

FROM A DIFFERENT VANTAGE: INTERGROUP ATTITUDES AMONG CHILDREN FROM LOW- AND INTERMEDIATE-STATUS RACIAL GROUPS

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Social groups are often described as hierarchically ordered in terms of social status. Intergroup research has generally focused on the relationship between the highest-status group and a single lower-status group, leaving relationships among nondominant groups relatively unexplored. Focusing on low-status Black and intermediate-status Colored (multiracial) South African elementary schoolchildren, we examined the attitudes members of these two groups hold toward one another and toward a range of other locally salient groups, as well as their wealth-related stereotypes and preferences. Results indicated that both Colored and Black children implicitly preferred Colored over Black, and also strongly associated Colored (vs. Black) with wealth, suggesting a powerful tendency to internalize the status quo. However, Black children exhibited stronger preferences for other social groups, as well as stronger preferences for wealth in general, possibly as a means of compensating for their devalued status in the domain of race. Implications for theories of intergroup attitudes are discussed.

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Research on the development of intergroup attitudes has been a mainstay of developmental psychology. Most of this work has focused on members of high-status majority groups such as Whites in North America and the United Kingdom (see reviews in Aboud, 1988; Cristol & Gimbert, 2008), among whom the normative trend (now confirmed via meta-analysis; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011) is for favoritism for the high-status ingroup to appear early (around ages 3–4), peak a few years later (around ages 6–8), and then undergo a gradual decline through adolescence. This pattern is at least in part attributable to children becoming aware of norms prohibiting the expression of race bias and therefore self-censoring (e.g., Nesdale, 1999; Rutland, Cameron, Milne, & McGeorge, 2005), and indeed such decline is not consistently observed on more implicit forms of attitude measurement (e.g., Dunham, Chen, & Banaji, in press).

Researchers have called attention to two primary causal factors in the production of these biases, namely, a tendency to prefer ingroups (Brewer, 1979; Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992) and a tendency to prefer higher-status groups (Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton, & Hume, 2001; Mullen et al., 1992). However, for members of high-status racial/ethnic majorities such as White Americans, ingroup preference and high-status preference are confounded, making it difficult or impossible to evaluate the relative roles of these two factors in the development of intergroup attitudes. One strategy for disentangling them is to study members of nondominant groups, such as racial or ethnic minorities, for whom a tendency to prefer high-status groups might conflict with a tendency toward ingroup preference (e.g., Aboud & Skerry, 1984; Dunham, Baron, & Banaji, 2007; Newheiser & Olson, 2012). While results across this body of work are somewhat mixed, the modal pattern in such populations is for ingroup preference to be weaker or even entirely absent, suggesting that ingroup preference can be effectively “canceled out” by preference for higher status. A prominent explanation for this pattern is provided by System Justification Theory (SJT; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). SJT assumes that, in addition to a tendency to positively evaluate the self and the group, individuals also have a subtle, perhaps even nonconscious, motive to support and justify the status quo, even when that status quo does not favor the self or the group. This motive leads members of lower-status groups to subtly favor higher-status groups even at the expense of their ingroup.

It is important to note that most research in this area has focused on a direct comparison between the lower-status group and a dominant, higher-status group. But the intergroup terrain in many cultural settings is of considerable complexity, consisting of a more nuanced intergroup hierarchy in which groups can also occupy a middle ground between the poles of high and low status. Much less is known about the intergroup dynamics that occur between the groups that *do not* occupy a privileged cultural position, such as intergroup attitudes among members of lower- and more intermediate-status groups. In the present work, we address this gap by investigating intergroup attitudes among 6- to 12-year-old children from two nondominant groups, one of which was low status and the other intermediate status, with the specific aim of examining how children’s emerging understanding of the status hierarchy affects their perceptions of the other nondominant group.

There are several reasons why comparisons between members of low- and intermediate-status groups might be important (for more detailed discussion, see Caricati, 2012; Caricati & Monacelli, 2010; Craig, DeHart, Richeson, & Fiedorowicz, 2012). At a broad sociological level, such comparisons speak to an oft-noted

paradox of intergroup relations: Members of different nondominant groups often have substantive overlap in terms of the economic and political policies that would benefit them, and they often suffer discrimination from similar sources, yet do not generally seek political unity, and indeed they sometimes engage in scapegoating or conflict that makes such unity difficult to achieve (e.g., Craig et al., 2012; Easterly & Levine, 1997; Ehrenreich, 1990; Horowitz, 1985; for the case of South Africa, our focus in the present work, see Lieberman, 2002, 2003). Why might this occur? Views grounded in social comparison (e.g., Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Festinger, 1954; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) provide one explanatory framework. Specifically, for members of nondominant groups, comparisons with a dominant majority tend to be psychologically problematic *upward comparisons*, in which the ingroup fares poorly on the dimension of comparison (e.g., on economic or educational dimensions, African Americans on average compare poorly to White Americans). By contrast, the disadvantaged ingroup generally fares better when compared to other disadvantaged groups, making such comparisons more psychologically favorable.

A similar point can be reached via perspectives emphasizing realistic conflict among groups (Jackson, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) by pointing out that, in an entrenched social hierarchy, struggling for or seeking to maintain an *intermediate* position might be a more realistic possibility than taking the dominant position. SJT offers a complementary perspective, suggesting that a multitiered status quo ought to be justified and internalized by all its members irrespective of their position within it, although SJT does further postulate that this process should be most pronounced at the implicit level (Jost et al., 2004). Taken together, these views motivate the prediction that members of nondominant groups might invest considerable psychological resources in positively differentiating themselves from other nondominant groups, making the attitudes and beliefs that result from such comparisons of significant theoretical interest in understanding the dynamics of the total social hierarchy.

