

Peer Group Norms Affect Adolescents' Bystander Social Cognitions

Seçil Gönültaş^{1, 2}, Eirini K. Argyri², Ayşe Şule Yüksel², Luke McGuire²,
Sally B. Palmer³, Melanie Killen⁴, and Adam Rutland²

¹ Department of Psychology, Bilkent University

² Department of Psychology, University of Exeter

³ Graduate School of Education, University of Exeter

⁴ Department of Human Development and Quantitative Methodology, University of Maryland

This study examined the impact of peer norms on judgments and reasoning about bystander responses to the social exclusion of immigrants among 431 British early ($M_{\text{age}} = 11.67$, $SD = 1.64$) and late ($M_{\text{age}} = 16.73$, $SD = 0.87$) adolescents. Participants were randomly assigned to experimental conditions in which ingroup and outgroup peer norms were either inclusive or exclusive. Subsequently, they read a story in which one British peer excluded an immigrant peer while another British peer challenged the exclusion. Participants rated their individual and perceived group evaluation of the challenger. Further, they were asked to evaluate how likely their peer group would be to support them if they challenged the exclusion. Results showed that only late adolescents exposed to the inclusive ingroup norm were more likely to perceive that their group would evaluate bystander challenging positively than those exposed to the exclusive norm. Late adolescents perceived higher peer support for being inclusive when the outgroup held an inclusive norm compared to early adolescents. Results suggest a developmental shift during adolescence, with reasoning and evaluations of challenging social exclusion becoming increasingly related to perceived ingroup and outgroup norms. Further, inclusive ingroup norms were indirectly associated with greater challenging through perceived group support for both age groups. Promoting inclusive peer group norms in schools can foster bystander challenging of immigrant exclusion, which in turn can help provide a safe and peaceful school environment for all youth.

Public Significance Statement

The present study documents that inclusive ingroup and outgroup norms (e.g., where groups welcome and include others perceived as different from the group) were increasingly positively related to adolescents' evaluations and reasoning about peer bystanders' decisions to challenge exclusion. Interventions to reduce the exclusion of immigrants among adolescents should encourage inclusive rather than exclusive peer group norms and motivate peers to be active bystanders who will challenge exclusionary behavior. This is especially important considering the global concerns around negative attitudes toward immigrants.

Keywords: ingroup and outgroup norms, inclusive and exclusive norms, challenging bystander responses, intergroup social exclusion

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Intergroup social exclusion occurs when children and adolescents are not allowed to access an opportunity or experience due to one or more social identities (Killen & Rutland, 2011). This type of exclusion stems from prejudice and discrimination rather than from interpersonal processes reflecting the individual characteristics of the

excluded child (Killen et al., 2013). It adversely affects mental well-being, peer relationships, and academic adjustment (Raabe, 2019). Immigrant children and adolescents are vulnerable to experiences of intergroup social exclusion. Only recently has the focus of social exclusion research centered on immigrant youth, particularly in

SEÇİL GÖNÜLTAŞ is an assistant professor at the Department of Psychology at Bilkent University. She was a postdoctoral research scholar at the Department of Psychology at the University of Exeter, working with Adam Rutland. She completed her PhD at the Lifespan Developmental Psychology Program at North Carolina State University in the United States. She holds a master's in developmental psychology at Koç University and a bachelor's degree from Boğaziçi University. Her research interest centers on investigating group processes (e.g., prejudice, discrimination, and threat perception) and social cognition (e.g., theory of mind) in relation to adolescents' and children's attitudes and behaviors in intergroup contexts.

She is interested in bullying and bystander interventions in intergroup contexts. Through her research, she hopes to translate this research agenda into policy-focused intervention programs aimed at fostering equity and social justice, especially in school settings.

EIRINI K. ARGYRI is a PhD researcher at the University of Exeter. She completed her philosophy, pedagogy, and psychology degree at the University of Ioannina, Greece, and her MSc in psychology of education at the Institute of Education, University College London. Her work explores normality, challenging and diversifying experiences. She started her academic research on prejudice and open-mindedness in development, looking at the role of norms in moral reasoning about exclusion. Eirini is

continued

countries where immigrants represent minoritized groups associated with stigma or negative societal attitudes, including in England (Jones & Rutland, 2018). One effective way to reduce social exclusion of immigrant students is encouraging their peers to challenge exclusion when they witness it as bystanders (Mulvey et al., 2016; Palmer & Abbott, 2018). Here, "challengers" are the peers who explicitly stand up for the excluded students. Challengers are essential to stop social exclusion and also reduce the effect of social exclusion on excluded children and adolescents. Thus, promoting positive views about challengers of social exclusion and other types of aggression in peer groups and classrooms can be an effective tool to increase peace in the school environment. Previous studies showed that feelings of being defended by peers are positively associated with excluded students' adjustment and social status in their peer groups (Sainio et al., 2011).

In the present study, for the first time, we experimentally manipulated ingroup and outgroup peer norms about the inclusion or exclusion of others as the main independent variable to examine whether British youth's evaluations of challengers changed and whether this made participants themselves more likely as bystanders to challenge the social exclusion of an immigrant peer. Thus, youth judgments and reasoning were the main outcomes of the study. As peer norms within intergroup dynamics are critical for adolescents (McGuire et al., 2015), it is important to understand how inclusive and exclusive peer group norms are related to their responses as bystanders to the exclusion of immigrants. As documented by recent research, children and adolescents evaluated prosocial bystanders more positively than inactive bystanders (Palmer, Hitti, et al., 2023). Thus, it is also important to understand how youth evaluate other bystanders who challenge social exclusion since if these other

particularly interested in the mechanisms triggered by challenging perceptions of normality and their layered impact on individual and collective potential for transformation. Currently, her research discusses uncertainty (in)tolerance, vulnerability, and prosociality in relation to the worldview shifts triggered by psychedelic substances.

AYŞE ŞULE YÜKSEL is a researcher at the Department of Research in Education at the Ministry of National Education in Türkiye and an associate member at the University of Exeter. She completed her PhD in psychology at the University of Exeter. Ayşe holds a master's from the University College London Institute of Education and a master's and a bachelor's degree from Istanbul University. She is interested in exploring mechanisms promoting prosocial behavior and social inclusion in educational settings. Her research interests are focused on social and moral development, including group dynamics and intergroup bullying; social exclusion and inclusion within intergroup contexts; prosocial behavior and bystander challenging; prejudice and intergroup processes; and interventions to reduce discrimination and bullying toward stigmatized youth in educational contexts.

LUKE MCGUIRE is a lecturer at the Department of Psychology at the University of Exeter. He completed his PhD at Goldsmiths, University of London. His research focuses on moral development between middle childhood and emerging adulthood, with a focus on the role of social conventions and group membership on moral decision making. He has worked on resource allocation, intergroup attitudes, science, technology, engineering, and mathematics inclusion, gender stereotyping, and, most recently, the development of speciesism.

SALLY B. PALMER is a lecturer in education and psychology at the University of Exeter. She examines psychological mechanisms that help explain when and why children and adolescents act prosocially and when they do not. Sally is particularly interested in understanding (1) when children and adolescents take action against bias-based bullying and (2) when children and adolescents take pro-environmental action. Sally applies social and developmental theories of "intergroup processes" (e.g., group identity, ingroup/outgroup status, and intergroup norms) to investigate factors that influence children's and adolescents' attitudes, intentions, and behaviors in contexts of social and environmental justice. Broadly, Sally is interested in how issues of social and environmental justice are understood across childhood and adolescence and how they can be supported and developed within educational settings.

MELANIE KILLEN is a distinguished university professor of human development and quantitative methodology, a professor of psychology (affiliate), and the director of the Social and Moral Development Lab at the University of Maryland. She is the editor of the Handbook of Moral Development with Judith G. Smetana (2008, 2014, 2022). Killen is an elected member of the National Academy of Education and a fellow of the Association for Psychological Science, the American Psychological Association, and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

Funded by the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes for Child Health and Human Development, Killen studies children's and adolescents' social cognition and moral reasoning, social exclusion and inclusion, stereotypes and bias, morality and theory of mind, intergroup attitudes and relationships, conceptions of social inequalities, broadening participation in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics, and school-based programs designed to facilitate inclusive classroom environments.

