BOUNDED HELPING

How morality and intergroup relations
shape children's reasoning about helping
Jellie Sierksma

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Begrensd helpen
Hoe moraliteit en intergroepsrelaties het denken van
kinderen over helpen beïnvloeden

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

"She should go and help. Because if all people behave like this,
then no one ever receives help anymore."

"Mean! If it were you, you would also like to receive some help, right?"

"Well, I really don't understand this! Just quit your game and go help.
I really think that's stupid."

"If he's my biggest enemy, then I won't help. But otherwise I would."

"Perhaps they don't know each other, then it's a bit difficult."

"They are friends. Therefore they should be able to share."

"You're in team that means you should help each other out."

*Examples of how children reacted when asked how okay it would be to refuse help in
various situations (see chapter 2)*

Our concern for other people's wellbeing has preoccupied philosophers at least since Aristotle and has received systematic empirical attention since the 20th century. Much research in developmental psychology has studied the origins and development of prosocial behavior, such as sharing, comforting and helping. This research has provided several insights into children's helping behavior and why some children are more helpful than others. We know that children start to empathize with others at an early age, and are motivated to help from at least 14 months onwards (see Warneken & Tomasello, 2014). With increasing age, children's helping behavior becomes more sophisticated and children have a better understanding of another person's need (Eisenberg-Berg, 1979). This is also reflected in the quotes above: Children react with indignation when others refuse to help. However, what also is clear when reading some of these quotes is that children consider *who* the recipient of help is, and how this might affect the blameworthiness of not helping. Although developmental work has shown how children's abilities and dispositions influence their prosocial reasoning, we know very little about *who* children might want to help and why they might not want to help others.

Social psychologists have focused on how the social context influences behavior. While the disciplines of social and developmental psychology have long been separated, research into the development of intergroup behavior tries to bridge this gap. Children are members of various groups and group boundaries influence their reasoning and behavior (e.g., Bennett & Sani, 2004). The main emphasis in this work has been on negative behavior. Studies have focused on how children reason about intergroup exclusion, the out-group stereotypes that they develop, when children start to express prejudice and when they learn it is better not to (for overviews see e.g., Bennett & Sani, 2004; Levy & Killen, 2008; Killen & Rutland, 2011). This research shows that the formation of prejudice and discrimination starts early in life. Three month old babies are already able to distinguish faces according to ethnic group (e.g., Bar-Haim, Ziv, Lamy, & Hodes, 2006; Kelly et al., 2005) and around the age of three children exhibit the ability to sort by race (Nesdale, 2001). Right after, around 3 to 4 years, children start to prefer the in-group over the out-group with regard to gender (e.g., Shutts, Pemberton Roben, & Spelke, 2013) and ethnicity (e.g., Hailey & Olson, 2013). A host of studies has shown the implications of group membership on children's reasoning about intergroup behavior. Children are, for example, more likely to evaluate exclusion of an out-group versus an in-group peer from a peer club as okay (Killen & Rutland, 2011), to evaluate aggressive behavior by an in-group member less harshly (Nesdale, Killen, & Duffy, 2013), and to exclude peers that do not support their in-group (Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier, & Ferrell, 2009). This research provides us with the tools to understand and intervene in the formation of negative intergroup behavior.

However, children's cognitions about negative behaviors do not necessarily correspond to their prosocial reasoning and behavior. Moreover, preventing children from being prejudiced and acting discriminatory does not mean that children become proactively nice to out-groups. Importantly, several scholars have demonstrated that reasoning about negative behavior might not resemble that of positive intergroup behavior, such as helping. First of all, in the literature on intergroup biases a positive-negative asymmetry has been identified (Mummendey et al., 1992). People tend to favor and prefer their in-group over relevant out-groups when it concerns positive rewards but less so in case of negative outcomes such as pain and suffering. The idea is that there are moral norms against in-group favoritism in the negative domain but less so in the positive domain. As soon as children are sensitive to social norms and able to present themselves favorably, around the age of 8, this positive-negative asymmetry is also evident in their intergroup biases (Rutland et al., 2007).

Secondly, another line of research suggests that there are distinct systems of moral regulation for positive and negative outcomes (Janoff-Bulman, Sheikh, & Hepp, 2009). Proscriptive morality is sensitive to negative outcomes: it entails an avoidance motive focusing on the inhibition of harmful behavior. Prescriptive morality concerns positive outcomes and entails an approach motivation, it is about acting good. So whereas proscriptive morality is about how we *should not* behave, the prescriptive system concerns how we *should* behave. This means that prescriptive morality involves helping others when they are in need and taking care of their wellbeing. In contrast, proscriptive morality concerns avoiding harm and violating other's trust. One important difference between the prescriptive and proscriptive system is that they differ in strictness. Proscriptive morality is strict and demanding, while prescriptive morality is less strict and more commendatory. Whereas it is always blameworthy to harm others, we are not expected, and cannot be expected, to always help everybody. The two forms of moral regulation have also been shown in young children (Aksan & Kochanska, 2005; Kochanska, 2002; Kochanska, Coy, & Murray, 2001).

These two strands of research indicate that children's reasoning about negative intergroup behavior, such as social exclusion and discrimination, might differ from their perception and thinking of positive intergroup behavior, such as helping. Yet, research on children's positive intergroup behavior is scarce. The research presented in this book addresses part of this gap. The five chapters shed light on how children perceive and reason about helping others. Integrating insights from developmental and social psychology, the cognitive processes underlying children's helping are examined with regard to various intergroup contexts and contextual factors. There are different forms of prosocial behavior. One can, for example, share resources with a needy other, or comfort a person in distress. In this book, the focus is on helping behavior which is defined as voluntary behavior intended to benefit another person (Eisenberg, 1986). This concerns acts such as helping a peer with homework, helping with cleaning up the classroom, or providing help when a peer has hurt his ankle. All children in the studies presented were aged between 8 and 13 years. Children's reasoning about helping was assessed with regard to ethnic groups, national groups and friendship groups. Thus the focus is on children's cognitions about helping behavior rather than on their actual helping behavior. Therefore, their evaluation and reasoning about helping situations are assessed as well as their helping intentions.

The research in this book adds to the literature in two ways. First, research on children's prosocial moral development has largely ignored contextual and intergroup influences on children's prosociality, while there is much evidence that behavior does

not only depend on individual abilities and dispositions. By focusing on how ethnic, national and friendship groups affect children's helping, a contribution is made to the study of prosociality in children. Second, the research into the development of intergroup behavior is extended by examining positive behaviors. This allows me to examine how positive intergroup behavior, such as helping, differs from negative behavior, as well as to put forward new knowledge on how to 'activate the good' across group boundaries.

In this introducing chapter I will describe the four general themes that are addressed in the research presented in this book. In the next section I will first discuss how children's reasoning and evaluation of helping behavior is related to theory on moral development. While concern for others is often regarded as a moral issue, whether children also view it that way is a first point of examination. I go on to discuss how the perceived moral obligation to help might be overpowered by children's social identity concerns. Based on Social Identity Development Theory (Nesdale, 2004), the role of children's identification with the in-group and the salience of group boundaries are considered. Apart from the relation between helper and recipient of help, other aspects of the social context in which helping occurs are also examined. Therefore a third theme concerns the role of self-presentation and group norms – emphasized also by Social Identity Development Theory - in children's reasoning about intergroup helping. Lastly, the role of empathy in helping behavior is discussed as well as a possible intervention strategy to overcome a preference for in-group based helping. I will then shortly discuss the role of the costs of helping, recipients' need, and the influence of children's age and cognitive abilities. The introduction ends with a discussion of the data and measurements, and an overview of the chapters.

1.1 MORAL DEVELOPMENT

In the study of moral development, many point at Piaget's theory on cognitive development (1932) as a central starting point. This theory postulates that morality develops trough consecutive stages. Children are assumed to discover moral principles by themselves and with cognitive maturity progress is made to more sophisticated levels of moral reasoning. Piaget believed, for example, that children started grasping the concept of fairness by the age of three, after having experienced some years of play and taking turns in social interactions. Kohlberg (1969) further developed this notion of fairness by focusing specifically on moral development. In his theory children's understanding of

justice was central. By using moral dilemmas, he tested how children come to understand right and wrong. Adults and children were, for example, questioned about the famous Heinz dilemma, in which Heinz considers stealing a drug, which he cannot afford, for his dying wife. Children start of by reasoning in terms of punishment and self-interest (pre-conventional level). During elementary school children take social norms into account and consider, for example, conformity as moral (conventional level). During adolescence, at the earliest, abstract reasoning and use of universal ethical principles emerge in moral reasoning (post-conventional level). However, the last stage is seldom reached, also not later in life. In addition, Kohlberg's theory has been critiqued to overly rely on western samples. Moreover, by using moral dilemmas and studying children's explicit reasoning in clinical interviews, Kohlberg's and Piaget's methods rely extensively on children's verbal abilities. In addition, obedience and sanctions were believed to be central in structuring young children's sense of right and wrong (for an overview see Turiel, 1998).

A different view is proposed by Turiel: "it appears that Piaget and Kohlberg failed to uncover not only the positive nature of young children's moral feelings but also that young children form relatively complex judgments that are not based on extrinsic features" (1998, p 488). In his Social Cognitive Domain Theory, Turiel (1983) proposes that by experience, children learn about regularities in their social environment. Whereas Kohlberg assumes that moral development progresses in stages from immature reasoning to 'true' moral knowledge, Social Cognitive Domain theory postulates that not all thought is interrelated but that distinct domains of social knowledge can be identified: the moral domain, the social conventional domain, and the psychological domain. Development within each domain is the result of different types of social interactions, but the distinction between these domains is present from an early age and is supposed to require little development (Smetana, 1983). Turiel developed a way to study these domains of reasoning without relying too much on children's level of articulation. Children were asked to evaluate different types of actions, such as how okay it would be to wear pajamas to school or to push a peer of a swing.

Conventional knowledge arises from the social system and implies that a social conventional transgression is not intrinsically wrong, but that social norms determine whether it is judged as wrong or right. Children learn about social conventions through the prohibitions that govern them, often expressed by parents, teachers or other authority figures. With increasing age children also react to social conventional transgressions by stating how such a transgression is wrong and by ridiculing the transgressor. Social conventions are context specific, depend on specific rules often defined by authorities,

and are alterable. For example, at some schools children are required to address their teachers by their last name, while at other schools using the teacher's first name is found appropriate. However, this convention might change when a new school director takes over, who proposes a different form of address.

The *psychological* domain develops through children's attempts to understand other people and their interactions with others. It concerns knowledge pertaining to personal agency, such as desires, goals and preferences. Issues within the psychological domain are typically evaluated as up to the individual, because they only affect the actor him- or herself, or because such acts are seen as a personal choice (e.g. Killen & Smetana, 1999). It is assumed that the development of psychological knowledge is important for children's sense of autonomy and self (Smetana, 2006). Examples of issues pertaining to the psychological domain are friendship choices, leisure activities and control over one's body.

Moral judgments are derived from children's experience with events that affect other's welfare and rights. An example of such an experience could be that while taking turns on the swing, a peer cheats by pushing another peer of the swing. Consequently the victim starts crying. Moral knowledge about right and wrong is constructed from the child's experience with the consequences of such actions. Similar to Kohlberg and Piaget, Turiel defined morality as relating to rights and justice. In addition, he proposed that caring for others is also an important moral principle. Central criteria in the moral domain are that moral rules are *obligatory* and *universal* because they apply to everyone everywhere. In addition, moral rules are described as *impartial*, as they are not based on personal preferences or inclinations or on *social consensus* (i.e., killing is wrong but not because everyone agrees so).

Several studies have shown that children distinguish between the three domains in judgments and justifications of social behavior (for reviews see Smetana, 2006; Turiel, 2002). In addition, Social Cognitive Domain Theory has been used to understand negative intergroup behaviors, such as social exclusion, prejudice and stereotyping (see Killen & Rutland, 2011). Few studies have used a social cognitive domain approach to examine whether and when children understand helping others as a moral domain issue that is general and obligatory. In two studies adolescents were interviewed about helping and sacrificing for others (Killen & Turiel, 1998; Neff, Turiel, & Anshel, 2002). The adolescents evaluated helping as the right thing to do, especially when the helper and recipient were close with each other. Moreover, helping was evaluated as obligatory, based on moral reasons such as concern for other's wellbeing and fairness. Another study (Smetana et al., 2009) focused on adolescent's evaluations of helping in family situations and also revealed

that concern for others was often the most important reason for helping. In addition, a study by Miller, Bersoff and Harwood (1990) showed that children and adolescents evaluate helping as morally obligatory, but only in high need contexts[1].

Others have also proposed that helping behavior is predominantly a moral issue for children. For example, Hoffman's research (2000) on prosocial moral development emphasizes the role of empathy in children's care for others. Relatedly Eisenberg (1992) has shown in many studies that moral reasoning and prosociality are related from a young age onwards. In her model (Eisenberg-Berg, 1979) it is postulated that during primary school, hedonistic reasoning decreases and children increasingly use needs-oriented reasoning. Moreover, moral reasoning is related to sharing, helping and comforting behaviors in children (Eisenberg et al., 1987).

Morality and the group context

If children regard helping as a moral issue, then it could be argued that helping others is considered obligatory, universal and impartial (Turiel, 1983). This means that, according to Social Cognitive Domain Theory, one is obligated to help independent of who the other is. A somewhat different perspective is proposed in the Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al., 2013; Haidt, 2012). Haidt and his colleagues argue that morality is broader than a concern with rights, justice and concern for other's welfare. Moreover, morality is assumed to be based on intuitive evaluations and gut feelings instead of deliberate conscious thought that is more central to the frameworks proposed by Turiel (1983) and Kohlberg (1969). The core idea is that due to evolutionary adaptive challenges our minds are prepared to learn and react to five distinct moral foundations[2]. The Care/harm foundation evolved out of the challenge to care for our offspring and resulted in the moral concern for other's wellbeing. The Fairness/cheating foundation is believed to regulate relationships and free-riding, and results in virtues such as justice and trustworthiness. The Loyalty/betrayal foundation is said to have evolved out of the necessity to form cohesive groups. The Authority/subversion foundation has evolved out of the necessity to deal with hierarchies, making obedience and deference a virtue. Lastly, the Sanctity/degradation foundation evolved to protect us from pathogens and parasites. Although cultures differ with regard to the specific contents and elaborations of these foundations, they are believed to be universal. As an example one might think of how we treat the death (i.e., the sanctity/degradation foundation). Although every culture might have different customs - burying, burning, dancing or crying - in no culture is it okay to not care about the death.

The Moral Foundations Theory is grounded in empirical literature and has received some empirical support in the last decade. It appears that babies and infants are already equipped with the moral intuitions described by Haidt. By means of preferential looking tasks - making use of the principle that babies look longer at scenes that surprise them compared to expected events - it has been shown, for example, that children prefer helpers over hinderers (Hamlin, Wynn, & Bloom, 2007), that they look longer at unequal distributions compared to fair distributions (Geraci & Surian, 2011; Sommerville, Schmidt, Yun, & Burns, 2013), and that they expect others to be rewarded for hard work (Sloane, Baillargeon, & Premack, 2012). These and other findings are supportive of the theory but do of course not provide a conclusive or full test of it.

Especially relevant for the study of intergroup helping behavior in the Moral Foundations Theory is the suggestion about the moral foundation of loyalty and betrayal. Forming and maintaining cohesive coalitions is part of our daily lives, and it forms the basis of intergroup behavior and conflict. The importance of loyalty for children is nicely illustrated in the famous Robbers Cave Experiment conducted by Sherif and colleagues (1961). Twenty two boys were sent on summer camp, and upon arrival randomly assigned to one of two groups. The boys did not know each other and were not aware of the other group. In the first week, however, both groups quickly established their own group norms and cultures. In addition, in less than a week time boys became very attached to their group and group loyalty became the norm. This tendency was further enhanced during the second week in which the boys took part in several competitive activities against the other group. Experimental work also shows that children as young as 5 value loyalty and see it as the norm (Misch, Over, & Carpenter, 2014) and older children condemn in-group members that are disloyal (Abrams, Rutland, Ferrell, & Pelletier, 2008). Although these findings suggest that children perceive loyalty as a moral foundation, they do not provide conclusive evidence for it. If children view loyalty as a moral issue, this would mean that being loyal is a general principle and they would have to apply it to their in-group, but also, for example, when two out-group members interact.

The first two chapters of this book address to what extent children view helping others as a moral issue and how group boundaries are taken into consideration. Thereby, I improve upon previous research in several ways. Although some studies suggest that children consider moral principles when reasoning about helping behavior (Killen & Turiel, 1998; Miller et al., 1990; Neff et al., 2002; Smetana et al., 2009), systematic experimental research on children's reasoning about helping is lacking. In the first chapter, children were interviewed about different experimentally manipulated helping contexts.

To examine whether children's reasoning about helping reflected moral considerations as defined by Social Cognitive Domain Theory (Turiel, 1983), their justifications were analyzed and they were probed with counterarguments of authorities and peers. This research offers important and necessary insights into children's reasoning about helping others. In chapter 2, I additionally assess whether children's moral considerations depend on the group context. This offers new insight into how morality shapes children's reasoning about helping, and whether children perceive loyalty as a moral principle or view the obligation to help as independent of who the other is.

1.2 SOCIAL IDENTITY AND INTERGROUP HELPING

Apart from moral considerations about helping others, children's social identity might also play a role in their perception of and reasoning about helping behavior. Social identity is described by Tajfel as 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance of that membership' (1981. p. 255). An individual has various social identities, ranging from the ethnic group he or she belongs to, to sport- and school based groups. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) assumes that people are motivated to enhance or maintain a positive and distinctive sense of their social self. This is achieved by comparing one's group ('in-group') with another relevant group ('out-group') to establish positive distinctiveness, so called in-group favoritism. There is empirical evidence that this form of intergroup differentiation does indeed contribute to children's positive social self (Verkuyten, 2001, 2007).

With regard to helping behavior, some studies have shown that children take into account the (intergroup) relation between helper and recipient. Children, for example perceive a stronger obligation to help friends and family than strangers or disliked peers (Killen & Turiel, 1998; Olson & Spelke, 2008; Paulus & Moore, 2014). The studies that have examined the influence of group membership, show that children expect others to feel better when helping in-group peers compared to out-group peers (Weller & Lagattuta, 2013; Weller & Lagattuta, 2014), and they share more with in-group compared to out-group peers (Fehr, Bernhard, & Rockenbach, 2008; Moore, 2009). However, few studies specifically focus on children's reasoning about helping in- and out-group peers. Moreover, no work has addressed why children might differentiate in helping in-group and out-group members.

Social Identity Theory has received much empirical support but has little to say about the developmental trajectory of in-group favoritism. Therefore, Social Identity Development Theory (Nesdale, 2004) was developed. Applied to ethnicity, this theory proposes that ethnic prejudice develops through four sequential developmental phases. In phase 1, around 2 to 3 years, ethnicity is not a salient dimension yet. Phase 2 concerns the development of ethnic awareness. In this phase, from 3 years into middle childhood, it is believed that children start perceiving ethnic group differences, especially when the differences are labeled and salient. Moreover, during this time children start to understand that they themselves belong to an ethnic group, a process called ethnic self-identification. In the third phase children develop ethnic in-group preference. When children self-identify as an ethnic group member they are believed to mainly focus on their in-group and to like their in-group more. Only during the fourth phase ethnic prejudice, or out-group dislike, arises in some children. Nesdale (2004) and others (e.g., Bigler, Jones, & Lobliner, 1997; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) identified three critical factors that influence the role of group boundaries in children's intergroup attitudes and behavior: group identification, in-group norms, and perceived out-group threat. In this book I will focus on two factors, namely children's identification with their in-group and the role of group norms.

Group identification and category salience

Social categories should be salient in order to exert an influence on children's intergroup cognitions (Nesdale, 2004; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In this book the influence of the group context on helping is studied with regard to three social groups: friendship groups, national groups, and ethnic groups. Not all groups are equally important for children in their everyday lives, and there are always different possibilities to categorize social reality. Whereas, children spend much of their time within their friendship groups, national and ethnic intergroup contexts might not be part of their daily lives, especially not for children who belong to the native majority group. This means that although children are capable to categorize others on the basis of ethnicity or nationality, this does not necessarily lead them to spontaneously apply this categorical knowledge to individuals of that category (Dunham & Degner, 2013). The classic example is the child in the lab who is explicitly asked about ethnic differences and tells the experimenter about his or her dislike of Moroccan peers. Subsequently, the child walks onto the playground, and starts to play ball with one of his good friends: a Moroccan boy that is his classmate. Several studies by Bigler and colleagues have shown that when teachers ignore group markers,

compared to when they make functional use of them, children do not develop in-group favoritism (e.g., Bigler et al., 1997; Patterson & Bigler, 2006).

This means that, especially when it concerns less familiar groups, such as ethnic groups for majority group children, children might not always spontaneously incorporate the ethnic group distinction in their reasoning about helping. In many studies that examine intergroup biases in children the intergroup context is explicitly made salient (e.g., Dunham, Baron, & Carey, 2011; Killen, Rutland, Abrams, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2013; Nesdale, Maass, Durkin & Griffith, 2005). Although this generates in-group biases, it tells us little about when and how children spontaneously pick up group memberships of both themselves and others in daily life. Related, whether children will notice and take group boundaries into account might also depend on the strength of in-group identification. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) proposes that differentiation of the in-group compared to a relevant out-group is used for self-enhancement. However, children belong to a variety of social groups and their identification with these groups might differ. Furthermore, there are individual differences in the level of identification with the same in-group. Stronger identification leads to more concern about the in-group and the motivation to protect the group from threats (Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1999; Haslam, Ellemers, Reicher, Reynolds, & Schmitt, 2010; Verkuyten, 2001, 2007).

The research presented in this book addresses the role of category salience in children's intergroup cognition and takes into account identification with the in-group. In chapter 3 an experimental test is conducted to examine how category salience influences children's perception of intergroup helping behavior. In addition, in the studies presented subtle manipulations of group membership are used, for example mentioning where peers are from (i.e., the Netherlands versus Germany) or by presenting children with situations in which the group context can be inferred (i.e., Turkish versus a Dutch name). This is an ecologically valid way of studying in-group bias in childhood, because in real life group distinctions are often subtle and children are usually not made explicitly aware of their own group membership in relation to that of others. In addition, in chapters 3 and 5 individual differences in children's in-group identification are taken into account.

Self-presentation and group norms

According to Social Identity Development Theory (Nesdale, 2004), in addition to in-group identification, group norms also influence how children perceive and behave in intergroup contexts. For example, in-group norms influence how children evaluate out-group peers (Nesdale, Griffith, Durkin, & Maass, 2005; Nesdale et al., 2005). Group

norms are especially relevant in public contexts, when others are aware of our actions. Since social behavior often occurs in the presence of others, it is important to examine helping beyond the relation between helper and recipient and also study the social context in which helping occurs. With age, children increasingly consider whether their behavior is socially appropriate and they strategically manipulate the impressions others form of them (Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, & Ferrell, 2007; Nesdale, 2007). Children as young as 6 adjust their behavior according to the audience present and this tendency increases with age (Banerjee, 2002), and at 8 years of age children are able to explain other's behavior by self-presentational motives (Banerjee & Yuill, 1999). Many studies have shown that this self-presentational tendency is present also later in life. The presence of others can be very subtle, such as an eyespot on a computer screen (Haley & Fessler, 2005), but can still change behavior in quite profound ways. For example, adults divide allocations more equally when others are informed about their choices (Reis & Gruzen, 1976), they donate more when their donations are identified (e.g., Reinstein & Riener, 2012; Satow, 1975), and they are more willing to support a local gay organization in a public compared to a private context (Gabriel, Banse, & Hug, 2007).

One explanation for this sensitivity comes from evolutionary accounts. It is assumed that altruistic behaviors are a product of natural selection because they increase the chances of inclusive fitness (Jaeggi, Burkhart, & Schaik, 2010). The idea is that a solitary forager is worse off than a cooperative one. However, considerable choice existed to choose a foraging partner, making selfish tendencies risky. Showing others how generous you are, is thus assumed important to increase the chances of finding a cooperative partner, while selfish behavior might lead to mistrust by others and social exclusion. It is therefore assumed that maintaining a prosocial reputation and keeping track of other's prosocial behavior, is important for reproductive survival. Consequently, people became increasingly sensitive for the presence of others and for being watched. After all, a public situation offers the chance to create and maintain a prosocial reputation.

This idea has been developed further in the Competitive Altruism Hypothesis (Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006; Roberts, 1998), which explains why we not only help those close to us but sometimes also complete strangers. The Competitive Altruism Hypothesis argues that the evolution of large groups lead to new ways of highlighting desirable qualities as a group member. Helping behavior is an effective way to assert oneself in the group because it signals trustworthiness and competence and consequently enhances one's reputation. Several conditions are presumed to be necessary for this reputation enhancement to occur. Helping others should be costly for the actor, the behavior should be public, it should

be reflective of an underlying characteristic, and it should yield status and reputation benefits for the helper in the long run (Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006).

To my knowledge, only one study has examined how children's self-presentational concerns influence their prosocial behavior. Leimgruber, Shaw, Santos, and Olson (2012) presented children with the choice to provide, without cost to themselves, one or four stickers to a recipient. The 5-year old children were only generous when the recipient was aware of the allocation options; in all other cases children were strikingly ungenerous. This suggests that children consider their reputation when helping others (see also Shaw, Li, & Olson, 2013). However, at least two questions remain. First of all, it might matter *who* is present. The presence of out-group members, that one might never see again, might elicit less reputational concerns compared to the presence of in-group members. Chapter 4 deals with this question. Secondly, reputational benefits might depend on *who* is helped. Out-group helping might stand out more compared to in-group helping, that is normatively expected. The more helping behavior attracts attention, the higher the likelihood that it improves one's social reputation. In chapter 5 this issue is examined.

1.3 EMPATHY AND PROMOTING HELPING ACROSS GROUP BOUNDARIES

Our ability to empathize with others has attracted attention from a wide array of disciplines. Definitions of empathy usually include a cognitive and affective aspect. Eisenberg (2000, p. 671), for example, defines empathy as 'an affective response that stems from the apprehension or comprehension of another's emotional state or condition and is similar to what the other person is feeling or would be expected to feel'. The cognitive aspect thus refers to the ability to understand other's emotions or perspectives, whereas affective empathy refers to co-feeling. Empathy, in other words, is when a child sees another person crying, understands the other must be sad and consequently feels sad him or herself. The role and importance of empathy for prosocial behavior can be examined in two ways. On the one hand, a particular context can elicit situational empathy for specific individuals. On the other hand, there is dispositional empathy that is more trait-like and often measured with self-reports or facial and physiological responses. Situational empathy has been found in children as young as 1 year as well as in older children. Moreover, when a situation elicits empathy in children, they often attempt to help (e.g., Knafo, Zahn-Waxler, Van Hulle, Robinson, & Rhee, 2008; Vaish, Carpenter, & Tomasello, 2009; Williams, O'Driscoll, & Moore, 2014; Young, Fox, & Zahn-Waxler, 1999). Likewise, dispositional

empathy is also positively associated with prosocial behavior (e.g., Eisenberg, Zhou, & Koller, 2001; Malti, Gummerum, Keller, & Buchmann, 2009).

One important goal of studying children's intergroup helping evaluations and intentions is that such insight can contribute to early intervention in intergroup differential helping. Work in the domain of prejudice and discrimination has demonstrated that children's group based biases can sometimes be changed by contact interventions and anti-bias information. However, a recent review shows that interventions (between 1980 and 2010) aimed at changing children's ethnic prejudice were ineffective in 50% of the cases studied, and an additional 10 % even resulted in *more* negative behavior (Aboud et al., 2012). Since changing negative behavior and attitudes has led to rather disappointing results, it might be more realistic to promote positive behavior across group boundaries. Given the strong association of empathy with prosocial behavior, one way to enhance helping in an intergroup context might be to stimulate situational empathy in children.

Some intervention programs have been developed to stimulate children's perspective taking for increasing their prosocial behavior (e.g., Battistich, Watson, Solomon, Schaps, & Solomon, 1991; Feshbach & Feshbach, 1982; Gorden, 2005). Yet, very few studies have been conducted to understand if and how inducing empathy can foster prosocial behavior in children (Eisenberg, Eggum, & Di Giunta, 2010). Moreover, how empathy might facilitate intergroup helping 'has attracted almost no empirical attention' (Davis & Maitner, 2010). However, research with adults suggests that inducing empathy is effective in increasing helping. In over 35 years of research on the Empathy-Altruism Hypothesis, Batson (2011) has shown that empathic concern produces altruistic motivation in adults. Moreover, when adults are stimulated to adopt the perspective of stigmatized group members, such as drug addicts, this increases donations to help them (Batson, Chang, Orr, & Rowland, 2002). These findings suggest that empathy for an out-group member might change people's focus from the recipient's group membership to his or her needs.

Taken together, both dispositional and situational empathy can play a role in children's helping intentions and actual behavior. In chapter 5, individual differences in dispositional empathy are examined, while in chapter 6 children's situational empathic understanding is assessed. In addition, inducing empathic understanding might be an effective way to stimulate helping toward out-group peers. In chapter 6 a study is presented which addresses the possible intervening power of empathic understanding in children's intention to help.

1.4 RECIPIENT'S NEED AND COSTS OF HELPING

In the research presented in this book I will take into account two central features of the decision to help others. First of all, helping (almost always) implies certain costs for the helper. This can range from effort, time, and money, to rewards forgone and physical danger. According to the Arousal Cost-Reward Model (Dovidio, Piliavin, Gaertner, Schroeder, & Clark, 1991; Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark, 1981) people assess and weigh costs of helping in their decisions to offer help. Adults are motivated to avoid costly helping. For example, they help less when they expect it to be painful (Batson, O'Quin, Fultz, Vanderplas, & Isen, 1983) or when they fear others might disapprove of it (Midlarsky & Hannah, 1985). In general, when costs of helping increase, the willingness to help decreases (for an overview see Dovidio et al., 1991). Whether this is also the case in children's perception of the obligation to help others, is addressed in chapter 2.

Secondly, when deciding about the necessity of help, the level of the recipient's need matters. Studies by Miller and colleagues (1991) showed that children consider helping in life-threatening situations as a moral obligation, regardless of the interpersonal relation between helper and recipient. However when need was moderate or minor, such as lending someone money for a movie, it did matter to children what the relation between helper and recipient was[1]. This indicates that in low need helping contexts, other considerations might influence the perceived necessity to help. Throughout this book it is examined how the level of need influences children's cognition of helping behavior. I examine how the level of need influences the perceived obligation to help (Chapter 2), whether children's reputational concern depends on the level of need (Chapter 4 and 5), and how the level of need influences the effectiveness of inducing empathic understanding (Chapter 6).

1.5 AGE DIFFERENCES

Children undergo profound cognitive developmental changes during late childhood (Nesdale, 2004), and their views of themselves as well as others change noticeably between the ages of 3 and 12 (Aboud, 2008). To understand how cognitive development is related to the perceived moral obligation to help and to social identity processes, I focused on children between 8 and 13 years. Two lines of research suggest that during this period important changes occur: developmental work and research on intergroup behavior

With regard to the development of helping behavior, studies show that children start to help or assist others at 14 months the earliest (Warneken & Tomasello, 2007), and by 18 months children display spontaneous and unrewarded helping in various tasks (Warneken & Tomasello, 2006). With age children are able to help in more complex and cognitively demanding tasks. Moreover, by the time children enter school a strong inclination is found for fairness and equality based sharing behavior (for an overview see Warneken & Tomasello, 2014). This corresponds with longitudinal findings that show a peak in need-oriented reasoning by middle childhood, which subsequently levels of. Furthermore, advanced modes of prosocial moral reasoning (e.g., sympathy, role-taking, stereotypic) become evident in children aged 9 or 10 and older: older children are better able to weigh various situational factors in their reasoning about helping others compared to younger children, and children's empathic skills also become increasingly sophisticated with age (Eisenberg et al., 1987; Eisenberg, Fabes, & Spinrad, 2006). This implies that between the ages of 8 and 13 years children's prosocial moral reasoning develops considerably.

Intergroup research also shows important developments between the ages of 8 to 13 years. A recent meta-analysis showed that, in general, ethnic and racial prejudice increases in children between 2 and 7 years and then decreases in early adolescence, while national prejudice does not seem to change between middle and late childhood (Raabe & Beelman, 2011). For other group distinctions, such as gender or friendship groups, the developmental pattern is less clear. Yet it is often assumed that the more familiar groups are to children, the earlier they will be able to differentiate between these groups (Raabe & Beelman, 2011).

Why age differences exist in children's intergroup behavior is part of much debate. Cognitive Developmental Theory (Aboud, 1988) assumes that the child's focus of attention (from the self to the group to the individual) conjointly with changes in psychological information processing (from perceptual to affective to cognitive) influences the development of prejudice. This means that children younger than 7 years have polarized views of the in-group and out-group, while after the age of 7 they start to express more nuanced views. The importance of multiple classification skills, however, has been criticized over the years (e.g., Abrams & Rutland, 2008). Another approach is taken in Nesdale's (2004) Social Identity Development Theory, in which it is proposed that children mainly focus on the in-group, and only start to express out-group dislike from the age of 9 or 10 onwards. Last, the Developmental Model of Subjective Group Dynamics (Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, & Marques, 2003) proposes that children will shift from simple group preferences to more differentiated evaluations of individuals within groups. Older children are more

likely to show advanced forms of reasoning due to social experience with groups and a better understanding of group norms. Bias results from children's tendency to protect the in-group, and both deviant in-group and out-group peers can be the target of derogation. Whichever framework is correct, they share the assumption that during middle and late childhood important changes occur that enable children to better understand intergroup relations and the needs of others.

