; M_{Arab}= 1.94, SD_{Arab}= 1.30, p <.003 ; 16-year-olds: $M_{Non\text{-}Arab}$= 3.08, $SD_{Non\text{-}Arab}$= 1.29; M_{Arab}= 2.27, SD_{Arab}= 1.28; p <.013).

Study 1 Discussion

Consistent with SRD expectations, adolescents approved of peers who challenged their group norm by advocating for ethnic inclusion. These evaluations transcended group identity as they applied similarly to both ingroup and outgroup peers. Also consistent with expectations, non-Arab American adolescents disapproved of peers who challenged their group norm by advocating for ethnic exclusion. However, evaluations of deviant members who advocate for exclusion were sensitive to group memberships, as findings showed that outgroup Arab deviant members were evaluated more negatively than ingroup non-Arab deviants.

As noted in the supplemental material, those who disapproved of the exclusive deviant referenced social justice and harm reasoning ("You should not be prejudiced") more so than those who approved. When reasoning about ingroup and outgroup exclusive deviants participants attributed more autonomy ("It's up her.") when approving of their ingroup member compared to an outgroup member who challenged inclusive group norms (see Supplemental Material). However, counter to expectations this finding was not driven by older adolescents, thus disconfirming age-related hypotheses based on older adolescents growing concerns with group

processes and group identity. In fact, across both age groups disapproval of an inclusive deviant was justified using group functioning ("she's different from the group") more so than approval, indicating the concerns for group processes were salient for both age groups. Perhaps, identity concerns in this Arab American/non-Arab American context are salient for both early and middle adolescents given the lack of exposure to Arab American peers (Anonymous, 2015), which can often increase prejudicial attitudes toward an outgroup irrespective of age (Tropp et al., 2016).

While this intergroup context was important because it continues to be understudied, a minoritized group perspective, that of Arab American adolescents was missing. It remains unknown whether the study's hypotheses and findings apply to minoritized ethnic samples. Additionally, it is not known whether these findings would be generalizable to other intergroup contexts in the United States such as Asian American/non-Asian American, or Latinx American/non-Latinx American.

Study 2

The second study was designed to answer some of the questions left unanswered in study one. Specifically, can findings in the first study be generalizable to a different intergroup context within the United States? And what of the views of ethnic minoritized adolescents on those who challenge morally-relevant norms related to ethnic exclusion and inclusion. Therefore, study 2 focused on an Asian/non-Asian intergroup context within the United States, sampling both adolescents of non-Asian and Asian backgrounds.

This intergroup context was chosen because Asian Americans are the fastest growing pan-ethnic minority in the United States and are ethnically diverse (Kiang, Tseng, & Yip, 2016). Asian Americans include those whose ancestry stems from Asia, of which the largest group is Chinese (24%), followed by Indian and Filipino (20% each), then by Korean, Vietnamese, and

Japanese (together 24%), with the remaining groups representing 13 different Asian countries (Lopez, Ruiz, & Patten, 2017). In addition, compared to their White counterparts, Asian American adolescents grow up in family environments that place higher value family interdependence and conformity (Fuligni et al., 1999).

The value placed on conformity in the peer context has been evidenced in samples of children and adolescents in South Korea, which also indicated a waning of such views during adolescents (12 and 15 years, Park et al, 2003). Age difference were also found with respect to ethnic inclusivity among Asian American children and adolescent, with both early and middle adolescents valuing ethnic inclusivity more than children, and perceiving their ingroups to be less ethnically inclusive that themselves (Anonymous et al., 2020). These findings are consistent with SRD expectations, that adolescents will approve of non-conforming group members who advocate for inclusion when their group does not. Research also indicates that ingroup bias may manifest among Asian American adolescents, given findings that same-ethnic friendships are prevalent among Asian American adolescents (Graham, 2018), and compared to other minoritized adolescents, they report lower levels of support from both same- and cross-ethnic friends (Way & Chen, 2000). However, it remains unclear whether inclusive orientations will transcend group identity concerns and if older Asian American adolescent will exhibit ingroup bias driven by identity concerns. We expected non-Asian American adolescents to respond to inclusive and exclusive deviant group members in similar ways as in Study 1, based on SRD and expectations that morality would be applied similarly across intergroup contexts (Killen & Smetana, 2015).