ADAM RUTLAND is a professor of psychology at Exeter University. He has contributed widely to various books and journals (including Psychological Science, Child Development, Developmental Psychology, Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, European Journal of Social Psychology, PLOS One, and Perspectives on Psychological Science) and is the coauthor (with Melanie Killen) of *Children and Social Exclusion: Morality, Prejudice, and Group Identity* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011). He is also coeditor of *The Wiley-Blackwell Handbook of Group Processes in Children and Adolescents* (2017, with Drew Nesdale and Christia Spears Brown) and the Sage Library in Developmental Psychology's five-volume reader on *Childhood Social Development* (2014, with Peter K. Smith). Adam's research interests are focused on social and moral development, including the following topics: social exclusion and inclusion within intergroup contexts; prejudice development; group dynamics and bullying; prosocial behavior and bystander challenging; science, technology, engineering, and mathematics engagement, identity, and stereotyping among minoritized youth; development of social identity, acculturation, and psychological well-being among ethnic minoritized youth; and interventions to reduce the social exclusion of stigmatized youth.

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CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THIS ARTICLE should be addressed to Seçil Gönültaş, Department of Psychology, Bilkent University, Office: H354-A, Bilkent, Ankara 06800, Turkey. Email: secilgonultas@bilkent.edu.tr or secil.gonultas@gmail.com

challengers are evaluated positively by peer groups, this is likely to normalize bystander challenging in the group and help solidify a descriptive group norm that challenging is typical (Palmer, Hitti, et al., 2023).

The social reasoning developmental approach (SRD; Killen & Rutland, 2011; Killen et al., 2013) argues that intergroup factors are connected to children's and adolescents' attitudes, evaluations, and behaviors. The SRD approach uses tenets of Social Domain Theory (Turiel, 1983), which suggests that children and adolescents weigh different domains of social knowledge when evaluating socially and morally relevant actions, including moral (e.g., fairness and welfare), social-conventional (e.g., social norms and group functioning), and personal domains (e.g., autonomy) concerns. The SRD approach uses these tenets to understand how children and adolescents weigh different domains of social knowledge when evaluating socially and morally relevant actions in the context of intergroup dynamics. The SRD approach contends that children and adolescents often evaluate social conflicts as unacceptable by considering moral concerns but might also support social conflicts due to group identity, group dynamics, and group functioning (e.g., Killen et al., 2013; Killen & Rutland, 2011). The SRD approach to intergroup social exclusion also contends that group norms shared among ingroup peers are important in terms of intergroup social exclusion. Youths' social judgments (evaluations and perceived peer supports) and reasoning are not only influenced by societal moral norms of inclusion but are also influenced by concerns about how their reactions might fit with belonging to a peer ingroup, the expectations of the ingroup or outgroup, and showing ingroup loyalty (McGuire et al., 2015; Palmer et al., 2021). Thus, norms around relations between ingroup and outgroup members are important factors in understanding and shaping social evaluations about peer bystanders' decisions to challenge exclusion to promote peaceful school environments.

Research has shown that supporting an ingroup norm of exclusion or inclusion is related to either promoting more negative or positive attitudes toward the outgroup (McGuire et al., 2015; Mulvey et al., 2016; Rutland et al., 2005) and outgroup norms of friendship or inclusion significantly reduces intergroup biases (Cameron et al., 2011; Feddes et al., 2009). Similarly, Marinucci and Riva (2021) found that having friendships and contact with nonimmigrant peers was a protective factor for immigrant children and adolescents in terms of negative social and mental health-related consequences of social exclusion. Importantly, research has also demonstrated that individuals increasingly consider multiple norms (e.g., ingroup and outgroup) from middle childhood and adolescence when evaluating social exclusion and inequality (Killen et al., 2013; Rutland & Killen, 2017).

Peer Group Norms and Individual and Group Evaluation of Challenger

Previous studies showed that children and adolescents were more likely to think that they would personally support challenging compared to their group (Gönültaş et al., 2022; Mulvey et al., 2018; Mulvey & Killen, 2016). This indicates that they can differentiate their individual perspectives from their perceived group perspective. More specifically, children and adolescents aged between 9 and 14 years evaluated that they were going to be more supportive of the challenger of gender-based social aggression and gender-based stereotypes compared to their groups in the intergroup context (Mulvey & Killen, 2016).

In another intergroup context, children differentiated their individual likelihood of being inclusive for an outgroup member and their group's inclusion likelihood (Mulvey et al., 2018). Accordingly, children between 8 and 11 were more likely to think they would be more inclusive of a language outgroup member than their group, documenting that group norms can be applied to different intergroup contexts. In a more recent study conducted by Gönültaş et al. (2022), results showed that children and adolescents thought their peer group would evaluate the challenger significantly less positively than they would in the context of intergroup social exclusion of immigrants. Considering the growing literature on the differentiation between individual and group evaluation, it is important to understand and compare adolescents' own judgments and their perception of their group's judgments.

Peer Group Norms and Bystander Responses to Social Exclusion

Previous research has examined how perceived norms, based on youth's self-reports, are related to bystander responses in interpersonal and intergroup social conflicts (Kollerová et al., 2018; Pozzoli et al., 2012). Similarly, studies have shown a connection between perceived peer group norms and bystander responses among children and adolescents within intergroup bullying situations (Brenick & Romano, 2016; Cocco et al., 2022; Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2021; Palmer et al., 2015). For example, Palmer et al. (2015) showed that perceived ingroup norms about challenging mediated the relationship between age and bystanders' responses to intervene in interschool bullying. Further, Gönültaş and Mulvey (2021) demonstrated that adolescents who reported that their peers were positive toward immigrants were more likely to report that they would actively intervene in intergroup bullying of immigrant peers.

There are some limitations to the current literature on perceived peer group norms, evaluations about challenging exclusion, and bystander responses. First, most of these studies examined peer group norms with self-report measures in correlational studies. Previous research has shown that youth are not always accurate in perceiving the attitudes of their peers and can often socially project their own beliefs onto their peer group (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2016). Social projection is a psychological tendency to use the self as a heuristic to evaluate social groups and project self-attributes onto a group (Robbins & Krueger, 2005). Therefore, in the present study, we manipulated the peer group norms. Second, typically, these studies have only examined the effects of ingroup norms without considering the role of outgroup norms in the bystander reactions to intergroup exclusion. Focusing on outgroup norms is also important since previous research has shown that outgroup norms of friendship or inclusion from seven to 8 years old can significantly reduce intergroup biases (Cameron et al., 2011; Feddes et al., 2009). In addition, developmental research has also demonstrated that from middle childhood into adolescence, youth begin to consider multiple norms (e.g., ingroup and outgroup norms) when evaluating social exclusion and inequality (Palmer, Hitti, et al., 2023). Thus, in the present study, we focused on both ingroup and outgroup norms.

Another limitation is that previous research has not explicitly addressed the effects of *inclusive* and *exclusive* peer group norms on adolescents' evaluations of the challenger and bystander responses to intergroup social exclusion. Prior research has focused primarily on perceived general liking or positivity toward the outgroup (e.g.,

Brenick & Romano, 2016; Cocco et al., 2022; Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2021) rather than whether the peer group will include or exclude an outgroup peer—which is specific to the act of social exclusion a bystander would witness. Further, most of the previous studies have examined the role of perceived peer group norms only in bystander responses. However, it is also important to understand evaluations of a challenger peer and perceived group support about being inclusive toward an outgroup peer. These evaluations help set the descriptive normative context within any peer group.