In addition to age differences, one important cognitive skill that develops during the age of 8 to 13 years is children's social perspective taking ability. While children as young as 4 are capable of basic theory of mind understanding (Wellman, Cross, & Watson, 2001), only later in life this ability becomes more advanced. Social perspective taking ability refers to children's understanding of perspectives and emotions in social relationships. More specifically, it implies children's understanding of how their own perspectives might differ from those of another person and how previous experiences might influence how people interact. Children's social perspective taking ability is examined in this book with regard to how children understand the obligation to help (Chapter 2) and how it influences children's empathic understanding (Chapter 6).

1.6 MEASUREMENT AND DATA

The research presented in this book includes seven separate studies for which five datasets were collected. In all studies experimental vignettes were used that were presented in individual interviews or embedded in short surveys. Children in the last three years of primary school generally have good readings skills and are able to understand and independently respond to survey questions. Consequently, vignettes have often been used in assessing social cognitive mechanisms underlying children's evaluations, reasoning and behavioral intentions (e.g., Banerjee, 2002; Gieling, 2012; Killen & Turiel, 1998; Miller et al., 1990; Rutland, Cameron, Milne, & McGeorge, 2005; Smetana et al., 2009). The randomized experimental design of these vignettes allows for manipulating the independent variables proposed to influence helping behavior (i.e., group boundaries, presence of others, costs of helping, recipient's need). This offers a clear advantage compared to correlational studies because causal inferences can be made.

One important drawback of using self-report methods is that children might be inclined to give social desirable answers. Helping others is often regarded as positive and social norms exist to help those in need (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990). Moreover, children are

concerned with self-presentation (e.g., Banerjee, 2002) and learn early on that expressing intergroup biases is wrong (e.g., FitzRoy & Rutland, 2010; Rutland et al., 2005). This indicates that children might be unwilling to express helping some group members more than other group members. I made special efforts to minimize children's tendency to give social desirable answers. First of all, clear instructions were given to the children in each classroom before filling in the survey. They were told that their answers would be kept secret and that they did not have to write down their name anywhere. Children were always seated at a table of their own and separated from the tables of their classmates (the so called 'test set-up'). Children were urged to freely express their own opinions. In addition, in the studies of chapter 4, 5 and 6 a between-subjects design was employed. This means that when, for example, national group membership was manipulated children only answered questions about one version of the manipulations (e.g., would you help this German peer). An advantage of this design is that children are not explicitly made aware of the design under study. Thereby minimizing their tendency to avoid expressing group based biases. Moreover, chapter 2, 3 and 4 all make use of third-person vignettes. Asking children about what others should do makes them less prone to social desirable answers.

For chapter 1, children of five different primary schools were interviewed by a professional Dutch interviewer who was unaware of the hypotheses. Children were individually asked questions about different stories in which the level of need and the costs of helping were varied within subjects. Additionally children answered questions about a story measuring their advanced social perspective taking ability. Data for the four remaining chapters was collected within larger surveys conducted at Dutch primary schools. The first data collection was conducted in the spring of 2010 at 17 primary schools among 831 children. Data for the second survey was collected during the spring of 2011 among 1228 children from 22 schools. The third data collection took place in spring of 2013, and consists of 572 children of 8 primary schools. The last and fourth data collection was in the spring of 2014 at 7 different schools including 401 children. For all studies conducted, parents were asked beforehand for their permission and children were told participation was voluntary. Surveys were, with the exception of chapter 2, filled out in the context of the classroom under supervision of the teacher and a research assistant.

The research presented in chapter 2, 3, and 5 concerns data of native Dutch children only. The studies presented in these chapters concern children's evaluation of ethnic or national intergroup helping (although in chapter 2, this manipulation did not result in significant differences and was thus not reported). Schools that participated consisted of

predominantly native Dutch children, with very few minority children. In addition, minority children that were present had various ethnic backgrounds. Due to power issues it was not possible to analyze the different ethnic groups (e.g., Moroccan, Turkish, Surinam, Antillean etc.) as separate groups. This means that the results are restricted to majority children's reasoning about helping others. Chapter 4 and 6 concerned helping with regard to friendship groups and therefore in these studies all children in each classroom were included.

1.7 RESEARCH AIMS AND OVERVIEW OF THE BOOK

The central aim of this book is to provide insight into how children's reasoning about helping is influenced by moral considerations, group boundaries, the presence of others and empathy. The first issue involves to what extent helping others is regarded a moral issue for children. Subsequently, the goal is to examine whether the moral obligation to help is regarded as general or depends on the group context. Moreover, the influence of group boundaries is assessed both from a group loyalty perspective and from a social identity perspective. If the moral obligation to help is influenced by group considerations, it follows that other social influences might also be of importance. Since helping others often occurs in a public context, the presence of others beside the helper and recipient is examined. Having established how intergroup considerations influence children's reasoning about helping, this begs the question of how to intervene and stimulate helping across group boundaries. In the five empirical chapters that follow one or more of the abovementioned aspects are addressed. As an overview of the book, the main objectives of each chapter are described below. These chapters have originally been written as independent research articles and can also be read as such.

Chapter 2: Children's reasoning about the refusal to help

The central aim of chapter 2 is to map how children reason about helping. By taking a Social Cognitive Domain (Turiel, 1983) approach, I examine to what extent children's judgments of helping behavior reflect moral considerations. Since moral obligations are assumed to be universal and general, I study whether children take other considerations besides morality into account. First of all, the level of recipient's need and the costs of helping are systematically varied between helping contexts. Whereas higher need is assumed to strengthen the perceived moral obligation to help, an increase in the cost of

helping might trigger psychological domain considerations, in particular concerns with the freedom to decide to abstain from helping. In addition, children were interviewed about how parents, peers, and (the absence of) reciprocity influence their judgments of refusing to help others. To reason about factors such as costs, need, parental and peer judgments, and reciprocity implies the ability to take into account multiple points of view and weigh various considerations. More advanced cognitive abilities might therefore lead to different judgments compared to less developed abilities. Hence, in this chapter children's age and perspective taking abilities are also considered.

Chapter 3: The moral obligation to help and the intergroup context

Having established how morality shapes children's reasoning about helping others, chapter 3 moves on to examine whether group boundaries influence children's perceived obligation to help. Two studies were conducted in which children evaluate the refusal of help in inter-group and intra-group contexts. To examine Haidt's (2012) claim that morality involves considerations of loyalty, the first study assesses how children evaluate the refusal of help between ethnic in-group peers (two Dutch or two Turkish peers) and ethnic out-group peers (Dutch-Turkish or Turkish-Dutch). The second study addresses the role of social identity motives (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). While moral considerations are general and independent of children's own group membership, social identity might play a role when ethnic categories are salient and group identification is strong. Therefore, in study 2 children's evaluation of the refusal to help is examined in the same contexts but after making ethnic group differences salient and by considering children's ethnic group identification.

Chapter 4: Helping in the presence of in-group and out-group bystanders

Helping others typically involves a helper and a recipient of help as well as a social environment. To elaborate upon the influence of group boundaries on children's perception of helping, in chapter 4 the role of group membership of by-standing peers is examined. Focusing specifically on out-group helping in friendship groups, children were asked to evaluate the obligation to help in three situations: when in-group peers of the helper are present, when out-group peers of the helper are present, or when no by-standing peers are present. Children might consider the obligation to be loyal to one's group of friends, which would lower a child's perceived responsibility to help when friends of the recipient are present. Or children might consider self-presentational concerns, which would increase the obligation to help when in-group peers of the helper are present because

they are important for his or her reputation. Comparing the presence of in-group and out-group by-standers with the situation in which no bystanders are present, allows contrasting these two possible mechanisms for out-group helping. Individual differences in prosociality and the level of recipient's need are also taken into account in this chapter.

Chapter 5: Helping in-group and out-group peers in a public and private context

In chapter 5 the main focus changes from how children perceive helping to their own willingness to help. By concentrating on national group boundaries, children's public or private intention to help Dutch in-group peers or German out-group peers was investigated. A public context is likely to elicit self-presentational concerns and conformity to group norms. In study 1 a high-need helping context is examined, in which the moral obligation to help is expected to overpower self-presentational concerns. In study 2, children's intention to help a recipient in low need is also assessed, in which self-presentational concerns are likely to emerge. Therefore, in the second study children's perceived classroom norm about the out-group was taken into account. Additionally, because previous research shows a strong relation between dispositional empathy and children's prosociality (e.g., Eisenberg, 1992), in both studies the influence of empathy is examined.

Chapter 6: How to stimulate helping across group boundaries

The last empirical chapter in this book describes a first step to overcome group-based helping by inducing empathic understanding in children. In this study children's intentions to help peers that do or do not belong to their friendship group are examined. Half of the children, however, first rated how they expected the recipient of help to feel. This was hypothesized to stimulate children to focus on the needs of the recipients instead of paying attention to which group the recipient of help belonged. Possible boundary conditions are also examined by varying the recipient's level of need, and taking into account children's advanced social perspective taking ability.

Notes

[1] This study involved a cross cultural comparison between American and Indian participants. Results described here refer to the American sample.

[2] The authors also state that the five foundations are not necessarily exhaustive, and more or less foundations might be appropriate (see Graham et al., 2013).

CHAPTER 2

Children's reasoning about the refusal to help

2.1 INTRODUCTION

There is much research on how children evaluate and reason about negative peer behaviors, such as exclusion, bullying and discrimination (e.g., Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, & Stangor, 2002; Schuette & Killen, 2009; Smetana, 2006). In contrast, social-cognitive research on children's views about the refusal to help is scarce (Paulus & Moore, 2012). In general, there is a strong social norm to help those in need (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990), and research with adults shows that the need of the recipient of help as well as the personal costs of helping influence the perceived obligation to help (Dovidio, Piliavin, Gaertner, Schroeder, & Clark, 1991; Piliavin Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark, 1981). Less is known about how children reason about the obligation to help, although the meaning that children attribute to helping behavior is important for understanding and facilitating prosocial behavior (Hay, 1994). In the current vignette study, children (aged 8 to 13) were interviewed about helping situations that systematically varied in terms of the recipient's need for help and the costs for the helper. The main aim of this study was to examine whether children's judgments of help reflect moral considerations, and to what extent these considerations are overpowered by psychological forms of reasoning (Turiel, 1983). In addition, children's age and social perspective taking ability were examined as well as the moral principle of reciprocity.

The blameworthiness of not helping

According to Social Cognitive Domain Theory (Turiel, 1983) children's social reasoning can reflect moral, social conventional and psychological considerations. From early childhood on children apply these forms of reasoning to understand social behavior (Killen et al., 2002). Moral considerations relate to issues of wellbeing and fairness and are considered to be general, obligatory, inalterable, and independent from rules and authority sanctions. Social conventions relate to group functioning and are context-specific, under authority jurisdiction, and rule contingent. The psychological domain concerns issues that are considered matters of personal considerations. Social Cognitive Domain Theory argues that the meaning of particular acts is not self-evident and that, for example, not helping can be construed in various ways. The refusal to help may, for example be viewed as harmful (moral), as inappropriate because it is impolite (conventional), or as acceptable because it is based on personal considerations and individual choices (psychological).

To adequately test how children reason about the refusal to help we used a twofold design (see Killen et al., 2002; Killen, Pisacane, Lee-Kim, & Ardila-Rey, 2001; Schuette

& Killen, 2009). First, children were asked to evaluate the refusal to help and to explain their evaluation. Second, counterprobes were used to examine whether children's evaluation changed after contrasting parent and peer norms were introduced. Parent and peer counterprobes have been used in previous research on social exclusion (Killen et al., 2002; Tisak, 1995) and in-group bias (Aboud & Amato, 2001). The rationale behind using counterprobes is that stability in judgment is diagnostic of moral domain reasoning whereas change tends to indicate social conventional reasoning. During childhood and adolescence, peers and parents are significant others (Killen et al., 2002) that function as important sources for appropriate behavior (Smetana et al., 2009). When peers or parents disagree with a child's own judgment, children might alter their judgments and follow the social norm. However, transgressions in the moral domain are wrong, even when peers or parents view the act as acceptable (Laupa, 1986; Smetana, 1995; Tisak, 1995). In addition, the approval of not helping because of personal considerations or individual choices should also not change when peers or parents disagree (Nucci, 1981; Tisak & Tisak, 1990).

Young children recognize the responsibility to help (Killen & Turiel, 1998; Neff, Turiel, & Anshel, 2002), and consider a refusal to help as blameworthy (see chapter 3). It has been demonstrated that children are aware of and attach great importance to the obligation to help others (Killen & Turiel, 1998; Smetana et al., 2009) and that they claim that helping family members is of greater importance than satisfying personal desires (Neff et al., 2002). Moreover, caring for others is a deep-rooted tendency in both humans and primates (de Waal, 2009). Research has shown that children as young as three understand expectations about helping behavior (Vais, Missana, & Tomasello, 2011) and spontaneously provide help when adults indicate what they need (Tomasello, 2009). Therefore, our first hypothesis states that, by default, children will perceive the refusal to help as morally blameworthy rather than a matter of social convention or personal consideration, and therefore explain their evaluation in terms of wellbeing and fairness. Furthermore, because moral considerations are general and independent of social rules and authorities, we expect little or no change in children's evaluation when they learn that parents or peers of the helper condone the refusal to help.

Personal costs of helping

Research using Social Cognitive Domain Theory typically focuses on violations involving physical and psychological harm (see Smetana, 2006). Children's reasoning about the refusal to help might differ from that of harming others because it involves prescriptive

morality rather than proscriptive moral rules (Hauser, 2006; Janoff-Bulman, Sheikh, & Hepp, 2009). Compared to the latter, the former is less strict and more commendatory. One can avoid harming others but it is simply impossible to help everyone. Whereas harming someone is almost always blameworthy, refraining from helping others is not (Janoff-Bulman et al., 2009; Kahn, 1992). Hence, compared to harm-doing, the refusal to help is typically evaluated in less strict terms and might depend not only on moral considerations.

Previous research has shown that children's moral reasoning about helping can be limited or overpowered by social identity concerns (see chapter 3), by the relationship between helper and recipient (Killen & Turiel, 1998; Olson & Spelke, 2008; Weller & Lagattuta, 2013), and by the need of the recipient (Miller, Bersoff, & Harwood, 1990; Smetana et al., 2009; Weller & Lagattuta, 2013). In addition, similar to research among adults, the perceived costs of helping might have an impact on children's reasoning about the moral obligation to help (e.g., Dovidio et al., 1991; Eisenberg & Shell, 1986; Piliavin et al., 1981).

Helping others can involve various costs for the helper, such as effort, physical danger and rewards forgone. The Arousal Cost-Reward Model (Dovidio et al., 1991; Piliavin et al., 1981) postulates that people experience a state of arousal when confronted with another person's distress which leads to the intention to help. Recent research demonstrates that arousal is not a necessary condition for this intention to emerge and that the model also predicts how people reason about helping situations (Fritzsche, Finkelstein, & Penner, 2000). Adults seem to follow a consistent pattern in weighing the costs and need aspects of helping situations. The decision to help and the reasoning about not helping involves a trade-off: it becomes less likely when the costs of helping increase (for a review see Dovidio et al., 1991). Higher costs for the helper imply that personal considerations and individual choices (psychological domain) become more important in evaluating the situation. Thus, when the perceived costs of helping are relatively high, this is likely to constrain the perceived moral obligation to help. Therefore our second hypothesis is that in situations where helping a peer involves high costs, children might evaluate the refusal to help as less blameworthy because there are relevant personal considerations involved. This means that we expect that in situations of relatively high costs for the helper, compared to low costs, the children will evaluate the refusal to help less negatively and explain their evaluation more in terms of psychological domain reasoning. Furthermore, when children perceive not helping in situations where helping a peer involves high costs as dependent on personal considerations of the helper, this should not be affected by

parental views and norms expressed by friends (Tisak & Tisak, 1990). Consequently, when personal costs of helping are high children should not change their opinion when they learn that parents or peers of the helper have a different opinion (Nucci, 1981).

High costs and high need

A situation involving high costs for the helper *and* high need for the recipient, poses a dilemma. On the one hand, when the need is relatively high children might disapprove of not helping because of moral reasons. On the other hand, when the personal costs of helping are relatively high this is likely to limit the perceived moral obligation to help. Various studies have shown that in these sorts of dilemma situations, adults tend to prioritize personal costs over the moral obligation to help. They solve the dilemma by, for example, assigning the responsibility to help to others (e.g., possible bystanders) or by providing other solutions, such as helping at a later point in time (see Dovidio et al., 1991). Such strategies involve the coordination of different considerations simultaneously and therefore require a degree of cognitive flexibility (Dovidio et al., 1991; Piliavin et al., 1981).

Children between 8 to 13 years go through several cognitive maturation changes and might thus respond differently to cognitively complex situations depending on their age. Older children are better able to understand conflicting emotions and interests than younger children (Eisenberg, Murphy, & Shepard, 1997) and they express more nuanced views about social situations (Aboud & Levy, 2000; Nucci & Turiel, 2009; Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010). This is in line with Eisenberg-Bergs's model (1979) which describes various levels in children's understanding of helping situations. During early elementary school years, a peak is found in needs-oriented reasoning indicated by a focus on the need of the recipient of help. Older children, on the other hand are able to consider various additional situational factors (see Black, Weinstein, & Tanur, 1980; Eisenberg et al., 1987; Nucci & Turiel, 2009; Smetana, 1983; Smetana, Killen, & Turiel, 1991). Thus when the recipient's need and the personal costs of helping are relatively high, older children might be able to take both costs and needs into account. Consequently and in line with the Cost-Reward Model (Dovidio et al., 1991; Piliavin et al., 1981), our third hypothesis is that older children will attribute more weight to the costs of helping than younger children do. This means that older children are expected to evaluate the refusal to help as less blameworthy and either come up with other solutions to the dilemma or use psychological domain reasoning. Conversely, because younger children have more limited cognitive capacities they can be expected to foremost consider the need of the recipient. Thus, in

situations in which the needs and costs are both relatively high, younger compared to older children can be expected to evaluate the refusal of help as more blameworthy and to explain their evaluation more in terms of wellbeing and fairness.

In addition to children's cognitive capacity to simultaneously weigh needs and costs, a key aspect of helping is to understand another person's distress (Eisenberg, 2000). Children differ in their ability to understand other people's views and emotions. Social perspective taking skills foster a sympathetic understanding and empathic responses to the need of others and consequently increase helping behavior (Bar-Tal & Raviv, 1982; Batson, 1991; Eisenberg et al., 1997; Fabes & Eisenberg, 1998; Hoffman, 2000). Children around the age of 8 have some difficulties understanding that people might have perspectives which differ from their own, while around the age of 10 and 11 this ability is more developed (see Eisenberg et al., 1997). Higher social perspective taking ability implies stronger feelings of empathy and sympathy with the child in need of help and less concern with the costs for the helper. Therefore, our fourth hypothesis states that when the need and costs are both relatively high, higher social perspective taking ability is associated with a stronger moral evaluation of the refusal to help.

Reciprocity

Reciprocity is one of the key moral principles that children use in evaluating situations (Cialdini, 1993; Gouldner, 1960; Whatley, Webster, Smith, & Rhodes, 1999). The importance of reciprocity has been found among primates (Killen & De Waal, 2000) and from very early on children show a strong preference to reciprocate (e.g., Olson & Spelke, 2008). To help when having been helped before is a strong moral rule. Yet, little is known about how this rule is related to the perceived moral obligation to help. Social cognitive domain research has shown that different types of moral concerns coexist in children's reasoning about interpersonal behavior. How and when children apply moral concepts of fairness and justice may not only depend on aspects of the immediate situation (e.g., costs and needs) but also on what happened before that situation. Therefore we presented children with a moral conflict by asking them whether they would change their evaluation about the refusal to help when this refusal violated the norm of reciprocal helping. This allows us to explore a fifth issue, namely the relative strength of the moral obligation to help versus the moral obligation to reciprocate.

Overview

This study examines how children evaluate the refusal to help in relation to the perceived need of the recipient of help and the personal costs of helping. We first hypothesize that children consider not helping to be morally blameworthy. This means that children are expected to evaluate the refusal to help negatively, explain this in terms of the moral domain and do not change their judgment when peers or parents of the helper disagree. The second hypothesis is that high personal costs of helping limit the perceived moral obligation to help in low-need situations. Consequently, children should evaluate the refusal to help as less blameworthy when perceived costs of helping are high, explain this in terms of personal considerations of the helper and should not change their evaluation when peers or parents disagree. Third, when both the costs of helping and the recipient's need are relatively high, older children are expected to evaluate the refusal of help as less blameworthy compared to younger children, because they are better able to simultaneously weigh the costs and needs of the situation. In addition, the fourth hypothesis is that because children with more advanced social perspective taking skills tend to empathize more with people in distress, they are expected to evaluate the refusal to help more negatively when both costs and needs are relatively high. Lastly, we examined the relative strengths of reciprocity and the moral obligation to help in children's evaluation of helping behavior.

2.2 METHOD

Participants

A total of 133 children (grade 4 and 6) from 5 regular primary schools in the Netherlands participated. These schools were located in two neighborhoods in two municipalities in the Netherlands characterized by medium to high socio-economic status (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011a, 2011b). Two age groups were interviewed: 30 male and 27 female fourth graders, ($M_{age} = 9.33$, $SD = 0.61$) and 35 male and 41 female sixth graders ($M_{age} = 11.23$, $SD = 0.57$). The children indicated that their father and mother were of Dutch origin. Participation was voluntary and signed parental permission was obtained for all participants.

Procedure

All children were interviewed individually by an experienced female Dutch research assistant at their school during a 30-min session. Interviews were held in Dutch. First, the interviewer informed each school class about the procedure of the study while stressing that it was very important that children refrained from talking to each other about the content of the interview. At the start of the interview, the interviewer mentioned that the children were asked to answer some simple questions about four stories, that there were no wrong answers, and that she was specifically interested in what they themselves thought about the stories. Children were further urged to pay close attention when listening to the stories. First, children's social perspective taking ability was assessed. Next, children listened to the four stories (presented in counterbalanced order) and answered the related questions. All answers and explanations were written down by the interviewer. At the end children were thanked and reminded not to talk with other children about the interview.

Measures

Stories

To select four stories for the study, ten stories were pretested in a pilot study with a different sample of 81 children (grades 4 through 6) of a regular primary school in the Netherlands. Children were between 8 and 12 years old ($M = 10.27$, $SD = 1.04$) and 48.1% were female. Similar to previous research (Paulus & Moore, 2012), all stories involved concrete helping situations with a person in need of help and a peer not providing that help. For each story the level of need was assessed by asking "How bad is it for (*name recipient*) that she or he does not receive help?". This was answered on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*not bad at all*) to 3 (*a little bit bad*) to 5 (*very bad*). For the level of costs the question was: "How bothersome is it for (*name helper*) to help?". This question was also answered on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (*not bothersome at all*) to 3 (*a little bothersome*) to 5 (*very bothersome*).

We used a ranking procedure to select four stories involving, respectively, low costs and low need, high costs and low need, low costs and high need, and high costs and high need. First, the stories were ranked *within each participant* according to level of perceived costs and level of need. Ranking was from low to high, which means that higher scores implied higher costs and needs. Next, we used the mean rankings for costs and need *across participants* to calculate the sum as well as the difference of both rankings for each

story (costs minus needs). The story with the lowest mean ranking sum score was chosen as the low costs-low need helping vignette (mean ranking costs = 3.72, mean ranking need = 4.83). For the high costs-high need helping vignette the story with the highest sum score was selected (mean ranking costs = 6.98, mean ranking need = 5.99). For the high cost-low need context a story with the most negative difference score was chosen (mean ranking costs = 6.54, mean ranking need = 3.00). Finally, the story with the most positive difference score was selected for the low costs-high need situation (mean ranking costs = 4.30, mean ranking need = 7.98).

The four selected stories were: "Mieke has to walk from school to her home and it rains a little. Marjolein has an umbrella and lives very close to Mieke. Mieke asks Marjolein if she could join Mieke under her umbrella. Marjolein does not help because she might get a little bit wet herself" (low costs-low need); "Bas and Tim live at the same street. Bas asks Tim for help with his homework. Tim does not help, because he has a ticket for the movies. He is going to see a movie that he really wanted to see for a long time" (high costs-low need); "Karlijn climbed up into the climbing rack at the schoolyard. She's all the way at the top. She is afraid to climb down. She asks Susan to come and get her. But Susan does not help because she is afraid she might fall herself" (high costs-high need); and lastly "Jan is playing football with children from his street. He sprains his ankle and this hurts a lot. He asks Jeroen to help him get to the side of the street. Jeroen does not help because he wants to keep on playing" (low costs-high need).

In the present study, we used the Dutch first names given above but in 50% of the cases we used Moroccan first names for the person in need. This between-subjects manipulation was included because initially the study was also designed to examine ethnic target group differences. However, for all analyses, results showed no significant differences at all in children's perception of the refusal to help a Moroccan versus a Dutch peer. In the discussion we will consider this lack of target group differences.

Evaluation

After each story children were asked to evaluate the refusal of help using the two-step format developed by Harter (1999). Participants were first asked: "Do you think it is okay that (*name helper*) does not help (*name recipient*)?", and they answered this question with 'yes' or 'no'. Subsequently, the children were asked to indicate how strongly they approved or disapproved of the refusal to help by selecting one of two smiley faces (when not helping was approved of) or one of two frowning faces (when not helping was disapproved of). Based on this, a continuous 4-point scale was created consisting of 1 (*very much*

okay), 2 (*a little bit okay),* 3 (*a little bit not okay)* and 4 (*very much not okay*). To assess domains of reasoning, children were subsequently asked to explain their answer.

Counterprobes

Children's evaluations and explanations were followed by two counterprobe questions on which they could answer 'yes' or 'no'. First, the influence of peers of the helper was examined. When children said it was okay not to help, the question was: "And when friends of (*name helper*) say she or he should help, should (*name helper*) help (*name recipient*) then?". Children who reported that it was not okay were asked: "And when friends of (*name helper*) say she or he does not have to help, should (*name helper*) not help (*name recipient*) then?".

    Second, the influence of parents was assessed. When children indicated that it was okay not to help, they were asked: "What if the parents of (*name helper*) say she or he should help, should (*name helper*) help (*name recipient)* then?". When children reported it was not okay to refuse help, the question was: "What if the parents of (*name helper*) say she or he should not help, should (*name helper*) not help (*name recipient)* then?". When children changed their initial judgment this was coded '1', and when they did not change this was coded '0' (see Killen et al., 2002).

Reciprocity

The influence of reciprocity was measured with a third question after the counterprobes. For a judgment of okay, the question was: "What if (*name recipient*) did help (*name helper*) the last time. Should (*name helper*) help then?". For a judgment of not okay the question read: "What if (*name recipient*) did not help (*name helper*) the last time, should (*name helper*) not help then?". A change of judgment was coded '1' and no change was coded '0'.

Social perspective taking ability

To assess children's understanding of social perspectives in interpersonal situations we used the Theory of Social Mind Task designed and validated by Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier, and Ferrell (2009). The task requires children to understand a false evaluation of a character and gives a score for social perspective taking ability. Children were told the following story: "Thomas and Stefan see each other for the first time and they are playing a game together. Thomas really likes the game and has a lot of fun. Then he leaves the room to go and get something to drink in the kitchen. While Thomas is gone, Stefan steals a toy of Thomas and hides it in his pocket. Before Thomas returns to the room

and is still in the kitchen with his mother, his mother asks him whether he likes Stefan". Subsequently children were asked: What do you think that Thomas will tell his mother?", followed by: "Why do you think that?". The coding of their answers followed the procedure outlined by Abrams and colleagues (2009). When children said Thomas would not like Stefan because he stole toys, this was coded '0'. When children said Thomas would still like Stefan, but could not accurately explain why (e.g., "Just because he is nice") this was coded '1', while when children said Thomas would still like Stefan because he did not know about the stealing yet, this was coded '2'.

A t-test was conducted to examine the association between social perspective taking ability and the grade children were in. Results showed that children in grade 6 had more advanced social perspective taking skills ($M = 1.63$, $SD = .67$) compared to children in grade 4 ($M = 1.32$, $SD = .85$, $t(131) = -2.40$, $p = .02$, cohen's $d = -0.41$). Inspection of social perspective taking ability within each age group showed that for grade 4, 24.6 % did not understand the story correctly, 19.3 % only partly, and 56.1 % gave a correct answer. For grade 6 more children gave a correct answer (73. 7 %) and 10.5 % did not understand it, while 15.8 % partly understood the protagonist view.

Coding and reliability

Children's explanations were examined and coding categories were constructed based on Social Cognitive Domain Theory (Killen et al., 2002; Turiel, 1983) and the Cost-Reward Model (Dovidio et al., 1991; Piliavin et al., 1981). Two trained research assistants coded all explanations separately. They were unaware of the hypotheses of the study.

Domains

The coding system comprised four categories: moral, social conventional, psychological and other solutions. Children's explanations were coded as *moral* when it reflected reasons of wellbeing, such as concern for the recipient of help ("That probably really hurts. I would stay with him to make sure he is okay"), or appeals to fairness or equal treatment (e.g., "Well, then they both get a little bit wet. That's better than one person getting totally wet and the other not at all"). Explanations were *social conventional* when referring to normative aspects and expectations of how to behave towards others, such as friends, and when it involved politeness or good manners ("it would be fun if she could help a little, also because they can stay friends"). Answers were also considered social conventional when children referred to the (negative) relationship consequences of not helping or argued that helping was important for the functioning of the relationship (e.g.,

"Then they can play together and will not get into a fight"). The *psychological* domain indicated a focus upon the helper's goals, desires, and preferences ("Because he did not yet watch the movie while he really wants to. That's why"). Furthermore, answers were assigned to this domain when children referred to helping being a matter of personal choice (e.g., "I think she should decide for herself, because she is her own boss"). A fourth additional category was used to assess children's reasoning in terms of *other solutions*. In line with the Cost-Reward Model, children sometimes referred to solutions that provide a 'way out' of the situation, such that the helper could satisfy personal desires while at the same time not neglecting the recipient of help (e.g., "She can help at a later moment" or "Perhaps she could go and ask the teacher?").

For answers that did not fit into one of the abovementioned categories (e.g., "I just think it is better when he helps") coders were instructed to assign a missing (17% of all codes were coded as missing). Explanations that reflected more than one domain were coded in separate categories. For example, when a child's reasoning reflected both moral considerations as well as other solutions, this was placed in the category moral-other solution. Consequently, 7 mixed categories were created but on average only 19 children per story used mixed domain reasoning. Because we did not have specific hypotheses about mixed-domain reasoning and the majority of mixed domain reasoning was below 10%, we decided to exclude these categories from the analyses. Furthermore, analyses in which more than one code for each answer was allowed (see Smetana et al., 2009 for comparable analysis), yielded similar patterns of results.

Reliability

Interrater reliability between the two coders was examined using Cohen's kappa. We used the more conservative method by only including those explanations that according to both research assistants fitted the coding system. For children's explanations concerning the high costs-low need, high costs-high need, low costs-low need, and low cost-low need, kappa was .71, .92, 1.0, and .90, respectively. In total, the two research assistants disagreed only 15 times (0,5%) about which category to assign an answer to. Therefore, we decided to use the scores of the first research assistant, rather than to solve the disagreement through discussions in which social influences can play a role. Additional analyses showed that using the scores of the second assistant yielded virtually identical results.

Data analytic strategy

Separate analyses were performed for children's evaluations of the four stories, for their explanations, and for change of judgment with regard to counterprobes and reciprocity. First, we examined children's evaluations of the different helping contexts with multivariate multilevel regression analyses using MLwiN 2.21 (Rasbash, Charlton, Browne, Healy, & Cameron, 2009). In the multivariate multilevel model, different responses (within-subjects) can be examined and compared by treating them as observations nested within individuals (see Goldstein, 1995; Snijders & Bosker, 1999). This strategy offers greater flexibility in analyzing the separate stories compared to ANOVA with repeated measures. A two-level structure was examined for each helping context. Level 1 involved children's evaluations of the refusal of help in the four different situations ($n = 532$ in total). Note that there was no variation at this level as it was only included to define the multivariate structure (see Goldstein, 1995; Snijders & Bosker, 1999). Level 2 denoted the individual respondents ($n = 133$). All models were estimated using the Iterative Generalized Least Squares algorithm (IGLS), and relative model improvement was assessed by comparing the fit (deviance) of nested models. Differences between these statistics follow a Chi-square distribution, and degrees of freedom are given by the differences in numbers of parameters (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). Moreover, in the multivariate model it is possible to test whether effects of predictors are statistically different for two or more dependent variables by comparing the fit of models with common regression coefficients versus separate coefficients.