Relatedly, different forms of social comparisons might occur at different positions along the social hierarchy. Social identity theorists have often emphasized the motivated nature of social comparison, and in particular the fact that social perceivers seek comparisons that are beneficial to the ingroup (Branscombe et al., 1999). This places members of lower-status or stigmatized groups in a bind, because almost by definition most social comparisons will not favor them. However, one strategy that is open to such perceivers is to shift the ground of comparison by focusing on other intergroup contrasts, in particular those in which they are less obviously lacking in status (Caricati & Monacelli, 2010; Hogg, 2000). In the case of our investigation, this could lead members of lower-status racial groups to strategically favor their ingroup on dimensions other than race. For example, members of lower-status racial groups might show stronger intergroup preferences with respect to other dimensions of social categorization, such as their school, neighborhood, or nation.

These issues are particularly poignant when we turn our attention to development. Knowledge of the relative status of culturally prominent social groups must be acquired through experience, raising the possibility of observing the internalization of social status in vivo. More specifically, a developmental approach immediately raises the question of *when* and *by what means* children identify and internalize status disparities. Intuitively, we would expect that this internaliza-

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tion would be a gradual developmental process occurring throughout early and middle childhood, periods over which children are known to become increasingly interested in social and intergroup dynamics (e.g., Eisenberg, Losoya, & Guthrie, 1997). However, especially when investigations have focused on implicit forms of social evaluation, this prediction has not generally been supported; instead, children as young as 3 to 4 appear to show adultlike implicit intergroup attitudes (e.g., Dunham et al., in press; but cf. Degner & Wentura, 2010). Cross-cultural research and research focusing on group dynamics that are more complex than a single high-status-to-low-status intergroup contrast allow us to better assess the universality of these observed trends.

In particular, in the current investigation we attempt to tie emerging group evaluations to children's concrete knowledge of and views about social status. After all, one would expect status to affect children's attitudes only if children in fact encode the status divides that characterize groups in their society. Unfortunately, there are as yet few established ways to measure status consciousness directly. To our eye, the most promising avenue is to interrogate children's attitudes and beliefs about wealth (e.g., Leahy, 1981, 1983), perhaps the most visible and salient marker of status. This approach has begun to show promise in related work (Newheiser & Olson, 2012; K. R. Olson, Shutts, Kinzler, & Weisman, 2012), and we pursue it here, asking both whether and when children associate wealth with some racial groups more than others, and whether they express strong preferences in favor of the wealthy (irrespective of race). If wealth is highly liked *and* highly associated with a particular outgroup, status-related positivity could naturally come to be associated with that outgroup. Preliminary evidence for this already exists, in the form of evidence that, for children from lower-status groups such as African Americans (Newheiser & Olson, 2012) and South African Blacks (Newheiser, Dunham, Merrill, Hoosain, & Olson, under review), increased liking for wealth predicts increased implicit preference in favor of the dominant *outgroup* (Whites). However, this question has been investigated only with respect to a relatively distal comparison between a low-status and high-status group; the more proximal comparison between lower-status and intermediate-status groups has not yet been examined.

THE CURRENT WORK

The present research adopts a developmental strategy, focusing on low- and intermediate-status children in the elementary school years, and in particular on the attitudes of low- and intermediate-status groups toward one another. Of course, this project depends on identifying groups that occupy relevant status positions. Here we turned to South Africa, a society that has a largely formalized division into three major racial groups, namely, White, Black, and Colored (although Indian is sometimes considered a fourth major group, and there also several smaller populations of other racial and ethnic groups in the country; Statistics South Africa, 2011). The Black African numerical majority (constituting 80% of the population; Statistics South Africa, 2008) occupies a low-status position, while Whites, despite being a numerical minority (9% of the population), occupy a high-status position, and "Colored" individuals (also constituting 9% of the population) occupy an intermediate-status position between these two extremes. A three-tiered status

hierarchy is clearly apparent in economic data, which show that Whites' annual household income is nearly four times that of Coloreds and over seven times that of Blacks (Statistics South Africa, 2008), discrepancies that far exceed those found in the United States, where White Americans make approximately 1.7 times that of Black Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). It is important to note that a detailed characterization of broad racial categories is always a challenge given the significant heterogeneity present within each such category (something by no means exclusive to South Africa; consider the great variation in ethnic backgrounds making up groups such as "Whites" in the United States). Nonetheless, our goal was not to characterize finer-grained ethnic attitudes but to explore attitudes toward the three broad racial categories with which most South Africans identify.

The Colored category is perceptually similar to the "multiracial" category in the United States. Recent population-genetic analysis suggests that this category resulted largely from the early encounter of European and other African males with Khoisan females, although it encompasses a wide range of ethnic variation even beyond this, including people with substantial "Cape Malay" and Indian heritage (Quintana-Murci et al., 2010). Unlike the somewhat ad hoc "multiracial" category in the United States, however, the Colored category is a group with which nearly all members explicitly identify. The Colored category also has elements of a distinct cultural heritage linked, at least in the popular imagination, to unique cultural forms (e.g., accent, traditional foods), and it has been the nexus of efforts to secure independent political representation, as well as distinct rights and restrictions during and since the Apartheid period. It is also apprehended early in development; previous research conducted in South Africa has illustrated that children as young as age 4 differentiate Colored from both Black and White (K. R. Olson et al., 2012). Blacks in South Africa also stem from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, such as Xhosa and Zulu, but they are categorized by the South African state as Black and frequently self-identify as such (often in addition to ethnic or tribal affiliations).