Methods

Participants

Participants were recruited from public schools in the same metropolitan area in the United States as in Study 1. Non-Asian background participants included (N = 123, 63% female) 32, 13-years-old (M_{Age} = 12.79, SD_{Age} = 0.52), and 91 were 16-years-old (M_{Age} = 15.99, SD_{Age} = 0.37). Of these participants 73% were White-European American, 12 % were biracial/multiracial, 6% were African American, 5 % were Latin American, 4% were from other ethnic backgrounds but not Asian backgrounds. Participants of Asian background (N = 105) included, 50 13-year-olds (M_{Age} = 13.13, SD_{Age} = 0.37), and 55 16-year-olds (M_{Age} = 15.86, SD_{Age} = 0.53). This sample included mostly participants of Korean backgrounds (79%), with the remaining reporting varying Asian backgrounds (e.g., Chinese, Filipino). This breakdown, reflected Asian representation in the the Mid-Atlantic region of the U.S. where the study was conducted. We followed the same recruitment and survey administration procedures as those in Study 1.

Design and Measures

The same gender-matched survey design as the one in Study 1 was adopted, but the group members were Asian and non-Asian friends presented with both first and last names (e.g., Susan Kim, Diana Smith, see Figure 1b and 1c). Version 1 of the survey included an outgroup with an exclusive norm and an ingroup with an inclusive norm (48% of Non-Asian background sample, 46% of Asian background sample), while version 2 of the survey included an outgroup with an inclusive norm and an ingroup with an exclusive norm (52% of Non-Asian background sample, 54% of Asian background sample). Inclusive and exclusive norms were described in the same way as in Study 1. The group's ethnic identity was described as follows:

Asian background group:

"Your/A group of friends who are of Asian backgrounds."

Non-Asian background group:

"Your/A group of friends who are not of Asian backgrounds."

Participants underwent the same group identification task as in Study 1 and responded to the same Evaluations of Deviant Act measure and Evaluations of Deviant Act Reasoning measure (see Supplemental Materials).

Results

Non-Asian Background Sample

The ANOVA analysis that was conducted in study 1 was implemented for this study. A main effect for Deviant Act was found, $F(1, 111) = 133.79$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .54$, indicating participants were approving of an ethnically inclusive deviant who challenged an exclusive group norm ($M = 4.75$, $SD = 1.44$), and not approving of an ethnically exclusive deviant ($M = 2.28$, $SD = 1.42$, see Figure 2b). A marginal effect was found for the interaction *Deviant Act* × *Group Identity* ($F(1, 111) = 3.18$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$). Pairwise comparisons showed non-Asian participants evaluated an exclusive outgroup deviant (Asian background) more negatively than the Non-Asian deviant, $p = .002$ ($M_{Outgroup\ Exclusive\ Deviant} = 1.92$, $SD = 1.41$; $M_{Ingroup\ Exclusive\ Deviant} = 2.69$, $SD = 1.57$, see Figure 2b).

Asian Background Sample

When testing expectations for participants of Asian backgrounds, an effect for the Deviant Act, $F(1, 95) = 99.97$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .51$ was found, showing participants were approving of an ethnically inclusive deviant who challenged an exclusive group norm ($M = 4.55$, $SD = 1.59$), and not approving of an ethnically exclusive deviant who challenged an inclusive group norm ($M = 2.28$, $SD = 1.42$, Figure 2c). An interaction effect for *Deviant Act* × *Age Group* was found, $F(1, 95) = 7.95$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$). Pairwise comparisons examining this interaction,

indicated 16-year-olds were more approving of the ethnically inclusive deviant than 13-year-olds, $p = .002$ (13-year-olds: $M = 4.02$, $SD = 1.73$; 16-year-olds: $M = 5.04$, $SD = 1.29$) . No effect was found for the interaction *Deviant Act* × *Group Identity*, and planned comparisons for this interaction showed no statistically significant differences indicating no overall ingroup bias or in older adolescents.

Study 2 Discussion

In the current study approval of those who challenged exclusive norms and disapproval of those who challenged inclusive norms were generalizable to an Asian/non-Asian intergroup context and found among both Asian American and non-Asian American adolescents. Disapproval of exclusive deviant peers and approval of inclusive deviant peers were grounded in moral reasoning (see Supplemental Materials). Approval of inclusive deviant peers transcended group identity concerns for both Asian American and non-Asian American adolescents. This indicates moral concerns are prevailing across samples as well as intergroup context in supporting those who challenge ethnically exclusive group norms, which is consistent with research and perspective of the generalizability of morality across social groups (Killen & Smetana, 2015). However, as with non-Arab Americans, non-Asian adolescents applied more leniency to exclusive ingroup peers who challenge inclusive group norms compared to outgroup peers who did the same. Perhaps awareness of status may be leaking into adolescents' judgments, especially if the outgroup is perceived as lower in social status than the ingroup (McGuire et al. 2019).