Ingroup and outgroup norms about being inclusive and exclusive can be another important factor in shaping children's and adolescents' evaluation of the challenger peer. For example, if children and adolescents are surrounded by peers who are inclusive of everyone (including the members of outgroups), then they might be more likely to evaluate the challenger positively, more likely to think that their group would be supportive of the inclusion, and more likely to challenge the social exclusion actively. Further, there can be a psychological process underlying the effect of peer group norms on bystander responses, such as perceived group support. For example, McGuire et al. (2020) showed that children aged 8–12 years' perceived group evaluation of a deviant member mediated the relationship between science, technology, engineering, and mathematics activity norm and their evaluation of the deviant member. Thus, in the context of intergroup social exclusion of an immigrant outgroup member, exposing inclusive norms might shape adolescents' perceptions about their peers' prosocial responses to social exclusion, and they might be more likely to think their peers are supportive of challengers if they are inclusive of everyone. This could facilitate their decisions to be a challenger as they are more likely to feel their peers' support when they show prosocial responses to promote peace in the school environment. It is also likely that the presence of inclusive norms means they will detect the prejudicial nature of intergroup social exclusion, perceive group support for being inclusive, and show challenging bystander responses. Relatedly, exclusive group norms can reduce the likelihood of showing prosocial responses by decreasing the perception of perceived group support. Thus, efforts to promote challenging bystander responses may also benefit from examining individual and group evaluations of a challenger and perceived group support for being inclusive. Accordingly, perceived group support was examined as a mediator in the relationship between norm and bystander responses.

Age-Related Differences in the Effect of Group Norms

During childhood and adolescence, the importance of peer groups and their norms increases greatly (e.g., Brown & Larson, 2009). The SRD approach contends that when evaluating and reasoning about intergroup social exclusion, attention to group norms increases with age from late childhood into adolescence (Rutland et al., 2010; Rutland & Killen, 2015). Empirical studies have also documented a developmental shift, with increasing attention to group identification and group norms combined with a decline in prosocial responses to social conflicts in intergroup contexts from late childhood and into adolescence (Killen et al., 2013; McGuire et al., 2018; Palmer et al., 2015).

Research on whether peer group norms increasingly influence bystander intergroup evaluations and reasoning from early to late adolescence is still limited. To examine possible age-related differences from a developmental perspective, we have conducted our research with early adolescents and late adolescents. In line with the SRD model of

social exclusion (Killen et al., 2013; Rutland et al., 2010), we anticipate that the importance of peer group norms concerning bystander responses to exclusion should increase during adolescence. This is a period during which adolescents gain more experience of group dynamics and a more nuanced understanding of peer group norms.

The Role of Reasoning

Based on the SRD theory, previous studies documented that children's and adolescents' reasoning differs based on inclusive or exclusive peer group norms (e.g., McGuire et al., 2018) and age (e.g., McGuire et al., 2017) in intergroup resource allocation. For example, McGuire and colleagues' research showed inclusive peer group norms can encourage adolescents to prioritize moral concerns, while exclusionary peer norms can prompt considerations of group functioning and dynamics when participants are asked to justify their bystander reactions. Similarly, it is possible that adolescents increasingly understand that underlying prejudice and discrimination are the reasons for intergroup social exclusion, and they show this understanding when they reason about their bystander responses (Yüksel et al., 2021). In light of previous literature, we would expect adolescents' reasoning about their bystander responses to intergroup social exclusion to differ as a function of group norms and age. More specifically, hearing about inclusive peer group norms might motivate adolescents to consider moral concerns (e.g., fairness, rights, prejudice, equality, universality, empathy toward victimized peers, and concerns for others' welfare; Killen & Rutland, 2011). As the importance of peer group norms increases during adolescence, inclusive ingroup norms can be even more effective in promoting moral reasoning for late adolescents compared to early adolescents. Similarly, exclusive outgroup norms might motivate adolescents to consider societal and conventional concerns (e.g., social and group norms, group dynamics, group loyalty and identity, group functioning, benefiting the group or protecting the group, group repercussions, and reputation management) and late adolescents who are surrounded by exclusive peer norms can be more likely to consider those concerns in their evaluations.

The Present Study

In the present study, we examined the effect of ingroup and outgroup norms of inclusion and exclusion on (a) adolescents' individual and perceived group evaluations of a challenger peer, (b) perceived group support, and (c) participants' bystander responses to the intergroup exclusion of immigrants. Through hypothetical scenarios, we manipulated adolescents' perceptions of the ingroup and outgroup norms so they were seen as either inclusive or exclusive toward the other group.

We chose immigration as the intergroup context as immigrants are stigmatized and treated differently in the United Kingdom because of nationality, religion, language, culture, etc. (Creighton & Jamal, 2022). Among different immigrant groups in the United Kingdom, we identified an immigrant group that is predominantly non-English speaking, non-Christian, and perceived as culturally different. Thus, we purposefully presented a Turkish immigrant peer in the hypothetical exclusion scenarios, as Turkish immigrants are perceived as dissimilar to British individuals compared to other immigrant groups, like Australians (Blinder & Richards, 2020; Palmer, Gönültaş, et al., 2023). We chose adolescence as our age

period as the importance of peer group norms increases greatly from childhood into adolescence (e.g., Brown & Larson, 2009). We examined early and late adolescence as this is a dynamic social and cognitive developmental period. We examined both ingroup and outgroup norms, as intergroup relations are two-way streets. In line with the SRD approach, ingroup and outgroup norms are both related to adolescents' judgments, evaluations, and responses in intergroup contexts (McGuire et al., 2017). In other words, adolescents need to know what their group thinks about outgroup members and what outgroup members think about their group while giving their moral judgments, evaluations, and responses. Further, examining both ingroup and outgroup norms simultaneously also provides information about the relative valence of those norms (McGuire et al., 2017).

Outgroup empathy, perceived similarity with the outgroup, and perceived outgroup liking were included as covariates in our analyses. This was because research shows higher empathy is related to more bystander-challenging behaviors (Vezzali et al., 2020), lower levels of similarity with the outgroup (e.g., language) are related to more negative attitudes toward outgroups (Beißert et al., 2020) and lower prejudice is related to active challenging bystander responses in the context of intergroup bullying of immigrants (Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2021). The following hypotheses were tested within the framework of the present study.

Hypotheses

1. Participants who were presented with inclusive (rather than exclusive) ingroup and outgroup norms would be more likely to individually evaluate the ingroup challenger positively, to think that their group would be positive toward the ingroup challenger, and to think that their group would like them if they wanted to be inclusive toward the excluded immigrant peer.
2. The above-expected differences based on group norms would be more evident in late rather than early adolescents because the salience of group norms and the ability to attend to group norms within intergroup contexts increases between these ages.
3. Participants who were presented with inclusive group norms would be more likely to use moral reasoning in their individual and group evaluations, while participants who were exposed to the exclusive group norms would be more likely to refer to social norms and group functioning in their reasoning.
4. Early adolescents would be more likely to reason using the moral principles of welfare and empathy, while late adolescents would be more likely to reason about prejudice, discrimination, and group norms.
5. Participants' individual evaluations of the challenger would be more likely to be positive than participants' perceived group evaluations.
6. Participants presented with inclusive (rather than exclusive) ingroup and outgroup norms would be more likely to challenge the excluder and less likely to support the excluder.
7. Lastly, we expected that the inclusive group norm would be related to prosocial bystander responses via perceived group support for being inclusive toward the excluded immigrant peer.

Method

Participants

Participants included in the analyses were 209 British early adolescents ($M_{age} = 11.67$, $SD = 1.64$, 124 girls, ranged between 9 and 13 years) and 224 late adolescents ($M_{age} = 16.73$, $SD = 0.87$, 153 girls, ranged between 15 and 18 years). Participants were primarily White (87.3%), with .9% (Black, Black African, Black Caribbean), 1.2% (White Irish), .2% (Gypsy/Roma), .5% (Pakistani), .9% (Other White European), 3.2% Multiracial, and 4.8% (Other ethnic group) and .7% (missing).