Our investigation builds on recent research exploring the development of intergroup attitudes in South Africa. Shutts, Kinzler, Katz, Tredoux, and Spelke (2011) reported on the race attitudes of Black and Colored children from diverse environments, as well as Black children who live in a majority Black township, finding preference for White over Black and Colored over Black among the former children but not the latter (who showed no clear racial preferences in any direction). In addition, K. R. Olson and colleagues (2012) reported similarly graded preferences (i.e., White over Colored over Black), and also found that children tended to associate wealth with White more than Black or Colored, and with Colored more than Black. However, our inquiry goes beyond this prior work in critical ways. First, the prior studies involved only self-report preference measures, and indeed no published work has yet explored South African children's *implicit* or automatic attitudes, which often diverge markedly from self-reports, and in particular have generally shown a remarkable degree of developmental stability (for reviews of implicit attitude research with children, see Dunham, Baron, & Banaji, 2008; Olson & Dunham, 2010). Furthermore, our focus on SJT also motivates predictions regarding potential disconnects between implicit and explicit evaluations, in that SJT argues that the internalization of the prevailing status hierarchy will be more pronounced at the implicit level. We can thus examine whether this disconnect holds in the South African context and, if so, whether it is present in young children or instead emerges more gradually.

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Second, ours is the first large sample of both Black and Colored children each drawn from homogenous groups with little direct contact with racial outgroup members, allowing a closer focus on how broad conceptions of cultural status influence children who do not have much direct experience with members of other racial groups. In particular, the Black children we worked with are from extremely poor and nearly 100% Black township communities with almost no contact with other racial groups. Third, prior studies have not been sufficiently powered to rigorously assess *differences* between racial groups (with cells for some race groups populated by as few as 10–15 children). These factors make the current investigation a source of novel data regarding the developmental unfolding of implicit and explicit group-related attitudes among nondominant group members in South Africa.

Considerations from SJT and our review of the prior literature motivate several specific hypotheses. In terms of implicit attitudes, we expected to find evidence of status internalization, such that implicit preferences would generally favor the higher-status Colored group. Of particular interest was whether this preference would be present in both populations or only in the relatively higher-status Colored children. We also expected that attitudes and stereotypes regarding wealth, and in particular stereotypes associating wealth with Colored over Black, would predict decreased implicit ingroup liking in lower-status Black children (following Newheiser & Olson, 2012; Newheiser et al., under review). In terms of self-reported attitudes, most generally we expected a similar pattern of graded preferences that has been reported by prior work in South Africa, with more positivity associated with Whites than Coloreds and Coloreds than Blacks (Shutts et al., 2011). However, we also expected lower-status Black children to shift the basis of their intergroup comparisons, favoring their ingroup even more than Colored children on dimensions that offered a more straightforward possibility of self-enhancement (Caricati & Monacelli, 2010). We therefore predicted greater ingroup bias with respect to other social categories, including gender, nation, and neighborhood, a possibility we dub “compensatory parochialism.”

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

A total of 253 children completed the study. Six participants (four Black and two Colored children) did not complete the Implicit Association Test (IAT) portion of the experiment either because the IAT program failed or the power to the computers went out, resulting in 247 available participants for analyses focusing on that measure. Participants were aged between 6 years 4 months (76.3 months) and 12 years 10 months (154.1 months), with a mean age of 9 years 1 month (109.6 months; $SD = 16.7$ months). The sample included 103 Black children (mean age = 110 months) and 150 Colored children (mean age = 109 months) and was balanced with respect to gender (124 girls and 129 boys). Colored children were recruited from two majority-Colored elementary schools (approximately 85% Colored and 15% Black students) in a primarily Colored township outside of Cape Town. Colored participants were generally from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (working class or lower), and discussion with school staff suggested that contact with

Whites was limited. Black participants were recruited from an all-Black school in a Black township also outside of Cape Town, and were extremely poor by U.S. standards, generally living in informal housing such as shacks, with widespread (>50%) unemployment in the community. Extensive discussions with school staff strongly suggested that Black children had little or no experience outside the 100% Black township, little or no direct contact with Whites, and minimal contact with Coloreds. This is by no means an unusual situation in contemporary South Africa; one recent large-scale survey estimated that as much as 45% of the South African Black adult population has no contact (including casual contact) with Whites (Durrheim & Dixon, 2010).

MEASURES

We employed a range of measures to capture children's self-report attitudes toward South Africa's predominant racial groups, their attitudes toward other salient social groups, and their attitudes and stereotypes related to wealth. We also included a measure of implicit intergroup attitudes, the IAT (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), focusing on our primary contrast of interest, attitudes toward Blacks versus Coloreds.

Explicit Attitude Measures. To assess liking for social groups prominent in the broader culture, children indicated their relative preference for all three primary racial contrasts in South Africa (i.e., Whites vs. Blacks, Coloreds vs. Blacks, and Whites vs. Coloreds). To capture other meaningful intergroup attitudes for school-age children, we also measured relative preference for South Africans versus foreigners, children in participants' own school versus children in other schools, boys versus girls, and people in participants' own neighborhood versus people in other neighborhoods. The response scales contrasted liking for the two groups and included a midpoint of no (i.e., equal) preference (e.g., 1 = *I like Whites much better than Blacks*; 2 = *I like Whites a little better than Blacks*; 3 = *I like Whites and Blacks equally*; 4 = *I like Blacks a little better than Whites*; 5 = *I like Blacks much better than Whites*). Prior to analysis, all items were coded such that higher scores indicated greater liking for the higher-status group over the lower-status group for the race contrasts (i.e., Whites over Blacks, Whites over Coloreds, and Coloreds over Blacks), and for an ingroup over an outgroup in the other cases (i.e., South Africans over foreigners; kids in one's own school over kids in other schools; people in one's own neighborhood over people in other neighborhoods; and one's own gender over the other gender). We employed these relative liking measures to facilitate comparisons with the remaining measures (see following), which were also measures of relative preference.