While age-related hypotheses based on older adolescents' stronger concerns for group identity, were not confirmed in this study as well, interestingly approval for inclusive deviant peers, was greater among 16-year-olds Asian Americans compared to 13-year-olds, suggesting

that challenges to exclusivity may become more salient for older minoritized adolescents. This could be a result of growing experiences with exclusion among Asian American middle adolescents (Fisher, et al., 2000) and adolescents' support for autonomous thinking (Smetana, 2011). Evidence for the latter was found in Asian participants' more frequent use of autonomy reasoning when reasoning about an inclusive deviant member compared to an exclusive deviant, which was driven by 16-year-olds (see Supplemental Materials).

Findings points to growing concerns with autonomy among older Asian American adolescents, a view that is sometimes muted in cross-cultural research focusing on Asian youth's concerns with group obligations and conformity to authority (Fuligni et al., 1999). This study provided support for SRDs' predictions that adolescents approve of those who challenge exclusive group norms across intergroup context and across ethnic samples in the United States. It is still unknown, however, whether the findings can be generalizable to intergroup contexts outside the United States, in understudied populations around the world. Study 3 aimed to test our hypotheses in such as sample.

Study 3

Past intergroup research focused on racial or ethnic inclusion and exclusion in predominantly European and North American samples. Recently, a study with Lebanese Arab adolescents, an under-represented population in developmental and social psychology research, evidenced inter-cultural inclusivity in a Lebanese/American intergroup context (Anonymous, 2021). However, less is known about whether Lebanese youth value those who stand up to injustices such as inter-cultural exclusion. While research with young Lebanese adults points to a majority valuing interdependent selves and social groups (Ayyash-Abdo, 2001), more recent research demonstrated that Lebanese (18 – 25 years) also value helpfulness, social justice, and

independence of thought (Harb, 2010). In light of this more recent research and from an SRD perspective, we expected Lebanese youth would approve of inclusive deviants and disapprove of exclusive deviants. While inter-cultural inclusivity of Lebanese adolescents was demonstrated in previous research, expectations for outgroup inclusivity varied by age, indicating that older adolescents expected an American outgroup to be less inclusive than younger adolescents (Anonymous, 2021). This indicated an expectation for bias among American outgroup peers. Therefore, ingroup bias among older adolescents was also expected for this context.

An American outgroup was chosen for this study, given that an Arab perspective was missing from Study 1 and an American outgroup would be the reasonable parallel outgroup. Additionally, although immigration patterns in Lebanon are different from the United States, the American category is a relevant outgroup given it is highly politicized among Lebanese adults, and often associated with negative traits and attributions (Pew Research Center, 2005).

Methods

Participants

Participants included 275 Lebanese youth (42.5% female, 57.5% male) who attended private schools in Beirut, Lebanon, and nearby suburbs. Private schools in Lebanon serve low-middle to high-income families. Among the participants, 87 were aged 12 years (M_{Age} = 11.95, SD_{Age} = 0.55, 52% female) and 188 were aged 16 years (M_{Age} = 15.92, SD_{Age} =0.99, 38% female); 65% of them were of Lebanese nationality only, and the other 35% were dual nationals of Lebanon and another country (but not the United States). The original sample consisted of 328 participants. Participants reporting dual identity of Lebanese and American (N = 39), 10 participants who reported other nationalities (i.e., Syrian, Dutch), and four participants who did not report their nationality were removed.

Procedure

Only schools in which subjects were taught in English were solicited for participation to control for language comprehension, and language as a potential barrier to inclusion (see Beißert, et al., 2020). Most schools (public and private) in Lebanon are bilingual and teach either English or French as part of their curriculum. Upon receiving approval from the school principal, parental consent forms and student assent forms were distributed to students in grades 6, 7, 10, and 11. Lebanese research assistants distributed questionnaires to students with signed assent and parental consent in groups of 20-25. Questionnaires were completed in 30-40 minutes.

Design and measures

The survey design in Study 1 and 2 was adopted, but the groups in the study were described as 'Your group of Lebanese friends' and 'A group of American (non-Arab) friends' (see Figure 1d). As in the previous studies, two versions of the questionnaire were randomly administered (Version 1: 49.5% n = 136; Version 2: 50.5% n = 139, evenly divided by age). Version 1 included one story about an American group with an exclusion norm and another story about a Lebanese group with an inclusion norm. Group norms were reversed in Version 2. Participants underwent the same group identification task as in Study 1 and 2, read the same wording for the exclusive and inclusive peer norms and responded to the same Evaluations of Deviant Act measure and Evaluations of Deviant Act Reasoning measure (see Supplemental Materials).