For the examination of children's explanations, a paired t-test was used to compare the use of different domains of reasoning aggregated across the four helping contexts. Mean proportions of the domains are reported for each story and chi-square analysis was used to assess the relation between domains of reasoning and children's age and social perspective taking ability.

To examine changes in children's judgments for the four stories in relation to peers and parents, logistic multilevel analysis was performed in MLwiN 2.21 (Rasbash et al., 2009). This method allows analyzing non-normal, correlated dichotomous target values and is therefore the preferred method over ANOVA with repeated measures (see Hox, 2010; Jaeger, 2008). The dependent variable was 'overall change of evaluation' ('1' change, '0' no change). Two levels were included: evaluation for each story (1) and the child (2). Models were analyzed with a binomial distribution and logit link. Two dummies were included to indicate odds that children changed their evaluation when peers and parents disagreed. A similar logistic multilevel model was estimated for the influence of reciprocity.

2.3 RESULTS

Evaluations about the refusal of help

Prior to conducting our multivariate multilevel analyses we calculated the average evaluation of the refusal to help across the four scenarios. Children evaluated the refusal to help negatively ($M = 3.11$, $SD = 0.39$) and significantly above the neutral midpoint of the scale, $t (132) = 32.51$, $p < .001$. We proceeded with our multilevel analyses in two steps. First, we tested a so-called intercept-only model to examine the average evaluations of the refusal to help in each of the four situations. This model yielded the exact mean scores given in Table 1, together with the variances, and covariances of the four evaluations (see Table 2).

Table 1 shows that almost all children evaluated the refusal of help in the low costs- high need story as not okay, and significantly above the midpoint of the scale $t (131) = 43.49$, $p < .001$. Similarly, the refusal to help was evaluated negatively for both the low costs-low need and the high cost-high need story and above the midpoint of the scale, respectively $t (132) = 26.71$, $p < .001$ and $t (132) = 15.00$, $p < .001$. However, in the high costs-low need context a majority of children indicated that the refusal to help was okay, and the score was significantly under the midpoint of the scale $t (132) = 5.08$, $p < .001$. Additional analysis showed that the evaluations of the four stories all differed significantly from each other at $p < .001$, and that children's evaluations were in line with the hypotheses. When costs of helping were low, children expressed the strongest negative evaluation about the refusal of help. This was found both for the relatively high and low need situations. In contrast, a small majority of the children evaluated the refusal to help as being okay in the high cost-high need situation. Additionally, when both costs and need were high most children disapproved of not helping, although this evaluation was considerable less negative compared to the low costs helping situations.

In the next model we evaluated the influence of age (grade, dummy variable) and social perspective taking ability (mean-centered score) by adding them as predictors to

Table 1. *Means, standard deviations and proportions for evaluation of the refusal to help*

	Mean (*sd*)	Okay	Not okay
Story			
High costs-Low need	2.34 (0.77)	.60	.40
High costs-High need	3.00 (0.77)	.25	.75
Low costs-Low need	3.32 (0.57)	.05	.95
Low costs-High need	3.80 (0.47)	.02	.99

Note. Proportions of okay and not okay calculated per story.

Table 2. *Multivariate multilevel regression model for evaluations about the refusal of help in each story in relation to grade and social perspective taking*

	High costs Low need	High costs High need	Low costs Low Need	Low costs High need
Grade 4 (vs. 6)	0.03	−0.36**	0.11	−0.04
Social perspective taking ability	−0.05	0.21**	−0.00	0.06
(Co) variance				
High costs Low need	0.58			
High costs High need	0.17	0.53		
Low costs Low need	0.11	0.05	0.32	
Low costs High need	−0.03	0.04	0.06	0.22
Deviance	965.81			

Note. Separate coefficient model. The (co)variances indicate the unexplained variation and covariation of the dependent variables in the model. ** $p < .01$

the model and specifying separate coefficients for each dependent variable. This led to a significant improvement in model fit χ^2 (2) = 19.08, $p < .001$. As expected there were significant effects of age and social perspective taking ability in the high costs-high need situation only (see Table 2). In line with the hypothesis, older children evaluated the refusal to help in this situation as less blameworthy compared to younger children ($\eta^2 = .05$). Moreover, children who scored higher on social perspective taking ability evaluated the refusal to help in this situation as more blameworthy compared to children scoring low on social perspective taking ability ($\eta^2 = .07$).

To examine whether the effects of age and social perspective taking ability were significantly different for the high costs-high need situation versus the other three situations, we ran two additional models. In the first model we estimated common effects for both age and social perspective taking for all situations. The fit of this model was significantly worse than the fit of our original model with separate coefficients, χ^2 (6) = 17.07, $p = .009$. This means that the effects of social perspective taking ability and age differed for the stories. To examine whether these different effects can be attributed to the difference between the high costs-high need situation and the other three situations, we also tested a model with common coefficients for the latter and a separate effect for the former. The fit of this second additional model was not significantly worse than the fit of our original model (Table 2), χ^2 (4) = 3.02, $p = .56$, but better than the fit of our first additional model,

$\chi^2 (4) = 14.06$, $p = .007$. Hence, the second more parsimonious model can be preferred and indicates that age and social perspective taking affect children's evaluation differently in the high costs-high need story compared to the other three stories.

Children's explanations

A set of pairwise t-tests was used to compare the overall frequency of different types of reasoning across the four stories. Results showed that moral domain reasoning ($M = .90$, $SD = .84$) was more frequently used compared to social conventional reasoning ($M = .20$, $SD = 47$), t (132) $= 7.66$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 1.04$, compared to psychological domain reasoning ($M = .23$, $SD = .49$), t (132) $= 7.46$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.97$, and compared to other solutions ($M = .47$, $SD = .62$), t (132) $= 4.32$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.59$. This supports the first hypothesis that children tend to reason about the refusal to help in terms of the moral domain. To examine which domains of reasoning were used for the different stories, we considered the mean proportions for each story and separately for type of evaluation (okay vs. not okay; see Table 3).

Low personal costs of helping

When the costs of helping were low, children were expected to disapprove of the refusal to help and explain this in terms of wellbeing and fairness. For the low costs-high need story, 79% of all explanations involved moral domain reasoning. Similarly, 78% of all explanations for the low costs-low need story involved moral reasons. Thus, when costs of helping were low, the majority of children reasoned in terms of the moral domain (see Table 3).

Table 3. *Mean proportions for types of reasoning according to evaluation for each helping context*

Story	Evaluation	Moral	Social conventional	Psychological	Other solution
High costs- Low need	okay	.05	.00	.59	.36
	not okay	.24	.29	.00	.47
High costs- High need	okay	.00	.00	.75	.25
	not okay	.28	.13	.04	.56
Low costs- Low need	okay	.00	.00	.00	.14
	not okay	.78	.16	.00	.07
Low costs- High need	okay	.00	.00	.00	.00
	not okay	.79	.09	.02	.09

Note. Proportions are calculated on all domains of reasoning per story according to evaluation. Missings not included.

High costs and low need

When costs were high and need was low, children were expected to perceive not helping as less blameworthy and to explain their judgment in terms of personal considerations of the helper. As expected, most explanations (59%) given for the 'okay' judgment referred to personal preferences and individual choice. Psychological domain reasoning was thus most frequent when children evaluated the refusal of help as okay, while other forms of reasoning were not often used.

High cost and high need

When children were presented with a dilemma between high costs and high need, we expected that age and social perspective taking skill influence children's explanations. Chi-square tests were performed for the influence of age and social perspective taking ability on domains of reasoning. Results show a significant association between domains of reasoning and the grade children are in, χ^2 (3) = 10.31 p = .02. Younger, compared to older children, were more likely to reason in terms of wellbeing of the child in need of help (proportion based on total explanations for this story: respectively .15 versus .05). They might, for example say: "No! You really need to help! Otherwise she might stay in there all night!". In line with the Cost-Reward Model, older compared to younger children more often mentioned 'other solutions' (respectively .31 versus .16). Older children for example reasoned: "Well if you are really afraid then you still have to go and get someone to help".

Furthermore, there was a marginal significant association between children's social perspective taking skills and their use of the moral domain, χ^2 (2) = 5.78, p = .06. Children with more advanced social perspective taking skills tended to reason more in terms of the moral domain compared to less able children and unable children (proportion based on total explanations for this story, respectively .14, .01 and .02). In addition, when we compare the group of children that were unable or in part able (right answer but wrong explanation) to the children that correctly explained the protagonists view, a significant difference was found, χ^2 (1) = 5.78, p = .02. This indicates that children with better social perspective taking skills reasoned more in terms of the moral domain compared to children with less advanced skills.

Change of evaluation

To assess whether children changed their evaluation when parents or peers of the helper did not agree with them, logistic multilevel analyses were performed. For the influence of parents and peers one multivariate model was examined with the changes in both cases as

Table 4. *Proportion of children that changed their initial evaluations in relation to peers, parents and reciprocity*

Story	Probe		
	Peers	Parents	Reciprocity
High costs -Low need	.17	.62	.71
High costs -High need	.04	.32	.50
Low costs -Low need	.07	.33	.40
Low costs -High need	.02	.18	.32

Note. Proportions of change calculated for each counterprobe separately per story (changes versus no change).

the dependent variables. Additionally we examined whether the mean odds of a change in evaluation differed according to children's initial evaluation (which was included as a mean-centered moderating variable). Results showed that, for all stories, there was no difference between children that initially evaluated the refusal of help as okay and not okay in the odds that they changed their evaluation. Results of the models without initial evaluation are reported in Table 5.

Proportions of children that changed their evaluation are presented in Table 4. As can be seen and in line with the second hypothesis, most change in judgment was found for the high costs-low need context in which children evaluated the refusal of help as okay. In line with the first hypothesis, for stories that elicited a strong negative evaluation (low costs-high need, low costs-low need) children were less likely to change their evaluation.

Low costs of helping

Results of the logistic multilevel analysis (see Table 5) show that for the helping contexts in which costs were low and children evaluated the refusal of help as not being okay, a change of judgment was highly unlikely for both counterprobes of peers and parents. Thus, for these two stories, the great majority of children were not influenced by peers or parents of the helper having a different opinion. When the influence of peers and parents was compared by using dummies, results showed that both sources of influence did not differ significantly ($p_s > .10$) for these stories. This pattern of findings further suggests that children reasoned about the refusal to help in terms of a moral obligation.

High costs of helping

When costs of helping were high and recipient's need was relatively low, more change of judgment was found (Table 5). Whereas peers disagreement did not lead to much change in evaluation, parents did change children's evaluation of the helper. When both

Table 5. *Logistic multilevel model for change of evaluation according to each story and counter-probe*

| | Probe | | |
Story	Peers coefficient (*sd*)	Parents coefficient (*sd*)	Reciprocity coefficient (*sd*)
High costs -Low need	−1.62 (0.23)	0.48 (0.18)	0.88 (0.19)
High costs -High need	−3.24 (0.46)	−0.74 (0.19)	−0.39 (0.18)
Low costs -Low need	−2.62 (0.34)	−0.73 (0.19)	−0.02 (0.17)
Low costs -High need	−3.76 (0.57)	−1.55 (0.23)	−0.76 (0.19)

Note. Dependent variable 0 = no change, 1 = change. Coefficient represents the mean odds that children change their evaluation. Probe for peers and parent examined and compared in the same model, reciprocity in a separate model.

counterprobes were compared, results showed that parents were more effective in changing children's evaluation than peers ($b = 2.10$, $p < .001$).

High cost and high need

Overall, a change of judgment was highly unlikely for both counter-probes of peers and parents when costs as well as needs were high. The influence of age and social perspective taking ability on the likelihood that children changed their evaluation was also assessed. When a dummy variable for age was entered in the logistic multilevel model, only a main effect for age was found. Older children were less likely to change their opinion compared to younger children ($b = −0.59$, $p = .04$). No significant interaction effects were found with each probe separately. Additionally, when social perspective taking was added to the logistic multilevel model, no significant main or interactions effects for social perspective taking were found.

Reciprocity

Proportions in Table 4 show that for all stories reciprocity was most influential in changing children's evaluation, while peers where least important. A separate logistic model was estimated for the influence of reciprocity within the four stories. Results shown in Table 5 indicate that only in the high costs-low need situation the majority of children changed their evaluation when they learned about reciprocity. When children found the refusal to help okay, they were likely to change their evaluation when they learned that the helper did not reciprocate the help received earlier. However, when children condemned the refusal to help, most children did not change their evaluation. This means that the children still found it wrong to refuse help after they learned that earlier the recipient of

the help had not offered help him- or herself. In an additional model we further examined whether children who approved of the refusal to help initially (centered mean score for evaluation across the four stories) were more likely to change their evaluation when learning about reciprocity. Results showed that children who condemned the refusal of help were indeed less likely to change their evaluation overall compared to children who disapproved of not helping after learning about reciprocity ($b = -1.25$, $sd = 0.25$). This indicates that approval of not helping is more likely to be overpowered by reciprocity than disapproval of not helping.

Summary of findings

In summary, results show that when the costs of helping were low, children evaluated the refusal to help most negatively, whereas when costs were high and need was low, a small majority of the children accepted the refusal to help. When both costs and need were high, older compared to younger children were less negative about the refusal of help, and children with better social perspective taking skill were more negative compared to less able children. Additionally, when costs were low, children explained their evaluation predominantly in moral terms, while the high costs-low need situation was explained most often in terms of psychological domain reasoning. For the high costs and high need story, older children more often mentioned other solutions and younger children expressed moral concerns, and children better at social perspective taking reasoned more in terms of the moral domain. Children did not change their evaluation when peers or parents disagreed in the low cost helping contexts and in the high need and high costs context. They changed their evaluation more often when parents disagreed in the high costs helping context. Furthermore, reciprocity was a more important consideration for changing one's mind about the initial acceptance than non-acceptance of not helping, especially in the high cost-low need situation.

2.4 DISCUSSION

This study makes a novel contribution to the literature by examining how children reason about the refusal to help by taking into account the need of the recipient of help as well as the personal costs of helping. Although some studies have examined how children reason about helping others (e.g., Kahn, 1992; Nucci & Turiel, 2009; Smetana et al., 2009; Weller & Lagattuta, 2013) less is known about how children weigh both the wellbeing of another

child and the costs for the helper in their evaluation of the refusal to help. Additionally, there is a large literature on how children weigh various aspects of social exclusion and peer victimization. But children's reasoning about the refusal to help might differ from harming others. The former involves prescriptive rather than proscriptive morality and tends to be less strict and more commendatory (Janoff-Bulman et al., 2009).

Supporting the first hypothesis, the findings show that children overall disapproved of not helping and that they used moral reasons for explaining their evaluation. When the helping situation involved low personal costs for the helper, children evaluated the refusal to help as blameworthy and explained this in terms of the recipient's wellbeing or a lack of fairness. Moreover, when peers or parents disagreed with them this did not change their mind. These finding were found for helping situations involving low and relatively high need and independent of children's age. This suggests that children perceive the obligation to help in terms of the moral domain and not as a social convention. In line with Social Cognitive Domain Theory (Turiel, 1983) the moral obligation to help was found to be independent from peer norms and parental authority.

Secondly, we expected that the moral obligation to help can be overpowered by relevant other concerns. Indeed, results show that when the personal costs of helping were relatively high the children evaluated the refusal to help as less blameworthy. Helping in these situations was considered a personal matter, also when peers disagreed. Thus, in line with the Cost-Reward Model (Piliavin et al., 1981) children tended to prioritize the personal costs of helping when these were perceived as relatively high and these personal considerations overpowered the moral obligation to help. This reasoning was already apparent in children as young as 8 years and did not change for early adolescents. These findings, for the first time, show that children consider personal costs of helping as an acceptable reason for not following the moral obligation to provide help.

When the children were presented with the more complex and dilemmatic situation of relatively high need of help and high costs of helping, we found that children's reasoning depended on their age and social perspective taking ability. Confirming the third hypothesis, early adolescents evaluated the refusal of help in that situation as less blameworthy compared to younger children. In agreement with the Cost-Reward Model (Piliavin et al., 1981), early adolescents explained their evaluation more often in terms of other solutions, such as "she can help at a later moment". Younger children more frequently expressed moral concerns about fairness and recipient's wellbeing. Similar to research on social exclusion (e.g., Recchia, Brehl, & Wainryb, 2012) and on the permissibility of fulfilling personal desires in family situations (Smetana et al., 2009), these results

suggest that younger children focus primarily on preventing harm and unfairness, while early adolescents increasingly attend to multiple considerations involved in the refusal of help (see also Weller & Lagattuta, 2013; Nucci & Turiel, 2009).

Results testing the fourth hypothesis show that children with more advanced social perspective taking ability disapproved more strongly of not helping than children with less advanced social perspective taking ability. The former group of children also more often expressed moral reasons for their disapproval of the refusal to help compared to the latter. This implies that more advanced social perspective taking ability increases children's focus on the recipient in need of help. Being able to understand the distress of others strengthens the perceived moral obligation to help. Interestingly, although age was positively related to social perspective taking ability, the results show that both age and social perspective taking had independent and contrasting effects on children's reasoning about helping when need and costs were both relatively high. Older compared to younger children are more able to take the perspective of the peer in need of help but they are also more likely to take the costs for the helper into account. Thus, older children seem better able to weigh the different considerations and to make up their own mind. The findings show that younger children compared to early adolescents were more likely to change their evaluation after hearing that significant others think otherwise.

For the fifth exploratory hypothesis on the influence of reciprocity we found that overall reciprocity was more influential in changing children's evaluation compared to peer and parent norms, also when children evaluated the refusal of help as wrong. This suggests that reciprocity is a moral obligation which can be in conflict with the obligation to help. However, for the situation where helping a peer involved low costs, the majority of the children did not change their evaluation when they learned that the one asking for help had not helped him- or herself before. This provides further support for the importance of the moral obligation to help. Thus, the moral obligation to help was more powerful than the lack of reciprocity. Only when the costs of helping were relatively high and children evaluated the refusal of help as okay, did they change their opinion after learning that the recipient had helped before. This indicates that the moral norm of reciprocity ('but s(h)e has helped earlier') can become more important than the psychological domain reasoning that is initially used to justify the refusal to offer help.

Contrary to our expectations, when the costs of helping were high and children evaluated the refusal of help as okay because of personal considerations, they changed their mind when the parents of the helper disagreed. This suggests that children's conception of which issues are up to the child and to the parents are somewhat unstable during

childhood. With age, parental control reduces and children's perceived personal domain expands, especially in adolescence (Smetana, Crean, & Campione-Barr, 2005; Smetana et al., 2009). We found no age differences in response to parent or peer norms. Future research could examine whether adolescents' evaluation about the refusal to help in high cost situations is more stable compared to that of children and early adolescents.

As part of the initial design, ethnic target group differences were also examined. We did not find any differences in children's evaluations and reasoning when the recipient of help was a Dutch (ethnic in-group) or Moroccan (ethnic out-group) child. Yet, chapter 3 and previous research using first names and vignettes has found intergroup effects in children's evaluation of helping behavior (e.g., Weller & Lagattuta, 2013). There might be methodological explanations for this, such as that the helping situations in the current study combined several issues, whereas other studies often examine one or two aspects of helping (see chapter 3; Weller & Lagattuta, 2013; Smetana et al., 2009). Aspects of costs and need might have been more salient to children, thereby overpowering the rather subtle intergroup manipulation of ethnic names. Especially since the current study was conducted on white schools and participants were Dutch majority group children, for which ethnicity is not such a central part of the self-concept in late childhood and pre-adolescence (Quintana, 1998; Verkuyten, Masson, & Elffers, 1995). Moreover, previous research shows children tend to inhibit explicit racial biases (Banaji, Baron, Dunham, & Olson, 2008; Olson & Dunham, 2010). Our measure might not have captured the subtlety and implicit nature of children's intergroup biases. Future studies should examine ethnic target group differences more closely, for example, by making the ethnic background of the target more salient.

Limitations and future directions

Some limitations of the research should be considered. We examined children's evaluations across four hypothetical helping situations. Future work should examine the generality of these findings across other types of needs and costs involved in helping. Furthermore, we used written stories that were read to children. These descriptions can differ from observations of actual interactions and from children's own behavior. It is important to study the combination of needs and costs in real-life helping situations. Additionally, previous research has shown that children are concerned about their self-reputation leading to face-work in social contexts (e.g., Banerjee, Bennett, & Luke, 2010; Hatch, 1987; Sluckin, 1981). Hence, children might have been reluctant to express an evaluation that goes against the prevailing social norms about helping. However, a great number

of children accepted the refusal of help in situations where helping a peer involved high costs. Another limitation is that it is not clear whether the present findings generalize to children from different socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds. The cross-sectional nature of the current work also limits conclusion about how children's reasoning about helping relates to their socio-cognitive development. Future work should consider a more heterogeneous sample and a longitudinal design to study developments over time.

To increase our understanding about children's reasoning about the refusal to help, future research could also examine other abilities than social perspective taking such as empathy and multiple classification ability (Aboud, 1988). Research also suggests that it is important to distinguish between different forms of pro-social behavior (for an overview see Paulus & Moore, 2012) and future work could, for example, focus on the influence of costs and need in situations of sharing and comforting behavior.

Conclusion

Taken together, our findings provide novel insights into how children reason about the refusal of help when different personal costs and needs are involved. Using stories that systematically varied the recipient's need and the personal costs for the helper, this study shows that children perceive helping as a moral obligation but that high personal costs of helping are considered an acceptable reason to refuse help. This indicates that the moral obligation to help is less strict compared to children's conception of, for example, harming others which is typically considered wrong (Smetana, 2006). To our knowledge, this is the first study that examined children's evaluations as well as their explanations of the refusal to help. This allowed us to show that when both the recipient's need and the costs of helping were high, older children were able to consider other solutions whereas younger children more strongly condemned the refusal of help in moral terms. Moreover, children with better social perspective taking skills expressed stronger moral disapproval compared to children with less advanced skills. This research shows that, similar to research on social exclusion (Killen et al., 2002), helping is a multifaceted phenomenon. Understanding how and when children perceive the obligation to help peers is important to stimulate prosocial behavior and foster socio-emotional development. The current research has tried to make a systematic contribution in improving this understanding.

CHAPTER 3

The moral obligation to help and
the intergroup context

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Research investigating children's cognitions about ethnic groups and interethnic relations predominantly focuses upon prejudice and stereotyping, and peer rejection and social exclusion (see Levy & Killen, 2008). This has resulted in an extensive body of knowledge about negative attitudes and behaviors toward ethnic out-group members. There has been much less interest in children's views about the lack of positive interethnic behaviors, such as the refusal of help (e.g., Paulus & Moore, 2012; Weller & Lagattuta, 2013).

Infants and young children have been found to spontaneously help others (Warneken & Tomasello, 2009), and to prefer prosocial over antisocial agents (Hamlin, Wynn, & Bloom, 2007). This early prosocial orientation is the core root of moral cognition, and during the pre- and primary school period children increasingly articulate spontaneous moral judgments. The research presented in chapter 2 showed that children, aged 8 to 12 years, evaluate the refusal of help as morally blameworthy. Not helping a peer in need was consistently found to be considered blameworthy, independent of social rules, authority and reciprocity considerations. The current study goes beyond these findings by examining children's reasoning about not helping in an interethnic context. The way children reason about not helping in this context might differ from their reasoning about ethnic prejudice and exclusion. Whereas proscriptive rules underlie the blameworthiness of harmful and unfair behavior, prescriptive rules guide in helping and in the refusal thereof (Hauser, 2006; Janoff-Bulman, Sheikh, & Hepp, 2009). Compared to the former, the latter are less strict and more commendatory. Although harming someone is almost always blameworthy, the refusal to help others is not.

We examined Dutch children's (8-13 years) evaluations of intergroup and intragroup helping in situations in which a peer ('helper') refuses to give help to another peer ('recipient'). We studied late childhood and early adolescence because of important socio-cognitive developments in this age period (Aboud, 2008; Quintana, 1998). Children and early adolescents develop increased awareness about the responsibility to help, but also learn that prosocial behavior is not always necessary or socially appropriate (Hay & Cook, 2007). Furthermore, from around the age of seven children increasingly use ethnicity as a dimension for peer and group evaluations (Aboud, 2008). In addition, research suggests that children younger than eight years of age are relatively unskilled at coordinating first- and second-person perspectives (Quintana, 1998). Consequently, younger children tend to focus either on the ethnic group membership of a target or on the specific actions of that target, rather than on both simultaneously (Spears-Brown & Bigler, 2004).

Two vignette studies were conducted in which the ethnic group (Dutch or Turkish) of the (non)helper and the recipient were systematically varied. In study 1 we examined the evaluation of helping behavior without making ethnicity salient, whereas in study 2 evaluations were examined when ethnic group membership was made salient. We used three theoretical frameworks for deriving contrasting hypotheses about children's evaluation of interethnic helping. Because chapter 2 showed that older children evaluate the refusal of help as morally wrong, two different moral principles might apply. First, Social Cognitive Domain Theory (Turiel, 1983) can be understood as leading to the prediction that children will not differentiate between ethnic groups in their evaluations of the refusal of help. Second, Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al., 2013) argues that children will consider the principle of in-group loyalty and therefore make a distinction between intergroup and intragroup helping. In addition to moral principles and following Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), it can also be argued that children evaluate not helping of in-group and out-group peers differently, particularly children with relatively strong ethnic group identification. An overview of the contrasting predictions is presented in Table 1 and discussed below.

Critical for testing the contrasting predictions, we used a design in which all combinations of intergroup and intragroup helping were presented to the children. Thus, in contrast to the existing research that focuses on the in-group versus out-group distinction, we examined children's evaluations of intragroup helping when it involves two ethnic in-group members or two ethnic out-group members, and of intergroup helping in which an ethnic in-group member is either the helper or the recipient.

Table 1. *Overview of expectations for children's evaluations about a child who refuses to help an ethnic in-group member (intragroup) or ethnic out-group (intergroup) peer*

Theory	Expectations
1. Social cognitive domain theory	intragroup = intergroup
2. Moral foundation theory	intragroup > intergroup
3. Social identity theory	out-group helper with in-group recipient > in-group helper with out-group recipient

Note. = evaluation is equally negative
> evaluation is more negative

Social Cognitive Domain Theory

According to Social Cognitive Domain Theory (Turiel, 1983) children's social reasoning can reflect moral, social conventional and psychological considerations. For example, ethnic exclusion may be viewed as unfair (moral), or as legitimate to make the group

work well (conventional), or as acceptable because it is based on personal considerations and individual choices (psychological). According to the theory, morality relates to issues of harm and fairness. Children use concerns about other's well-being and fairness as reasons for considering helping morally obligatory (Killen & Turiel, 1998). Furthermore, the research presented in chapter 2 showed that children not only strongly condemn the refusal to help but explain this in terms of moral considerations that are not affected by peer norms or parental mandates. According to Social Cognitive Domain Theory, moral concerns are general, inalterable and independent from rules and authority sanctions (Smetana, 2006). In other words, evaluations in the moral domain are seen as applicable to people everywhere. This suggests that children might evaluate the act of not helping as wrong, independent of the ethnic group context (hypothesis 1, see Table 1). Thus, when children perceive a general moral obligation to help, this would mean that a peer who does not help someone of his or her own group (intragroup context: Dutch-Dutch or Turkish-Turkish) will be evaluated similarly negative as a peer who refuses to help in an intergroup context (Dutch-Turkish or Turkish-Dutch).

Moral Foundations Theory

Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al., 2013) argues for a broader moral domain that in addition to harm and fairness includes concerns about in-group loyalty, respect for authority, and spiritual purity. Group loyalty is seen as a virtue and a moral obligation and research in different countries has revealed the moral importance of loyalty to one's own group (Fiske, 1992; Rai & Fiske, 2011). Furthermore, research has found that in-group betrayal elicits automatic affective evaluations that are indicative of moral concerns (see Graham et al., 2013). People are expected to take care and feel responsible for members of their own group making group loyalty a general moral principle.

For the current research this might mean that children evaluate not helping in relation to a moral norm of group loyalty rather than harm and fairness. They might use the general rule "All individuals should help others of their own group", leading to the prediction that not helping within the intragroup context will be evaluated more negatively than not helping within the intergroup context (hypothesis 2). Importantly, not helping a peer should be evaluated equally negatively when both helper and recipient are either in-group (Dutch) or out-group members (Turkish) of the responding child. In other words, children will be more negative about a peer who refuses to help in intragroup versus intergroup contexts (see Table 1), independent of the child's own group membership. It

simply is wrong for people not to help members of their own group, and more wrong than not helping members of another group.

Social Identity Theory

In addition to moral principles, children might also be concerned about their social identity. Social Identity Theory was developed to understand *inter*group relations and argues that group identification tends to generate intergroup biases in which in-group members are evaluated more positively compared to out-group members (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Compared to lower identifiers, higher identifiers are more in-group oriented and more concerned with the status and value of their group. This could mean that ethnic identification is related to the intergroup helping context, such that children evaluate an out-group (Turkish) peer not helping an in-group (Dutch) peer more negatively compared to an in-group (Dutch) peer not helping an out-group (Turkish) peer (hypothesis 3). Because the refusal of help signals a powerful position on part of the helper and powerlessness of the recipient (Halabi & Nadler, 2010; Hopkins et al., 2007; Van Leeuwen, & Täuber, 2010), the former intergroup situation is probably more in-group threatening than the latter one, but only for higher identifiers.

For group identity to become an important factor in the evaluation of helping behavior it is necessary that the group distinction is salient. There are always different possibilities for categorizing social reality and children might not spontaneously conceptualize themselves and others in ethnic terms. This is particularly likely for majority group children who as members of the dominant group are typically less aware of and concerned about their ethnic group membership. This could mean that in a context in which one's group membership is not salient, Dutch children's evaluations about ethnic helping will not reflect their intergroup identity concerns. However, when ethnicity and the child's own ethnic group membership are made salient, these concerns, as predicted by Social Identity Theory, can be expected to influence children's focus (Bigler, Jones, & Lobliner, 1997; Patterson & Bigler, 2006).

Study 1 examined evaluations when the ethnicity of the helper and recipient were not made salient. In this situation we did not expect that higher ethnic identification is related to a more negative evaluation of an out-group (Turkish) peer not helping an in-group (Dutch) peer, than vice versa. In these situations group identity concerns will not challenge children's moral orientations and therefore a pattern of in-group loyalty or general morality (hypothesis 1 and 2, see Table 1) is more likely. However, by making ethnic group membership salient, we expected in study 2 that group identity becomes an

important dimension for evaluating intergroup helping. In this situation and for higher identifiers, an ethnic out-group peer (Turkish) not helping an in-group peer (Dutch) was expected to be evaluated more negatively than an in-group peer not helping an out-group peer (hypothesis 3).

3.2 STUDY 1

3.2.1   Method

Participants and procedure

For the analyses there were 272 native Dutch children (grades 4 through 6) attending 31 classrooms in 9 primary schools from different cities in the Netherlands. The children were between 9 and 13 years old ($M = 10.7$ years, $SD = 1.02$) and 150 of them were girls. Participation in the study was voluntary and all children with parental permission participated. The classes differed with respect to ethnic composition, but predominantly contained students who defined both themselves and their parents as native Dutch ($M_{\% \ Dutch} = 68.4$), with only a very small percentage of Turkish children in each classroom ($M_{\% \ Turkish} = 2.24$). In addition, the variation in ethnic minority self-labelling was considerable and in the vignettes only two ethnic target groups were used. This made it impossible to examine intergroup evaluations among the full sample ($N = 831$) with ethnic minority students.

Children independently filled in a short anonymous questionnaire in their classroom under supervision of their teacher and a research assistant. The measures considered in the current analysis were part of a larger questionnaire. In the beginning of the questionnaire the children were presented with four vignettes to assess their evaluation of the refusal to help another peer. To assure that the children were not made explicitly aware of their ethnic group membership, ethnic identification was assessed *after* the vignettes.

Materials

Children read all four vignettes, each of which was about a child requesting help of another child, which was subsequently refused. Ethnic group membership of the helper and the recipient referred to Dutch and Turkish peers. We focused on the group of Turkish immigrants because this is the numerically largest ethnic minority group in the Netherlands and one of the least accepted, also by native Dutch early adolescents (Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000). The four vignettes were: "Omer has lost the keys of his bike. He asks Murat to help him find the keys. Murat does not help" (story 1); "All children have to make an

assignment. Roos thinks the assignment is very hard, but Leyla understands it very well. Roos asks Leyla to explain it to her. Leyla does not help" (story 2); "Ahmet forgot his lunchbox. He has nothing to eat during the break and his stomach hurts. Tim has four sandwiches. Ahmet asks if he can have a sandwich but Tim does not give it to him" (story 3); "Karlijn has to bike from school to her home but her bike is broken. If she gets home late, she will be punished. Derya is also by bike and lives close by Karlijn. Karlijn asks if Derya can bring her home on the back of her bike. Derya does not do it" (story 4).