Implicit Association Test. We used the IAT (Greenwald et al., 1998) to assess the extent to which children implicitly associated Coloreds and Blacks with positive and negative valence. The IAT is a categorization task that estimates the relative strength of association between pairs of concepts. In the present study, the IAT assessed the speed and accuracy with which children paired Coloreds and Blacks with "good" and "bad" attributes. The greater the speed and accuracy with which one pairs Colored with good attributes and Black with bad attributes, versus the opposite pairing, the greater one's implicit bias favoring Coloreds over Blacks.

The IAT procedure we employed differed from the traditional procedure in two ways (following Newheiser & Olson, 2012). First, to avoid confounds with reading ability, all stimuli were pictures rather than words. Colored and Black stimuli were faces of female and male Colored and Black children taken in the Greater Cape Town area, which were checked by Colored and Black South African adult informants to ensure that they were easily categorized in the expected way with high consensus. "Good" stimuli were pictures of positive objects and events (a birthday present; flowers; puppies; a portion of ice cream) and "bad" stimuli were pictures of negative objects and events (a house on fire; a spider; a snake; a car crash). Second, to avoid task demands that may be onerous for young children, we reduced the length of the procedure by removing practice trials for the combined blocks and by decreasing the number of trials in each block. The latter change is in line with recent work with shortened versions of the IAT, which has found substantively similar results despite reduced task length among both adult (Sriram & Greenwald, 2009) and child respondents (Cvencek, Greenwald, & Meltzoff, 2011; Cvencek, Meltzoff, & Greenwald, 2011).

Experimenters asked children to respond to each stimulus picture as quickly and accurately as possible by pressing one of two keys, indicated by stickers on the keyboard. The IAT consisted of five blocks in which the task was to categorize the following stimuli: (a) Colored and Black faces (10 trials); (b) pictures of good and bad things (10 trials); (c) Colored faces and good things, and Black faces and bad things (or Black faces and good things, and Colored faces and bad things; 20 trials); (d) Colored and Black faces, now on opposite sides than in the first block (10 trials); and (e) Black faces and good things, and Colored faces and bad things (or Colored faces and good things, and Black faces and bad things; 20 trials). The order of the critical Blocks 3 and 5 was counterbalanced, as was the location (right vs. left) of the faces and the good and bad stimuli.

The IAT was scored using the improved scoring algorithm (Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003), which yields an effect size estimate (the *D* score, a variant of Cohen's *d*) for each participant. The *D* scores represented the difference in mean response latency between Blocks 3 and 5, divided by their pooled standard deviation. In the present study, *D* scores above zero reflected an association of Coloreds with positive valence and Blacks with negative valence (i.e., an implicit bias favoring Coloreds, the higher-status group). An analysis of split-half reliability of the IAT (something not previously reported with child participants) suggested moderate reliability, $r(215) = .55$, $p < .001$, although somewhat lower than observed with adult data (e.g., $r = .69$ in Bosson, Swann, & Pennebaker, 2000).

Wealth Attitudes and Stereotypes. Because past research has suggested that attitudes toward wealth may be partly constitutive of intergroup attitudes, especially among members of lower-status groups (Newheiser & Olson, 2012; Newheiser et al., under review), we developed new measures to assess (a) children's explicit preference for wealthy (vs. poor) children ("wealth liking"), and (b) the extent to which children associated Coloreds and Blacks with wealth and poverty ("wealth matching").

In the wealth liking task, modeled on a similar task with identical stimuli from prior work (K. R. Olson et al., 2012), children were presented with six trials displaying pictures of two children of the same race (i.e., two trials presented two

White children, two trials presented two Black children, and two trials presented two Colored children), along with pictures of houses and cars. The experimenter introduced the task as follows: "In this game, we're going to see some kids and the things they have. You'll see the kids and the houses they live in or the cars they ride in, and then I'm going to ask you who you like more." For each trial, the houses or cars appeared first, followed by the two children, and the experimenter asked, "See this house [car]? See this other house [car]? See these kids? This kid lives in this house [rides in this car]. This kid lives in this other house [rides in this other car]. Which kid do you like more?" Within each pair, one house or car was traditionally upper class and the other was lower class, whereas the two children were matched for both gender and race. Thus, children's responses indexed the extent to which they tended to prefer a child associated with wealthier (vs. poorer) possessions. The final score on this measure reflected the percentage of trials in which children reported liking a wealthier child more than a poorer child (possible range: 0–100).

The wealth matching task (adapted from K. R. Olson et al., 2012) probed children's stereotypical expectations regarding associations between race and wealth. Specifically, children were presented with six pairs of Colored and Black children, together with upper-class and lower-class houses and cars. Children were asked to indicate which of the two children in each pair lived in which of the two houses (or rode in which of the two cars). Thus, children's responses indexed the extent to which they explicitly associated Coloreds and Blacks with being wealthy or poor. The final score on this measure reflected the percentage of trials in which children followed the stereotypical association between wealth and race in South Africa, that is, matched the Black child with the lower-class house or car and the Colored child with the upper-class house or car (possible range: 0–100).

PROCEDURE

Written consent from parents or legal guardians was secured in advance of the school visits, and child assent was provided prior to testing, both following identical procedures to those used in developmental research in the United States. Children completed the study individually in a private room at their schools, instructed by a South African experimenter of the same race as the child. Although other members of the research team (who were White, Black, and Colored) were occasionally present, participants' primary interactions and all parts of the actual study were conducted with a same-race experimenter. Children first completed the IAT on a laptop computer, then completed the wealth liking and wealth matching tasks, and finally responded to the explicit liking items. The order in which the wealth liking and wealth matching tasks were presented was counterbalanced. In addition, within each task, children were presented with the trials in one of two randomly determined orders. To ensure that children assented to participate, experimenters made sure children knew they were free to discontinue the study at any point.