Results

To test expectations the ANOVA analysis that was conducted in Study 1 and 2 was implemented for this study. A main effect for Deviant Act was found, $F(1, 258) = 125.25$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .32$, indicated that participants were more approving of an ethnically inclusive deviant

peer (M = 4.49, SD = 1.64, Figure 2d), and not approving of an ethnically exclusive deviant peer (M = 2.85, SD = 1.83). No effect for the interaction *Deviant Act* × *Group Identity* was found so to test apriori expectations about ingroup bias pairwise comparisons were conducted to examine differences in evaluations between one's ingroup deviant and an outgroup deviant, as well as age-related differences. These comparisons showed no statistically significant differences and no other effects were found.

Study 3 Discussion

Hypotheses for approval of those who challenge exclusive group norms were supported for Lebanese Arab youth. This is important because it provides yet another intergroup context as well as un understudied youth population in which SRD is applicable. The hypothesis for ingroup bias was not supported, indicating that further research is needed to understand the role of social and global status in determining the factors that contribute to ingroup bias or outgroup prejudice.

General Discussion

Overall, in this novel context where ethnically and culturally exclusive group norms were being challenged, moral concerns outweighed group concerns about non-conforming group members and disruptions to homophily. This main finding was replicated across the three intergroup contexts and four samples demonstrating generalizability of such approval. Therefore, consistent with SRD, findings evidenced that group norms advocating for ethnic and cultural exclusion can be added to the list of unjust norms that youth are willing to challenge (Mulvey & Killen, 2017). Additionally, counter to some existing narratives that adolescents from Asian and Lebanese cultures are overly concerned with conformity and maintaining group cohesion (Ayyash-Abdo, 2001; Fuligni, 2009), Asian American and Lebanese adolescents

supported non-conformity and deviance from a group, when such deviance advocated for inclusion. Thus, providing further support to the cross-cultural application of morality (Killen & Smetana, 2015), specifically though in an intergroup context when competing concerns for group functioning are present (Rutland, et al., 2010). However, levels of importance of inclusive norms may still vary across cultural groups, therefore future research should conduct direct analyses of differences between samples.

Ingroup bias is often expected in older adolescent samples due to identity concerns, but this was not demonstrated across samples and intergroup context. Ingroup bias was evidenced by only non-Arab and non-Asian American adolescents who were majority White/Caucasian, when disapproving of exclusive deviant acts. It is important to note, though, that this bias did not show endorsement of exclusive ingroup deviants but indicated ambiguity about the act. This bias may have manifested because the victim of exclusion in the outgroup scenario was non-Arab and non-Asian, and a member of the participants' assigned ingroup. The threat of having an ingroup member harmed by exclusion may have heightened threat from the outgroup for these samples, thus leading to ingroup bias, which is consistent with social identity developmental theory (Nesdale, 2001). This could also explain why the ingroup bias was found across both early and middle adolescents and not just middle adolescents. Outgroup threat may have over shadowed concerns for maintaining group identity, and was perceived by both age groups. Nonetheless, this ingroup bias was not found in Asian American or Lebanese adolescents, suggesting adolescents' identity concerns may be context specific, and ingroup bias in minoritized groups exists in other contexts (Rutland et al., 2010). Additionally, it is possible that group status whether it is with respect to different ethnic groups in the United States or whether related to status on the global level, may be at play here (McGuire et al., 2019). More research is needed to examine the role of

group status on youth's willingness to stand up for social justice such as when peer groups vary in popularity status, and contexts of varying status differences based on gender, ethnicity, or socioeconomic.

Interestingly age only mattered for adolescents of Asian background. In this case, older Asian American adolescents were more approving of an inclusive deviant act than 13-year-olds. This could be a result of growing experiences with discrimination (Fisher et al., 2000), or growing approval of nonconformity as Asian adolescents reconcile between family values of obedience and broader societal values of independence and autonomy (Fuligini et al., 1999). Support for the latter was found in adolescents' reasoning (see Supplemental Materials), as Asian American16-year-olds were more likely to attribute autonomy to the inclusive deviant than 13-year-olds. To further shed light on this question it would be helpful to include additional measures examining support for varying types of conformity or deviance from peer groups, alongside measures of acculturation for minoritized youth.