Similar to previous research, an incomplete random block design was used with 16 versions (e.g., Verkuyten, Weesie, & Eijberts, 2010). Because of demand-load each responding child was presented with a different combination of ethnicities for the four stories. This means, for instance, that children who received the first version of the questionnaire only rated the following four combinations: a Turkish boy not helping another Turkish boy, a Dutch boy not helping another Dutch boy, a Turkish girl not helping another Turkish girl, and a Dutch girl not helping another Dutch girl. Also following previous research (Verkuyten et al., 2010), the ethnic group membership of helper and recipient were systematically varied by using four different Turkish and Dutch first names, thereby generating four possible combinations. The Turkish first names for boys were Ömer, Murat, Ahmet, Mehmet, and for girls Fatma, Leyla, Nuray, and Derya. The Dutch names for boys were Stefan, Bas, Tim, and Pieter, and for girls Roos, Lotte, Karlijn, and Fleur. The four vignettes were counterbalanced and this resulted in 16 different versions of the questionnaire. Gender was held constant in these vignettes. In stories 1 and 3 the helper and recipient were boys and in stories 2 and 4 both were girls.

Evaluation of the helper

Children were asked to evaluate the helper, using the seven-point scale of seven 'faces' as developed and validated by Yee and Brown (1992). This scale was designed to elicit children's 'general affective orientation toward the actor' (Yee & Brown, 1992, p. 622). The children were asked to indicate "what do you think of the fact that (name helper) does not help?". A higher score indicates a more negative evaluation of the child refusing to help.

Ethnic identification.

To assess ethnic group identification we used three items that have been used in previous studies in the Netherlands (e.g., Verkuyten, 2002). The children were asked whether they liked being Dutch, whether they were proud to be Dutch, and whether they found it important to be Dutch. The response format ranged from 1 (*no absolutely not!*) to 5 (*Yes,*

absolutely). The three items loaded on one principal component explaining 60.59 % of the variance and Cronbach's alpha was 0.64.

Analyses

We used multilevel modeling to analyze our data. Multilevel analysis is an appropriate tool for examining individuals nested in clusters (e.g., children in their classrooms) and responses nested within individuals (see Hox, 2010; Snijders & Bosker, 1999). We specified so-called longitudinal models consisting of three levels: the story level (level 1), the child level (level 2), and the classroom level (level 3). In these models the differences between vignettes were represented by three dummy variables that were randomized at Level 2 to prevent violation of the compound symmetry assumption (Hox, 2010; Snijders & Bosker, 1999). Analyses were carried out in MLwiN 2.21 (Rasbash, Charlton, Browne, Healy, & Cameron, 2010), and three orthogonal contrasts were specified to examine the effects of our manipulations. Contrast 1 represented the difference between intragroup helping (Dutch-Dutch or Turkish-Turkish) and intergroup helping (Dutch-Turkish and Turkish-Dutch), coded "1" vs. "−1", respectively. Contrast 2 concerned the intragroup context and represented the difference between the helper and recipient belonging to the in-group of the responding child (i.e., Dutch, coded "1") versus the out-group (i.e., Turkish "−1"). Contrast 3 concerned the intergroup context and represented the difference between an in-group helper (Dutch) not helping an out-group recipient (Turkish; coded "−1") versus an out-group helper (Turkish) not helping an in-group recipient (Dutch; coded "1").

3.2.2   Results

Preliminary results

The participants evaluated the child not helping a peer rather negatively. The overall mean score of 5.90 ($SD = 0.95$) is significantly above the neutral midpoint of the scale, $t(271) = 32.99$, $p < .001$. For ethnic identification a mean score of 3.92 ($SD = 0.76$) was found that is significantly above the neutral midpoint of the scale, $t(271) = 19.90$, $p < .001$. Because no significant age differences (continuous standardized score) were found in the multilevel models tested, this variable was not included in the further analyses. However, there was a significant gender difference ($p = .01$), with girls being more negative about the refusal to help than boys, respectively, $M = 6.03$ ($SD = 1.14$), versus $M = 5.74$ ($SD = 1.35$). Yet, no significant interactions were found for gender and the three contrasts.

We controlled for gender in further analyses. As a level 3 variable, we also examined whether the mean percentage of Turkish children in the classroom was related to the different responses. A main effect was found, showing that a higher percentage of Turkish peers was related to less negative evaluation about not helping. However, the percentage of Turkish children in the classroom did not significantly interact with contrast 1, 2 and 3, and therefore did not moderate children's responses.

Three models were examined. Model 0 included only dummy variables for the vignettes with story 3 as a reference category and randomized across level 2, and a dummy variable controlling for gender. In model 1 the effects for contrast 1, contrast 2, and contrast 3 were added. In model 2, the centered score of ethnic identification was entered as well as the interactions between identification and the three contrasts.

Evaluation of the helper

Children's evaluations of the helper were regressed on dummy variables for the vignettes (model 0). No significant differences were found between vignettes and inspection of the separate means for the vignettes showed that the overall evaluation scores were quite similar, ranging from 5.79 to 5.99. This indicates that the four vignettes yielded similar responses. To control for these small differences between the vignettes we included their dummies in the subsequent models.

To understand whether and how ethnicity influenced the evaluation of the helper, contrasts 1, 2, and 3 were entered in model 1. Results showed a significant effect of contrast 1 (see Table 2, left column). Further inspection indicated that the intragroup
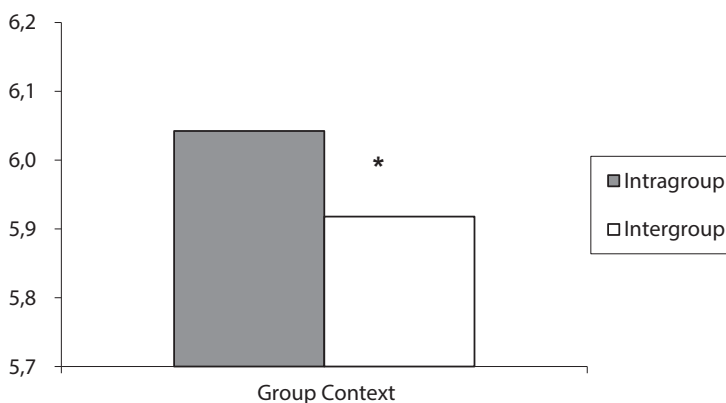

Figure 1. Evaluation in the intragroup and intergroup contexts in Study 1.
Evaluation measured on a 7-point scale ranging from 'very happy face' (1) to 'very sad face' (7). * $p < .05$

Table 2. *Beta's and deviance components of multilevel models for evaluation of the helper, study 1 and study 2*

Explanatory variables	Study 1			Study 2		
	Model 0	Model 1	Model 2	Model 0	Model 1	Model 2
Contrast 1		0.11*	0.11*		0.02	0.02
Contrast 2		−0.03	−0.03		0.03	0.03
Contrast 3		0.01	0.01		0.04	0.04
Ethnic Identification			−0.00			−0.05
Contrast 1 x Ethnic Identification			−0.01			0.04
Contrast 2 x Ethnic Identification			0.01			−0.01
Contrast 3 x Ethnic Identification			0.03			0.09***
Gender	0.30**	0.30**	0.30**	0.34***	0.34***	0.32**
Dummy story 1	−0.14	−0.14	−0.14	−0.19	−0.20	−0.20
Dummy story 2	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.00	−0.01	−0.01
Dummy story 4	0.10	0.10	0.10	−0.02	−0.02	−0.02
Deviance	3287.74	3283.06	3282.31	11138.30	11134.27	11117.91
Deviance Difference		4.68	0.75		4.02	16.36**
Variance Child-level (2)	1.68	1.68	1.68	1.89	1.89	1.88
Variance Class-level (3)	0.14	0.13	0.13	0.06	0.06	0.06
Total Variance	1.81	1.81	1.81	1.94	1.94	1.94

Note. Differences between vignettes are partialled out by using dummies.
Contrast 1 denotes the difference between intragroup and intergroup context. Contrast 2 is the difference between out-group helper and recipient versus an in-group helper and recipient. Contrast 3 is the difference between an in-group helper with an out-group recipient versus an out-group helper with an in-group recipient. *$p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$, two tailed

contexts yielded a stronger negative evaluation of the helper than the intergroup contexts (see Figure 1). In agreement with Moral Foundations Theory (hypothesis 2), this means that children were more negative about the refusal to help when a helper did not help someone belonging to his or her own ethnic group (i.e., Dutch-Dutch *or* Turkish-Turkish) as opposed to the refusal of help between peers from different ethnic groups (i.e., Dutch-Turkish *or* Turkish-Dutch). There were no significant effects for contrasts 2 and 3. The result for contrast 2 implies that in the intragroup context, the children were equally negative about an intragroup Dutch situation (Dutch-Dutch) as an intragroup Turkish context (Turkish-Turkish). Furthermore, in the intergroup context the children were equally negative about a Dutch child not helping a Turkish child as they were about a Turkish child not helping a Dutch child (contrast 3). Compared to model 0, the model in which only the significant contrast 1 was entered did result in a significant model improvement, $\chi^2 (1) = 4.06$, $p = .04$.

In model 2 ethnic identification and the cross level interactions of identification with contrasts 1, 2, and 3 were added. This did not result in a significant model improvement compared to model 1, χ^2 (4) = 0.75, p = .95. None of the added predictors yielded significant results. Thus, ethnic identification was not associated with the evaluations of the helper.

3.2.3 Discussion

The results of study 1 show that, overall, children were quite negative about peers who refused to help. This suggests that children regarded helping in these situations as the proper thing to do. Yet, there was considerable variation in children's responses (within and between-subjects) which supports the notion that helping involves prescriptive or commendatory norms (Janoff-Bulman et al., 2009). Second, children's responses were influenced by the group context. In line with the second hypothesis, the key finding is that the participants were more negative about the refusal of help in the intragroup context compared to the intergroup context. Furthermore, children's negative evaluation of the refusal to help in the intragroup context was independent of whether the helper and recipient were part of their own in-group (both Dutch) or the out-group (both Turkish). These findings show that children did categorize the vignettes according to ethnicity and that they applied a general moral norm of in-group loyalty: peers should help others of their own ethnic group. This is in line with Moral Foundations Theory that argues for in-group loyalty as one of the five foundations of moral judgments (Graham et al., 2013).

The results further show no evidence of in-group bias in which children evaluate the refusal of help in the intergroup context more negatively when refused by an out-group member compared to an in-group member (hypothesis 3). In addition, ethnic identification was not related to the ways in which the children responded to the vignettes. Thus, ethnic identity was not a relevant consideration in evaluating the refusals to offer help. This is in agreement with Quintana's (1998) model of ethnic identity development according to which ethnicity is not a central part of the self-concept in late childhood and preadolescence. This is particularly likely for majority group children who are members of the dominant group.

Yet, following Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) it can be expected that increasing children's awareness of their ethnic group memberships will change their evaluation of the lack of helping in the direction of intergroup bias. That is to say, when

ethnic group differences are salient we can expect that an ethnic out-group member (Turkish) not helping an in-group member (Dutch) is evaluated more negatively than an in-group member (Dutch) not helping an out-group member (Turkish). This should be the case for higher ethnic identifiers in particular, because an out-group member who refuses to help the in-group implies a power difference which does not support a positive in-group identity. We examined this expectation in our second study in which the same design and the same vignettes as in study 1 were used.

3.3 STUDY 2

Following intergroup research among children we made ethnicity salient in two ways. First, Social Identity Theory argues that questions about group belonging imply group distinctions and trigger feelings of group commitment. Ethnic self-involvement becomes salient when children are asked to indicate what they think about their ethnic group membership (Sani & Bennett, 2004). Therefore, in study 2 we assessed ethnic identification directly before presenting the vignettes. Second, prior to the vignettes and by using a variant of the semantic priming paradigm (Wentura & Degner, 2010), the children had to complete a categorization task in which they were asked to classify Dutch and Turkish first names according to ethnic group. In the Netherlands, first names are clear indicators of Dutch or Turkish background, the categorization task additionally allowed us to check whether the children recognized the ethnicity of the first names used in the vignettes.

3.3.1   Method

Participants and procedure

Only children who identified themselves as ethnic Dutch and reported that their father and mother were of Dutch origin were selected for the analyses. Therefore, of the 1228 children, 830 children were considered (grades 4 through 6). These children attended 76 classrooms in 22 primary schools in the Netherlands. Children were between 8 and 13 years of age ($M = 10.7$ years, $SD = 0.99$) and 445 of them were girls. Participation in the study was voluntary and all children in each classroom participated after parental permission was obtained. All classrooms consisted of predominantly native Dutch children ($M_{\%\ Dutch} = 80.1$), with very few Turkish children ($M_{\%} = 0.90$). Special care was taken to ensure that possible differences in findings between Studies 1 and 2 were not due to sampling: the

procedure for the data collection in study 2 was the same as in study 1, and the samples of both studies were similar with respect to geographical location of the schools. Moreover, direct statistical comparison showed no significant differences ($p_s > .05$) between both studies in children's age, gender and their evaluation of cultural diversity (a measure included at the end of the questionnaire for another research question). Additionally, in study 2 we also checked whether the percentage of Turkish children in the classroom was related to differences in evaluations. This was not the case because no main or interaction effects were found for classroom percentage ($p_s > .10$).

Materials

The experimental design, vignettes and questions were identical to study 1. However, this time and prior to the vignettes, the children were presented with the ethnic identification questions and with a categorization task.

Ethnic identification

Three questions measuring ethnic identification were identical to study 1 and one additional question was asked ("Do you really feel Dutch"). The items loaded on one principal component that accounted for 49.92 % of the variance and alpha for these four items was equal to 0.61.

Categorization task

A variant of the semantic priming paradigm (Wentura & Degner, 2010) was used by presenting a list of twelve first names and instructing the children to indicate if each of the names was either a Dutch or a Turkish name. They were asked to write down the letter 'N' (Netherlands) for a Dutch name in the box before the name, and the letter 'T' for a Turkish name. The Dutch names used were: Amber and Iris (for girls), Thomas, Max, Tim, and Daan (for boys). The Turkish names were: Ebru and Ayse (for girls), Baran, Osman, Tarkan, and Serkan (for boys). The mean number of correctly categorized names was 11.85 ($SD = .45$). In total, 88 % of the children categorized all 12 names correctly, 8.8 % made one mistake, 1.6 % made 2 mistakes, and only 0.7 % of all children made 3 mistakes.

Analyses

The same analytic strategy as in study 1 was used. Three-level longitudinal models were examined in MLwiN 2.21 (Rasbash et al., 2010) and the three identical orthogonal contrasts used in study 1 were specified.

3.3.2   Results

Preliminary results

As in study 1, the children evaluated the child refusing to help negatively, with a mean sore of 5.81 ($SD = 1.01$), which is significantly above the midpoint of the scale, t (829) = 51.59, $p < .001$. Also similar to study 1, the mean score for ethnic identification was 4.19 ($SD = 0.65$) which is above the midpoint of the scale, t (829) = 52.88, $p < .001$. Again, no significant age differences were found and therefore this variable was not included in the analysis. Again, a significant gender difference was found in the evaluation of the helper ($p < .001$) with girls being more negative about the refusal to help than boys, respectively, $M = 5.96$ ($SD = 1.26$) versus $M = 5.62$ ($SD = 1.55$). No interactions were found for gender and the contrasts. We controlled for gender in further analyses. No significant main or interaction effects were found for the ability to correctly categorize the names. To control for the small differences between children a dummy variable (1 = all 12 names correctly; 0 = not all 12 names correctly) was added to the models.

    Three models were examined. The first model 0 included dummies for the vignettes (randomized over level 2), gender, and categorization ability. In model 1 the effects for contrast 1, contrast 2, and contrast 3 were added. In model 2, ethnic identification was entered as well as the interaction effects of identification with the three contrasts.

Evaluation of the helper

Dummy variables for the vignettes were included in model 0, with Story 3 as a reference category. The four vignettes elicited similar evaluations of the helper (mean scores ranging from 5.67 to 5.86). We included dummy variables for the vignettes in the subsequent models to take these small differences into account.

    Contrasts 1 (inter- versus intragroup), 2 (intragroup: out-group versus in-group), and 3 (intergroup: out-group helper versus in-group helper) were added to the analysis in model 1 (see Table 2, right column). Results showed no significant effect for any of these contrasts. The model did not significantly improve compared to model 0, χ^2 (3) = 4.02, $p = .26$. Thus in the intragroup context, children again were equally negative about
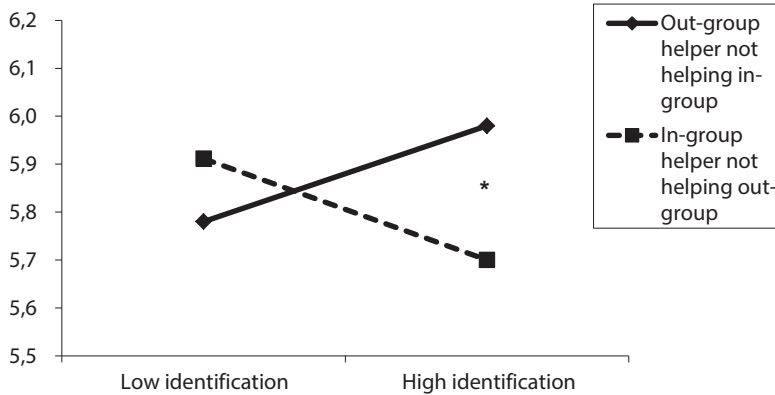
Figure 2. Effect of ethnic identification on evaluation of the helper, in Study 2.
Evaluation measured on a 7-point scale ranging from 'very happy face' (1) to 'very sad face' (7). * $p < .001$

a Dutch peer not helping another Dutch peer and a Turkish peer not helping another Turkish peer (hypothesis 2). The evaluations in these two situations were similar to the intergroup situations.

In the second model, ethnic identification and the interactions with the contrasts were added. Overall, model fit was significantly improved compared to model 1, χ^2 (4) = 16.36 $p = .003$. The main effect of ethnic identification and the interactions with contrasts 1 and 2 were not significant. However, in line with the third hypothesis a significant interaction effect was found between contrast 3 (intergroup context) and ethnic identification. To inspect this interaction we performed simple slope analysis (Aiken & West, 1991) for two groups of ethnic identification: relatively low score on ethnic identification (1 *SD* below the mean) and relatively high score on ethnic identification (1 *SD* above the mean). As expected and shown in Figure 2, higher identification was related to a stronger negative evaluation of an out-group member (Turkish) not helping an in-group member (Dutch) as compared to an in-group member (Dutch) not helping an out-group member (Turkish) ($b = 0.13$, $p < .001$). For low identifiers there was no significant difference in the evaluation of the in-group and the out-group member refusing to provide help in the intergroup context ($b = -0.06$, $p = .15$).

Another way to investigate this interaction is to compare the effects of ethnic identification on children's evaluations of an in-group member not helping an out-group member with their evaluations of an out-group member not helping an in-group member. This effect was negative and significant in the former but not in the latter case, respectively, $b = -0.14$, $p = .002$, versus $b = 0.05$, $p = .24$. This indicates that compared to lower identi-

fiers, children who more strongly identified with their ethnic group were less negative about an in-group member's refusal to help an ethnic out-group member.

3.3.3   Discussion

Study 2 examined children's evaluations of the refusal to help when their ethnic identity was made salient. Similar to study 1 and in line with the second hypothesis, in the intragroup context it was considered equally wrong when an in-group child did not help a co-ethnic peer (Dutch-Dutch) or when an out-group child did not help a co-ethnic peer (Turkish-Turkish). Compared to study 1, the results showed that the evaluations about intergroup helping did change. In agreement with Social Identity Theory and the third hypothesis (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), it was found that higher ethnic identifiers evaluated an ethnic out-group member (Turkish) who refused to help an in-group member (Dutch) more negatively than an in-group member not helping an out-group member. This indicates that a sense of group belonging is an important factor in evaluating situations of ethnic helping. In these intergroup situations children seem to focus on group identity concerns rather than on the principle of loyalty to the own group.

3.4   GENERAL DISCUSSION

To our knowledge, the current research is the first to study evaluations of helping behavior in an ethnic group context and by using a complete intra- and inter-ethnic experimental design. Thus, in contrast to most of the existing research on children's intergroup attitudes (see Levy & Killen, 2008), we also examined intragroup situations involving two out-group peers. Because children tend to evaluate the refusal of help as morally blameworthy (Killen & Turiel, 1998; see also chapter 2) two contrasting moral principles could apply. Based on Social Cognitive Domain Theory children were expected to evaluate not helping as morally blameworthy independent of the group context, while Moral Foundations Theory predicts a more negative evaluation in intragroup compared to intergroup contexts. Whereas, group identity might also play a role, which would mean that children with strong in-group identification evaluate intergroup helping more negatively when it concerns an out-group helper compared to an in-group helper.

In study 1, when ethnicity was not a salient category, the findings show that children evaluated the refusal of help in the intragroup context more negatively than the refusal of help in the intergroup context. In addition, the evaluations in the intragroup context were similar for the child's ethnic in-group (Dutch-Dutch) and out-group (Turkish-Turkish) members. Thus, children seem to base their judgment on a general in-group loyalty rule that states that peers should help peers of their own group. This pattern of findings suggests that in-group loyalty is an important foundation upon which children base their morality in the prescriptive domain. This supports the second hypothesis derived from Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al. 2013) and not the prediction derived from Social Cognitive Domain Theory (Turiel, 1983).

We found evidence for moral foundation theory because we used a design that included not only intergroup contexts but also in-group *and* out-group intragroup contexts. This complete design was critical for testing the contrasting hypotheses. It allowed us to demonstrate that in-group loyalty is not a principle that is used only for members of one's own group (Dutch), but also for the evaluation of helping behavior between two out-group members (Turks). This is an important finding and indicates that it is useful for research on children's intergroup evaluations to take a broader perspective than the familiar intergroup distinction in which the attitudes of majority group children towards ethnic minority peers (and/or vice versa) are examined.

Secondly, our findings show that whereas in-group loyalty is an important principle in the evaluation of refusal to help in intragroup contexts, within an intergroup context ethnic identity concerns can emerge when ethnic self-involvement is high. For higher identifiers, and in agreement with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), intergroup bias was found in study 2 in which ethnicity was made salient. High identifiers evaluated an ethnic out-group (Turkish) child not helping an in-group (Dutch) peer more negatively than an in-group child not helping an out-group peer. For low identifiers the difference in evaluation was not significant. For the former group it is likely more threatening when an out-group peer refuses to help an in-group peer because this attributes power to the out-group. This suggests that ethnic self-involvement triggers an evaluation reflecting identity protection motives. In agreement with other research (see Killen & Rutland, 2011), this shows that children's moral focus can be undermined by their attachment to social groups and their desire to favor their in-group over other groups.

Limitations and future directions

Some limitations of the research should be considered. First, we did not directly assess whether children's reasoning about group loyalty reflects moral considerations rather than, for example, social conventions or subjective group dynamics. The subjective group dynamics model (Abrams, Rutland, Ferrell, & Pelletier, 2008) and recent developments in Social Cognitive Domain Theory (Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010) tend to conceptualize group loyalty as part of the social conventional domain. Group loyalty would not be a general moral rule but rather a norm that is key to group functioning. However, there is increasing behavioral, physiological and evolutionary evidence for group loyalty being a moral foundation (see Graham et al., 2013). Our findings show that older and younger children responded similarly to the vignettes and that the children clearly disapproved of the refusal of help in an intragroup context. Similar to the findings in chapter 2 and previous research (Killen & Turiel, 1998), this suggests that children did not reason about the refusal of help in terms of the social conventional domain but rather evaluated not helping of members of the same group as a moral transgression. Yet, future studies could examine this further by considering children's judgments in social contexts in which in-group loyalty is socially disapproved.

Second, in study 2 a categorization task as well as a measure of ethnic identification was used to make ethnicity salient. Therefore, it is not possible to disentangle whether salience of ethnic categories or ethnic self-involvement was responsible for the results. Study 1 shows that children did notice the ethnic categories because meaningful ethnic distinctions were made. Study 2 provides evidence that children are able to correctly identify first names according to ethnic categories. Therefore we expect that the ethnic identification measure was more important for the findings because it enhances ethnic self-involvement in children.

Social Cognitive Domain Theory tends to focus on moral concerns about harming or unfairly treating others. It is argued that these moral considerations are obligatory, universally applicable, impersonal and binding (Turiel, 1983). Harming others differs from helping others because it involves proscriptive morality rather than prescriptive rules (Janoff-Bulman et al., 2009). This could mean, for example, that in-group loyalty will not play a role in the context of harming because of the moral rule 'do not harm another person, whatever group he or she belongs to'. There is evidence for this in social domain research (see Smetana, 2006). Future studies could examine Social Cognitive Domain Theory and Moral Foundations Theory in the context of physical and psychological harm resulting from a refusal to help. For example, and in line with domain theory, it is

possible that the refusal to help in harmful situations is evaluated negatively, irrespective of the group context. Future studies could also examine children's evaluations when help is provided instead of refused. According to the prescriptive and proscriptive distinction (Janoff-Bulman et al., 2009), the moral guidelines in both situations should be similar, but the role of identity protection motives might differ.

Theories of ethnic identity development argue that children acquire basic knowledge about ethnic groups at a very early age (Quintana, 1998). This knowledge enables fast and strong reactions to ethnic group labels when children are asked explicitly about ethnic group differences or forced implicitly to use these social categories in evaluating peers (Baron & Banaji, 2006). One implication is that in study 1 we might have found evidence for intergroup bias if we had used group labels (Dutch child and Turkish child) rather than first names to identify the story characters. This should be examined in future studies. Another implication is that it can be expected that adolescents will show ethnic intergroup bias in the evaluation of helping situations in which peers are identified only by their first name. With age, children increasingly understand the social consequences of their ethnic group membership and learn to apply social categories to individuals. Individual exemplars of a category activate categorical evaluations more easily from the age of 12 onward (Degner & Wentura, 2010). Future research should explore this developmental change in relation to helping and other forms of prosocial intergroup behavior. This research could also focus on ethnic minority children because for them ethnic identity might be a more dominant theme that develops earlier in childhood than for majority children. For ethnic minority children, ethnic identity tends to be more readily salient and might exert greater influence on their ethnic helping evaluations.

Another recommendation for future studies is to examine the evaluation of intergroup helping in ethnically mixed schools. Our studies were conducted in predominantly white schools in which there is limited opportunity for interethnic contacts. Contact has a positive effect on children's out-group attitudes (see Tropp & Prenovost, 2008), and a mixed environment makes ethnicity a more relevant and salient part of children's social surroundings. Thus in these situations children may be sensitive to ethnic cues and more quickly categorize individuals along ethnic lines. However, it might also mean that children have learned to perceive and evaluate peers in terms of individual characteristics and qualities rather than ethnic group memberships. Both of these processes might operate at the same time may explain why ethnic helping was not dependent on the percentage of Turkish minority students in the classroom. In general, it is important to recognize that ethnic mixing only offers opportunities for contact and does not always lead to better

interethnic relations but can also increase tensions and conflicts (Stark, 2011). Perceived school safety, multicultural climate and classroom size are additional characteristics that should be considered (e.g., Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013).

Conclusion

In contrast to most of the existing studies on children's intergroup relations, this research focused on helping behavior and examined intergroup as well as intragroup contexts. This design allowed us to draw two important conclusions. First of all, children perceive and evaluate intragroup helping in terms of moral expectations of loyalty to one's own group. This suggests that morality-based reasoning is not limited to situations of harm and fairness but also includes the domain of prescriptive rules. Second, salience of group identity challenges children's moral orientation making it more difficult to apply moral reasoning to the helping of peers. Children's evaluations become influenced by group concerns when their ethnic group membership is salient and important. Together, these findings indicate that children use morality-based and group-based considerations when making judgments about helping behavior. Future studies should examine the generality of these findings among different age groups and different intergroup settings.

CHAPTER 4

Helping in the presence of
in-group and out-group bystanders

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In contrast to the extensive research on children's out-group stereotypes and prejudices (see Brown, 2010; Levy & Killen, 2008) little is known about how children evaluate out-group helping. Furthermore, existing research focuses on the perception and evaluation of 'isolated' group members by asking children to use trait adjectives for evaluating out-group members and by using stories and pictures in which an out-group peer or an interpersonal interaction is presented (Killen & Rutland, 2011). However, real-life social behavior often occurs in the presence of others and by-standing children can influence behavior towards out-group members (e.g., Aboud & Joong, 2008).

During late childhood and early adolescence children experience important socio-cognitive changes (Aboud, 2008; Quintana, 1998). They develop increased awareness about the responsibility to help, but also learn that prosocial behavior is not always necessary or socially appropriate (see Hay, 1994; Hay & Cook, 2007). From the age of 5, children are aware that onlookers might influence behavior (Banerjee & Yuill, 1999), and helping behavior is based on inferred expectations about what other's think or expect (e.g., Fischer et al., 2011; Levine, Cassidy, Brazier, & Reicher, 2002). This means that children's evaluation of helping might not only depend on the peer group membership of the recipient of help, but also on who the by-standing peers are.

The current study goes beyond previous research by examining how by-standing friends of the helper and of the recipient of the help, influence children's (8 to 12 years old) attitude towards out-group helping. We focus on out-group helping because it is less normative and common than helping in-group members (e.g., Fehr, Bernhard, & Rockenback, 2008; Warneken & Tomasello, 2009), and little is known about the psychological processes underlying children's evaluation of out-group helping. We portrayed and examined out-group helping in the context of friendships because this relational context is familiar and realistic for children.

An experimental vignette study was conducted in which children indicated their attitude towards helping a non-friend (out-group peer) when either friends of the helper or of the recipient of help were present. To examine whether children's attitude depends on the need of the recipient we also systematically varied the recipient's level of need (low versus moderate). Theoretically, we used two frameworks for deriving contrasting hypotheses. First, Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al., 2011) argues that children will use the principle of group loyalty to define a moral obligation to help one's friends. Second, the Competitive Altruism Hypothesis (Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006; Roberts, 1998)

Table 1. *Overview of expectations for children's attitude towards helping a peer when either friends of the helper, friends of the recipient of help, or no bystanders were present*

Theory	Expectations
Moral Foundations Theory	Friends recipient < no bystanders
	Friends helper = no bystanders
Competitive Altruism Model	Friends helper > no bystanders
	Friends recipient = no bystanders

Note. = means equal endorsement of helping

     > means stronger endorsement of helping

     < means less strong endorsement of helping

argues that reputation concerns might inform children's attitude towards helping. An overview of the contrasting predictions is presented Table 1 and discussed next.

Children's cognitions about prosocial behavior become morally informed around the pre-school and middle-school years (see Hay & Cook, 2007). According to Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al., 2011), group loyalty is a central moral obligation and research in different countries has revealed the moral importance of loyalty to one's group (Fiske, 1992). This is particularly true for relational groups that are based on personalized bonds, such as friendships (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Therefore, it is generally expected that individuals will take care and feel responsible for members of their own relational group. This is in line with research on the subjective group dynamics that shows that children tend to disapprove of disloyal group members (Abrams, Rutland, & Cameron, 2003).

The presence of by-standing others might lead children to use group loyalty as a principle for evaluating helping, but only when the recipient's friends are present. These friends are expected to be loyal and help the peer in need and thereby lower the perceived obligation of a non-friend to offer help. Therefore, following Moral Foundations Theory it can be expected that children will less strongly endorse the need to help when recipient' friends are present compared to a situation in which there are friends of the helper.

Apart from loyalty considerations, reputation concerns might influence children's perception and evaluation of helping behavior. The well-known bystander effect indicates that individuals are less likely to help in ambiguous situations when other people are around as compared to when they are alone. However, our study examines explicit helping situations and several studies and real-life examples indicate that sometimes more help is provided in the presence of by-standing others compared to when one is alone (e.g., Fischer et al., 2011; Fischer & Greitemeyer, 2013). This stronger helping behavior in public situations is attributed to self-presentational motives and reputation concerns

of the helper, for which there is experimental evidence among adults (Bereczkei, Birkás, & Kerekes, 2007; Van Bommel, Van Prooijen, Elffers, & Van Lange, 2012). Research, for example, shows that subtle eye cues as well as imagining being watched are sufficient to trigger self-presentational concerns (Jaeggi, Burkart, & Van Schaik, 2010). The Competitive Altruism Hypothesis (Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006; Roberts, 1998) argues that altruism is an effective way to assert oneself in the group because it signals trustworthiness and competence and consequently enhances the reputation of the helper. Helping is especially likely to boost one's reputation when it is public, costly and reflective of an underlying characteristic (Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006). Helping someone who does not belong to your group of friends will enhance one's reputation because it is more unexpected and costly than helping a friend, making it more diagnostic of one's virtuous character (Reicher & Haslam, 2010).

From kindergarten on, children are concerned about their self-reputation and understand how impression management might influence behavior of other's (e.g., Banerjee, Bennett, & Luke, 2010; Hatch, 1987; Sluckin, 1981). They are also able to attribute self-presentational motives to others and to provide spontaneous explanations for others' self-presentational behavior (Banerjee & Yuill, 1999). If reputation concerns inform children's evaluation of helping, the friendship context is expected to influence their evaluation. It is likely that an audience of friends more strongly increases perceived reputation benefits compared to the presence of non-friends. Friends are important significant others and signs of virtue and trustworthiness as a friend can improve one's peer reputation in the long run. In contrast, bystanders who are not friends are less significant for one's reputation, for one thing, because one might never see them again. Therefore, following the Competitive Altruism Hypothesis it can be expected that children will more strongly endorse helping when friends of the helper are present compared to the situation in which there are friends of the recipient.