RESULTS

EXPLICIT ATTITUDE MEASURES

Nonrace Items. One participant did not provide a response to any explicit attitude item except the neighborhood item. We tested for the presence of explicit ingroup preference in the full sample by comparing mean scores on each scale to its midpoint (i.e., 3, which reflected equal preference for the two groups in each comparison). This analysis revealed robust ingroup preference on all non-race-related items, all $t_s > 9.5$, $p_s < .001$, $d_s > 0.74$. These preferences were also observed when we considered Black and Colored children independently, $t_s > 4.1$, $p_s < .001$, $d_s > 0.34$. Thus, both Black and Colored children preferred South Africans to foreigners, children from their own school to children from other schools, people from their own neighborhood to people from other neighborhoods, and their own gender to the other gender (see Figure 1, left panel).

To examine differences by racial group and by age, we regressed race and age on each preference measure, retaining each predictor and their two-way interaction where significant. Taking each in turn, this analysis suggested no age-related effects on national (South Africa versus foreign) attitudes, $F_s < 2.4$, $p_s > .12$, but a main effect of race group did emerge, with stronger preferences among Black (vs. Colored) participants, $F(1, 251) = 25.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .09$. There was a negative relationship between age and school preferences, with older children showing weaker preferences for their school, $F(1, 248) = 14.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$; there was also a significant effect of race, with stronger own-school preferences among Black (vs. Colored) children, $F(1, 248) = 16.22$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$, but no interaction between race and age, $p = .75$. A similar pattern was revealed for own-gender preferences; younger children, $F(1, 249) = 4.29$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .02$, and Black children, $F(1, 249) = 5.56$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .02$, showed stronger own-gender preferences, with no interaction between these predictors, $p = .13$. Finally, the same pattern also appeared with respect to neighborhood preferences, with younger children, $F(1, 249) = 9.10$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .04$, and Black children, $F(1, 249) = 16.80$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$, showing stronger own-neighborhood preferences; there was no interaction, $p = .37$. Thus, in line with our "compensatory parochialism" hypothesis, we consistently observed stronger preferences among Black (vs. Colored) children, and these effects were substantial (expressed in Cohen's d : own gender, $d = 0.31$; children from own school over other schools, $d = 0.52$; people from own neighborhood over other neighborhoods, $d = 0.52$; South Africans over foreigners, $d = 0.66$). In summary, Black children showed considerably stronger intergroup bias on items not related to racial groups, and preferences gradually declined with age, consistent with past meta-analytic findings of gradual reductions in self-reported prejudice (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011).

Race Items. On the race-related items, one participant did not provide a response to the Blacks versus Coloreds item, and another participant did not provide a response to the Coloreds versus Whites item. Given the expectation of effects in different directions, we first examined each race group separately (Figure 1, right panel). Black children preferred Black to Colored whereas Colored children preferred Colored to Black, $t_s > 3.7$, $p_s < .001$, $d_s > 0.37$, demonstrating that children

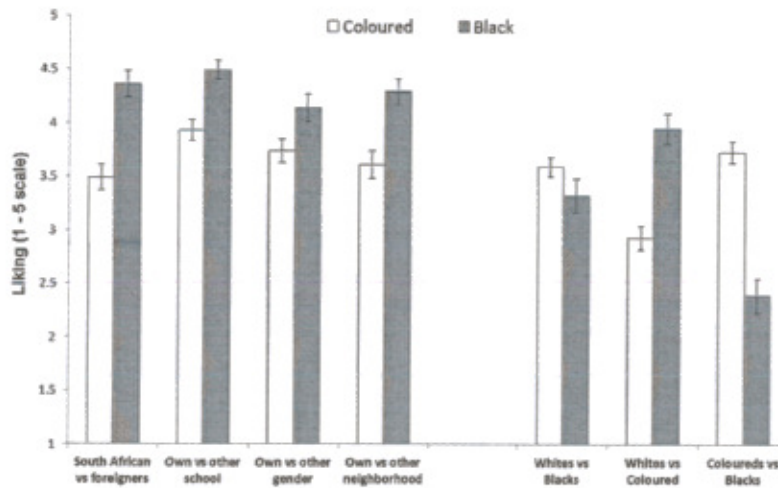


FIGURE 1. Mean explicit liking scores. Higher scores indicate a greater explicit preference for the higher-status group in the case of race (Whites over Blacks; Whites over Coloureds; Coloureds over Blacks) or the ingroup in the case of other comparisons (South Africans over foreigners; children in one's own school over children in other schools; one's own gender over the other gender; people in one's own neighborhood over people in other neighborhoods). Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean. Dashed horizontal line represents the scale midpoint of no preference.

from both groups preferred their own racial ingroup to a contrasting nondominant racial outgroup. However, internalization of the status hierarchy was clearly evident in other preferences. Colored children showed no preference with respect to White versus Colored, $t(149) = 0.64, p = .52$, and clearly preferred White over Black, $t(149) = 6.53, p < .001, d = 0.54$. By contrast, Black children expressed a clear preference for White over Colored, $t(101) = 6.68, p < .001, d = 0.66$, but also expressed a modest preference for White over their own Black ingroup, $t(102) = 2.07, p = .04, d = 0.20$. Thus, the high status of White was apparent both in children's direct contrasts between their own ingroup and White, in which ingroup preference did not appear, and in the contrast between another outgroup and White, in which White was consistently preferred.

We again examined age-related changes by regressing age, race, and their interaction term on each attitude measure, and retaining predictors where significant. For White over Black preference, only the main effect of age was significant and negative, $F(1, 250) = 23.90, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$, indicating that preference for White grew weaker with age for all children. The nature of this change is clear when we consider younger versus older children, as determined via a median age split. Younger children showed robust preference for White over Black, $t(132) = 6.58, p < .001, d = 0.57$, but older children showed no clear preference, $t(119) = 0.98, p = .33, d = 0.09$. Thus, younger children's self-reported preferences were more strongly linked to the prevailing social hierarchy than were self-reported preferences of older children.