These findings should be considered in light of some limitations, including the use of hypothetical situations. Future studies should examine actual incidents of challenging ethnically inclusive and exclusive group norms. This can be done by examining adolescents' narratives of such instances or daily dairy accounts of exclusion. Additionally, levels of identification with hypothetical groups should be examined in future research to confirm identification and to test whether strong group affiliations dissuade adolescents from challenging unjust norms. These findings affirm that inclusive social justice orientations are valued among youth across several populations, even if this means going against one's group.

Furthermore, support for inclusive deviants transcended group identity, and across multiple sample providing support for the application of SRD across ethnic and cultural groups.

The reasons provided include a mixture of concerns for group functioning, social justice, and recognition of individual autonomy within peer groups; indicating adolescents' thinking about those who challenge injustice is multifaceted and draws on multiple domains of social knowledge.

These finding are important for supporting interventions aimed at encouraging adolescents to challenge injustices, and by alleviating concerns that peers may not approve of such behaviors. Additionally, knowing how adolescents reason about their approval of exclusive deviants and disapproval of inclusive deviants, can inform interventions by identifying the narratives that should be combatted. Thus, providing further tools to motivate adolescents to challenge ethnically and culturally exclusive peer norms and create more healthy and inclusive peer environments.

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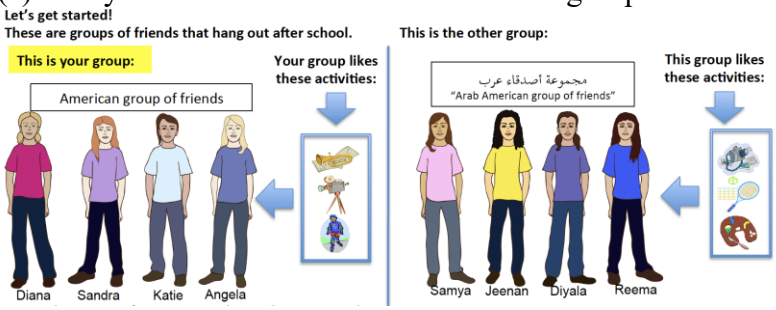
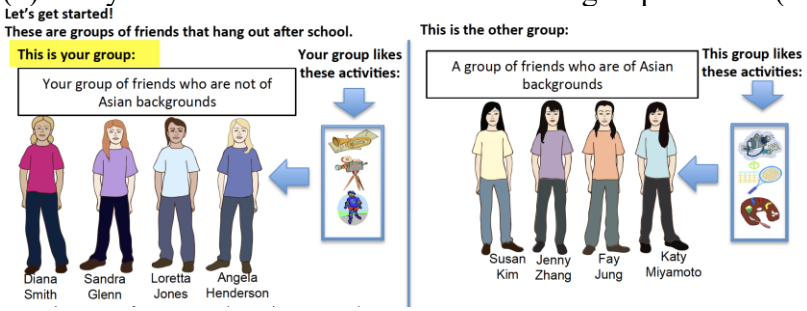
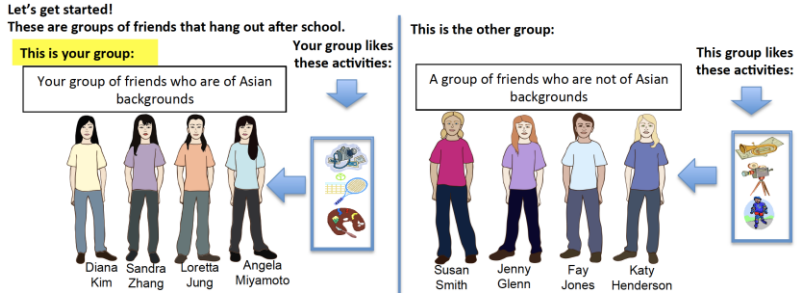
Figure 1.
Study Stimuli
(a) Study 1: Arab/ non-Arab American Intergroup Context



(b) Study 2: Asian/non-Asian American Intergroup Context (non-Asian Ingroup)



(c) Study 2: Asian/non-Asian American Intergroup Context (Asian Ingroup)