For analysis, some participants were excluded from our original sample. First, we excluded participants who did not identify themselves as British ($n = 55$), participants who did identify themselves as Turkish ($n = 8$), and those who did not answer the question asking them whether they were Turkish ($n = 72$). Second, participants who could not pass the experimental ingroup and outgroup norm manipulation check questions described below ($n = 254$ fail, $n = 4$ missing) were also excluded from the analysis. Early adolescents ($n = 178$) were more likely to fail norm manipulation checks compared to late adolescents ($n = 76$). Participants who heard about ingroup exclusive norms were more likely to fail the norm manipulation checks compared to participants who were exposed to the ingroup inclusive norms, Ingroup Exclusive-Outgroup Inclusive ($n = 40$ fail), Ingroup Exclusive-Outgroup Exclusive ($n = 42$ fail), Ingroup Inclusive-Outgroup Exclusive ($n = 34$ fail), Ingroup Inclusive-Outgroup Inclusive ($n = 21$). These differences may reflect more social projection among our younger participants, who might project their inclusive responses onto their ingroup when it was exclusive (Abrams, 2011; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2016). Further, we excluded participants who did not pass the two attention check questions ($n = 23$ fail, $n = 19$ missing; $n = 23$ fail, $n = 3$ missing).

We ran a power analysis (GPower 3.1; Faul et al., 2009), which indicated that a sample size of 380 participants (for F test analyses for analysis of covariance [ANCOVA], with mixed measures, and within-between interactions, eight groups) would be needed to detect effect size at .20 with the desired statistical power at .95, and an α of .05. The final sample in the study meets the power requirements.

Design

This study employed a 2 (Age: early adolescents vs. late adolescents) \times 2 (Ingroup Norm: Inclusive vs. Exclusive) \times 2 (Outgroup Norm: Inclusive vs. Exclusive) between-participant design. Participants were randomly presented with one of four conditions that varied whether the group norm belonged to either the ingroup or outgroup and whether the norm was inclusive or exclusive (please see Table 1 for demographic information for each condition). Our independent variable was the norm condition, and our outcome variables were evaluations, judgments, reasoning, and responses. The reasoning included qualitative open-ended "why" questions after

Table 1
Demographic Variables by Condition

Condition	Number of participants	<i>M</i> _{age}	<i>SD</i>	Gender
Ingroup exclusive-outgroup inclusive	97	14.38	2.92	64 girls
Ingroup exclusive-outgroup exclusive	109	14.45	2.85	69 girls
Ingroup inclusive-outgroup exclusive	104	14.45	2.66	62 girls
Inclusive-outgroup inclusive	123	13.94	2.94	82 girls

evaluations and judgment questions to analyze reasoning, which were coded and analyzed quantitatively.

Procedure

Participants were asked to imagine being part of a gender-matched group of British friends (see Mulvey et al., 2016).

Main Independent Measure

Group Norm Manipulations

Participants were presented with ingroup norms (inclusive or exclusive) followed by a manipulation check question. Then, on a separate page, the perceived outgroup norms (exclusive or inclusive) appeared, followed by a manipulation check question.

Ingroup Inclusive. Participants were told, "Here is a bit more information about your group: In the past, people in your group of British friends have liked and been friends with everyone, even those not similar to your group."

Ingroup Exclusive. Participants were told, "Here is a bit more information about your group: In the past, people in your group of British friends have not liked and been friends with just anyone, only those similar to your group."

Ingroup Norm Manipulation Check. They were told, "We just want to check you understand the above. Your group of British friends either like and are friends with everyone, even those not similar to them OR only like and are friends with those similar to them." The participants selected one of these options.

Outgroup Inclusive. Participants were told, "From talking to other people in your group of British friends you also know that: People who come to live in Britain from other countries like and are friends with everyone, even those not similar to them."

Outgroup Exclusive. Participants were told,

From talking to other people in your group of British friends you also know that: People who come to live in Britain from other countries do not like and are not friends with just anyone, only those similar to them.

Outgroup Norm Manipulation Check. They were told, "We just want to check you understand the above. People who come to live in Britain from other countries either like and are friends with everyone, even those not similar to them" OR "only like and are friends with those similar to them." The participants selected one of these options.

Social Exclusion Scenario

Next, participants read about an after-school cooking and baking club their group attended and were asked to imagine the

types of food they would cook. Then, participants read about a newcomer to the school (described as Turkish) who wanted to join their group in the after-school activity: "Imagine one week there's a new student who has come along to your group's cooking club and wants to join in. Deniz (*victim*) was born in Turkey. S/he recently moved from Türkiye with his/her family to live in Britain." Sam (*excluder*), who is in your group of British friends, says to Deniz (*victim*), "We don't want you to join our group because you are from somewhere else—you're different." Then, participants were presented with the second attention check question: "We want to make sure you understand the story. Where was Deniz born?" After the second attention check question, participants read that someone in their British group of friends disagreed with Sam (*excluder*):

Alex (challenger), who is in your group of British friends, is one of the friends in your British group. S/he disagrees with Sam (*excluder*). Alex (challenger) thinks your group should invite Deniz (*victim*) to cook with them. Imagine that Alex (challenger) tells Sam (*excluder*) that they think the group should invite Deniz (*victim*) to cook with them.

Outcome Measures

Evaluations and Judgments

Individual Evaluation of the Challenger Act. After being presented with the "We want to know what you think about this" statement, participants were asked to report "How OK or not OK was it for [challenger] to say that to [excluder]?" on a 6-point Likert type scale from 1 (*definitely not OK*) to 6 (*yes, definitely OK*).

Perceived Group Evaluation of the Challenger Act. Then, participants were asked to evaluate "How OK or not OK does your group think [challenger] is for telling [excluder] that [excluded] should be invited to cook with the group?" Participants responded on a scale from 1 (*definitely not OK*) to 6 (*yes, definitely OK*).

Perceived Group Support for Inclusion Decision. Participants read, "Imagine that you also think the group should include [excluded]. How much do you think your British group would like you for doing that?" by responding on a 1 (*no way*) to 6 (*yes, definitely*) scale.

Reasoning

Reasoning Categories

After each evaluation question, participants were asked "why" questions to justify their evaluation. For example, after the individual evaluation of the challenger act question ("How OK or not OK was it for [challenger] to say that to [excluder]?"), we asked participants to respond, "Why do you think that?"

Participants' responses were coded based on the SRD approach (Killen & Rutland, 2011). Our coding system consisted of seven reasoning types: Moral: (a) Fairness, rightfulness, and individual rights; (b) Prejudice, equality, and universality; (c) Empathy, concerns for others' welfare, and perspective-taking; Societal and Conventional: (d) Social and group norms, Group dynamics, Group loyalty and identity; (e) Group functioning, benefitting the group or protecting the group; (f) Group-repercussions and reputation management, and Personal: (g) Autonomy (participant-focussed and victim-focussed). We had an additional code called (h) Undifferentiated (other; see Table 2 for examples of each category and see Supplemental Materials for the frequencies).

We coded all positive and negative references under the related category (see Table 2 for example responses). Double and triple codes were used when there was more than one category to capture. More specifically, the reasoning was coded as 1 = full use of only that category; .5 = partial use of that category with another category (equal use); .33 = partial use of that category along with two other categories, and 0 = no use of that category. Two independent coders completed the coding. For the individual evaluation of the challenger act question, 65.2% of participants used a single code, while 34.8% of the participants referred to more than one reasoning category. For the perceived group evaluation of the challenger act question, 82.6% of participants, and for the perceived group support for inclusion decision, 86% of participants referred to only one reasoning code. Interrater reliability was conducted on approximately 25% of the interviews, with good reliabilities for all single, double, and triple codes (Cohen's κ for each outcome: .96, .97, .99, and .97 respectively).

Different categories were used in the analyses for each outcome based on their frequencies. For the individual and group evaluations of the challenger, the following six categories were used: Fairness, rightfulness, and individual rights; Prejudice, equality, and universality; Empathy, concerns for others' welfare and perspective taking; Social and group norms; Group Dynamics and Autonomy. For the perceived group support outcome, the following four categories were used by merging moral ones to achieve 10% frequencies: moral domain (merged: fairness and rights of an individual, prejudice, equality and universality, empathy, welfare, and perspective taking).

Direct Bystander Responses. Participants indicated their likelihood of engaging in five direct bystander responses, rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*no way*) to 6 (*yes, definitely*). These were grouped into two composite measures: direct challenge (*tell [excluder] they should have included [excluded]; tell the group you do not want [excluder] in the group anymore; tell the group you do want [excluded] to join*, correlations changed between .31 and .17, all $ps < .001$) and direct support to the excluder (*tell the group you do not want [excluded] to join; tell the group you don't want [challenger] in the group anymore*, $r = .17, p < .001$).