Analysis of Colored versus White attitudes revealed only the expected main effect of race, with stronger White over Colored preferences among Black than Colored children, $F(1, 250) = 31.79, p < .001, \eta^2 = .11$. However, analysis of Black versus Colored preferences suggested a more complex pattern, with a significant interaction between race and age, $F(1, 247) = 5.19, p = .024, \eta^2 = .02$. To decompose

this effect, we examined the effect of age separately in each population. For Black participants, the effect of age was significant and negative, indicating that preferences became more pro-Black with age, $F(1, 101) = 4.67, p = .033, \eta^2 = .04$. However, there was no effect of age among Colored participants, $F(1, 146) = 0.82, p = .42, \eta^2 = .00$, who were consistently Colored-favoring. Focusing on Black children, we again examined preferences in older and younger participants via a median age split. Younger participants showed no clear preference in either direction, $t(55) = -1.43, p = .16, d = 0.19$, but older participants showed a robust Black over Colored preference (i.e., an ingroup preference), $t(46) = -5.03, p < .001, d = 0.73$.

IAT EFFECTS

Following standard exclusion criteria for working with the IAT (Greenwald et al., 2003), we eliminated participants with too many extremely rapid trials (generally indicative of rapid, non-task-related key presses) or with too many errors overall. Because our sample included a large number of children with little familiarity with computers, we relaxed the standard error rate criterion of 30% to 45%. Applying these criteria resulted in the elimination of 29 participants, leaving us with 218 participants (133 Colored and 85 Black children). Analyses employing the more traditional exclusion criterion yielded substantively similar conclusions but resulted in substantially greater data loss (an exclusion of 84 participants).

Overall, IAT scores were significantly greater than zero, indicating implicit Colored over Black preference, $M = 0.18, SD = 0.48, t(217) = 5.43, p < .001$. This preference was present both among Black children, $M = 0.12, SD = 0.52, t(84) = 2.18, p = .032$, and among Colored children, $M = 0.21, SD = 0.45, t(132) = 5.38, p < .001$. The apparent difference between Black and Colored children did not reach significance, $t(216) = 1.32, p = .19$. Thus, both groups of children showed an implicit bias favoring the higher-status racial group. Notably, for Black children, this finding indicates a significant implicit bias favoring their racial *outgroup*, an unusual pattern across the intergroup literature, and one that we did not observe in self-reports of explicit racial attitudes. As with several prior examinations of implicit intergroup attitudes (reviewed in Dunham et al., 2008), no effects of age were observed on implicit preferences, $p = .36$.

WEALTH LIKING AND WEALTH MATCHING TASKS

Data for the wealth liking and wealth matching tasks are displayed in Figure 2. Overall, children exhibited very strong liking for the wealthy, preferring the wealthier child on 84% ($SD = 22\%$) of trials, which differed from chance expectations (50%), $t(252) = 24.20, p < .001, d = 1.52$. Children also associated wealth substantially more strongly with Coloreds than with Blacks, matching Colored with wealth on 90% ($SD = 20\%$) of trials, again differing from chance expectations, $t(252) = 31.90, p < .001, d = 2.01$.

Preliminary analyses of these two measures suggested two order effects. First, when the wealth matching task followed the wealth liking task, the tendency to match Colored with wealthy items was somewhat lower (95% vs. 85%, $t(251) = 4.36, p < .001$). This is likely because the wealth liking task presented examples of

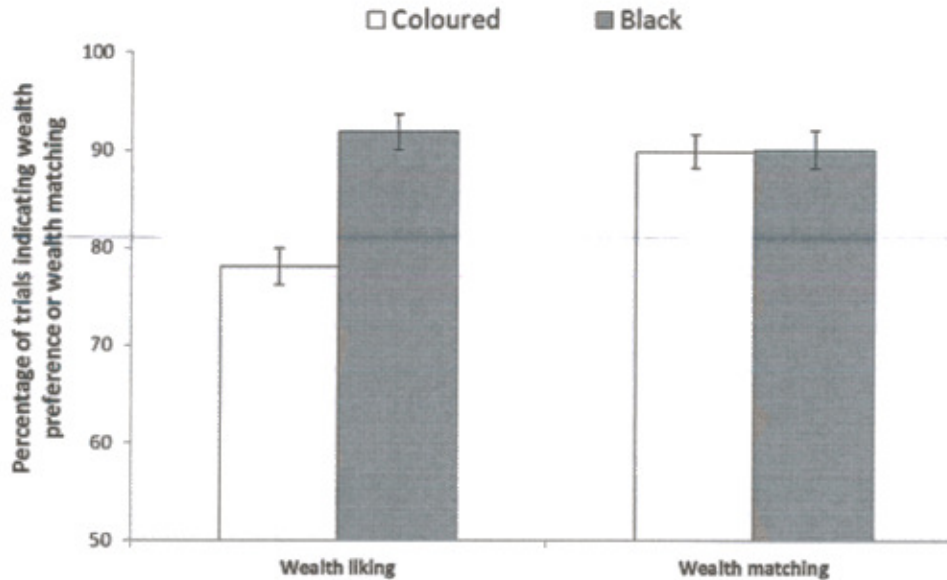


FIGURE 2. Percentage of trials with children indicating a preference for the wealthy over the poor (wealth liking task) or matching Blacks with poor and Coloreds with wealth (wealth matching task). Note. Error bars reflect standard errors of the mean; chance responding (50%) is at the origin of the figure.

children from both racial groups paired with wealth-related items, such that when it came first, children were more willing to pair Black children with wealthy items. Second, there was a marginal difference across the two randomly determined trial orders on the matching task (92% vs. 88%, $t(251) = 1.78$, $p = .08$). However, because neither of these factors interacted with children's race, we did not consider them further.