As shown in Table 1, both loyalty considerations and reputation concerns lead to the prediction of stronger endorsement of helping when friends of the helper are present as opposed to friends of the recipient. However, the underlying reasons are different because group loyalty implies a less strong endorsement of help when friends of the recipient can intervene, and reputational considerations imply a stronger endorsement of help when friends of the helper are present. One way to disentangle these two mechanisms is by extending the research design with a situation in which no bystanders are present. When group loyalty informs children's attitude, it is expected that they will less strongly endorse helping a peer when friends of the recipient are present compared to the situation in

which there are no bystanders. In addition, there should not be a difference between the situations of 'no bystanders' and 'friends of the helper' because group loyalty concerns are not relevant in both these situations. In contrast, when reputation is the main principle used for evaluating helping, children should more strongly endorse helping a peer when friends of the helper are present compared to when there are no bystanders. Moreover, no difference should be found between the situations in which friends of the recipient or no bystanders are present (see Table 1).

Individual differences in prosociality might influence the perception and endorsement of helping (Simpson & Willer, 2008). Children differ in the degree to which they tend to behave prosocially and research shows (modest) individual consistency over time and contexts in prosocial behavior (Eisenberg, Fabes, & Spinrad, 2006). This prosocial tendency indicates an other-directed focus such as a needs-oriented reasoning (e.g., Janssens & Dekovic, 1997; Penner, Fritzsche, Craiger, & Freifeld, 1995) and feelings of empathy (Davis, Luce, & Kraus, 1994). This might mean that high prosocial children will focus more on the recipient's welfare and therefore feel that those who are in need should be helped. This would mean that high prosocial children's evaluation of helping a peer will not be influenced by the presence of by-standing peers with the related considerations of group loyalty or peer reputation. In contrast, low prosocial children are more sensitive to and preoccupied with their own performances in social situations (Penner et al., 1995) and therefore might focus less on the recipient's need and more on the bystander context. This reasoning means that the expectations for group loyalty and peer reputation will apply to low rather than high prosocial children.

Next to individual differences, situational factors might influence children's attitude towards helping. We therefore varied the degree of help needed by the recipient (i.e., low and moderate). It is likely that children more strongly endorse helping a peer when the need for help is higher. However, the additional question that concerns us here and that will be explored empirically is whether the level of need has an influence on considerations of group loyalty or peer reputation.

In sum, this research examines how by-standing friends of the helper and of the recipient of the help, influence children's attitude towards out-group helping. In addition, individual differences in children's prosociality were taken into account as well as the recipient's level of need.

4.1 METHOD

Participants and procedure

Participants were 1246 children (grades 4 through 6) attending 22 primary schools from different cities in the Netherlands. After listwise deletion for missing data, 1221 children were included in the present analysis. These children were between 8 and 12 years of age ($M = 10.73$, $SD = 1.00$), with 47.9 % boys. Participation in the study was voluntary and anonymous, and parental permission was obtained.

The children were given a short booklet in the context of their classroom and under supervision of their teacher and a research assistant. The booklets were randomly divided over the children in the classrooms. Children read the stories alone and answered the questions independently. In a first section at the beginning of the booklet children were presented with four stories to assess their attitude towards helping. After various other, unrelated questions and in a separate section at the end of the questionnaire, children responded to questions about their prosocial behavior.

Material

Stories

Four different stories were developed and presented to the children using a 3 (bystander-context) by 2 (need) between-subjects design. Thus, there were 6 versions of the booklet, in which bystander-context (friends of helper, friends of recipient, no bystanders) and level of need (low versus moderate) was systematically and randomly varied between children and within classrooms. The between-subject design allowed us to create a more extensive measure of children's attitude towards helping by averaging their responses across four comparable situations. Because helping a friend is normative and common, in all stories the helper was not a friend of the one asking for help. Furthermore, because our aim was to test two theories that can explain why bystanders increase helping we tried to diminish the role of diffusion of responsibility that underlies the common bystander effect of decreased helping. Therefore, in each of the stories the recipient of help explicitly asked a non-friend for help.

For the situation of moderate need and friends of the recipient being present, the stories were: "Susan is playing outside with her friends. Emma is *not a friend* but also participates. Suddenly Susan feels very sick. She asks Emma to go to her house as fast as she can and get her mother" (1), "Bas is playing soccer with his friends. Jeroen is *not his friend*, but is also playing. Then Bas sprains his ankle. It really hurts a lot. He asks

Jeroen to help him to the side of the soccer pitch" (2), Marcel is doing homework with his friends. Kevin sits with them but is *not a friend*. Marcel has to give a speech tomorrow but has no idea how to do that. He is very scared. He asks Kevin to help him with the speech" (3), Lisa is at a children's farm with her friends. Anne is also at the farm but is *not a friend*. Lisa has lost her little brother and she is scared. She asks Anne to help her find him" (4).

The level of need was varied such that for low need the recipient of help felt a little tired (story 1), the ankle hurt a little (story 2), he did not know how to prepare the speech (story 3), the recipient had not seen her brother for a little while (story 4). For the bystander context the relation between helper and by-standing peers was described such that the recipient of help was with his or her friends, the helper was with his or her friends, or there were no bystanders with helper and recipient not knowing each other.

All stories were followed by the statement "Some children think (*name helper*) should help, but others do not". This statement was used to indicate that helping in these situations is not self-evident or common. Subsequently the attitude towards helping was assessed by asking "Do you think (*name helper*) should help?" Children could answer on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*no*), to 3 (*in between*) to 5 (*yes!*). This format avoids positive self-presentations and socially desirable responding and invites children to indicate their own attitude towards helping rather than a perceived social norm (see Harter, 1999). Principal component analysis showed that the answers to the four vignettes loaded on one factor and explained 45.51 % of the total variance, and thus they were included in a single score with a Cronbach's alpha of .59. The alpha is not very high but the four stories are used as one index of helping instead of a latent variable (see Streiner, 2003). Moreover, additional analyses for each story separately yielded the same pattern of results.

Prosociality

To measure children's prosocial tendency we used the self-report version of the five-item prosocial subscale from the Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ; Goodman, 1997). The SDQ is a brief, widely used screening and research instrument, and good psychometric qualities have been reported for the original scale as well as for the Dutch version (Muris, Meesters, & Van den Berg, 2003; Van Widenfelt, Goedhart, Treffers, & Goodman, 2003). Moreover, the self-report SDQ is reliable in children as young as 8 years of age (Muris, Meesters, Eijkelenboom, & Vincken, 2004) and correlates low with social desirability (Muris et al., 2003). The prosocial subscale consists of the following five items: "I try to be nice to others", "I share my toys and candy", "When someone is hurt or ill, I offer to help", "I am nice to younger children", and "I help my parents, the teacher

and other children without being asked". Answers were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*), to 3 (*sometimes*) to 5 (*always*). Cronbach's alpha was .70 and principal component analysis showed that the items loaded on one factor explaining 45.87 % of the total variance.

Analysis

The data have a nested structure of children in classrooms at different schools. An appropriate way of analyzing this design is multilevel analysis. Three levels were specified: children (level 1), classrooms (level 2) and schools (level 3) with attitude towards helping as the dependent variable (between-subjects). Analysis was carried out with MLwiN 2.21 (Rasbash, Browne, Healy, Cameron, & Charlton, 2004). The multilevel models were estimated using the Iterative Generalized Least Squares (IGLS) algorithm, and relative model improvement was assessed by comparing the fit (deviance) of nested models. Differences between these statistics follow a chi-square distribution with degrees of freedom given by the difference in parameters (Snijders & Bosker, 1999).

For level of need a contrast was specified, representing the difference between low need (coded '−0.5') and moderate need (coded '0.5'). Dummy variables were constructed for the presence of friends of the recipient (versus friends of helper) and no bystanders (versus friends of helper). First an intercept-only model was estimated. Secondly, dummies for the bystander contexts were entered. In the third step prosociality was entered as well as the interactions between prosociality and both dummies. Additionally, we changed the reference category to examine differences between the 'friends of the recipients' and 'no bystanders' contexts.

4.3 RESULTS

Preliminary results

Overall, children endorsed the need to help with a mean score of 4.11 ($SD = 0.66$), which is significantly above the neutral mid-point of the scale, $t(1220) = 58.81$, $p < .001$, $d = 3.37$. For prosociality a mean score of 4.00 was found ($SD = 0.57$), which is also above mid-point of the scale, $t(1211) = 61.28$, $p < .001$, $d = 3.52$.

As shown in Table 2, children endorsed helping more strongly in the context of moderate need ($M = 4.26$, $SD = 0.61$) compared to low need ($M = 3.96$, $SD = 0.67$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.47$) which indicates that the experimental manipulation was successful with a

Table 2. *Beta's and deviance components of multilevel models for children's attitude toward helping a peer*

Explanatory variables	Attitude toward helping		
	Model 0	Model 1	Model 2
Friends recipient vs. Friends helper		−.10 (.05)**	−.11 (.04)**
No bystanders vs. Friends helper		−.12 (.05)**	−.12 (.05)**
Prosociality			.17 (.03)***
Friends recipient vs. Friends helper * Prosociality			−.03 (.04)
No bystanders vs. Friends helper * Prosociality			−.09 (.05)*
Need	.32 (.04)***	.32 (.05)***	.32 (.04)***
Gender	.16 (.04)***	.16 (.04)***	.14 (.04)***
Deviance	2408.75	2401.54	2246.43
Deviance difference		7.21*	155.11***

Note. Dummies were used for bystander contexts with friends of the helper as a reference category.
*$p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$

medium effect size. However, no significant interactions were found between level of need and the dummy variables or with prosociality. There also was a significant gender difference with a small effect size (see Table 2) showing that girls endorsed helping more strongly than boys ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 0.62$, and $M = 4.02$, $SD = 0.69$, respectively, $d = .18$). No significant main or interaction effects were found for age (not in Table 2).

Bystander context

Results for the bystander context are shown in Table 2 and Figure 1. Multilevel analysis showed a significant effect for the difference between friends of the helper and friends of the recipient. Children more strongly endorsed helping a peer when friends of the helper were present compared to friends of the recipient, signified by a small effect size $d = .20$. In addition, children endorsed helping more strongly when the helper's friends were present compared to no bystanders, and this was a small effect size $d = .17$. Compared to model 0, this resulted in a significant model improvement, $\chi^2 (2) = 7.21$, $p = .03$. We also checked for the difference between the presence of recipient's friends and no bystanders and this difference was not significant ($p = .72$, $d = .04$). Thus, children more strongly endorsed helping when friends of the helper were present, compared to the situation in which there were friends of the recipient and when there were no bystanders. These findings are shown in Figure 1 and support the peer reputation hypothesis.
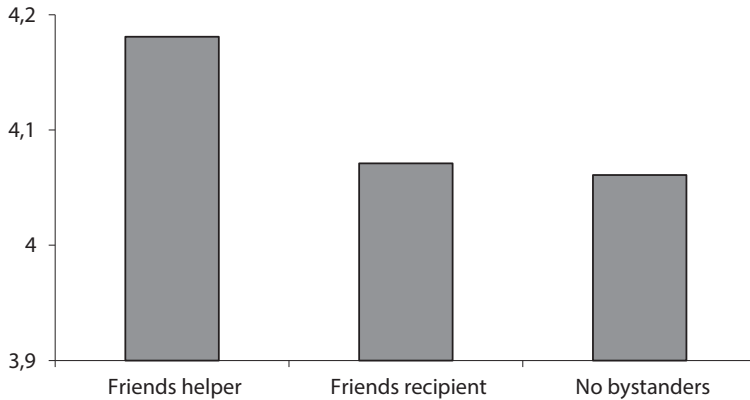
Figure 1. Children's attitude towards helping a peer when either friends of the helper, friends of the recipient of help, or no bystanders were present

Prosociality

In the third step of the multi-level analysis, prosociality was entered, as well as interactions with both dummy variables. Compared to model 1, this resulted in a significant model improvement, χ^2 (3) = 155.11, $p < .001$. A significant main effect for prosociality was found (see Table 2) with higher prosocial children more strongly endorsed helping. Effect size was medium sized to large ($\eta^2 = .08$). The interaction between prosociality and the presence of recipient's friends versus helper's friends was not significant. However, there was a significant interaction between prosociality and the presence of friends of the helper compared to no bystanders. Simple slope analysis was performed (Aiken & West, 1991) for children scoring relatively low on prosociality (1 *SD* below the mean) and relatively high on prosociality (1 *SD* above the mean). As expected, among high prosocial children, there was no significant effect of the presence of helper's friends compared to the no bystander situation. Thus, high prosocial children's attitude towards helping was similar when friends of the helper or no bystanders were present ($b = -.03$, $p = .69$). A different pattern was found for children scoring low on prosociality. When there were no bystanders they endorsed helping less compared to the situation in which there were friends of the helper ($b = -.21$, $p = .001$).

When no bystanders was used as a reference category, the interaction between prosociality and the presence of recipient's friends versus no bystanders was also significant ($b = -.09$, $p = .04$). Simple slope analysis showed that for children scoring relatively high on prosociality, there was again no difference in the endorsement of helping when the recipient's friends were present compared to the no bystander situation ($b = -.11$, $p = .08$). In contrast, children scoring relatively low on prosociality had a more positive attitude to-

wards helping when friends of recipient were present compared to no bystanders ($b = .13$, $p = .04$). This pattern of findings indicates that low prosocial children more strongly endorsed helping a peer in the presence of others while high prosocial children did not.

4.4 DISCUSSION

This research examined how by-standing peers influence children's perception and evaluation of helping behavior. Overall, children endorsed helping a peer that did not belong to the group of friends but their attitude depended on the presence of by-standing friends. Children endorsed helping strongest when friends of the helper were present compared to the situation in which there were friends of the recipient or when there were no bystanders. In line with the Competitive Altruism Hypothesis (Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006; Roberts, 1998) for which there is evidence among adults, these findings are the first to suggest that children also take reputation considerations into account in their reasoning about helping. From 5 to 6 years onwards, children are not only concerned about their own reputation (e.g., Banerjee et al., 2010; Hatch, 1987; Sluckin, 1981), but they are also able to attribute self-presentational motives for explaining other's behavior (Banerjee & Yuill, 1999). In this study attitudes towards helping a peer were similar for older children and early adolescents (8-12 years), and the bystander effect did not differ by age. This suggests that in evaluating helping, reputation considerations are already relevant for 8 year old children and in a similar way as for early adolescents. The importance of reputation considerations is further indicated by the finding that higher endorsement of helping in the presence of the helper's friends was unrelated to the recipients' level of need. Children endorsed helping more strongly in moderate compared to low need situations, but in both situations the endorsement was similarly affected by the bystanders. This indicates that reputation considerations are independent from the need involved in the helping context.

A further result that supports the importance of reputation consideration for the evaluation of helping a peer is that the attitude of relatively high prosocial children was not influenced by the presence of by-standing friends of the helper or of the recipient (compare Simpson & Willer, 2008). High prosocial children tend to be other-directed (Penner et al., 1995) and therefore focus more on the recipient's welfare rather than the reputation of the helper. A focus on the needs of the recipient leads high prosocial children to endorse helping independent of the bystander context. Future studies could

examine this interpretation by directly examining whether high prosocial children focus more on the helper or the recipient.

The findings for low prosocial children suggests that they focused on the reputation implications for the helper and therefore more strongly endorsed helping in the presence of friends of the helper compared to no bystanders. However, these children also had a more positive attitude towards helping when the recipient's friends were present compared to no bystanders. A possible explanation for this is that low prosocial children are more sensitive to other's social approval in general. Low prosocial children tend to focus on the self (Penner et al., 1995) and this self-directed focus might make them more prone to avoid social disapproval. Consequently when helping is public, their attitude towards helping is more positive than in a context without bystanders in which there is no risk of disapproval. This interpretation is in line with research that indicates that children with low perspective taking ability express more positive group attitudes in public compared to private contexts (see Killen & Rutland, 2011). In addition, socially anxious individuals are inclined to help more in the presence of a group because they tend to focus on public performances in social settings (Garcia, Weaver, Darley, & Spence, 2009). Future research should examine low prosocial children's sensitivity to reputation concerns and social approval simultaneously in order to examine the influence of these processes on their endorsement of helping.

To evaluate the present results, several limitations of the research should be considered. First, we focused on the perceptions of helping peers that did not belong to the helper's friends. We do not know whether the findings also apply to the evaluation of helping a friend and helping in general. Children tend to differentiate between peer groups and treat friends differently than non-friends. In addition, there might be differences in the processes that underlie helping 'insiders' and 'outsiders' with the former being more empathy-based and the latter more self-directed (Stürmer & Snyder, 2010). For example, strategic concerns have been found to underlie helping 'outsiders' in adolescents (e.g., Nadler, Harpaz-Gorodeisky, & Ben-David, 2009) and adults (see Van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2010), and therefore might be relatively specific for this type of behavior. Future studies should examine this.

Second, this study examined the context of friendship because this is highly relevant and familiar to children. Yet, children's reasoning about helping in this context might differ from their reasoning about, for instance, helping in an inter-ethnic context. Judgments and evaluations in the latter situations are typically more affected by social and moral norms whereas children tend to understand friendship issues in terms of

individual preferences (Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, & Stangor, 2002). Helping in an ethnic group context might less strongly trigger reputational considerations compared to a friendship context that is based on personalized bonds (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Furthermore, we examined low and moderate need situations and future studies should examine whether reputational concerns also play a role in high need situations. High need situations offer an opportunity to show trustworthiness and thereby to enhance one's reputation. However, the moral nature of high need situations might make helping less indicative of an underlying self-characteristic. Helping in situations that are clearly harmful is morally expected, irrespective of rules, regulations and the group context (Miller, Bersoff, & Harwood, 1990).

Third, the children were given written descriptions of social situations and the evaluations of these descriptions can differ from observations of actual interactions and from the children's own behavior. In addition, the significant effects found show a clear and theoretically meaningful pattern, but they are not very strong. This might be due to the short, written descriptions that were used and that lack vividness. It is possible that the effects are stronger when, for example, images and short films are presented to the children. In addition, stronger effects might be found for other forms of helping in which the costs and benefits of helping are taken into account. We did not consider the trade-off between costs and benefits but this might have an impact on the evaluation of helping behavior (Stürmer & Snyder, 2010). The influence of peer group norms on helping someone that does not belong to that peer group might also be an important factor to consider. Moreover, it is not clear whether the present findings generalize to children from different cultural or national backgrounds. In collectivistic cultures, for example, the stronger emphasis on in-group values and norms might lead children to perceive helping situations differently compared to children from a more individualistic culture. The emphasis in collectivist cultures on the in-group might lead to stronger group boundaries and therefore less out-group helping, but it might also imply that reputational concerns are more salient leading to more out-group helping.

In conclusion, it is important to study why and when children perceive helping as appropriate and necessary because this provides possibilities for stimulating children's prosocial behavior (Barclay, 2012). The findings indicate that children perceive and evaluate helping a peer in terms of reputation concerns. Children endorsed helping more strongly when the helper was surrounded by his or her friends. The presence of friends makes it more important to make a good impression compared to a setting in which these friends are not present or when there are no bystanders. This also implies that children

are sensitive to cues that might improve group membership. Moreover, children seem to attribute a signaling function to helping in a public context. This means that one way to stimulate helping behavior in children is to evoke the opportunity for self-presentation. However, reputation concerns are less important for high prosocial children who tend to focus on the needs of others compared to low prosocial children who focus more on public performances in social settings. This indicates that another way to stimulate positive behavior is to stimulate children's perspective taking abilities and empathic responses. Reputation concerns might be overcome by stimulating children to focus on the peer in need of help rather than the social setting of the helper.

CHAPTER 5

Helping in-group and out-group peers
in a public or private context

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The human capacity to take care of others emerges early in life. Young children are capable of understanding another person's need (Eisenberg, 1992), they often respond with empathy and prosociality (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998; Thompson, Barresi, & Moore, 1997; Zahn-Waxler, Radke-Yarrow, Wagner, & Chapman, 1992), and offer help already at 18 months of age (Warneken & Tomasello, 2006). Children have a tendency to empathize and help others in need (e.g., Eisenberg, 1992). Yet, prosociality has been predominantly studied in interpersonal contexts and less is known about children's intergroup helping in which ethnic, national or other group boundaries are salient. Furthermore, whereas an increasing number of studies examine the role of social group norms in children's negative intergroup attitudes (e.g., Abrams & Rutland, 2008; De Franca & Monteiro, 2013; Nesdale & Lawson, 2011), not much is known about the influence of these norms in intergroup helping situations.

The current experimental vignette research examines the roles of children's (8-13 years) empathic tendency and perceived group norms in an intergroup helping context. In two studies Dutch children's public or private intention to help Dutch in-group peers or German out-group peers was investigated. Study 1 examined helping intentions in relation children's empathy when the need for help was relatively high. Study 2 additionally assessed a low need situation in which concerns about social group norms are likely to emerge. These concerns were examined by manipulating help within a public or private classroom context and by assessing perceived classroom norms about the out-group. Below we first discuss hypotheses pertaining to the role of empathy in children's helping intentions (Studies 1 and 2). Next we discuss expectations relating to the high need context (study 1), followed by the hypotheses for the low need context (study 2).

Empathy

During primary school children increasingly help others by sharing objects or money, and assisting in emergency situations (Eisenberg, 1992; Radke-Yarrow, Zahn-Waxler, & Chapman, 1983). Numerous researchers have shown that prosocial behavior is related to children's disposition to empathize with others (e.g., Eisenberg, 1992; Eisenberg et al., 1987; Eisenberg, Zhou, & Koller, 2001; Malti, Gummerum, Keller, & Buchmann, 2009), and empathic children help more when there are clear cues indicating need and distress (e.g., Gelfand, Hartmann, Cromer, Smith, & Page, 1975; Eisenberg, 1992; Li, Li, Decety,

& Lee, 2013). Therefore, we expect that in general more empathic children will intend to help more.

High need

Whereas empathy can be expected to influence children's general intention to help others, additional considerations are likely to be important when children think about helping in-group or out-group members in a public or private context. Study 1 examines children's intention to help when need is relatively high. Chapter 2 showed that children aged 8 to 13 years consider it a moral obligation to help in high need situations. Social Cognitive Domain Theory (Turiel, 1983) argues that moral considerations are general, obligatory and inalterable. From early childhood on children understand and apply moral principles in their reasoning about social behavior (Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, & Stangor, 2002), and do not differentiate among different recipients when need is high (Miller, Bersoff, & Harwood, 1990). High need situations tend to evoke moral concerns that are general and not context or target specific. In these situations one is morally expected to offer help independent of whether others are present and whether it is an in-group or out-group member that needs help. Therefore, in the context of high need (study 1) we expect that children's intention to help will depend on their empathic disposition and not on the context of helping (i.e., public versus private) or the group membership of the peers in need of help (i.e., in-group versus out-group).

Low need and group norms

When need for help is less urgent, children may not only feel morally obliged to offer help but may also consider peer group norms. Therefore, in study 2 we compare a low need to a high need situation and consider group norms. Children have a basic desire to be accepted and to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) and peers are significant others that function as important sources for appropriate behavior (Killen et al., 2002; Smetana et al., 2009). Peer group norms about intergroup relations become salient around middle childhood (Killen, Rutland, Abrams, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2013) and affect children's intergroup attitudes and behavioral intentions (Bigler, Jones, & Lobliner, 1997; De Franca & Monteiro, 2013; Nesdale & Lawson, 2011). Moreover, children adjust their intergroup behavior to the specific in-group norm (FitzRoy & Rutland, 2010), and disapprove of others that do not do so (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Killen & Stangor, 2001).

In a public context where accountability is relatively high, social norms become salient and promote self-presentational behavior (Rutland, Cameron, Milne, & McGeorge,

2005). From kindergarten on, children are concerned about their social reputation and understand how impression management might influence behavior of others (e.g., Banerjee & Yuill, 1999; Banerjee, Bennett, & Luke, 2010; Hatch, 1987; Sluckin, 1981). Children as young as 5 behave more generous when they know others are aware of their behavior (Leimgruber, Shaw, Santos, & Olson, 2012), and the presence of peers influences children's spontaneous positive affective responses (e.g., Castelli & Tomelleri, 2008). This means that in public contexts and when the situation involves low need, children might help peers relatively more. Thus, for study 2, we hypothesize that children intend to help more in public compared to private circumstances.

However, helping might also be related to who the recipient of help is. Children tend to focus on and prefer their in-group (Nesdale, 2007), and there is a general tendency to be concerned about the welfare of fellow in-group members (Brewer, 2007). Although *refusing* to help an in-group member might invite disapproval by the social group, *providing* in-group help is common and thus not very noteworthy (Hopkins et al., 2007). In contrast, out-group helping is less common and tends to attract more attention. This means that helping out-group members might be more effective to present oneself in a positive way and to be socially accepted. Yet, it is likely that this depends on perceived out-group norms. Out-group helping should invite approval by one's peer group when the peer group norm about the out-group is relatively positive and not when the norm is rather negative. Therefore in study 2, children's perception of the descriptive classroom norm about the out-group is examined. Descriptive norms refer to what important others do and think (Cialdini, Kalgren, & Reno, 1991). We expect that children help the out-group relatively more in a public setting in which there is a positive descriptive norm about the out-group. In testing this prediction we also considered children's own attitude toward the German out-group. If children's public helping intentions are guided by group norms they should follow the descriptive peer norm and not their own out-group attitude.

Private helping

In contrast to public helping, private helping should not depend on peer group norms. Therefore when helping is a private matter and need is low, other motivations might be relevant in children's consideration to help peers. Two contrasting predictions can be made. On the one hand, social identity research has shown that there is a general tendency to be concerned about the welfare of fellow in-group members (Brewer, 2007). Furthermore, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) argues that the motivation to maintain a positive group identity tends to generate intergroup biases in which the

in-group is favored over a relevant out-group. Research has shown that in-group preference is already present in children as young as three (e.g., Kowalski & Lo, 2001; Martin & Fabes, 2001), in both the minimal group paradigm (Nesdale, Maass, Griffiths, & Durkin, 2003) and in real groups (e.g., Elashi, Mills, & Grants, 2010; Patterson & Bigler, 2006). If social identity concerns motivate children's private helping in a low need situation, this means that children will intend to help the in-group more compared to the out-group.

On the other hand, research shows that fair treatment and equal distribution are central to children's helping and sharing behavior (e.g., Fehr, Bernhard, & Rockenbach, 2008; Geraci & Surian, 2011; Moore, 2009; Schmidt & Sommerville, 2011; Shaw & Olson, 2012; Sloane, Baillargeon, & Premack, 2012; Warneken & Tomasello, 2006). This suggests that children are intrinsically motivated to take care of others' wellbeing. This means that when need is low (study 2) and helping private, children will intend to help in- and out-group members equally.

Age differences

As they grow older, children develop a better understanding of how groups work and they increasingly consider what is socially acceptable when expressing particular attitudes and behaviors (Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, & Ferrell, 2007; Killen & Rutland, 2011; Nesdale, 2007). Furthermore, children develop a growing tendency towards displaying behavior that puts them in the best possible light to significant others (e.g., Aloise-Young, 1993; Banerjee & Yuill, 1999). Moreover, chapter 2 and work by others showed that older children are better able to weigh various aspects in their decision to help whereas younger children tend to focus more on the needs of peers (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 1987). This makes it plausible that with age, children become more responsive to norms of their peer group, especially in a public context. Therefore, it is likely that when the need for help is low (study 2), older children's intention to help will reflect the norm of their peer group more strongly compared to younger children. Age differences are less likely in the high need condition (studies 1 and 2) and in the private context when need is low (study 2) since social group norms are expected to be less important in these situations.

Overview

Two studies were conducted on children's public and private intentions to help in- and out-group peers. In the first study we aim to demonstrate children's intention to help peers in a high need situation, and expect that children's empathic disposition will predict their intention to help. The second study examines children's helping intentions when need

is either high or low, and in the latter condition social group norm considerations are expected to emerge. This means that in the public context, children are expected to help out-group peers more compared to in-group peers but only when they perceive a positive descriptive norm about the out-group. Furthermore, these group norm considerations might be especially important for older compared to younger children.

For low need and private helping, two contrasting predictions are formulated. On the one hand, children might help the in-group more compared to the out-group in order to maintain a positive in-group identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). On the other hand, children might intend to help in-group and out-group peers equally because fairness is central to helping. In addition, private helping should not be related to the descriptive norm about the out-group.

These predictions are tested by examining native Dutch children's helping intentions towards the German out-group and their Dutch in-group. Germany is the largest and most important neighboring country of the Netherlands with which children are familiar. Research has shown that Dutch children see Germans as a typical out-group and that they have mixed beliefs about Germans and rather neutral feelings towards them (Du Bois-Reymond, 1998; Verkuyten, 2001). Yet, and comparable to British children (Rutland, 1999), they tend to evaluate Germans less favorably then the Dutch in-group (Verkuyten, 2001). These findings indicate that Germany is a relevant and meaningful out-group for Dutch children.

5.2 STUDY 1

5.2.1   Method

Participants and procedure

A total of 882 children (52.8% girls) participated in the study. Children came from 21 schools in various parts of the Netherlands. Only children in grade 4 to 6 (*Mean age* = 10.71, *SD* = 0.99) were included, involving a total of 48 classrooms. All children indicated that they as well as their parents were of ethnic Dutch origin. As some children did not describe why they liked being Dutch (see below) and some children did not indicate their intention to help, 831 children were included in the analyses. Children that were included were aged 8 (n = 3), 9 (n = 99), 10 (n = 241), 11 (n = 297) 12 (179) and 13 years (n = 12). The children completed the questionnaire in their classrooms under supervision of their teacher and a research assistant.

Design and measures

Helping intentions

We assessed children's intentions to help other children by presenting them with a situation which was systematically and randomly varied between children and within classrooms in a 2 (context of helping) by 2 (recipient of help) between-subjects design. Prior to reading about this situation, children were asked to indicate what aspects of the Netherlands made them proud. This was done to make national group boundaries salient (Bennett & Sani, 2004; see also chapter 3). Of all children, 36.1 % wrote down at least one reason, 25.7 % wrote down 2 reasons, 17.2 % gave 3 reasons and 13.6 % wrote down more than 3 reasons; 7.4 % of all children did write something down, but not a valid reason for why they were proud (e.g., "I am not sure" or "all countries are equally nice") and were thus excluded from the analysis.

Subsequently, children read the following story: "Imagine you have just received 10 euro from your mum or dad. Then your teacher tells you that there has been a large fire in Germany [OR the Netherlands; manipulated between-subjects] and the children lost their home and all their toys. The teacher says that we should help the children. Everybody can give money. The next day you can put money in a big box". To examine the impact of the public-private distinction, the public story continued with: "the box is open. Afterwards, everybody has to tell how much money they gave', and in private condition the story ended with: "The box is *closed* and *nobody* can see how much money you gave. You also don't have to tell anyone afterwards". Subsequently children were asked: "how much money would you give?". They could mark an amount of euro ranging from 1 to 10.

A post hoc test among a separate group of 343 children (49.6 % girls, *Mean age* = 10.57, *SD* = 0.99) showed no differences between children in grade 4, 5 and 6 in how happy they thought receiving 10 euro would make them (all $p > .45$), and also no grade differences in how much children thought they would be able to buy with this amount of money (all $p > .56$). This indicates that younger and older children had a similar understanding of the value of 10 Euro.

Empathy

Children's general tendency to empathize with others was assessed using a version of Bryant's (1982) Index of Empathy for Children and Adolescents adapted and validated by Nesdale, Griffiths, Durkin and Maass (2005). This eight-item measure has adequate reliability across different age groups. Items were: 'I enjoy it when someone receives a surprise', 'When I see another child crying, I almost have to cry myself', 'I feel sad when

another child is hurt', 'When I see happy people, I become happy myself', 'I feel down when another child has no one to play with', 'Sometimes I tear up when I see something sad on TV', 'I really pity animals in pain' and lastly 'When a story has a happy ending, I feel happy myself'. Answers were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*), to 3 (*sometimes*) to 5 (*always*). Cronbach's alpha was .78. Principal Components Analysis yielded a single factor that explained 39.73% of the variance.

Analysis

The data have a hierarchal structure as children (Level 1) were nested in their classrooms (Level 2). Therefore we used multilevel analysis to examine the intention to help. The analysis was carried out with MLwiN 2.21 (Rashbash, Charlton, Browne, Healy, & Cameron, 2009). To examine the effects of our manipulations we specified two orthogonal contrasts for the context of helping (public '1' versus private '−1') and for the group membership of the recipients of help (Dutch in-group '1' versus German out-group '−1'). For ease of interpretation all continuous measures were standardized (z-scores) in the multilevel analysis.

5.2.2 Results

Preliminary results

On average children intended to give 5.22 euro ($SD = 2.72$). A main effect was found for age ($b = -.09$, $p < .001$, $\eta^{2\,partial} = .028$), showing that older children intended to give less money than younger children. No significant effects were found for gender and there were no significant interactions for gender and age with the orthogonal contrast for recipient's group membership and context of helping. For children's empathic tendencies, a mean score of 3.24 ($SD = 0.69$) was found. Table 2 shows the means and standard deviations for each helping context according to the group membership of the recipient of help.