Covariates

Empathy Toward the Outgroup

Participants' empathy for Turkish teenagers was evaluated through two self-report items (e.g., "How would you feel if you heard a Turkish teenager was hurt?"). Responses were given on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*very unhappy*) to 5 (*very happy*).

Table 2
Examples of the Reasoning

Reasoning type	Individual evaluation of challenger	Group evaluation of challenger	Perceived group support
Fairness and rights of an individual	It is the morally right thing to do	I hope that people would understand that what Alex was doing was the right thing.	Because it's the right thing to do
Prejudice, equality, and universality	Because everyone should be involved no matter where they are from	If they don't then they are racist and I would not be friends with them.	Not associating with people just because they were born in other countries is wrong
Empathy, welfare, and perspective taking	Alex was being friendly	Because it didn't cause any harm	Because we don't want anyone to be alone
Social and group norms	No one should be excluded	Because they must all think that Sam is being horrible	Because they should respect my choice
Group dynamics	Because again it should be the whole groups decision	I feel some may be conflicted	If they're all okay with it then they will agree
Group loyalty and identity	Because he's part of the group as well	The group should support each other	Because friendship goes a long way
Group functioning, protecting the group	Because it could cause arguments	Because they could have another really good friend coming in the group	Some may be against it as they want to keep the group as it is but others will be for it as they want change once in a while
Group-repercussions	She might be worried that people will disagree with her	Don't like dissent/arguments within the group	Because they could disagree and then we could all get into a big argument
Autonomy, participant-focus	He can say what he wants	Everyone has an opinion	What so they get to decide my decisions I walk my own path
Autonomy, victim focus	Because he wants to see what Deniz is like	They can decide what they want after they meet with Deniz	I am not really sure on their views but I don't care because Deniz seems nice

Perceived Similarity With the Outgroup

Participants' perceived similarity with Turkish individuals was measured through the one-item self-report question, "How much do Turkish and British people have in common?" Responses were given on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*nothing in common*) to 5 (*everything in common*).

Perceived Outgroup Liking

Participants were asked to indicate their perception of how much ingroup members like the outgroup members ("How much do British people like Turkish people?") on a 5-point Likert-type scale, going from *dislike a lot* (1) to *like a lot* (5).

Results

Individual and Group Evaluations of Challenger

A 2 (Evaluation of challenger: individual, perceived group) \times 2 (ingroup norms: inclusive and exclusive) \times 2 (outgroup norms: inclusive and exclusive) \times 2 (age groups: early adolescents and late adolescents) mixed measures ANCOVA was conducted, with individual and group evaluations of the challenger as within-participant factors, and norms and age as between-participant factors. We controlled for empathy toward the outgroup, perceived similarity with the outgroup, and perceived outgroup liking.

Results showed a significant three-way interaction between evaluations, age, and ingroup norms, $F(1, 435) = 4.49, p = .035, \eta_p^2 = .010$. Bonferroni corrected pairwise comparisons showed that late adolescents who were exposed to the *inclusive* ingroup

norms were more likely to think that their group would be supportive of the challenger compared to late adolescents who were presented with *exclusive* ingroup norms, $F(1, 435) = 18.41, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .041$. However, early adolescents' group evaluations did not differ according to inclusive and exclusive ingroup norms, $F(1, 435) = 2.16, p = .142, \eta_p^2 = .005$. No differences were found in participants' individual evaluations across norm conditions in early adolescents, $F(1, 435) = .06, p = .803, \eta_p^2 = .000$, or late adolescents, $F(1, 435) = .21, p = .651, \eta_p^2 = .000$.

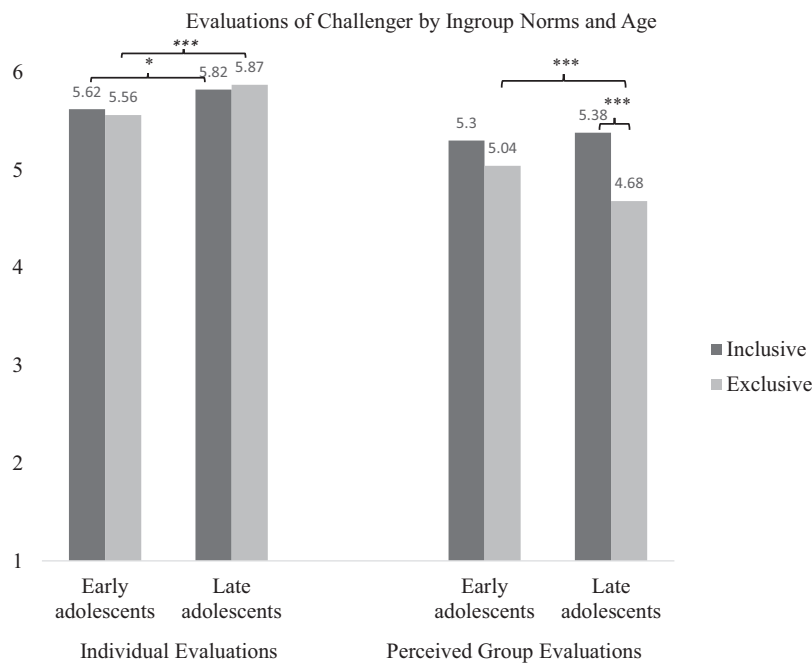
In addition, compared to early adolescents, late adolescents were more likely to evaluate the challenger peer as positive in both inclusive, $F(1, 435) = 8.28, p = .004, \eta_p^2 = .019$, and exclusive ingroup norms conditions, $F(1, 435) = 11.92, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .027$. The developmental findings for perceived group evaluations showed the reverse pattern. More specifically, compared to early adolescents, late adolescents who were exposed to the exclusive ingroup peer norms were less likely to think that their group would be positive about the challenger, $F(1, 435) = 12.31, p = .027, \eta_p^2 = .011$ (Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 partially supported; see Figure 1 and Table 3).

Lastly, participants' individual evaluations of the challenger were more likely to be positive compared to participants' perceived group evaluations of the challenger, regardless of norm condition and age (all p s $< .05$; Hypothesis 5 supported)

Reasoning for Individual and Group Evaluations of Challenger

Two separate ANCOVAs were conducted to examine participants' reasoning about their individual and perceived group evaluation of the challenger.

Figure 1
Individual and Perceived Group Evaluations of Challenger by Ingroup Norms and Age



* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3
ANCOVA Table for Individual and Group Evaluations of Challenger

Evaluation by norm and age	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	Effect size (η_p^2)
Evaluations	5.877	.016	0.013
Evaluations × Empathy	0.252	.616	0.001
Evaluations × Perceived Outgroup Liking	1.783	.182	0.004
Evaluations × Perceived Similarity With the Outgroup	0.049	.825	0
Evaluations × Age	10.871	.001	0.024
Evaluations × Ingroup Norm	15.311	<.001	0.034
Evaluations × Outgroup Norm	1.986	.16	0.005
Evaluations × Age × Ingroup Norm	4.49	.035	0.01
Evaluations × Age × Outgroup Norm	0.261	.61	0.001
Evaluations × Ingroup Norm × Outgroup Norm	0.013	.91	0
Evaluations × Age × Ingroup Norm × Outgroup Norm	3.674	.056	0.008

Note. ANCOVA = analysis of covariance.