(d) Study 3 Lebanese/American Intergroup Context

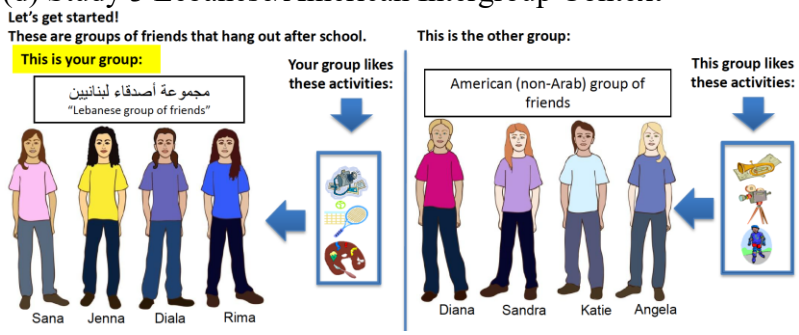
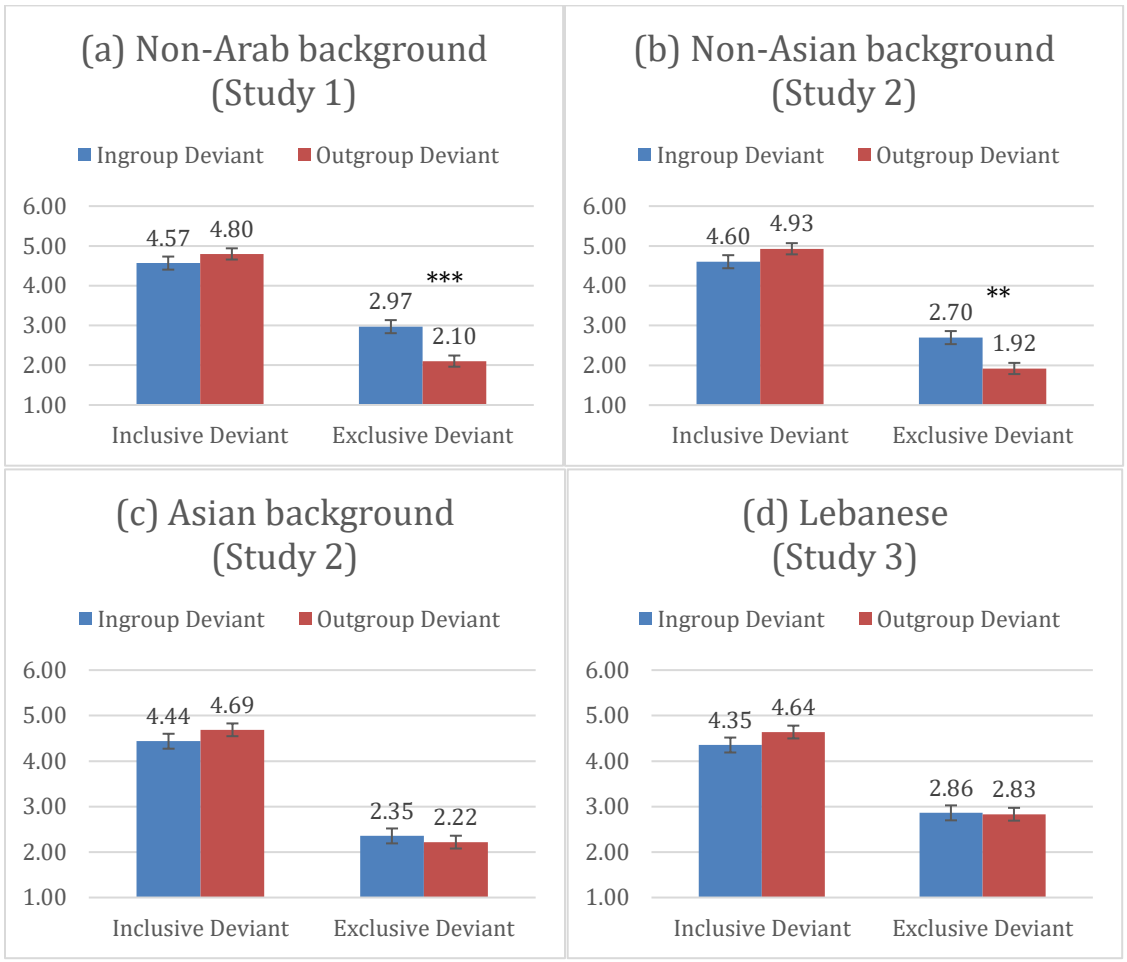


Figure.2
Evaluations of Deviant Acts



Note. Error bars are standard errors. 1 = Really not okay, 6 = Really Okay.
**p <.01, ***p <.001. All evaluations between inclusive and exclusive deviants were significant at p <.001.