Helping intention

Multilevel analysis showed a main effect for children's empathic tendency ($p < .001$, $\eta^{2\,partial} = .176$[1]), indicating that more empathic children intended to help more. No interaction effects were found between empathy and the contrasts for recipient's group membership or the public-private context of helping. In addition, no significant main effects were found for recipient's group membership and the context of helping. However, there was a

Table 1. *Beta's of multilevel model for children's intention to help, study 1*

	Intention to help
Explanatory variables	*b*
Empathy	.34***
Group	−.01
Context	.03
Group * Context	.08*
Age	.10**

Note. Group denotes the difference between in-group and out-group recipients of help, Context denotes the difference between the private and public setting. *$p \leq .05$, *$p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$, two tailed.

significant interaction effect between recipient's group membership and context, ($p = .01$, $\eta^{2\,partial} = .006$) (See Table 1). Simple effects analysis showed that in the public context, children intended to help in-group peers as much as out-group peers ($b = .07$, $p = .11$). In the private condition, children intended to help out-group peers somewhat *more* compared to in-group peers ($b = -.10$, $p = .03$).

5.2.3 Discussion

Study 1 examined children's public and private intention to help national in- and out-group peers in a relatively high need situation. Results show that on average children were willing to share half of their money. This suggests that children valued the imagined money received, but were willing to help peers in need.

In agreement with previous research (e.g., Eisenberg, 1992; Eisenberg et al., 2001; Malti et al., 2009), more empathic children intended to help more. Results further show that children's helping intentions were not influenced by the public-private distinction. This is in line with chapter 2 and previous findings showing that children consider it morally obligatory to help in high need situations (Miller et al., 1990). This suggests that when need is high, empathic tendencies are central to children's intention to help and more important than the presence of others or the group membership of the peer in need of help.

In general, older children intended to help less compared to younger children. This age difference in generosity does not seem to be due to a difference in the perceived value of 10. However, it might be related to the fact that saving increases with age and that older children know what saving is for (Webley, 2005). Moreover, chapter 2 and previous studies show that older children are better able to weigh conflicting interest (i.e., self

and others) in social situations compared to younger children (Eisenberg, Murphy, & Shepard, 1997) and as a consequence they often express more nuanced views (Aboud & Levy, 2000; Nucci & Turiel, 2009; Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010).

An unexpected finding was that children's helping intentions in the private setting did depend on group membership. More specifically, in this setting children intended to help out-group peers *more* than in-group peers. This is surprising given previous research that has demonstrated that children perceive a general moral obligation to help in high need (Miller et al., 1990), that they prefer fairness and equality (e.g., Geraci & Surian, 2011; Schmidt & Sommerville, 2011; Shaw & Olson, 2012; Sloane et al., 2012), and that they have a tendency to favor the in-group over the out-group (e.g., Elashi et al., 2010; Kowalski & Lo, 2001; Martin & Fabes, 2001; Nesdale et al., 2003; Patterson & Bigler, 2006). Because in study 1 the sample size was fairly large while the effect size was rather small it is important to replicate this result before offering post-hoc explanations.

5.3 STUDY 2

A second study was conducted with two goals. First, we additionally examine children's intention to help in-group and out-group peers when the need is less urgent. We predicted that when the need is relatively low, peer group norms in addition to children's empathic tendency will predict helping. This means that children will intend to help out-group peers compared to in-group peers more in the public setting when they perceive a positive descriptive norm about the out-group. Furthermore, compared to younger children, older children's helping tendency might depend more on peer group norms. Second, we aimed to replicate results for the high need helping context. Moreover, when need is high we expect that empathic concern for the peers in need of help will overpower the influence of social norms. Therefore, the perceived descriptive norm about the out-group should not influence the intention to help peers in high need.

5.3.1 Method

Participants and procedure

A total of 388 children indicated that they and their parents were of Dutch origin. Children were in grade 4 to 6 (25 school classes) aged between 8 and 13 years ($M = 10.58$, $SD = 1.03$) and 47.5 % were girls. Children that failed to report reasons for why they liked

the Netherlands or did not report their intention to help were not included in the analysis. The final analyses included a total of 354 children, aged 8 (n = 1), 9 (n = 59), 10 (n = 103), 11 (n = 120), 12 (n = 65), and 13 years (n = 6). As in study 1, children completed a questionnaire in their classrooms under supervision of their teacher and the first author. The perceived evaluative norm about the out-group (see below) and the individual out-group attitude were assessed first and in a counterbalanced order. After several unrelated questions, children read the helping story and indicated their intention to help. At the end of the questionnaire children reported about their empathic tendency.

Measures and design

Perceived descriptive norms about the out-group

Perceived classroom norms about the out-group were examined by asking children to indicate how much they thought the peers in their classroom liked Germans. Ratings were given on a seven-point smiley face scale, ranging from 'very sad face' (7) to 'very happy face' (1), as developed and validated by Yee and Brown (1992). This format has been successfully used to examine group attitudes among children and early adolescents (e.g., Verkuyten, Thijs, & Sierksma, 2014). The scale was recoded so that a higher score indicates a more positive peer group norm.

Personal out-group attitude

Children's personal attitude towards the out-group was assessed by asking them to indicate how much they themselves liked people from Germany. Answers were given on the same seven-point scale as the perceived descriptive norms about the out-group. Children's out-group attitude correlated significantly with the perceived peer norm about the out-group ($r = .61$, $p < .001$).

Helping intentions

Similar to study 1, children were presented with a story about a hypothetical helping situation that was systematically varied between children and within classrooms, and that additionally differed in the level of need: a 2 (context of helping) by 2 (recipient of help) by 2 (need) between-subjects design. Booklets were randomly divided across all children. However, to ensure that the sample size was large enough to analyze interaction effects in the low need condition, there were more low need versions (2/3) than high need versions of the questionnaire (1/3). Children again first described what aspects of the Netherlands made them proud. Most of them were able to give at least one reason (22.1%), 25.3%

reported two reasons and 48.9 % reported 3 or more reasons. Stories for high need were identical to study 1. For low need we changed the reason for helping peers into: "Then your teacher tells you that some children in Germany [OR the Netherlands; manipulated between-subjects] have few toys". All other aspects of the story remained the same as in the high need story.

We did not pretest perceived level of need in the stories that were presented to the children. Although special care was taken to ascertain that the stories were highly similar and that only the level of need differed, there is the possibility that the level of need is not responsible for the differences found. Therefore, we conducted a separate post hoc test of perceived level of need of both stories. We asked 47 children (Mean age = 11.74, SD = 0.49, 51.10 % were girls) who did not participate in the main study, how sad they thought the children within the stories felt and how much they needed help. Paired t-tests showed that in the high need story, children perceived the peer in need of help to be more sad compared to the low need story, t (46) = 14.63, p < .001. Furthermore, children perceived a significantly greater need for help in the high need story compared to the low need story, t (46) = 7.48, p < .001. This indicates the children did perceive the stories to differ in recipient's need for help.

Some children in the first study indicated they did not want to help at all (0 Euro) but this option was not included. Therefore, in study 2 we extended the scale so that it ranged from 0 to 10 Euro.

Empathy

To assess children's empathic tendencies the same 8 items were used as in study 1. Cronbach's alpha was again satisfactory with .76. All items loaded on a single factor that explained 38.18 % of the variance.

Analysis

Similar to study 1, multilevel analysis was carried out with MLwiN 2.21 (Rasbash et al., 2009). Three orthogonal contrasts were specified: for context of helping (public '1' versus private '−1'), recipient's group membership (in-group '1' versus out-group '−1'), and level of need (high '1' versus low '−1'). We first examined main and interaction effects of the context of helping, recipient's group membership, and the level of need. As the size of our sample limited the power to test four-way interactions, we examined the moderating effect of perceived classroom norm separately for the low need condition only. An additional multilevel model was conducted for examining the association between children's

out-group attitude and their low need helping intention. Again all continuous measures were standardized.

5.3.2   Results

Preliminary results

On average children intended to give 4.27 euro ($SD = 2.74$) which is lower compared to study 1. This might be due to the fact children were now also allowed to give 0 euro. However, results for the high need context show a highly similar pattern compared to study 1. No main effects were found for age and gender in helping intention. However, to ensure comparability to study 1, we included age (continuous predictor) in the analysis. Overall, children perceived a somewhat positive classroom norm towards the out-group ($M = 4.32$, $SD = 1.45$), t (375) = .4.28, $p < .001$, and they also evaluated the German out-group at the positive side of the scale ($M = 4.77$, $SD = 1.75$), t (374) = 8.49, $p < .001$. Children perceived a more negative descriptive out-group norm compared to their own evaluation, paired t-test (374) = −6.01, $p < .001$. Similar to study 1, for empathy a mean score of 3.20 ($SD = 0.66$) was found. Table 2 shows the means and standard deviations for the helping intentions, and total number of children in each condition.

Table 2. *Means, standard deviations, and number of participants (in italics) per condition (study 1 and 2) for intention to help in-group or out-group peers according to need, and the setting of helping*

| | High need | | Low need |
	Study 1	Study 2	Study 2
Public			
In-group	5.46 (2.66)	4.25 (2.13)	3.63 (2.32)
	211	*24*	*58*
Out-group	5.09 (2.60)	4.07 (2.87)	4.88 (2.86)
	209	*28*	*72*
Private			
In-group	4.95 (2.65)	4.07 (2.92)	4.10 (2.74)
	214	*28*	*59*
Out-group	5.38 (2.86)	5.57 (3.26)	3.91 (2.64)
	199	*28*	*57*

Need, context, recipient group

We first examined main and interaction effects of context of helping, recipient's group membership, level of need and empathy (see Table 3). Again a main effect was found for

Table 3. *Beta's of multilevel model for children's intention to help, study 2*

	Intention to help
Explanatory variables	*b*
Empathy	.27***
Group	−.10
Context	−.05
Need	.09
Group * Context	.05
Need * Group	.03
Need* Context	−.06
Need* Group* Context	.16**
Age	−.09

Note. Group denotes the difference between in-group and out-group recipients of help, Context denotes the difference between the private and public setting, Need denotes the differences between high and low need. *$p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$, two tailed.

children's empathic tendency ($p < .001$, $\eta^{2\,\text{partial}} = .074$) but no interactions with context, recipient's group membership, and level of need. This indicates that more empathic children intended to help more, independent of contextual influences, level of need, or recipient's group membership.

Multilevel analysis further showed no significant main effects and two-way interaction effects for any of the three contrasts. However, a significant three-way interaction was found for recipient's group membership, context of helping, and recipient's need ($p = .003$, $\eta^{2\,\text{partial}} = .023$). To interpret this interaction we computed simple slopes for the two-way interactions between group and context for the high need versus the low need situations. In the *high need* situation, this interaction was significant ($b = .18$, $p = .02$). In the private context and similar to study 1, children intended to help out-group peers more compared to in-group peers ($b = −.26$, $p = .03$), and they intended to help in- and out-group peers equally in the public context ($b = .11$, $p = .28$). In the *low need* situation there was a significant main effect for recipient's group membership ($b = −.13$, $p = .05$). In general, children intended to help out-group peers more compared to in-group peers. Moreover, a negative interaction between group and context was found ($b = −.12$, $p = .05$), which implied that children intended to help out-group peers more than in-group peers in the public setting ($b = −.24$, $p = .003$), but not in the private setting ($b = −.12$, $p = .20$).

Perceived classroom norm

For the *high need* situation simple correlations showed that the perceived descriptive classroom norm about the out-group was unrelated to children's intention to help out-group peers in the public setting ($r=.05$, $p=.81$) and in the private setting ($r=-.28$, $p=.15$). For the *low need* situation, a significant correlation was found between the perceived classroom norm about the out-group and children's out-group helping in the public setting ($r=.35$, $p=.008$), but not in the private setting ($r=-.16$, $p=.25$).

Given sample size restrictions, multilevel analysis of the moderating effect of the perceived classroom norm was conducted for the low need situation only. There was a significant three-way interaction between norms, group, and context in the low need situation ($b=-.21$ $p<.001$, $\eta^{2\,\text{partial}}=.05$).

We conducted simple slope analysis (Aiken & West, 1991) and examined the two-way interaction between group and context for children perceiving a relatively accepting norm about the out-group (1 *SD* above the mean) and children perceiving a relatively non-accepting norm about the out-group (1 *SD* below the mean). As expected, results showed that when children perceived a non-accepting out-group norm, the interaction between recipient's group membership and context of helping was not significant ($b=.10$, $p=.24$). However, the interaction for context of helping and recipients' group membership was significant when children perceived an accepting norm about the out-group ($b=-.33$, $p<.001$). Results are shown in Figure 1. Further analysis showed that these children intended to help the out-group more compared to the in-group in the public setting ($b=-.46$, $p<.001$), but not in the private context ($b=.19$, $p=.12$). Thus it appears
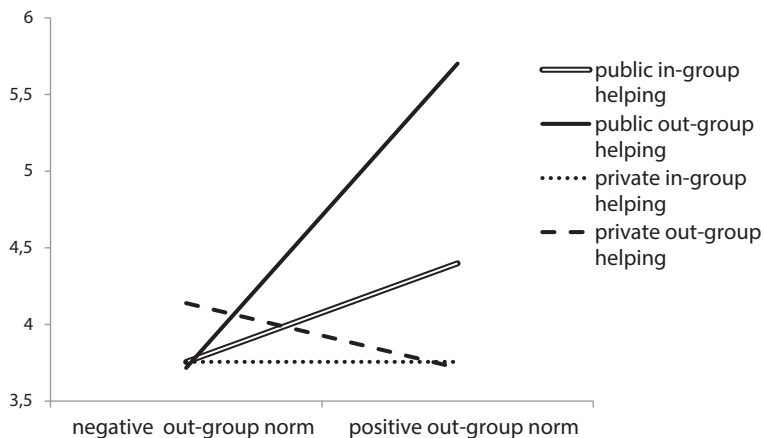

Figure 1. Influence of perceived descriptive norm about the out-group on children's intention to help

that the perceived descriptive norm about the out-group influenced children's public helping intentions in the expected direction. When the behavior is visible to others and the classroom norm was perceived as out-group accepting, children intended to help the out-group more compared to the in-group.

A separate multilevel model was estimated for the influence of children's own out-group attitude in the low need helping context. Results showed that their evaluation about Germans did not interact with the context of helping and the group membership of the recipient ($b = -.03$, $p = .60$). This shows that children's intention to help in the low need context was unrelated to their personal out-group attitude.

5.3.3   Discussion

In study 2 we aimed to replicate the finding for the high need helping context. In addition, we examined children's intention to help in a low need context and assessed the influence of the perceived descriptive out-group norm. Similar to study 1, results show that children's intention to help was strongly associated with their empathic tendency. Moreover, when need was high children intended to help in- and out-group peers equally in the public setting. In addition, results showed that children's intention to help out-group peers in high need was unrelated to the perceived descriptive norm about the out-group. In line with the hypotheses, this suggests that helping in high need is perceived as morally obligated, independent of the context of helping and the group membership of the recipient of help (Turiel, 1983). However, when need was high and helping private, children again were inclined to help the out-group *more* than the in-group. Possible interpretations of this surprising finding are discussed in the general discussion.

For the low need situation, results suggest that children considered social group norms in the public condition: they intended to help the out-group more compared to the in-group when they perceived a positive descriptive norm about the out-group. In addition, children's intention to help was not influenced by their personal evaluation of the out-group. In line with the hypotheses, helping out-group peers stands out more than helping in-group peers (Hopkins et al., 2007) and is therefore an effective means to present oneself in a positive way. Finally, children did not differentiate between groups when need was low and helping was private. This further corroborates the argument that social norms only influence children's public helping.

5.4 GENERAL DISCUSSION

The aim of the present research was to provide novel insight into children's motives for intergroup helping. In two studies we examined the unique contributions of children's empathic tendency and peer group norms. Results show that children's intention to help differed according to the level of need of the peers, whether helping was public or not, and the perceived descriptive norm about the out-group.

In both studies and for situations involving high need, more empathic children intended to help more. Moreover, both studies showed that children intended to offer an equal amount of help to in-group and out-group peers in the public context, and children's intention to help in the high need situation was not related to the descriptive norm about the out-group or their age (study 2). These results indicate that in a high need situation, children's empathic tendency drives their intergroup helping intentions. In line with Social Cognitive Domain Theory (Turiel, 1983), the findings suggest that children perceive a moral obligation to help in high need, that is independent of recipient's group membership and the private or public context of helping.

In study 2 when the need of peers was low, children's intention to help did not only depend on their empathic tendency. When children perceived a positive descriptive norm about the out-group, they intended to help out-group peers more than in-group peers but only in the public setting. Moreover, their intention to help in the low need context was not influenced by their own out-group attitude which additionally suggests that the effect depends on social norms. Children appear to consider peer group norms when others know about their helping behavior and are inclined to present themselves favorably by helping the out-group more compared to the in-group.

For the low need and private helping situation two contrasting hypotheses were formulated. Children either were expected to show concern for general fairness or they could be motivated by group identity concerns (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Results showed that children intended to provide help to in-group and out-group peers equally. This suggests that fairness considerations are central to children's intergroup helping intentions in private helping situations involving low need. This corroborates previous findings that children are intrinsically motivated to help others from a very young age onwards (e.g., Geraci & Surian, 2011; Fehr et al., 2008; Moore, 2009; Schmidt & Sommerville, 2011; Sloane et al., 2012; Shaw & Olson, 2012; Warneken & Tomasello, 2006). Moreover, the finding that children did not show in-group bias in their helping intentions suggests that while children might possess the categorical knowledge that lead to in-group bias from a

young age onwards (Hailey & Olson, 2013), this does not mean that they spontaneously apply this categorical knowledge in their own behavior (Dunham & Degner, 2013). This is in line with the findings of chapter 3, in which it was shown that children's intergroup helping evaluations only reflect identity protection motives when ethnic self-involvement is enhanced.

Unexpectedly, however, in the high need private helping context children intended to help out-group peers *more* than in-group peers. This finding was robust in two different samples and is therefore unlikely due to data issues. This is a surprising finding because it is a rare outcome in intergroup research and does not seem to fit Social Identity Theory (Nesdale, 2007; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). A few other experimental studies have found that children like the out-group more than the in-group when the group they are assigned to has an exclusionary group norm (e.g., Nesdale & Lawson, 2011; Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005). However, the current finding of higher out-group than in-group helping does not depend on such a group norm. One possible interpretation is that the high need helping situation triggered an association with charity and aid to foreign countries. This might have increased children's helping intentions towards peers from Germany but not towards Dutch peers. Another explanation is related to the question we asked the children about what made them proud of the Netherlands. Besides enhancing group boundaries this question might have activated intentions in line with being proud. The social identity approach (Turner & Reynolds, 2001) argues that group distinctions do not inevitably lead to less positive out-group attitudes. Rather the content of social identity determines whether or not out-group negativity exists. There can be exclusionary or rather pro-social implications for out-groups, depending on the specific (situational) understanding of what characterizes one's in-group (Nesdale & Lawson, 2011). Perhaps children felt that helping peers from a foreign country would make them proud, since it would stand out more than helping in-group peers. Whereas peer group norms might have overpowered the effect of this social identity understanding in the public context, this might not have been the case for private helping. Future research should examine this interpretation.

Some limitations and other future directions for research should be considered. First, an increasing number of studies demonstrate the importance of peer group norms for children's intergroup attitudes (e.g., Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Nesdale & Lawson, 2011). However, similar to the current study this research does not explicitly examine the underlying psychological processes. Peer group norms can be influential for a number of reasons and studying these reasons would improve our understanding of why and how

these norms affect children's attitudes and behaviors. For example, children can endorse in-group norms of helping in order to develop or maintain a prosocial reputation (Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006; Roberts, 1998), or for preventing social disapproval or even rejection, but also because of internalization processes and possible feelings of guilt.

Second, we chose to study a national out-group with which children are very familiar. Children were found to be relatively positive towards Germans and also perceived their classmates to have somewhat positive feelings. The interplay of empathy and group norm considerations might differ for the type of out-group, especially when negative norms about the out-group exist. For example, ethnic minority and immigrant out-groups tend to face negative stereotypes and ethnic peer discrimination, also in the Netherlands and also by early adolescents (Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). This might mean that helping these peers goes against peer group norms and therefore invites disapproval and in-group rejection.

Another suggestion for future research is to examine whether other helping situations and other public contexts (e.g., parents, teachers) have similar influences on children's helping intentions. For example, children's actual intergroup helping might differ from their reported intentions in response to written stories about peers in need. Furthermore, rather than written vignettes future studies could consider using images or short films that are more realistic and vivid and therefore could lead to stronger effects. Additionally, the current vignettes described how the teacher said the children should help. This means that next to empathy, children might have been influenced by the demands of an authority figure. Older children tend to inhibit overt intergroup bias because they know that negative out-group attitudes and behavior tend to be considered unacceptable and inappropriate by teachers and adults (Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, & Ferrell, 2007; Fitzroy & Rutland, 2010). Yet, we did not find an age difference for in-group and out-group helping and also not for the influence of group norms. This suggests that authority demands are not a likely explanation. Another suggestion for future research is to examine helping intentions in situations that are solely within the child's control and in which adults are not potentially involved. We examined helping at the societal level and this might differ from intergroup helping in a concrete setting in which a peer needs help from another peer, as was studied in the other chapters presented in this book. Moreover, the current studies examine need at the societal level. Future studies should address whether the findings also generalize to need at the interpersonal level.

In contrast to research on negative intergroup attitudes (e.g., Abrams, Rutland, & Cameron, 2003; Nesdale & Lawson, 2011), we did not find any age-related effects and

this was also not found in chapter 3, 4 and 6. This might indicate that the development of prosocial intergroup attitudes does not have to correspond to negative attitudes. The positive-negative asymmetry effect indicates that children's intergroup differentiation tends to be more pronounced for positive compared to negative evaluations and behavior (Rutland et al., 2007). Moreover, the domains of positive and negative behaviors are characterized by different moralities with distinct motivational and regulatory systems (Janoff-Bulman, Sheikh, & Hepp, 2009). Positive behavior that focuses on advancing other's well-being raises questions of prescriptive morality that indicates what one should do, making a failure to act blameworthy. In contrast, negative behavior involves proscriptive morality that indicates what one should *not* do, making the act blameworthy. Future studies should examine whether children's development of prosocial and more negative attitudes and behaviors differs.

The current research is one of the first to examine intergroup helping and contributes to our understanding of children's motives to help their peers. This is critical for the stimulation of prosocial behavior across group boundaries and the improvement of peer relations. The research shows that in low need situations, children intend to help the out-group more than in-group peers because of social norm considerations. However, when the need is relatively high, empathic tendencies outweigh these considerations making children want to help in- and out-group peers equally in a public context. Further research needs to determine the generalizability of these findings across different ages, contexts and types of groups.

Footnote

[1] MLwiN does not give effect sizes. Therefore squared etas were calculated using ANOVA with classroom included as a factor.

CHAPTER 6

How to stimulate helping across group boundaries

6.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the major challenges in human behavior is to overcome group-based biases and intergroup conflict. Among adults the effectiveness of a variety of intervention strategies has been examined (for an overview see Paluck & Green, 2009). However, intergroup biases are already present in children as young as three (e.g., Hailey & Olson, 2013) and early intervention might ultimately lead to the reduction of intergroup tensions later in life. One such intervention strategy is to stimulate helping across group boundaries by inducing empathy

The aim of the current research was to examine whether inducing empathic understanding is an effective intervention to overpower peer group boundaries in children's intention to help. Empathy is conceptualized in various ways (see Preston & De Waal, 2002 and commentaries) and entails affective and cognitive aspects and involves both sharing and understanding the emotional states of others (Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Sadovsky, 2006; Hastings, Zahn-Waxler, & McShane, 2006). In this study we focus upon the understanding of emotions, which goes beyond the basic, reflex-like emotional resonance and sharing aspect of empathy, and requires grasping another person's distinct emotional perspective (see also Pons, Harris, & De Rosnay, 2004). By stimulating children to focus on the recipient's emotions, group boundaries might no longer influence the intention to help. An experimental vignette study was conducted among children at primary school (8-13 years). Children were induced (or not) to imagine how a peer in need feels under circumstances in which the peer was either part or not part of their (imagined) group of friends. In addition, we examined possible boundary conditions for the effectiveness of inducing empathic understanding by examining the role of the level of need for help and children's social perspective taking ability.

In-group bias in helping

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) postulates that the motivation for a positive group identity produces intergroup bias, in which the in-group is favored over the out-group. Children tend to favor their in-group over out-group peers from a young age onwards (Hailey & Olson, 2013). Group boundaries also play a role in prosocial behaviors, such as helping and sharing. Children evaluate helping friends and family members as more obligatory than helping strangers (Killen & Turiel, 1998; Olson & Spelke, 2008), they expect others to feel better when helping an in-group member compared to an out-group member (Weller & Lagattuta, 2013; Weller & Lagattuta, 2014), they evaluate the

refusal to help in-group peers as morally blameworthy (see chapter 2), and preschoolers and older children share more with in-group peers compared to out-group peers (Fehr, Bernhard, & Rockenbach, 2008; Moore, 2009).

We examine children's intention to help peers that either belong to their group of friends or not. Children spend much of their time within their friendship groups during late childhood and these groups have important socialization influences (e.g., Adler & Adler, 1995; Berndt & Perry, 1990; Buhrmester & Furman, 1987; Henrich, Kuperminc, Sack, Blatt, & Leadbeater, 2000). We expect that children will intend to help a peer that is part of their group of friends more compared to a peer that is not, and we examined whether this expected intergroup bias can be overpowered by inducing empathic understanding.

Inducing empathy

Intergroup boundaries might be less important when children focus upon how a peer in need feels. Whereas intergroup bias in helping is likely due to social identity motives (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), inducing empathic understanding might trigger other motives, such as a concern for the personal welfare of the person in need (Batson, 2011). This could mean that group boundaries no longer influence helping behavior. There is some empirical evidence for this process in adults (Batson, Changs, Orr, & Rowland, 2002; Batson et al., 1997a; Batson et al., 1997b). Although several scholars hint at the positive effects of inducing empathy on children's out-group helping (e.g., Aronson, Blaney, Stephan, Sikes, & Snapp, 1978; Gorden, 2005), to our knowledge, no studies have directly tested this assumption.

Children gradually develop the capacity for empathic understanding (Eisenberg et al., 2006). For example, by age 5 to 6 years children are able to understand that emotions depend on desires and beliefs, and several years later children start to understand mixed emotional responses (see Pons et al., 2004). Moreover, with age children become more other-oriented and their moral reasoning becomes more sophisticated around age 10 (Eisenberg et al., 2006). Children's empathy is linked to prosociality from an early age (e.g., Eisenberg, 1992; Malti, Gummerum, Keller, & Buchmann, 2009). In addition, studies show that role-taking and social play lead to increases in children's prosocial behavior (Ahammer & Murray, 1979; Chandler, 1973; Staub, 1971). These findings suggest that inducing empathic understanding may be a useful intervention strategy to stimulate helping across group boundaries. Similar to studies by Batson and colleagues (1997a), we induced empathic understanding by instructing children to imagine to what extent a peer

in need of help feels sad, upset and down. We expected that when children are induced to empathize with the peer in need, they will tend to help in-group (friends) and out-group (non-friends) peers equally.

Social perspective taking ability

In the current study we explore whether inducing empathic understanding to promote intergroup helping is related to children's social perspective taking ability. One important development from around 8 years is that children acquire the ability for social perspective-taking (see Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier, & Ferrell, 2009; Eisenberg, Murphy, & Shepard, 1997; see also chapter 2). Whereas children have basic theory of mind understanding around 4 years of age, a more advanced understanding of social perspectives develops later and is related to a better understanding of intergroup dynamics (for an overview see Abrams et al., 2009). A child with more advanced perspective taking skills might be better at inferring another person's feelings in a situation of need. This would mean that these children will take the recipient's emotions more readily into account in their decision to help compared to children with less advanced social perspective taking abilities. As a result, inducing empathic understanding might be more effective for the latter compared to the former group of children. Thus, empathic understanding for overpowering intergroup bias in helping might be more effective for children with less advanced social perspective- taking abilities.

However, inducing empathic understanding might not require advanced perspective- taking abilities. Empathy is found early in development (Eisenberg, 1992) and children as young as 3 years have a basic 'theory of mind' which involves the ability to understand that other people have their own feelings and beliefs (Wellman, Cross, & Watson, 2001). Moreover, neurological research has suggested that children between the ages of 7 and 12 years naturally feel empathy for others in need (Decety, Michalska, & Akitsuki, 2008). This suggests that imagining how another person feels might be sufficient to elicit empathic concern. This would mean that inducing empathic understanding may be an effective intervention strategy, independent of children's advanced social-perspective taking ability.

Need

Empathy requires the perception of another person being in need (Batson, 2011). In the current study we examine whether inducing empathic understanding is equally effective for low and moderate need contexts. Among adults, inducing empathy for strangers

and out-group members has typically been studied in high need situations, such as being in a car accident (Batson et al., 1997b), getting evicted from one's home (Maner & Gailliot, 2007), or taking electrical shocks in someone's place (Maner, Luce, Neuberg, Cialdini, Brown, & Sagarin, 2002). Little is known about the effectiveness of inducing empathic understanding towards out-group members in lower need helping contexts. Yet, Batson (2011) claims that in addition to valuing the other's welfare, the perception of incongruence between someone's current and desired state is a sufficient condition to elicit empathic care. Moreover, 2-year-olds are already capable of perceiving need in another person and spontaneously provide help in low need situations (Tomasello, 1999). This might mean that in a low need helping context, inducing empathic understanding will elicit a similar pro-social motivation as in a moderate need context. Thus, inducing empathy might be equally effective in overpowering peer group boundaries in both need contexts. We will explore this possibility by making a comparison between a low and a moderate need context.

Overview

The current study examined whether children's in-group bias in helping can be overpowered by inducing empathic understanding. We hypothesized that children will intend to help in-group peers more compared to out-group peers. However, when children are instructed to imagine how a peer in needs feels, we expected that children would no longer focus on group boundaries but rather on personal need and would therefore intend to help in-group and out-group peers equally. In addition, we examined whether the effectiveness of inducing empathic understanding depends on children's social perspective taking ability and recipients' need.

6.2 METHOD

Participants and procedure

A total of 401 children participated in the study (grades 4 through 6) from 7 different schools in the Netherlands. Children were aged between 8 and 13 years ($M = 10.61$, $SD = 0.97$), and 49.9% were female. Children, with parental permission, independently filled in the questionnaire in their classroom under supervision of the teacher and a research assistant.

Stories

A 2 (inducing empathy vs. no inducing empathy) by 2 (friend vs. no friend) by 2 (moderate need vs. low need) between subjects design was used for both stories. All children read two stories in which the gender of the peer in need of help and participant's gender were matched. The stories that involved a friend in low need were: "After school Sara comes walking towards you. Sara is one of your friends. She tells you that it's her turn to clean up the classroom. But she wants to go home to watch a fun movie. She asks you to help her", and "After school Lieke comes walking towards you. Lieke is one of your friends. Lieke wants to call her mum to chat a little. However, she is out of phone credit. She asks if she can borrow your mobile phone". In story 1 moderate need was described as 'she wants to go home soon because her mum is quite ill', and in story 2 as 'she wants to call her mum because her ankle hurts a lot'. For boys, the recipient of help was named Rik (story 1) and Luuk (story 2). Group membership of the peer in need of help was varied in both stories by describing the recipient as 'one of your friends' (in-group) or 'not one of your friends' (out-group).

Inducing empathic understanding

To induce empathic understanding children were asked: "How do you think (*name recipient*) feels?" Subsequently they rated three adjectives, sad, upset and down, on 5-point scales ranging from 'a little bit' (1) to 'very strongly' (5). In the control condition children did not receive this question. Ratings for all emotions were highly correlated (ranging from .85 to .91). A mean score was computed across the two stories for children's empathic understanding.

Intention to help

All stories were followed by the question: "Would you help *name recipient*?" Answers were given on 5-point scales ranging from 'No, absolutely not' (1) to 'Yes, absolutely' (5). A significant correlation was found for children's intention to help in the two stories ($r = .48$, $p < .001$). Moreover, the two stories yielded similar results. Therefore a mean score for the two stories was computed and used in the analysis.

Social perspective taking ability

We used the Theory of Social Mind Task designed and validated by Abrams and colleagues (2009) and also used in chapter 2 to assess social perspective taking ability. Children read the following story: "Thomas and Stefan see each other for the first time and they are

playing a game together. Thomas really likes the game and has a lot of fun. Then he leaves the room to go and get something to drink in the kitchen. While Thomas is gone, Stefan steals a toy of Thomas and hides it in his pocket. Before Thomas returns to the room and is still in the kitchen with his mother, his mother asks him whether he likes Stefan. Subsequently children answered the question: "What do you think that Thomas will tell his mother?" followed by: "Why do you think that?" These questions differed slightly from those of Abrams and colleagues (2009) to make sure that younger participants were able to answer the questions by themselves. When children said Thomas would not like Stefan because he stole toys, this was coded 0. When children said Thomas would still like Stefan, but could not accurately explain why (e.g., "Just because he is nice") this was coded 1, while when children said Thomas would still like Stefan because he did not know about the stealing yet, this was coded 2. Inspection of social perspective taking ability across all children showed that 45.4 % gave a correct answer, 40.6 % did not give an accurate explanation, and 14 % of all children gave an incorrect answer.