With regard to participants' reasoning for their individual evaluation, a 6 (reasoning: Fairness, rightfulness, and individual rights; Prejudice, equality, and universality; Empathy, concerns for others' welfare and perspective taking; Social and group norms; Group Dynamics and Autonomy) × 2 (age: preadolescents and adolescents) × 2 (ingroup norms: inclusive and exclusive) × 2 (outgroup norms: inclusive and exclusive) mixed ANCOVA was conducted controlling for empathy toward the outgroup, perceived similarity with the outgroup and perceived outgroup liking. Six types of reasoning categories were within-participant factors, and norms and age were between-participant factors. Results showed a significant interaction between reasoning and age, $F(5, 418) = 6.95$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .016$. Accordingly, pairwise comparisons (with Bonferroni correction) demonstrated that late adolescents ($M = 0.13$, $SE = .02$) were more likely to attribute *Prejudice, equality, and universality* compared to early adolescents ($M = 0.07$, $SE = .02$), $F(1, 418) = 5.54$, $p = .019$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$. Similarly, late adolescents ($M = 0.26$, $SE = .03$) were more likely to attribute *Autonomy* compared to early adolescents ($M = 0.15$, $SE = .03$), $F(1, 418) = 9.84$, $p = .008$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$. On the other hand, early adolescents ($M = 0.32$, $SE = .03$) were more likely to attribute to *Welfare, empathy, and perspective-taking* compared to late adolescents ($M = 0.16$, $SE = .03$), $F(1, 418) = 14.44$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .033$ (Hypothesis 3 and Hypothesis 4 partially supported).

For the reasoning analysis of the perceived group evaluation of the challenger, a 6 (reasoning: Fairness, rightfulness, and individual rights; Prejudice, equality, and universality; Empathy, concerns for others' welfare and perspective taking; Social and group norms; Group Dynamics and Autonomy) × 2 (age: preadolescents and adolescents) × 2 (ingroup norms: inclusive and exclusive) × 2 (outgroup norms: inclusive and exclusive) mixed ANCOVA was conducted controlling for empathy toward the outgroup, perceived similarity with the outgroup and perceived outgroup liking. Six reasoning categories were within-participant factors, and norms and age were between-participant factors. There was a significant interaction between age and reasoning for the perceived group evaluation of the challenger, $F(5, 398) = 6.05$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .015$. Pairwise comparisons demonstrated that late adolescents ($M = 0.21$, $SE = .03$) were more likely to attribute *Autonomy* compared to early adolescents ($M = 0.26$, $SE = .03$), $F(1, 398) = 7.90$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .019$. On the other hand, early adolescents ($M = 0.22$, $SE = .02$) were more likely to attribute *welfare, empathy, and perspective-taking*

compared to late adolescents ($M = 0.08$, $SE = .02$), $F(1, 398) = 18.34$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .044$ (Hypothesis 3 and Hypothesis 4 partially supported).

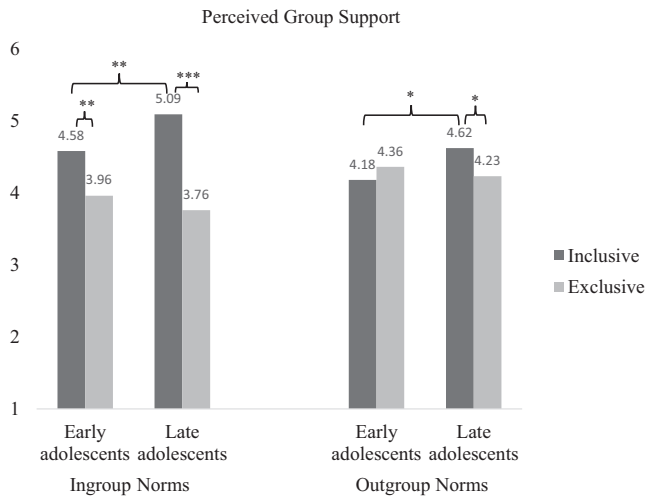
Perceived Group Support for Being Inclusive

We ran a 2 (ingroup norms: inclusive and exclusive) × 2 (outgroup norms: inclusive and exclusive) × 2 (age groups: early adolescents and late adolescents) ANCOVA to examine participants' perceived group support if they were to challenge the excluder. Results showed a two-way interaction between age and ingroup norms, $F(1, 435) = 8.73$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .020$, and age and outgroup norms, $F(1, 417) = 3.98$, $p = .047$, $\eta_p^2 = .009$.

In terms of interaction between age and ingroup norms, Bonferroni corrected pairwise comparisons showed that both early adolescents and late adolescents reported more perceived group support for challenging the exclusion when exposed to inclusive ingroup norms compared to participants who were exposed to the exclusive ingroup norms, $F(1, 435) = 10.12$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .023$; $F(1, 435) = 55.07$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .112$. Further, compared to early adolescents, late adolescents reported higher perceived group support for challenging the exclusion when exposed to inclusive ingroup norms, $F(1, 435) = 8.85$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .020$ (see Figure 2). However, there was no age-related difference observed for perceived group support for challenging the exclusion when an exclusive ingroup norm was presented, $F(1, 435) = 1.29$, $p = .256$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$ (see Figure 2 and Table 4).

In terms of an interaction between age and outgroup norms, pairwise comparisons demonstrated that late adolescents were more likely to perceive group support to challenge the exclusion in the inclusive outgroup norms condition compared to late adolescents who were presented with exclusive outgroup norms, $F(1, 435) = 4.55$, $p = .033$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$. No differences were found in early adolescents' perceived group support across outgroup norms (inclusive vs. exclusive), $F(1, 435) = .46$, $p = .494$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. Moreover, developmental differences were only observed in the inclusive outgroup norms condition: compared to early adolescents, late adolescents were more likely to say that their group would support them in challenging the exclusion when the outgroup norms were inclusive, $F(1, 435) = 5.20$, $p = .023$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$. No age-related differences were found when participants were presented with exclusive outgroup norm, $F(1, 435) = .24$,

Figure 2
Perceived Group Support by Ingroup Norms × Age and Outgroup Norms × Age



* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

$p = .626$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$ (Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 are partially supported; see Figure 2 and Table 4).

Reasoning for Perceived Group Support for Being Inclusive

For the reasoning analysis, a 4 (reasoning: moral domain [merged: fairness and rights of an individual, prejudice, equality and universality, empathy, welfare, and perspective taking]; Social and group norms; Group dynamics; Group loyalty and identity) × 2 (ingroup norms: inclusive and exclusive) × 2 (outgroup norms: inclusive and exclusive) × 2 (age groups: early adolescents and late adolescents) mixed ANCOVA was conducted controlling for empathy toward the outgroup, perceived similarity with the outgroup and perceived outgroup liking. Results documented a significant two-way interaction between reasoning and ingroup norms, $F(3, 411) = 4.05$, $p = .008$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$ (see Figure 3).

Accordingly, adolescents who were presented with the exclusive ingroup norm ($M = 0.27$, $SE = .02$) were more likely to attribute to *Group loyalty and identity* (“Because they believe that everyone must be British to become part of the group”) compared to participants who were exposed to the inclusive ingroup norms ($M = .15$, $SE = .02$), $F(3, 411) = 10.49$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .025$. Further, adolescents who were presented with the exclusive ingroup norm were more likely to attribute *Group loyalty and identity* ($M = 0.27$, $SE = .02$) compared to the Moral domain ($M = 0.15$, $SE = .02$) and Social and group norms ($M = 0.16$, $SE = .02$), $p = .003$ and $p = .007$, respectively. However, no differences were found across domains in inclusive norm conditions (all ps are above .05; Hypothesis 3 is partially supported).

Direct Bystander Responses

To examine the age and group norm-based differences in bystander responses, a 2 (bystander responses: challenging and

supporting the excluder) × 2 (ingroup norms: inclusive and exclusive) × 2 (outgroup norms: inclusive and exclusive) × 2 (ingroup norms: inclusive and exclusive) mixed measure ANCOVA was conducted. Bystander responses were within-participant, and norms and age were between-participant factors controlling for empathy toward the outgroup, perceived similarity with the outgroup, and perceived outgroup liking. Results showed no significant differences in direct bystander responses across norm conditions (Hypothesis 6 not supported). Results showed a significant two-way interaction between bystander responses and age, $F(1, 433) = 19.02$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .042$. Bonferroni corrected pairwise comparisons demonstrated that late adolescents were more likely to report that they would challenge the excluder, $F(1, 433) = 16.78$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .037$, and were less likely to support the excluder, $F(1, 433) = 4.35$, $p = .038$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$, compared to early adolescents. Both early adolescents and late adolescents were more likely to report higher scores for challenging responses compared to support responses regardless of the norm condition (all $ps < .05$; see Figure 4 and Table 5).