To examine age effects, we regressed age and race on each dependent measure. Beginning with wealth matching, the analysis did not reveal any significant effects, suggesting that wealth stereotype knowledge was consistent across both racial groups and across the age range tested, all $F_s < 0.06$, $p_s > .8$. However, there was a sizable difference in expressed preference for the wealthy, with Black children ($M = 92\%$, $SD = 18\%$) expressing stronger preference than Colored children ($M = 78\%$, $SD = 23\%$), revealed in a significant main effect of race, $F(1, 248) = 27.22$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$, although preference for the wealthy remained statistically significant among Colored children considered independently, $t(149) = 15.06$, $p < .001$. This main effect was qualified by an interaction between race and age, $F(1, 248) = 4.84$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .02$. We unpacked this interaction by examining the effect of age independently in each population. There was no effect of age among Black participants, $p = .82$, but there was a significant negative effect of age among Colored participants, $F(1, 147) = 7.66$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2 = .05$. Younger Colored participants (identified via median age split) favored the wealthy in 83% of trials ($SD = 19\%$), while older Colored participants favored the wealthy in 73% of trials ($SD = 26\%$). However, preference for the wealthy was significant and strong in both age groups, $t_s > 7.7$, $p_s < .001$. Of primary interest, then, was the strong association between wealth and race that was consistent across the two racial groups surveyed, and a tendency

to prefer the wealthy to the poor, which was stronger among Black children than Colored children, and declined somewhat with age among Colored children.

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG MEASURES

Overall correlations between measures are presented in Table 1. As would be expected from prior investigations (e.g., Aboud, 1988; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011), and as we have discussed here, age was generally negatively associated with various forms of explicit intergroup bias, in particular with the preference for White over Black and preference for one's own school, although also with several other intergroup bias items. This trend has generally been interpreted as the emergence of an explicitly egalitarian moral view, although one that does not necessarily relate to less conscious forms of bias (Dunham et al., 2008), a finding supported here by the fact that implicit attitudes were not associated with age. However, it is important to note that, for Black participants, a reduction in White over Black preference actually entails *increasing* preference for the racial ingroup, while the age-related reduction in other forms of preference entails a reduction in ingroup preference, a finding to which we will return.

More generally, it is interesting to observe the largely weak correlations across tasks. This suggests a perhaps surprising degree of psychological independence among wealth attitudes and stereotypes, different forms of self-reported intergroup preference, and implicit preferences for Colored over Black. In this light, past research (Newheiser & Olson, 2012; Newheiser et al., under review) has reported that liking for wealth predicted implicit (but not explicit) bias in favor of the outgroup among Black American and Black South African children, and we were interested to see whether we would also observe that pattern. We explored several regression models predicting implicit bias via age, wealth liking, wealth matching, and other self-reported attitude responses, but the relationships observed in those past studies were not apparent here. Of course, our measure of liking for wealth was different (based on liking for specific children associated with wealth in our study, as compared to a Likert-type scale item in prior research), and those prior studies focused on implicit attitudes contrasting the dominant, high-status group with the Black ingroup, as opposed to our comparison with another lower-status group, both of which could explain our different findings. We return to these issues in the Discussion.

DISCUSSION

We investigated South African Black and Colored children, examining their explicit and implicit attitudes toward one another, their explicit attitudes toward a range of other groups, and their attitudes and race-related stereotypes toward wealth. In terms of explicit race-related attitudes, we found evidence of both ingroup preference (in that both Black and Colored children preferred their ingroup over another nondominant group, i.e., over Colored and Black, respectively) and status internalization (in that neither group showed ingroup preference when contrasting it with the higher-status White outgroup). The relatively lower status of Black participants was also evident, as Black participants actually expressed explicit preferences for White over Black.

Our results also speak to the observation that lower-status groups sometimes hold negative views of each other, despite common goals and the potential utility

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TABLE 1. Bivariate Correlations Between All Study Variables. Correlations for Black children are Above the Diagonal; Correlations for Colored Children are Below the Diagonal

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. IAT D scores	—	.08	.15	.08	.14	.04	.19+	.11	-.04	.07	-.16
2. Whites vs. Blacks	-.06	—	.24*	.46***	.15	.26**	.03	-.01	.15	.18+	-.34**
3. Whites vs. Coloreds	.02	.10	—	.07	.29**	.28**	.20*	-.00	-.10	-.02	-.20*
4. Coloreds vs. Blacks	-.03	.03	.09	—	.04	.02	-.10	-.07	.18+	.05	-.21*
5. South Africans vs. foreigners	.09	.03	-.08	-.03	—	.11	.11	.17+	.08	.05	-.16
6. Own school vs. other schools	-.06	.14+	.05	-.03	-.00	—	.10	.07	.00	-.14	-.29**
7. Own neighborhood vs. other	-.15+	.06	.09	-.13	.10	.12	—	.22*	-.14	-.09	-.15
8. Own vs. other gender	.09	-.06	.02	.09	.09	.14+	.08	—	-.16	-.03	-.03
9. Wealth liking	.03	.10	.14+	-.00	.09	.23**	.13	.19*	—	.17+	.02
10. Wealth matching	-.04	.20*	-.04	.12	.08	.19*	-.02	.01	.09	—	-.02
11. Age	.04	-.24**	-.00	.07	-.06	-.22**	-.21**	-.21*	-.22**	-.01	—

IAT = Implicit Association Test. Note: $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

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of making common cause: Both groups preferred Whites, the group responsible for the creation and promotion of legally-sanctioned racial inequality in South Africa, over the other outgroup, a group that (like their own) suffered and continues to suffer the consequences of that inequality. In sum, these results support our primary hypothesis, namely, that we would find evidence of status internalization among members of these two disadvantaged groups. Indeed, when assessed at the implicit level, the degree of such internalization was equivalent across the Black and Colored groups, who showed equally strong implicit Colored over Black preference.