Analysis

The data have a hierarchal structure as children (Level 1) were nested in their classrooms (Level 2). Therefore we used multilevel analysis to examine the intention to help. The analysis was carried out with MLwiN 2.21 (Rashbash, Charlton, Browne, Healy, & Cameron, 2009). Three contrasts were specified. The first contrast represented the difference between inducing empathy ('1') and no induction of empathy ('−1'), the second contrast signified the in-group recipient ('1') versus the out-group recipient ('−1'), and the last contrast represented the difference between moderate need ('1') and low need ('−1'). For children's perspective taking ability two contrasts were specified. The first contrast compared children who were able to correctly explain the protagonist view ('1') versus those that could not (−0.5) and those who gave an incorrect explanation (−0.5). In the second contrast we compared children who were able to give an accurate explanation (0.5) and those who could not (0.5) with children who gave an incorrect explanation (−1). Both contrasts were tested separately. All continuous measures were standardized.

6.3 RESULTS

Preliminary results

In general, children intended to help ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 0.97$), with the mean score significantly above the neutral midpoint of the scale, t (398) = 16.62, $p < .001$. A main effect was found for gender, showing that girls intended to help more compared to boys ($b = 40$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .40$) and we controlled for gender in the analysis. No main and interaction effects were found for age.

To examine whether the manipulation of need was successful, we tested for the children in the induced empathy condition (N = 205) whether their emotion ratings differed according to the level of need. On average children expected the recipient to feel negative ($M = 2.53$, $SD = 0.88$) and multilevel analysis showed that children perceived the recipient of help to feel significantly worse when his or her need was moderate compared to low ($b = .26$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .07$).

Intention to help

The multilevel results are shown in Table 1. In general, means show that children intended to help in-group and out-group peers when empathy was induced and when it was not induced. However, a main effect for recipient's group membership was found ($p < .001$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .05$), showing that children intended to help a peer that was part of their group of friends more compared to out-group peers. In addition, a main effect was found for the

Table 1. *Beta's for multilevel model for the intention to help.*

	b
Empathy induction	.01
Group membership	.18***
Need	.40***
Empathy * Group membership	−.13**
Empathy * Need	−.04
Group membership * Need	.04
Empathy * Group membership * Need	−.02
Gender	.40***
Deviance	1003.68
Deviance difference	79.78***

Note. Empathy denotes the difference between induced empathic understanding versus no induction. Group membership represents the difference between friend and non-friend recipient. Need is the difference between moderate and low need. **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$, two tailed
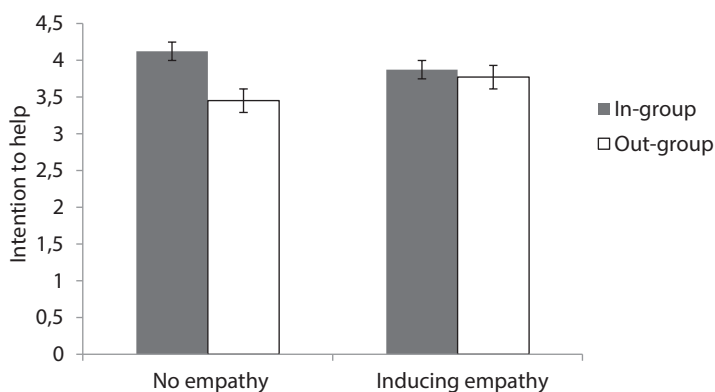
Figure 1. Intention to help in-group and out-group peers when empathic understanding is induced or not induced

level of need ($p < .001$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .19$): children intended to help more in situations involving moderate compared to low need. No main effect was found for the induction of empathic understanding.

As expected, a significant interaction was found for inducing empathy (yes-no) and whether the recipient was part of the group of friends or not ($p < .01$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .024$, see Figure 1 for means). When empathy was not induced, children showed intergroup bias whereby they intended to help the in-group peer more compared to the out-group peer (respectively $M = 4.12$, $SD = 0.83$ and $M = 3.45$, $SD = 1.04$, $b = .31$, $p < .001$). In contrast, when children were induced to feel empathic concern they did not show intergroup bias and intended to help in-group and out-group peers equally (respectively $M = 3.87$, $SD = 1.01$ and $M = 3.77$, $SD = 0.88$, $b = .07$, $p = .38$).

When we examine this interaction in terms of recipient's group membership, results show that children intended to help the out-group peer more in the empathy induced condition compared to the condition in which emphatic understanding was not induced ($b = .14$, $p = .02$). In addition, they intended to help the in-group member less compared to when empathy was not induced ($b = -.13$, $p = .03$). We also examined whether the induction of empathic understanding and its influence on the intention to help is similar for both in-group and out-group peers. In the empathy condition, children indicated that peers of both groups would feel equally bad, $t\,(203) = -.27$, $p = .79$. Moreover, the correlations of the emotion ratings and the intention to help were similar for in-group peers ($r = .16$) and for out-group peers ($r = .13$).

Level of need and perspective taking ability

No significant two-way and three-way interaction effects were found for the level of need with peer group (in-group vs. out-group), and whether empathy was induced or not. Furthermore, no main or interaction effects were found for the two contrasts representing the difference between children that were able to take the perspective of others versus those that were not. This indicates that inducing empathic understanding did not depend on children's social perspective taking ability or recipient's level of need.

6.4 DISCUSSION

How to reduce intergroup biases is a topic which has received much attention in social psychology. While many studies have been conducted among adults (see Paluck & Green, 2009), less is known about effective strategies to promote intergroup solidarity in children. In an experimental vignette design we tested whether inducing empathic understanding is effective in stimulating helping across peer group boundaries, and results suggest that it is.

Children intended to help a peer from their own group of imagined friends more compared to a peer who was not part of their group of friends. While chapter 3 and 4 as well as previous research have shown that group boundaries influence children's evaluation of third-person helping contexts (e.g., Killen & Turiel, 1998; Olson & Spelke, 2008; Weller & Lagattuta, 2013), this study for the first time shows that group boundaries also influence children's own behavioral intentions. This means that group identity is a relevant consideration in the intention to help from at least 8 years onwards. Importantly, however, the findings show that this intergroup bias can be overcome when children are stimulated to imagine how the peer in need of help feels. When emphatic understanding was induced, children intended to help out-group peers (non-friends) as much as in-group peers (friends). Furthermore, they expected the out-group and in-group peer to feel equally sad, upset and down, and for both peers the level of inferred emotion influenced the intention to help in a similar way. Moreover, compared to the non-induced condition, when empathy understanding was elicited, children intended to help the out-group peer more and the in-group peer less. This pattern of findings strongly suggests that when empathic understanding is induced, children no longer focus on which group the peer in need belongs to but instead consider his or her personal welfare.

Inducing empathy was found to be effective in both low and moderate need helping contexts. This is in line with the Empathy-Altruism Hypothesis (Batson, 2011) which

states that empathy is triggered when we perceive another person's desire to change his or her current undesirable state. Furthermore, although almost half of the children were unable to correctly understand another peer's social perspective, eliciting empathic understanding proved to be effective in overpowering peer group boundaries irrespective of social perspective taking ability. This means that all children were able to imagine how the peer in need of help would feel. Empathic care might not require accurately knowing how another person perceives a situation (Batson, 2011), but rather an understanding of the emotional state of the other person. This means that inducing empathic understanding is a promising intervention in stimulating helping across group boundaries, one that is also likely to be effective in younger children.

The findings indicate the potential of inducing empathy, but some limitations should be addressed. First, we focused on empathic understanding and did not consider the extent to which children share the emotional state of the peer in need. Empathy involves different aspects and our focus on understanding implies that we do not know whether the results will be similar when shared emotional feelings are considered. Furthermore, children were asked to imagine how the recipient might feel with regard to specific negative emotions in straightforward helping contexts. This might mean that inducing empathic understanding in children is only effective when these specific instructions are given, while a more open format ("how does the child in need feel?") might require more advanced perspective taking abilities.

We examined the effect of inducing empathic understanding on children's intention to help rather than their actual helping behavior. Inducing empathy in adults increases helping of stigmatized group members (Batson et al., 2002) and initiatives such as the 'roots of empathy' program (Gorden, 2005) suggest that stimulating empathy in children is effective in increasing prosocial behavior. However, it is not clear whether this translates into children's helping of out-group peers. Moreover, the Empathy-Altruism Hypothesis states that while empathy triggers an altruistic motivation, the subsequent decision to help also depends on cost-benefit considerations (Batson, 2011). The research presented in chapter 2 shows that children also consider the costs of helping in their evaluations of helping behavior. Future studies should assess whether the effect of empathic understanding in overpowering group boundaries in children's helping is reduced when the costs of helping increase. Moreover, future studies should consider other types of stories and investigate how children themselves evaluate the recipient's level of need, as well as examining how children perceive the intergroup context and related group boundaries.

We demonstrated that inducing empathic understanding increases helping of peers that are not part of children's (imagined) group of friends. This is a relevant and realistic group context for children. Little is known about children's helping in other intergroup contexts such as with peers belonging to another ethnic or racial group. Inducing empathic understanding might, for example, be less effective for clearly disliked and stigmatized out-groups (Batson, Eklund, Chermok, Hoyt, & Ortiz, 2007). Future work should shed light on how different group identities influence helping intentions and actual behavior, and whether different group boundaries can be overpowered by inducing empathy.

While the development of children's ethnic, racial, and national prejudice has been found to decrease from 7 years onwards (Raabe & Beelmann , 2011), no age differences in in-group bias were found in the current study. This is in line with the other chapters presented in this book as well as previous studies that examined intergroup helping in children (Weller & Lagattuta, 2013, 2014). This might mean that helping behavior differs from negative behaviors, such as prejudice. Children's intergroup bias is shown to be more pronounced for positive behaviors compared to negative behaviors (Rutland et al., 2007). In addition, distinct moral motivational systems might underlie negative and positive be-haviors (Janoff-Bulman, Sheikh, & Hepp, 2009). Future studies should examine how the development of negative intergroup behavior differs from positive intergroup behavior.

It is reasonable to question the usefulness of inducing empathic understanding, especially since it is impossible to induce children to imagine how another person feels every time a helping situation occurs. Research shows, however, that inducing empathy can have potential long-term consequences. For example, when empathy was stimulated in adults this positively influenced how they valued the person in need, also when he or she was no longer in need (Batson, Turk, Shaw, & Klein, 1995). Moreover, empathy induction can lead to long-term improved attitudes towards other groups (Batson et al., 1997a; Clore & Jeffrey, 1972)

Our propensity to empathize with others is remarkable and because of empathy's critical role in morality, it can be a powerful intervention strategy early in life. This study for the first time shows that inducing empathic understanding can overpower the influence of peer group boundaries in children's intention to help. Moreover, inducing empathy was found to be effective over and above the level of need and children's so-cial perspective taking ability. Encouraging children to imagine how a peer in need of help feels might thus be an important strategy to prevent peer group based biases in prosocial behavior. Rather than to focus only on changing children's negative attitudes and behavior toward out-groups (see Aboud et al., 2012), stimulating positive behavior

across group boundaries might contribute to positive intergroup relations. This opens up a new array of possibilities to enhance intergroup solidarity, such as approaches that focus less on changing negative stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes and more on the ability to empathize. In addition, it may be fruitful to address the conditions that hamper or stimulate situational empathy with out-group members. Such early interventions might prove effective also later in life.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this book is to provide insight into how children reason about helping others. In the five empirical chapters, four main themes were examined. Research presented in chapter 2 was set out to understand how children think about helping others. By interviewing children about different helping scenarios, I sought to understand to what extent children view helping others as a moral issue (Turiel, 1983). In chapter 3, the analysis of the role of morality in children's perception of helping is further extended in two studies. Children evaluated the obligation to help in intra- and inter-group contexts both when ethnic identity was not made salient (study 1) and when it was made salient (study 2). This allowed me to investigate whether children take the group context into account in their moral judgments and how their group identity influences their evaluation of intergroup helping. In chapter 4, children's evaluation of helping was assessed when friends of the helper or recipient of help are present. By going beyond the relation between helper and recipient, this study contrasted the role of children's self-presentational concern with loyalty considerations. In chapter 5, children's self-presentational concerns with regard to helping was further elaborated upon. In two studies, I examined how children's intention to help in- and out-group peers varied with regard to context of helping (public versus private), recipients' need and the perceived out-group norm. In addition, individual differences in dispositional empathy were taken into account in both studies. Lastly, in chapter 5 the role of empathy in children's intergroup helping intentions was examined further. By stimulating children to take into account how the recipient of help feels, I studied whether in-group bias in helping could be overcome.

In this concluding chapter I will discuss the empirical contributions with regard to the four main thematic issues examined in this book: how children's reasoning is influenced by moral considerations, social identity concerns, self-presentation and group norms, and empathy. In addition, the influence of costs of helping and recipient's need as well age differences in children's evaluations of helping are discussed. Within each theme the main results are highlighted, as well as possible explanations. Finally, limitations and future directions are discussed and a general conclusion is formulated.

7.2 THE MORAL OBLIGATION TO HELP

The first result that stands out in all seven studies presented in this book is that children attach great value to helping others. When peers refused to help this was evaluated very negatively (chapter 2 and 3). Also, children reported that others were highly obligated to help (chapter 4), and they expressed the intention to help others in need (chapter 5 and 6). In general this suggest that helping is considered as the right thing to do by children aged between 8 and 13 years. Chapter 2 and 3 provide further insight into whether children consider helping others as a moral issue.

The main aim of chapter 2 was to examine whether children view helping as a moral obligation. Turiel (1983) argues that moral rules are obligatory, universal, impartial and do not depend on social consensus. Children were interviewed about helping situations that systematically varied in the recipient's need for help and the costs of helping. Overall, it was found that children strongly disapproved of the refusal of help. They explained their disapproval by referring to the recipient's wellbeing and fairness concerns. Furthermore, their disapproval was not overruled by reciprocity concerns or peers and parents who expressed that it might be okay to refuse help. This shows that social consensus or authority demands did not change children's opinions. While previous research suggested that helping falls within the moral realm for children (Killen & Turiel, 1998; Miller, Bersoff, & Harwood, 1990; Neff, Turiel, & Anshel, 2002; Smetana et al, 2009), this study for the first time shows that moral considerations play a major role in children's reasoning about helping others in various contexts.

Interestingly, there was one exception to children's moral indignation about not helping. When the costs of helping were high and recipient's need was low, a small majority of the children claimed that refusing to help was acceptable. They justified their evaluations in terms of the psychological domain, considering personal preferences and freedom. This is in line with the Arousal Cost Reward Model (Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark, 1981) which postulates that people are motivated to avoid costly helping. However, when these children were confronted with parents that disagreed or when they found out that the recipient *did* help before (reciprocity), they changed their evaluation. This suggests that while children consider helping morally obligatory, other relevant considerations can overpower their moral reasoning. This underlines that helping others is subject to prescriptive moral rules (Janoff-Bulman, Sheikh, & Hepp, 2009). The prescriptive moral system is less strict and demanding compared to proscriptive morality. This indicates that the refusal of help is not always perceived as wrong,

and sometimes children view personal considerations as an acceptable reason for not helping.

If other considerations besides morality can influence the obligation to help, it follows that the intergroup context might also affect how children reason about this obligation. In chapter 2, native Dutch children evaluated a child who refused to help in an intra-group context (Dutch–Dutch or Turkish–Turkish) or inter-group context (Dutch–Turkish or Turkish–Dutch). According to Social Cognitive Domain Theory (Turiel, 1983), caring for others is a moral rule that is general and impartial, indicating that the refusal to help an in-group peer would be equally wrong as not helping an out-group peer or vice versa. In contrast, Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al., 2013; Haidt, 2012) argues for a broader moral domain, and postulates that with regard to group behavior loyalty is a moral norm. When people are expected to feel responsible for their group members, this would mean that intra-group helping is more obligated compared to inter-group helping. Results of study 1 in chapter 3 support the latter and not the former. That is to say, children evaluated not helping in intra-group situations more negatively than not helping in inter-group situations. This suggests that they applied a general moral norm of group loyalty that states that children should help peers of their own group, irrespective of the group they themselves belong to.

Thereby chapter 2 and 3 touch upon a much debated issue in moral psychology, namely which domains and how many are central to human morality. In contrast to monist theories (e.g., Kohlberg, 1969), moral pluralism assumes that morality consists of several mental systems. However, much developmental work on morality to date has mainly focused upon issues of fairness, justice and welfare. Future work could extend this work and consider, for example, how children perceive the other domains proposed by Haidt and colleagues (i.e., sanctity or authority).

Interestingly, in chapter 2 the intergroup context was also manipulated by using Moroccan and Dutch first names, but this did not yield significant differences in children's evaluation and reasoning about helping. One possible explanation is that because the recipient's need and helper's costs were also manipulated, ethnic names indicating the intergroup context were less salient to children. This is especially likely given that the participants were majority children for whom ethnic group membership is often not yet an important social identity (e.g., Nesdale, 2004; Quintana, 2008). In addition, the first study presented in chapter 3 builds upon chapter 2, in which it is shown that children consider it a moral obligation to help. In chapter 3 children's evaluations about intergroup helping are assessed, and not their justifications. It is therefore not conclusive that loyalty

was considered a moral issue by children. However, they strongly disapproved of not helping, similar to the moral disproval expressed in chapter 2. Moreover, they evaluated helping as obligatory both between two in-group peers as well as two out-group peers. This means that they applied the moral obligation to be loyal independent of their own group membership, suggesting that they reasoned in terms of an abstract and general rule.

In sum, this book provides insight into how morality shapes children's helping behavior. Whereas the role of moral considerations has been studied in children's negative (intergroup) behavior, such as exclusion and prejudice (e.g., Killen & Rutland, 2011), very little is known about children's moral judgments about helping others. The research presented allows for two main conclusions. In general children consider helping others morally obligatory. However, children take into account the group context when evaluating the obligation to help. Helping group members is considered more obligatory than helping peers that do not belong to one's group.

7.3 SOCIAL IDENTITY AND INTERGROUP HELPING

A second theme in this book is the role of children's social identity in intergroup helping. Social Identity Development Theory (Nesdale, 2004) states that children's identification plays a major role in the development of intergroup bias. In addition, the theory identifies the importance of the salience of group boundaries in children's intergroup reasoning and behavior. Therefore, in chapter 3 I studied how children's group identity influences their evaluation of the refusal to help in intra-group and inter-group contexts. In addition, chapter 6 provides insight into how children's intention to help depends on the group context.

The second study in chapter 3 followed up on the role of children's group identity in evaluations of helping. Whereas the first study in chapter 3 examined children's evaluations without making ethnicity explicitly salient (i.e., the group context could be inferred from names only), in the second study children's ethnic self-involvement was enhanced in two ways. Children received a task in which they categorized Turkish and Dutch names, and children answered ethnic identification questions (e.g., 'Are you proud of being Dutch?') before evaluating the helping situations. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) predicts that higher identifiers, compared with lower identifiers, are typically more concerned about their in-group. Results showed that when ethnicity was made salient,

children who strongly identified with their ethnic group evaluated an out-group member not helping an in-group member more negatively than vice versa. Since an out-group peer that refused to help implies a more powerful position on part of the out-group, this is likely a threatening situation. Therefore, in-group protection motives were enhanced in children with relatively strong in-group attachment.

In addition to children's evaluations of third party helping contexts, I also studied how children's own intention to help differed when it concerned in-group or out-group peers. While the studies presented in chapter 3 and work by others (e.g., Killen & Turiel, 1998; Olson & Spelke, 2008; Paulus & Moore, 2014; Weller & Lagattuta, 2013; Weller & Lagattuta, 2014) suggests that group boundaries might also play a role in children's intention to help, no studies have explicitly tested this. Therefore, in chapter 6, children reported their intention to help a peer in need that either belonged to their group of friends or did not belong to their group of friends. Friendship groups are important for children during late childhood (Adler & Adler, 1995; Berndt & Perry, 1990; Buhrmeister & Furman, 1987; Henrich, Kuperminc, Sack, Blatt, & Leadbeater, 2000). Results showed that children intended to help a peer that belonged to their (imagined) group of friends more than an out-group peer.

This means that children's group identity influences how they perceive intergroup helping and the extent to which they intend to help. In general, they favor the in-group when thinking about helping. However, while in chapter 3 children only favored the ethnic in-group after ethnic identity was made salient, increasing self-involvement was not a necessary condition for in-group bias in in chapter 6. Two aspects most likely explain this difference and thus provide further insight into the influence of group identity on helping. First, in chapter 3 children's evaluations are assessed about a third-person helping context ("how should they behave"), while in chapter 6 children's intentions are examined from a first-person perspective ("what would you do?"). Moral concerns convey abstract rules about how people ought to behave. This means that when children are asked to evaluate third-person helping contexts, this is likely to elicit moral rules at first. However, when reasoning about what they would do, moral rules will be less salient. This is in line with research that shows that although we are aware of moral do's and dont's, that does not mean that our own behavior always aligns with morality (e.g., Bandura, 1991; Batson, Thompson, Seuferling, Whitney, & Strongman, 1999; Milgram, 1974).

Second, the two studies differ with regard to the type of group context. Whereas chapter 3 concerned an ethnic intergroup context, chapter 6 examined helping with regard to friendship groups. Friendship groups form a part of children's daily lives.

Hence, children are highly familiar with these groups and thus self-involvement is easily triggered. This is in contrast with an ethnic group context, which might be less familiar to majority group children and therefore less likely to generate identity protection motives. Future work should address how the type of group influences children's reasoning about intergroup helping. For example, favoring a friend in helping might be evaluated less harshly compared to favoring an ethnic in-group peer. Since the latter is associated with ethnic discrimination and therefore guided by different social norms compared to not helping a non-friend.

In general, this book shows that children take into account the intergroup context when thinking about helping. They seem to do so based on moral considerations of loyalty as well as based on social identity protection motives. Previous studies examining children's prosociality have predominantly focused on children's dispositions and abilities (for overviews see Eisenberg, 1992; Warneken & Tomasello, 2014). However, my research shows that children consider who is helped by whom and that this influences their evaluation of helping as well as their intention to help. This has implications for previous research on prosociality. Many studies, for example, assess children's helping with regard to adults (e.g., Beier, Over, & Carpenter, 2014; Hepach, Vaish, & Tomasello, 2012; Warneken & Tomasello, 2006) and few study focus upon helping peers (e.g., Leimgruber, Shaw, Santos, & Olson, 2012; Plötner, Over, Carpenter, & Tomasello, under review). However, such studies overlook the intergroup (or relational) context between helper and recipient of help. This means that children's helping is studied in an 'isolated' way and thereby lacks ecological validity.

7.4 SELF-PRESENTATION AND GROUP NORMS

In addition to identification and group salience, Social Identity Development Theory (Nesdale, 2004) postulates that group norms also influence children's intergroup behavior. How we behave is often not only influenced by whom is directly involved but also by the social context in which behavior takes place. Very little research has studied the influence of the presence of others on children's intergroup behavior, while much work shows that adults are likely to adjust their behavior in public contexts (e.g., Gabriel, Banse, & Hug, 2007; Reinstein & Riener, 2012; Reis & Gruzen, 1976; Satow, 1975). In chapter 4 and 5 the social context in which helping occurs was examined. Specifically, in chapter 4 I examined how the presence of in-group and out-group bystanders influences the perceived

obligation to help out-group peers. In chapter 5 children's public and private intergroup helping intentions were studied.

The study presented in chapter 4 reported children's attitude toward helping when either friends of the helper, friends of the recipient of help, or no bystanders were present. In this way two contrasting predictions could be tested. On the one hand, chapter 3 shows that loyalty is an important moral principle in intergroup helping. This would mean that friends of the recipient, rather than an out-group helper, are considered responsible to take care of the one in need of help. Therefore, children might evaluate helping as less obligatory when friends of the recipient are present. On the other hand, much research has shown the importance of self-presentation and reputational concerns in public behavior. According to the Competitive Altruism Hypothesis (Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006; Roberts, 1998), helping is an effective strategy to enhance one's reputation toward group members. This means that children might endorse helping more when the helpers' friends are present. Because both predictions lead to stronger endorsement of helping when friends of the helper are present as opposed to friends of the recipient, these contexts were compared with a helping context in which no bystanders were present. Results showed that children more strongly endorsed helping when friends of the helper were present compared to when friends of the recipient were present or no bystanders. Children thus seem to consider helping an out-group peer as a self-presentation strategy on part of the helper. Since helping was public and in the presence of the helper's friends, this led to increased endorsement of helping. This research further shows that this sensitivity for the presence of in-group peers was less apparent in higher prosocial children. These children seemed to base their evaluation on increasing the recipient's welfare and less on reputation concerns of the helper.

Note that in chapter 4 children's evaluations seemed not to be guided by loyalty considerations, while in chapter 3 children evaluated helping between group members as more obligatory compared to helping in an intergroup context. How can this apparent contradiction be explained? The main difference between both studies is the presence of an audience. Whereas the studies presented in chapter 3 portray an intergroup helping context involving a helper and recipient, the study presented in chapter 4 additionally involve friends of the helper or recipient. This means that while both studies concern a third-person perspective, the latter situation is a public helping context. Research shows that very subtle cues of the presence of others already change people's behavior toward others. For example, a study by Haley and Fessler (2005) showed that when a computer displaying eyespots was used in a dictator game, participants doubled their donations

compared to a control condition. The fact that people adjust their behavior in public contexts is even assumed to occur outside of conscious awareness (Bateson, Nettle & Roberts, 2006). This makes clear that the mere description of bystanders in chapter 4 is likely to have changed children's evaluations about helping others from a moral perspective to the consideration of self-presentational benefits.

The studies presented in chapter 5 took a closer look at the role of self-presentation and group norms in children's intergroup helping. While the study in chapter 4 only involved out-group helping, in this chapter I studied both in-group and out-group helping with regard to national groups (i.e., Dutch versus German). In addition, the focus shifted from children's evaluations of third party helping, to an examination of their own intention to help. In the first study children indicated their intention to help peers in high need (i.e., they lost their homes and toys due to a large fire). Results showed that the context of helping as well as recipients' group membership did not influence children's intention to help. Rather children expressed that they would help no matter who needed help in the public context. In the second study a low need helping context was examined. Interestingly, children's intention to help differed substantially from the high need context. When helping was public, children intended to help out-group peers more than in-group peers, particularly when they perceived a positive out-group norm in the classroom. This shows that, similar to chapter 4, children take into account self-presentational concerns in their reasoning about helping others. Specifically, it supports the assumption that helping out-group peers stands out and is therefore more effective in presenting oneself favorably than helping in-group peers.

Some general conclusions can be drawn from chapter 4 and 5 about how self-presentational concerns and group norms inform children's helping. When others are present the likelihood increases that helping behavior is noticed and the public context thus creates an opportunity for self-presentation. However, positive self-presentation seems to depend on three issues. First of all, it matters *who* the recipient of help is. Out-group helping stands out more than in-group helping, and might thus be a more successful strategy to present oneself favorably. Secondly, helping as a means to presenting oneself favorably depends on *who* is watching. While the presence of in-group peers increases the chances of reputational benefits, out-group peers are less important to present oneself in a favorable way. Lastly, children take into account how others think about the recipient's group membership. Enhancing one's reputation by helping is only effective when a positive norm exists about the recipient's group.

7.5 EMPATHY

In the present book the role of empathy in children's reasoning about intergroup helping was assessed in two chapters. Chapter 5 assessed the influence of dispositional empathy on children's intention to help. In chapter 6 the role of situational empathic understanding was examined with regard to children's intergroup helping intentions.

The two studies presented in chapter 5 included a measure of children's dispositional empathy. Results showed that more empathic children intended to help more. Moreover, dispositional empathy did not differentially influence children's intention to help in-group and out-group peers in public or private contexts. Whereas some have argued that empathy is more likely to be elicited with regard to in-group members than out-group members (e.g., Stürmer, Snyder, Kropp, & Siem, 2006), others have argued against that claim (e.g., Batson, 2011). In general, the results presented in this book suggest that the influence of dispositional empathy on the intention to help does not depend on the group context or the situation at hand.

In chapter 6 I examine how inducing situational empathy can be used as an intervention strategy. Children were asked how the recipient of help might feel before they indicated their intention to help in-group and out-group peers. This was done to enhance empathic understanding which might lead children to focus less on the recipient's group membership. When children no longer focus on the intergroup context, this should result in an equal intention to help in-group peers and out-group peers. This is exactly what I found in chapter 6. Children no longer expressed in-group bias in helping when empathic understanding was elicited, whereas, they intended to help in-group peers more than out-group peers when they were not asked to rate how the recipient of help might feel. In addition, children reported that in-group and out-group peers experienced equal levels of negative emotions. This underlines that when empathic understanding is induced, children focus less on group membership of the recipient of help.

This book shows that dispositional and situational empathy are important to consider in children's intergroup helping. Hardly any empirical research has examined how empathy interventions might positively influence helping behavior toward in-group and out-group members. In chapter 6 a first step is taken to examine whether empathy might indeed be used as intervention strategy, and the results show promise. However, future work should address how effective inducing empathy actually is in stimulating helping behavior. For example, research should examine whether inducing empathy increases actual helping of in- and out-group peers and which conditions foster or hamper it. In

addition, it remains to be seen if this intervention is also effective with regard to other than friendship groups.

7.6 RECIPIENT'S NEED AND COSTS OF HELPING

The studies presented in this book also examined how the costs of helping and recipient's need influence children's evaluations of helping and their intention to help. With regard to need, the main idea was that a recipient in high need elicits a stronger moral obligation to help. This means that helping is likely to be considered obligatory, independent of the intergroup context or self-presentational concerns. However, when the recipient's need is relatively low to moderate, helping becomes less obligated and therefore other considerations might come into play. A similar process is assumed with regard to the costs of helping. When cost are low and helping is a relatively easy thing to do, it should not be refused. Which might mean that helping is obligated and not influenced by other concerns, in contrast to when costs of helping are high. Some of the findings presented in this book are in line with these assumptions. However, other findings do not entirely fit and further research is warranted.

Chapter 2 examined children's reasoning about the costs of helping and recipient's need simultaneously. Results showed that children consider helping as a moral obligation in the majority of the cases (i.e., high need – low costs, low need – low costs, and high need - high costs). When recipient's need is high, children think help should be provided. Moreover, when the costs of helping are low, children also express that it is blameworthy to refuse help. This underlines the general assumption that only when recipient's need is low, and when costs of helping are high, other considerations besides moral domain reasoning influence helping. In chapter 4 children were presented with helping contexts in which the recipient experienced low or moderate need. In line with the findings of chapter 2, results showed that children's endorsement of helping in the presence of others did not depend on the recipient's need: by-standing peers influenced children's evaluations similarly in low and moderate helping context. Moreover, in chapter 6 inducing empathic understanding was equally effective in low and moderate need situations. Overall, these findings are in line with the assumption that in low and moderate need other considerations besides a general moral obligation to help influence children's reasoning about helping. Future studies should address whether children are also more likely to take into account group boundaries and self-presentational benefits in high costs situations.

In chapter 5, the influence of high and low need was assessed with regard to children's intergroup intention to help when others were present. Results showed that in the public high need context, children intended to help in-group peers and out-group peers equally. This underlines the general argument that in high need contexts it is obligatory to help independent of who needs help. However, study 1 in chapter 5 also showed that children did differentiate in the private high need context, because they intended to help out-group peers *more* than in-group peers. This is a puzzling finding, which deserves attention in future studies (see discussion chapter 5). In the second study of chapter 5 a low need context was also examined. The findings suggest that whereas in high need recipient's group membership was unimportant, when need was low children's intention to help in public reflected self-presentational concerns.

Furthermore, in chapter 5 when need was low and helping private, children intended to help in-group and out-group peers equally. This is explained by children's concern with fairness, also shown in other research (e.g., Fehr, Bernhard, & Rockenbach, 2008; Geraci & Surian, 2011; Moore, 2009). However, when need is low and thus the moral obligation to help less strong, children might also have considered the recipient's group membership. This is what was found in chapter 6, in which children intended to help in-group peers more than out-group peers in low and moderate need context. It is not entirely clear why group identity influenced children's helping intention in the low need helping context presented in chapter 6, but not when need was low and helping private in chapter 5. One issue that might account for the differences found is that in chapter 5 the recipient's need was qualitatively different compared to recipient's need in chapter 6. In chapter 6 a concrete need for help was described: a peer in need for help with cleaning up or to make a phone call. In chapter 5, however, the need concerned a more abstract problem and an abstract group of people: children in Germany/The Netherlands that have few toys. This might mean that the latter situation elicited abstract moral rules of fairness, while in the former situation children could more easily identify with the protagonist and therefore social identity concerns were triggered. Future research should test this possible explanation.

In conclusion, the research presented in this book shows that recipient's need and the costs of helping influence how children reason about helping others. In general high need and low costs elicit a strong (moral) obligation to help that is general and impartial in line with Social Cognitive Domain Theory (Turiel, 1983). Only when costs are high or recipient's need is low to moderate, do children take into account self-presentational concerns and recipient's group membership.