The Link Between Norms, Perceived Group Support, and Bystander Responses

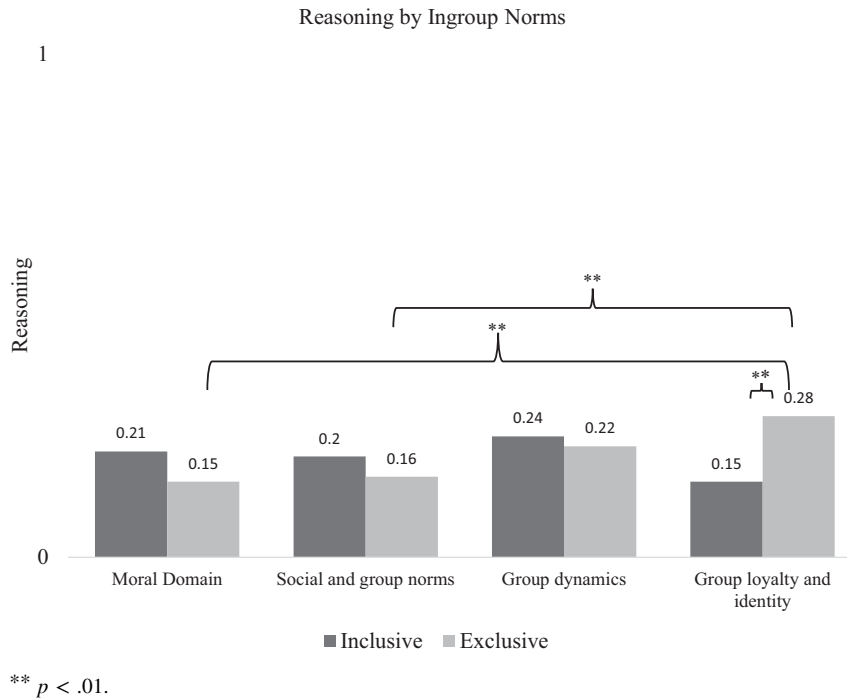
We ran simple mediation analyses (Model 4 in the PROCESS macro, Hayes & Scharkow, 2013) to test the hypothesis about the paths from group norms to bystander challenging or supporting responses through perceived group support for being inclusive for the immigrant peer. We found indirect effects of ingroup norms (predictor) on bystander challenging response (outcome) via perceived group support (mediator). The overall model explained 20% of the variance, $F(2, 426) = 8.69$, $p < .001$. Results documented that although the direct effect of ingroup norms on challenging response was nonsignificant, ingroup norms had an indirect effect on challenging via perceived group support for inclusion ($\beta = .14$, $SE = .04$, 95% CI [.06, .21]). Accordingly, participants exposed to the inclusive ingroup peer norms were more likely to think that their group would support them if they wanted to include the excluded peer, which predicted a higher likelihood of reporting bystander-challenging responses (see Figure 5). We did not find the same indirect effect of perceived group support between outgroup norms and explicit challenge. Similarly, neither ingroup norms nor outgroup norms were found

Table 4
ANCOVA Table for Perceived Group Support for Being Inclusive

Perceived group support by norm and age	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	Effect size (η_p^2)
Empathy	0.693	.406	0.002
Perceived outgroup liking	15.654	<.001	0.035
Perceived similarity with the outgroup	2.958	.086	0.007
Age	55.504	<.001	0.113
Ingroup norm	1.035	.310	0.002
Outgroup norm	1.481	.224	0.003
Age × Ingroup Norm	1.828	.177	0.004
Age × Outgroup Norm	8.732	.003	0.020
Ingroup Norm × Outgroup Norm	3.980	.047	0.009
Age × Ingroup Norm × Outgroup Norm	0.008	.930	0.000

Note. ANCOVA = analysis of covariance.

Figure 3
Reasoning for Perceived Group Support for Being Inclusive by Ingroup Norms



to be indirectly related to explicit support responses (Hypothesis 7 partially supported).

Discussion

The novel findings of this study show how inclusive and exclusive group norms shape adolescents' evaluations of challengers and responses to the social exclusion of an immigrant peer. Importantly, this effect of group norms was most evident in late rather than early adolescence. Only late adolescents perceived that their peer group would evaluate a bystander challenger more negatively when it held an exclusive rather than an inclusive ingroup norm. Moreover, only late adolescents thought their peer group would be less likely to support them being inclusive when the peer outgroup had an exclusive rather than inclusive norm. These findings suggest that during adolescence, there is an emergence of a greater understanding of group dynamics and discrimination and more sensitivity to peer ingroup and outgroup norms. Lastly, the findings showed how an inclusive ingroup norm among adolescents is indirectly associated with higher direct bystander challenges of immigrant exclusion via an increased perception that your peer group would support your wish to be inclusive.

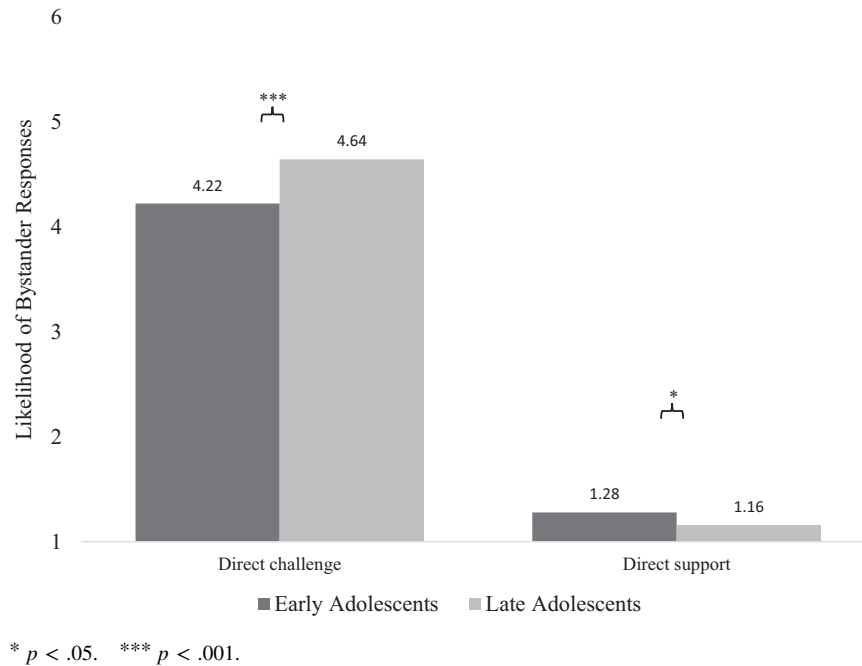
Contrary to our expectations, we did not find an effect of ingroup or outgroup norms on individuals' evaluations of the challenger. It is plausible that more specific norms about challenging social exclusion could influence personal evaluations more than norms about general inclusive or exclusive attitudes and behaviors. A second potential reason could be that participants prioritize their moral judgments while evaluating this act from an individual perspective. It might also be helpful to remind participants of their group's norms before measuring their perceived group

evaluations. Further, in our manipulation ("Here is a bit more information about your group: In the past, people in your group of British friends have not liked and been friends with just anyone, only those similar to your group."), we mostly refer to their groups' past actions, but we did not provide any examples or information about their future interactions. Thus, an elaborate example can be helpful for participants to conform to their group norms.

With regard to perceived group evaluation, as we expected, the findings of this study showed late adolescents were more susceptible to exclusive ingroup norms compared to early adolescents, while no age-related pattern was observed in inclusive ingroup norms. These results suggest that exclusionary peer norms among late adolescents are unlikely to foster a school environment where bystander challenging is encouraged and supported. Contrary to our expectations, we did not find any significant effect of outgroup norms on participants' perceived group evaluations of the challenger. It is possible that participants might not have considered the outgroup norms since the challenger was an ingroup peer, so the ingroup norm and how the bystander fitted this norm would be most relevant. We also found no ingroup or outgroup norm-based differences in participants' reasoning for their perceived group evaluation of the challenger. Our results only documented age-related differences. Accordingly, late adolescents were more likely to attribute "group dynamics" compared to early adolescents, while early adolescents were more likely to attribute "welfare and empathy" compared to late adolescents.