7.7 AGE DIFFERENCES

Developmental research has shown that children experience several cognitive and social changes during late childhood. Prosocial moral reasoning becomes more advanced, going beyond needs-oriented reasoning to role-taking and expressions of sympathy (Eisenberg-Berg, 1979). In addition, several theoretical frameworks on the development of intergroup behavior argue for a development in children's understanding of group behavior and group norms during this age period (e.g., Aboud, 1988; Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, & Marques, 2003; Nesdale, 2004).

In chapter 2, age differences were found in children's reasoning about the dilemmatic context in which both recipient's need and the costs of helping were high. Results showed that younger children were more negative about the refusal to help than older children. In addition, younger children were more likely to reason in terms of the moral domain and older children more often expressed other solutions. This shows that whereas younger children focused on the recipient's needs, older children expressed more nuanced views and considered multiple issues. This indicates that older children, compared to younger children, are better able to weigh multiple factors when reasoning about helping in complex situations.

In the remaining chapters, however, no age differences were found in children's evaluation about helping and intention to help. Although the data was cross sectional, this suggests that both younger and older children think similarly about helping others. Moreover, group boundaries, the presence of others and empathy had a similar impact on younger and older children's reasoning about helping. In addition to the studies presented in this book, two studies by Weller and Lagagutta (2013; 2014) also did not find age differences with regard to the influence of group boundaries on children's evaluation of helping behavior and the associated emotions. Rather, they showed that children as young as 5 made group distinctions in their reasoning about helping. Given previous work on children's prosocial moral reasoning as well as the development of intergroup behavior, it is surprising that no age differences emerged in the studies presented in chapter 3 to 6. How can this be explained?

Research that assessed the influence of group boundaries in children's reasoning has predominantly focused on negative behaviors. This might mean that the developmental pattern for intergroup differentiation in helping differs from that of, for example, reasoning about exclusion and discrimination. Positive and negative behaviors are guided by distinct moral regulations, which differ in focus and strictness (Janoff-Bulman et al.,

2009). Perhaps it is the case that the developmental trajectory relating to prescriptive morality differs from that of proscriptive morality. Future work should address whether this is the case.

Another explanation for the lack of age differences is of methodological nature. In the studies presented, group membership of the helpers and recipients of help were manipulated in subtle ways. Moreover, children were asked about helping in a general way without explicitly referring to the group membership of the recipient. This means that the influence of group boundaries was assessed in a rather implicit manner. While age differences have been found in children's explicit intergroup differentiation (Raabe & Beelman, 2001), more subtle measurements of in-group bias typically show stability across development (e.g., McGlothlin & Killen, 2006; Olson & Dunham, 2010). One explanation for this is that with age children inhibit overt prejudice because of prevailing anti-discrimination norms in society, while implicit measures can still pick up on group biases. This means that the lack of age differences could be due to the way I manipulated and measured group boundaries. Future studies should examine the developmental pattern with regard to more overt measures of group bias in helping.

The fact that no age differences were found with regard to the influence of the presence of others is less surprising. Children have been found to self-present and understand self-presentational behavior from ages 6 to 8 onwards (e.g., Banerjee, 2002; Banerjee & Yuill, 1999). In addition, empathy has been found in very young children (Eisenberg, 1992) and therefore no age differences were expected. However, children's social perspective taking ability, included in chapter 2 and 6, did increase with age. In chapter 2 it was found that more advanced social perspective taking abilities were associated with stronger condemnation of the refusal to help when need and costs were high. Children that were better able at understanding perspectives different from their own, also expressed more moral reasons for why refusing to help was wrong. In chapter 6, I showed that the inducement of empathic understanding to increase helping did not depend on children's social perspective taking ability. Taken together this shows that more advanced social perspective taking increases children's focus on the recipient's need, but it is not a necessary ability to understand the recipient's need.

7.8 LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The research conducted has some limitation and raises a number of more general questions that deserve attention in future work.

In my study of children's helping I have taken a socio-cognitive approach by examining reasoning, evaluations and behavioral intentions. By studying cognition we come to know more about children's thoughts and expectations in daily life. Such insights are valuable in itself, because they are the foundation for how children might communicate with others, how we should communicate with them, what motivates their helping behavior and how they might feel in helping contexts. However, it also begs the question whether this insight has predictive value with regard to children's actual helping behavior. Much research shows that behavior is often based upon attitudes (e.g., Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), but whether children's thinking about helping relates to their actual helping is yet to be studied. A few studies examining fairness in children might offer some insight into the cognition-behavior link.

Research examining fairness often shows that across age children indicate that resources should be distributed fairly. However, when asked to actually distribute resources, young children chose to benefit themselves while older children (7-8 years) act in line with their attitudes and share equally (Smith, Blake, & Harris, 2013). Moreover, Paulus and Moore (2014) have shown that by age 5 children's sharing expectations align with their sharing behavior. One explanation is that older children increasingly give weight to normative standards about fairness, while younger children cannot resist the temptation to favor themselves (Smith et al., 2013). This might mean that children's (moral) reasoning about helping during late childhood will align with their actual behavior. However, there is no one-to-one link between morality and behavior in adults and our actions often fall short of our moral principles, Different explanations exist for this mismatch. For example, it has been assumed that it is due to a learning deficit or because of social influence (Asch, 1956; Bandura, 1991; Milgram, 1974). Others have claimed that moral hypocrisy plays a major role, which means that adults will endorse moral values when asked, but will act immoral when they have the opportunity to do so without others knowing (e.g., Batson et al., 1999). Whichever explanation is correct, it is clear from research and daily life that the things we say do not always correspond to the things we do. Thus although based on research on sharing, children's cognition about helping are likely to form an important foundation on which their helping behavior is based, future studies should address if this is actually the case.

A related point for why actual helping should be studied during middle and late childhood is that the majority of studies have focused on older children's reasoning about helping, and very few studies have examined actual helping in children older than 8 years. In contrast, many studies have been conducted on younger children's actual helping (see for an overview Paulus & Moore, 2012; Warneken & Tomasello, 2014). Accordingly, we are currently comparing apples (cognition) and oranges (behavior) in helping across development. In addition, with regard to the influence of group boundaries in children's helping a wider age range could also be informative. Robust in-group preference has been shown in majority group children from 4 years onwards (Hailey & Olson, 2013). However, to the best of my knowledge, no research has looked at whether children differentiate between out-group and in-group peers in their actual helping.

This book touches upon another long standing debate in moral psychology and philosophy which concerns the role of reasoning and intuition in morality. In rationalist models (e.g., Kohlberg, 1969; Piaget, 1932; Turiel, 1983) it is assumed that moral judgments are formed through explicit deliberative reasoning and reflection. In contrast, intuitionist approaches postulate that moral evaluations are rapid and automatic. Moral Foundations Theory (e.g., Graham et al., 2013; Haidt, 2012), for example, states that intuitive emotions are at the core of morality and cause moral judgment. People's reasoning is then seen as a justification of their moral intuition. A growing body of research has indeed shown that infants already have a rudimentary moral sense (see Bloom, 2013). This suggests that moral intuitions might be present early in life. However, children also increasingly learn with age about the rationalities that are involved in acting moral, a prerequisite for living in groups and greater societies. This means that both lines of research can offer insight into children's moral lives. Future work could, for example, focus upon the interchanging processes of intuition and reasoning in children's helping.

Another point for future work to consider is how the various groups in children's life influence their reasoning about helping. In the current book the influence of 3 group contexts was assed: ethnic groups, national groups and friendship groups. It is unclear whether the present findings are specific to the group context studied or generalize across other types of groups. Furthermore, research on intergroup behavior in children often focuses upon ethnic group boundaries. It would therefore be worthwhile to consider other group contexts also. Especially since, for example, friendships groups have a very different function in children's daily lives compared to ethnic or national groups. In addition, friendship groups differ from ethnic groups with regard to the permeability of the

group boundaries. This might imply that the group norms that govern friendship group are different from those central to ethnic groups.

Participants in the current research all came from relatively 'white' schools, and most had a Dutch background. Future work should test whether the current findings generalize across children with different backgrounds, especially with regard to findings pertaining to helping ethnic and national groups. For example, the participating children probably had little contact with children of other ethnic backgrounds besides the Dutch. Contact with ethnic out-groups tends to ameliorate the attitudes toward those groups (Tropp & Prenovost, 2008). This might mean that children from more mixed schools perceive ethnic intergroup helping differently compared to children that have little contact with minorities. In addition, future work should also assess how ethnic minority children reason about helping in an interethnic context. Ethnic minority children might be much more aware of their ethnicity than majority children, moreover minority groups often have lower status that majority groups. Since helping others often implies a power difference between helper and recipient, children from low status groups might perceive it differently than high status children (e.g., Halabi & Nadler, 2010). Related, the development of intergroup helping might also differ across cultures. Individualistic societies might value helping others differently from collectivistic societies. Group boundaries might exert a stronger influence in the latter compared with the former (Miller et al., 1990).

Furthermore, most studies to date, including mine, have focused on children as helpers. Children receive, undoubtedly, much help in their daily lives from various helpers – help that is often crucial for their cognitive maturation and social development. However, very little is known about how such help is perceived by children themselves, and the impact of those perceptions on the effectiveness of help. Research with adults shows in-group and out-group help is perceived differently and helping can serve strategic goals to assert power differences (see Halabi & Nadler, 2010; Van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2010). This might mean that children will be less willing to accept help from out-group peers or view it as less appropriate and helpful. This is also relevant for the aim to stimulate helping across group boundaries. While we might be able to stimulate helping out-group peers in children, such help is problematic if the recipient does not accept it or does not perceive it as supportive.

7.9 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The main aim of this book was to provide insight into children's cognition about helping behavior. While developmental research has examined children's prosociality in terms of dispositions and abilities, it tends to overlook the relation between recipient and helper as well as the social context in which helping occurs. Moreover, social psychological research on the development of intergroup cognition has provided insight into how the group context influences children's reasoning about negative behavior, but little studies have focused on positive intergroup behavior. Combining insights from developmental and social psychology, the research presented in this book shows that children's reasoning about helping behavior is multifaceted.

The most important take-home message of this book is that children strongly value helping others, but that their reasoning about helping depends on the intergroup and social context. Four broad themes were addressed in this book. First of all, children view helping others in general as a moral obligation. This means that they indicated that others should help, and did not change their view when peers or parents think otherwise. However, this does not mean that the obligation to help is independent of the group context, since children view helping group members as more obligated that helping non-group members. Second, when group identity is salient and group identification strong, moral reasoning can be overpowered by concerns for the in-group. Third, going beyond the intergroup relation of helper and recipient of help, the research presented in this book shows that it also matters who is present when helping occurs. By-standing in-group peers increase the endorsement of helping presumably because it offers an opportunity to present oneself favorably. Moreover, helping an out-group peer stands out, and it thus most effective for positive self-presentation. Lastly, the findings show that empathy is positively related to children's reasoning about helping. In addition, stimulating children to take into account how a recipient of help feels overpowers in-group bias in their intention to help.

Why we help others, even when we stand to gain nothing from it, has puzzled researchers for decades. This book offers a comprehensive and thorough look into children's thinking about helping behavior. I have taken some important steps to incorporate the influence of group behavior and social context into the study of helping. By doing so we learn about the consequences of early group distinctions in positive behaviors. Ultimately such research should provide us with the tools to enhance intergroup solidarity.

Samenvatting

(Summary in Dutch)

INTRODUCTIE

Waarom we anderen helpen, ook in situaties waar dit geen enkel voordeel voor onzelf oplevert, is een vraag die wetenschappers al decennia bezighoudt. Een manier om inzicht te verschaffen in deze puzzel, is door te onderzoeken hoe hulpgedrag ontstaat. Er is veel ontwikkelingspsychologisch onderzoek verricht naar wanneer en hoe kinderen anderen helpen, dingen met hen delen en hen geruststellen. Kinderen leven al op jonge leeftijd mee met anderen en zijn gemotiveerd te helpen vanaf ten minste 14 maanden oud (zie Warneken & Tomasello, 2014). Naarmate kinderen ouder worden, begrijpen ze beter hoe anderen zich voelen en hoe ze hiermee kunnen omgaan (Eisenberg-Berg, 1979).

Wat echter onderbelicht blijft in dit type onderzoek, is *wie* de ontvanger van hulp is. Wanneer ik tijdens mijn onderzoek aan kinderen vroeg in hoeverre het verkeerd was om een ander niet te helpen, zorgde dat voor reacties als: 'Maar ze zijn vrienden! Dan moeten ze wel delen', 'Je bent een team, dat betekent dat je elkaar moet helpen' of 'Misschien als het mijn ergste vijand is, dan zou ik niet helpen. Maar anders wel'. Hieruit blijkt dat wie de ontvanger is en tot welke groep hij of zij behoort, een rol speelt in hoe kinderen denken over helpen. Kinderen maken deel uit van verschillende categorieën en groepen, zoals hun klas op school, sportteams en hun etnische groep. Het lidmaatschap van deze verschillende groepen beïnvloedt hun denken en doen (Bennett & Sani, 2004; Levy & Killen, 2008). Sociaal psychologisch onderzoek laat zien dat de manier waarop kinderen denken over sociaal gedrag afhankelijk is van de intergroepscontext waarin dit gedrag plaatsvindt. Zo vinden kinderen mensen van hun eigen groep ('in-group') aardiger en beter dan leden van een andere groep ('out-group'), beoordelen ze agressief gedrag van een out-group lid als negatiever dan dat van een in-group lid (Nesdale, Killen, & Duffy, 2013) en zijn ze geneigd een kind dat hun eigen groep niet steunt uit te sluiten (Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier, & Ferrell, 2009). Dit type onderzoek richt zich vooral op hoe kinderen redeneren over negatief intergroepsgedrag, zoals discriminatie, stereotypering en uitsluiting. Maar hoe kinderen denken over positief intergroepsgedrag, hoeft niet per se overeen te komen met cognities ten aanzien van negatieve intergroepsprocessen. Zo worden we bijvoorbeeld geacht nooit anderen pijn te doen, maar is het niet verplicht om iedereen altijd te helpen. Bovendien hoeft de afwezigheid van vooroordelen en discriminatie niet automatisch te resulteren in prosociaal gedrag naar out-group leden toe. Het is daarom van belang om de groepscontext in ogenschouw te nemen bij de bestudering van de wijze waarop kinderen redeneren over hulpgedrag.

Dit boek bestaat uit 5 empirische hoofdstukken waarin wordt onderzocht hoe kinderen denken over hulpgedrag. Hulpgedrag wordt daarbij gedefinieerd als vrijwillig gedrag met de intentie om de toestand van de ander te verbeteren (Eisenberg, 1986). Hierbij kan gedacht worden aan iemand helpen met zijn of haar huiswerk, het opruimen van de klas, of hulp bieden wanneer iemand pijn heeft. Vier thema's staan centraal in het hier gerapporteerde onderzoek. Ten eerste onderzoek ik in welke mate kinderen helpen opvatten als een morele verplichting. Ten tweede ga ik in op hoe de groepscontext de vermeende verplichting tot helpen beïnvloedt: behoren we anderen altijd te helpen of is dit afhankelijk van wie het is? Aangezien hulpgedrag zich veelal afspeelt in sociale situaties, is het van belang om niet alleen te bestuderen hoe de relatie tussen helper en slachtoffer het redeneren van kinderen beïnvloedt, maar ook te onderzoeken in welke mate de aanwezigheid van omstanders een rol speelt in hoe kinderen denken over helpen. Dit derde thema omvat ook rol van zelfpresentatie en groepsnormen. Het laatste thema betreft de rol van empathie in de manier waarop kinderen denken over het helpen van in-group en out-group leden.

Alle kinderen die meededen aan de verschillende onderzoeken zaten in de hoogste drie klassen van de basisschool (8 – 13 jaar). Deze kinderen werden geïnterviewd (hoofdstuk 2) of vulden zelfstandig een vragenlijst in. De ideeën die kinderen hebben over helpen, werden vastgesteld door middel van experimenten in de vorm van verhaaltjes waarin een hulpsituatie werd gefingeerd. Binnen die verhaaltjes werd dan systematisch gevarieerd wie de helper en/of ontvanger van hulp was, of er omstanders aanwezig waren, en wie dan, de mate waarin hulp nodig was, én de mate waarin het moeite kostte om te helpen. In dit onderzoek richt ik me exclusief op de vraag hoe kinderen denken over het helpen van anderen, en heb ik dus niet gekeken naar hoe zij zich gedragen. In deze samenvatting zal ik de belangrijkste resultaten per thema bespreken. Tot slot formuleer ik een conclusie.

MOREEL REDENEREN

Uit alle vijf empirische studies die worden beschreven in dit boek, komt naar voren dat kinderen veel waarde hechten aan het helpen van anderen in nood. Wanneer leeftijdsgenoten weigeren om te helpen, zijn kinderen hier zeer negatief over (hoofdstuk 2 en 3) en kinderen geven aan dat anderen behoren te helpen (hoofdstuk 4). Daarnaast blijkt dat kinderen ook zelf de intentie hebben om een ander te helpen wanneer deze in nood is

(hoofdstuk 5 en 6). Dit geeft aan dat kinderen helpen over het algemeen beschouwen als iets dat je behoort te doen.

In hoofdstuk 2 heb ik nader onderzocht in hoeverre kinderen helpen zien als een morele verplichting. Volgens de *Social Cognitive Domain Theory* (Turiel, 1983) gaat het bij morele principes om rechtvaardigheid en zorg om het welzijn van anderen. Er wordt aangenomen dat deze principes verplichtend, universeel, onpartijdig en onafhankelijk van sociale consensus en autoriteit zijn. Om te onderzoeken in hoeverre deze morele principes van toepassing zijn op de wijze waarop kinderen denken over helpen, zijn hen vier verschillende hulpsituaties voorgelegd. Deze verschilden systematisch in de hulp-behoefte en de kosten van het helpen. Vervolgens werd de kinderen gevraagd naar hun oordeel over het weigeren van hulp en of ze hun oordeel zouden veranderen wanneer vrienden (sociale consensus) of ouders (druk van autoriteit) er anders over dachten. Uit de resultaten bleek dat kinderen het weigeren van hulp verkeerd vonden in het merendeel van de situaties. Zij gaven hier veelal morele redenen voor. Ze verwezen bijvoorbeeld naar oneerlijkheid en dat het onaardig zou zijn om het slachtoffer niet te helpen. Daarnaast lieten zij zich niet overtuigen wanneer ouders of vrienden een andere mening hadden. Dit geeft aan dat kinderen het bieden van hulp zien als een morele verplichting die onaf-hankelijk is van sociale consensus en autoriteit.

Uit deze studie kwam echter ook naar voren dat kinderen soms een uitzondering maken op dit morele principe. Wanneer het helpen veel moeite kostte en de nood van het slachtoffer laag was, vond een kleine meerderheid van de kinderen het acceptabel om de gevraagde hulp te weigeren. Dit komt overeen met eerder werk dat laat zien dat mensen gemotiveerd zijn om de kosten van het helpen te minimaliseren (*Arousal Cost Reward Model*; Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark, 1981). Dit suggereert dat het morele redeneren van kinderen over het bieden van hulp ook beïnvloed kan worden door andere overwegingen, zoals de persoonlijke kosten van het helpen.

In het derde hoofdstuk heb ik daarom bestudeerd of de groepscontext een additionele rol zou kunnen spelen in de morele overwegingen van kinderen om wel of niet te helpen. Enerzijds wordt binnen de *Social Cognitive Domain* theorie (Turiel, 1983) aangenomen dat morele principes universeel en onpartijdig zijn. Dit betekent dat men verplicht is tot helpen onafhankelijk van wie er hulp nodig heeft. Anderzijds betogen onderzoekers binnen de *Moral Foundations Theory* (Graham e.a., 2013; Haidt, 2012) dat moraliteit meer beslaat dan rechtvaardigheid en zorg voor anderen. Eén belangrijk additioneel moreel principe dat wordt beschreven is loyaliteit: trouw zijn aan en zorg dragen voor leden van je eigen groep. Als dit een algemeen principe zou zijn, zou het betekenen

dat de groepscontext wel degelijk een rol zal spelen in het oordeel van kinderen over helpen.

Kinderen kregen verhaaltjes voorgelegd waarin een Nederlands kind weigerde om een ander Nederlands kind of een Turks kind te helpen, of waarin een Turks kind weigerde een ander Turks kind of Nederlands kind te helpen. Uit de eerste studie beschreven in Hoofdstuk 3 kwam naar voren dat kinderen negatiever waren over hulpweigering tussen groepsgenoten (Nederlands-Nederlands of Turks-Turks) vergeleken met diezelfde weigering tussen kinderen die niet tot dezelfde etnische groep behoorden (Nederlands-Turks of Turks-Nederlands). Dit suggereert dat kinderen hulpgedrag in een groepscontext evalueren in termen van een algemeen geldende loyaliteitsnorm: 'je behoort kinderen van je eigen groep te helpen'. Dit betekent dat het redeneren van kinderen over helpen niet alleen wordt beïnvloed door de kosten van het helpen, maar ook door *wie wie* helpt.

SOCIALE IDENTITEIT

In Hoofdstuk 3 en 6 komt het tweede thema van dit boek aan bod: de rol van sociale identiteit in de wijze waarop kinderen redeneren over helpen. Sociale identiteit omvat 'het deel van het zelfconcept dat voortkomt uit lidmaatschap van een groep en de daarmee gepaarde emotionele betekenis van dat lidmaatschap' (Tajfel, 1981, blz. 255). Binnen de *Social Identity Theory* (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) wordt aangenomen dat mensen een positieve en onderscheidende sociale identiteit nastreven. Dit kan worden bereikt door de in-group in positieve zin te onderscheiden van en te vergelijken met een relevante out-group. Hoewel deze intergroepsdifferentiatie inderdaad bijdraagt aan een positieve sociale identiteit voor kinderen (Verkuyten, 2001, 2007), is er nagenoeg geen onderzoek waarin is gekeken naar de rol van sociale identiteit in positief gedrag zoals helpen. In dit boek heb ik twee aspecten onderzocht die mogelijk invloed uitoefenen op de mate waarin sociale identiteit een rol speelt bij het hulpgedrag van kinderen: saillantie en identificatie.

Ten eerste dienen sociale categorieën saillant, oftewel psychologisch relevant te zijn, ten einde invloed uit te oefenen op het denken van kinderen over intergroepsgedrag (Nesdale, 2004). Echter, niet alle groepen zijn even belangrijk en dus saillant voor kinderen. Kinderen brengen bijvoorbeeld veel tijd door in de klascontext waardoor deze groepsidentiteit wellicht een centrale rol speelt in hun denken over de sociale wereld. Terwijl hun etnische identiteit mogelijkerwijs juist een minder grote rol speelt in hun dagelijks leven. Dit betekent dat wanneer kinderen nadenken over het bieden van hulp

in een interetnische context, zij het mogelijk niet eens merken dat er een etnisch onderscheid wordt gemaakt. Ten tweede is het aannemelijk dat het belang dat kinderen hechten aan groepsgrenzen in hun oordelen over helpen wordt bepaald door hun identificatie met de in-group. Hoe meer belang er wordt gehecht aan hun etnische achtergrond, hoe sterker de motivatie om de eigen groep positief te beoordelen en te beschermen tegen dreiging (bijv. Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1999).

In studie 2 van Hoofdstuk 3 heb ik daarom kinderen eerst bewust gemaakt van hun etnische groep door hen vragen te stellen over het belang van hun etnische identiteit ("Ben je er trots op dat je Nederlands bent?") en namen te laten categoriseren naar etnische groep. Vervolgens werden dezelfde verhaaltjes als in studie 1 geëvalueerd. Uit de resultaten bleek dat kinderen die zich sterk identificeerden met de eigen groep, een out-group kind dat de in-group geen hulp bood, als negatiever beoordeelden dan een in-group kind dat een out-group kind niet wilde helpen. In tegenstelling tot studie 2, waar kinderen vooral in termen van groepsloyaliteit redeneerden, laten de resultaten van studie 2 dus zien dat wanneer de etnische groepscontext saillant is én identificatie met de groep sterk, kinderen een voorkeur voor de eigen groep hebben ('zij moeten ons eerder helpen dan wij hen').

Naast deze derde-persoonevaluaties van hulpgedrag, wordt kinderen in hoofdstuk 6 gevraagd naar hun eigen intentie om te helpen. Kinderen lazen een verhaaltje over een hulpvraag van een hypothetische leeftijdsgenoot die ofwel tot hun vriendengroep behoorde of juist niet. Deze groepscontext is vertrouwd voor kinderen en het was daarom te verwachten dat zij zich automatisch betrokken zouden voelen bij deze groepen. De resultaten bevestigen deze verwachting, want kinderen waren meer geneigd om leden van hun eigen groep te helpen dan kinderen die niet tot hun groep behoorden.

ZELFPRESENTATIE EN GROEPSNORMEN

Sociaal gedrag vindt over het algemeen plaats in een publieke context, in de aanwezigheid van andere mensen. Het is daarom van belang om niet alleen de relatie tussen helper en de ontvanger van hulp te onderzoeken, maar ook aandacht te besteden aan de context waarin het hulpgedrag plaatsvindt. In zowel hoofdstuk 4 als 5 onderzoek ik daarom hoe de aanwezigheid van anderen het denken van kinderen over intergroep-helpen beïnvloedt.

In hoofdstuk 4 onderzoek ik welke rol het groepslidmaatschap van omstanders speelt bij de wijze waarop kinderen denken over de verplichting om te helpen. Hoewel

er onderzoek is dat laat zien dat kinderen meer helpen in publieke situaties (Leimgruber, Shaw, Santos, & Olson, 2012), weten we nog niet in welke mate het uitmaakt *wie* er aanwezig is tijdens het helpen. Daarom heb ik kinderen gevraagd om te beoordelen in hoeverre een leeftijdsgenoot een out-group lid zou moeten helpen wanneer 'het publiek' zou bestaan uit vrienden van de helper of vrienden van de ontvanger, of wanneer er geen omstanders aanwezig waren. Uit de resultaten kwam naar voren dat kinderen verwachten dat het meeste hulp geboden zou worden wanneer vrienden van de helper aanwezig zijn in tegenstelling tot de situaties waarin vrienden van het slachtoffer, of geen omstanders aanwezig zijn. Dit resultaat komt overeen met het idee dat helpen een effectieve strategie is om een positieve reputatie binnen de eigen groep te verkrijgen, het signaleert namelijk dat je betrouwbaar en competent bent (*Competitive Altruism Hypothesis*; Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006; Roberts, 1998). Het opbouwen van een goede reputatie is, evolutionair gezien, vooral van belang ten opzichte van in-group leden, omdat onderdeel van een groep zijn de kansen op voortplanting en overleving vergroot.

De rol van reputatie en zelfpresentatie is verder onderzocht in hoofdstuk 5 waarin de publieke of privé hulp-intentie ('je moet later vertellen hoeveel je hebt gegeven' versus 'niemand komt te weten hoeveel je hebt gegeven') van Nederlandse kinderen is onderzocht ten aanzien van leeftijdsgenoten die deel uitmaken uit van de eigen nationale groep van het kind (Nederlands) of juist niet (Duits). In studie 1 werd kinderen gevraagd hoe zeer ze de in- of out-group wilden helpen wanneer de nood hoog was. Uit de resultaten bleek dat in de publieke context, kinderen de Duitse en Nederlandse kinderen evenveel wilde helpen. In de tweede studie heb ik zowel een situatie met hoge nood als met lage nood onderzocht. De resultaten voor de hoge-noodsituatie waren hetzelfde als in studie 1. Echter, de resultaten voor de lage-noodsituatie verschilden aanzienlijk van de context waarin de nood hoog was. In de publieke hulp situatie, wilden kinderen de out-group meer helpen dan de in-group. Dit was in het bijzonder het geval wanneer deze kinderen een positieve out-group norm waarnamen. Dit suggereert dat, net als in Hoofdstuk 4, kinderen belang hechten aan hun reputatie en helpen inzetten als een strategie om zichzelf positief te presenteren. Het helpen van een out-group kind valt namelijk meer op dan het helpen van een in-group kind, omdat het laatste overeenkomt met de normatieve verwachting (je behoort je eigen groepsleden te helpen), zoals gevonden in hoofdstuk 3. Omdat het helpen van de out-group waarschijnlijk meer opvalt, is het een effectieve manier om een positief beeld te scheppen van jezelf naar anderen.

EMPATHIE

Het vierde en laatste thema in dit boek betreft de rol van dispositionele empathie in hoe kinderen denken over hulpgedrag. Dispositionele empathie refereert naar de relatief stabiele neiging om de emoties en het perspectief van de ander te snappen, en met hem of haar mee te voelen. Onderzoek heeft laten zien dat meer empathische kinderen ook prosocialer zijn (bijv. Eisenberg, Zhou, & Koller, 2001; Malti, Gummerum, Keller, & Buchmann, 2009). Het onderzoek dat ik beschrijf in Hoofdstuk 5 sluit hierbij aan: meer empathische kinderen rapporteerden een sterkere intentie om te helpen. Deze sterkere intentie om te helpen was onafhankelijk van de behoefte van het slachtoffer, de context van het helpen en de groepscontext.

Een belangrijk doel van het bestuderen van intergroep-hulpgedrag bij kinderen, is dat onderzoeksbevindingen kunnen bijdragen aan vroegtijdige interventie om groeps-discriminatie bij hulpgedrag tegen te gaan. In het zesde hoofdstuk bestudeer ik dan ook of kinderen de in-group en out-group in dezelfde mate willen helpen wanneer zij worden gestimuleerd om empathisch te zijn naar de ontvanger van hulp. Kinderen kregen een verhaaltje voorgelegd en vervolgens werd aan de helft van hen gevraagd hoe zij dachten dat het slachtoffer zich zou voelen. De andere helft van de kinderen kreeg deze vraag niet en vormde de controlegroep. Deze 'interventie' bleek inderdaad succesvol. De controlegroep gaf aan iemand uit de eigen groep meer te willen helpen dan iemand die tot de out-group behoorde. De groep kinderen die echter eerst nadachten over hoe het slachtoffer zich zou voelen, gaf aan het in-group en out-group slachtoffer evenveel te wil-len helpen. Daarnaast bleek de interventie effectief voor zowel situaties waarin er sprake was van hoge nood, als lage nood. Dit suggereert dat wanneer empathie wordt opgewekt voor hulpbehoevenden, kinderen niet langer aandacht besteden aan de groep waartoe deze persoon behoort, maar meer letten op hoe hij of zij zich voelt.

CONCLUSIE

Dit boek geeft inzicht in hoe kinderen denken over helpen. Door gebruik te maken van inzichten uit de zowel ontwikkelingspsychologie als de sociale psychologie toont het onderzoek in dit boek aan dat het denken van kinderen over hulpgedrag veelzijdig is.

De belangrijkste boodschap van dit boek is dat kinderen zeer veel waarde hechten aan het helpen van anderen, maar dat hun denken daarover wordt beïnvloed door de

sociale- en intergroep-context waarin het helpen plaatsvindt. Het hier gepresenteerde onderzoek beslaat vier thema's. Allereerst laat mijn onderzoek zien dat kinderen helpen over het algemeen zien als een morele verplichting. Deze morele verplichting staat echter niet los van de groepscontext: kinderen oordelen dat groepsleden elkaar dienen te helpen. Ten tweede blijkt dat wanneer de groepscontext saillant is en kinderen zich sterk identificeren met hun groep, zij niet langer een algemene morele norm van loyaliteit hanteren, maar dat kinderen aangeven dat anderen vooral *hun* in-group dienen te helpen. Ten derde, blijkt dat ook de sociale context waarin het hulpgedrag zich afspeelt het redeneren van kinderen beïnvloedt. Wanneer er in-group omstanders aanwezig zijn, verwachten kinderen dat er meer hulp gegeven zal worden, vermoedelijk omdat dit een kans biedt voor de helper om zichzelf positief te presenteren. Daarnaast suggereren de resultaten dat het helpen van een out-group kind effectief is voor een positieve reputatie omdat het meer opvalt dan het helpen van een in-group kind. Ten slotte laten de bevindingen zien dat empathie positief samenhangt met de intentie tot helpen, en lijkt het stimuleren van empathie een effectieve strategie te zijn om discriminatie in hulpgedrag te voorkomen.

Het onderzoek in dit boek is een eerste stap om inzicht te verwerven in hoe kinderen denken over het helpen van anderen, en ik hoop dat dit aanzet tot verder onderzoek. Op de lange termijn geeft dit onderzoek zo de handvatten om solidariteit tussen groepen al vroeg in de ontwikkeling te stimuleren.

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Curriculum Vitae

Jellie Sierksma was born on October 14, 1983 in Apeldoorn (the Netherlands). She started her undergraduate studies in psychology in the fall of 2004 at the University of Amsterdam. During her undergraduate studies she visited the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid in Spain for 6 months as an Erasmus exchange student. After graduating in social psychology (cum laude), she enrolled in the social psychology master of the University of Amsterdam and graduated in the fall of 2009 (cum laude). After working at the Radboud University as a research assistant for 6 months, Jellie started as a PhD-candidate at the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER) as a member of the Interuniversity Center for Social Science Theory and Methodology (ICS) in the fall of 2010. As part of her PhD-project she spent two months at the University of Washington (UW) in Seattle, as a visiting scholar to work with Kristina Olson. As of March 2015, Jellie will be employed as a postdoctoral researcher at the Behavioral Science Institute at Radboud University Nijmegen.

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