As predicted, it was found that outgroup norms influenced participants' perceived group support for being inclusive. This fits with previous work with individuals in late childhood and early adolescence, which showed the effect of ingroup and outgroup norms on allocating resources between ingroup and outgroup

Figure 4
Bystander Responses by Age



(McGuire et al., 2017). However, in the context of bystander evaluations within this study, we only found outgroup norm-based differences in late adolescents but not in early adolescents. Late adolescents presented with the inclusive outgroup norm were more likely to report that their group would be supportive of being inclusive than late adolescents exposed to the exclusive outgroup norms. Early adolescents did not differ in their perceived group support across inclusive and exclusive outgroup norms. These findings imply that understanding the nature of intergroup relations as a two-way street is important. Thus, taking normative effects of both ingroup and outgroup norms into account to promote inclusive environments and positive intergroup interactions is very important (see Cameron et al., 2011; Feddes et al., 2009), and this study suggests this is especially the case in late adolescence.

There was also evidence that with age, inclusive and exclusive norms were increasingly related to participants' perceived group

support for inclusion, with an interaction between ingroup norms and age. Both early and late adolescents who read exclusive ingroup norms were more likely to use "group loyalty and identity" to justify their perceptions of group support than participants who were presented with inclusive ingroup norms. Late adolescents who were presented with inclusive ingroup norms were more likely to engage in moral reasoning using notions of fairness and rights, prejudice, equality and universality, and welfare compared to late adolescents who were exposed to the exclusive ingroup norms. However, there were no differences in moral reasoning among early adolescents across inclusive and exclusive ingroup norm conditions.

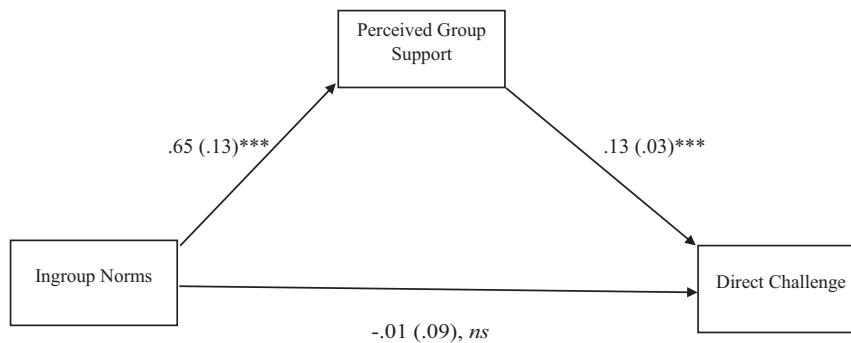
Contrary to our expectation, participants' individual evaluations of the challenger did not differ as a function of either ingroup norms or outgroup norms. Age-related findings documented that late adolescents were more likely to be positive about the challenger than early adolescents, regardless of the type of ingroup and outgroup

Table 5
ANCOVA Table for Bystander Responses

Bystander response by norm and age	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	Effect size (η_p^2)
Responses	0.330	.566	0.001
Responses × Empathy	49.346	<.001	0.102
Responses × Perceived Outgroup Liking	2.247	.135	0.005
Responses × Perceived Similarity With the Outgroup	3.529	.061	0.008
Responses × Age	19.024	<.001	0.042
Responses × Ingroup Norm	1.208	.272	0.003
Responses × Outgroup Norm	1.133	.288	0.003
Responses × Age × Ingroup Norm	0.368	.544	0.001
Responses × Age × Outgroup Norm	0.816	.367	0.002
Responses × Ingroup Norm × Outgroup Norm	0.009	.927	0.000
Responses × Age × Ingroup Norm × Outgroup Norm	0.295	.587	0.001

Note. ANCOVA = analysis of covariance.

Figure 5
Mediation Model for Direct Bystander Challenge



Note. Indirect effect of ingroup norm on direct challenging: $\beta = .14$, $SE = .04$, 95% CI [.06, .21]. $SE =$ standard error; CI = confidence interval; *ns* = nonsignificant.
*** $p < .001$.

norms. This aligns with a previous study by Yüksel et al. (2021) that documented increased prosocial bystander responses to intergroup social exclusion from childhood to adolescence.

Like the observed age-related findings in individual evaluations, we found that early and late adolescents' reasoning about their individual evaluation differed based on age. More specifically, late adolescents were more likely to attribute "prejudice, equality and universality" than early adolescents, suggesting that late adolescents were more likely to realize that intergroup social exclusion can be rooted in intergroup attitudes (i.e., prejudice and discrimination). Further, late adolescents were more likely to attribute "autonomy" compared to early adolescents, documenting a developmental trend in emphasizing the autonomy of behavior from early to late adolescents. Similar to the previous studies in different intergroup contexts (e.g., McGuire et al., 2018), we also found that early adolescents were more likely to reason using the moral principles of welfare and empathy than late adolescents. Overall, early and late adolescents' reasoning regarding their individual evaluation of the challenger suggests that individuals develop a complex understanding of intergroup relations through adolescence. Thus, it is possible that this knowledge makes them sensitive to the possibility of prejudice while acknowledging the autonomy of any bystander when witnessing intergroup social exclusion.

This study found an indirect effect of ingroup norms on bystander responses via perceived group support as a mediator. Inclusive and exclusive ingroup and outgroup peer norms did not directly affect participants' bystander responses (direct challenging and direct support). One possible reason for the lack of a direct effect could be how we manipulated the ingroup and outgroup norms. In the present study, we manipulated participants' perceptions of the peer group's inclusivity and exclusivity toward the outgroup. This is not the same as the peer group's norm about challenging as a bystander when witnessing the intergroup exclusion of an immigrant. Indeed, it is possible that while you may perceive that your peer group is inclusive, it does not mean you will necessarily think they will specifically challenge the exclusion of an immigrant as a bystander, given this may be perceived as risky behavior within some peer groups. Thus, manipulating peer group norms about bystander challenging behaviors (e.g., Palmer, Hitti, et al., 2023) might be a

better strategy to promote active challenging and reduce responses supporting exclusionary behavior.

Limitations and Future Directions

The results should be considered in light of some limitations. First, we only evaluated participants' individual and group evaluations, perceived support, and bystander responses to the intergroup social exclusion of immigrant peers in a hypothetical scenario. Understanding the effect of group norms on bystander behavior around intergroup social exclusion is also important for future research. Second, although our findings document some age-related patterns, longitudinal studies would be helpful to comprehensively understand how age is related to children's and adolescents' bystander evaluations and responses. Finally, in line with the central question of this study, we only tested the possible role of group norms in an intergroup context of immigration, considering the importance of this context within schools in the United Kingdom. Thus, it would be helpful for future research to test these research questions in different contexts of intergroup social exclusion to examine the generalizability of our findings.

Conclusion

To conclude, the findings of this study suggest that from early to late adolescence, group norms are increasingly related to adolescents' perceptions of how their peer group would evaluate a bystander challenger and how much they will support intergroup exclusion of immigrants. They also show that inclusive ingroup norms among adolescents are indirectly associated with higher direct bystander challenging of immigrant exclusion via an increased perception that your peer group would support your wish to be inclusive. This study goes beyond the previous literature by showing the impact of experimentally manipulated peer group norms on bystander social judgments (i.e., bystander evaluations and perceived support), responses, and reasoning from early to late adolescence (see also Palmer, Hitti, et al., 2023). The novel findings of this study have important societal implications, especially for inclusive school environments. This study suggests that antiimmigrant opinions and

exclusionary treatments experienced by immigrant adolescents can be addressed by promoting inclusive peer group norms among nonimmigrant and immigrant adolescents. Promoting inclusive peer group norms can make adolescents think their peer group would support inclusive action and, in turn, can foster bystander responses that challenge the exclusion of immigrants. This can help schools to provide a safe environment where all youth from different immigrant or cultural backgrounds can feel they belong.

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