Several broad age trends were also visible. As has been observed in the past (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011), we found that self-reported preferences for most ingroups declined with age. However, we also observed *status-consistent* attitudes declining in strength with age, which in certain cases entailed an increase in ingroup liking. Most notably, with age both Black and Colored children moved from White over Black preference to no clear preference in either direction. Similarly, younger Black children showed no clear preference when comparing their ingroup to the higher-status Colored outgroup, but older children did prefer their own group to Colored. There have been some past suggestions with regard to African-American children that racial identity development in middle to late childhood spurs increasingly positive explicit views of the ingroup (Phinney, 1990), and this could explain the shift we observed in the present work. A somewhat different interpretation is that younger children's attitudes are more dominated by their awareness of status disparities than are older children's, an intriguing possibility for future investigation.

Interestingly, unlike their explicit counterparts, which revealed the presence of both ingroup preference and status internalization, implicit attitudes were predicted largely by status, with both Black and Colored participants implicitly preferring Coloreds to Blacks. For Colored participants, this pattern implies relatively consonant implicit and explicit attitudes, with preference for Colored over Black on both types of measure. But for Black participants, this pattern instead speaks to an increased implicit-explicit dissociation, with explicit ingroup preference gradually growing stronger in the face of consistent implicit preference for the intermediate-status Colored outgroup. Of course, these findings need to be interpreted with some caution given debates about what the IAT actually measures, and most critically whether it might underestimate ingroup preference in lower-status groups by contaminating attitude estimates with extrapersonal cultural associations that do not reflect personal attitudes (M. A. Olson, Crawford, & Devlin, 2009; M. A. Olson & Fazio, 2004). To our mind, however, the more interesting question is whether these "extrapersonal" associations, as cognitive content stored by the individual, play a role similar to "personal" attitudes in terms of organizing other cognitions and behaviors, a matter still very much undecided (for a thorough discussion of these issues, see (Nosek & Hansen, 2008a, 2008b)).

While Black participants showed a rarely observed *outgroup preference* at the implicit level, one of our most striking findings is the fact that Black participants actually showed *stronger* self-reported ingroup preferences for a range of other contrasts, in particular their own school, neighborhood, gender, and country, with all of these being medium or larger effects. This pattern suggests a strategic means of compensating for a stigmatized identity in the race domain, namely, emphasizing and coming to more strongly prefer other dimensions of social identifica-

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tion (e.g., Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002), supporting our prediction of what we termed *compensatory parochialism*. In its strongest form, this interpretation would imply that, at the individual level, *outgroup* preference in a domain in which the ingroup is particularly disadvantaged should be related to *ingroup* preference in other domains. Our data (Table 1) provide only weak directional support for this contention at this point, but we suggest that it is an important avenue for more targeted future research.

As we alluded to earlier, both Black and Colored participants showed clear knowledge of the wealth-related status differences that divide their two groups, matching Colored children with wealthy items and Black children with poorer items (see also K. R. Olson et al., 2012). Furthermore, both Black and Colored children expressed strong preferences for wealthy children over poor children, suggesting an avenue by which discrepant intergroup attitudes could form: strong associations between wealth and higher-status groups coupled with strong preferences for higher-status individuals (who tend to be members of higher-status groups). However, here too we observed an interesting between-group effect, with considerably stronger preference for the wealthy among Black children. This phenomenon is importantly distinct from compensatory parochialism, given that our Black participants were not themselves wealthy (and indeed would have been on average less wealthy than our Colored participants). It is, however, interpretable via System Justification Theory, in which status differences among racial groups can be seen as justified to the extent that wealth differences are both deserved and morally and evaluatively relevant. That is, for children who find the trappings of wealth highly desirable, and thereby prefer wealthy children (who will most often be non-Black, something our participants clearly understood, as shown by our wealth matching task), preference for the wealthy becomes a justification for preferring White over Black (i.e., for the existing status differences). That this effect was stronger among Black than Colored children suggests that this system-justifying tendency exerts increasing effects as the status disparity increases, such that children lower down the status hierarchy are increasingly given to appeal to the seemingly intrinsic value of wealth as a justification for differences in intergroup preferences.

Some prior research has found that attitudes toward wealth predict implicit preference for a higher-status *outgroup* among Black American (Newheiser & Olson, 2012) and South African (Newheiser et al., under review) children, and we expected to observe that effect in the present study as well. However, this prediction was not supported. There are at least two reasons why a different pattern might have emerged in the current study. First, we did not assess children's implicit attitudes toward the dominant group (vs. the ingroup), but rather the comparison was with another disadvantaged group. It might be that liking for wealth is uniquely predictive of comparisons that involve the highest-status group in the social hierarchy, which is most uniquely associated with wealth and the other trappings of power, especially in South Africa (see K. R. Olson et al., 2012), where, as a reminder, Whites have an annual income of four times that of Coloreds. It could also be that the wealth disparity has to be quite large to directly affect attitudes, such that it appears with the distal comparison with very high-status Whites, but not the more proximal comparison with intermediate-status Coloreds. A second, somewhat more prosaic, possibility concerns measurement. While our measure of wealth liking did reveal interesting between-group differences (in that Black par-

ticipants reported greater liking for wealthy children than did Colored children), variability was limited among Black participants, who on average preferred the wealthy child more than 90% of the time. Indeed, 53% of our total sample, and 75% of our Black participants, expressed a preference for the wealthy child on all trials. This introduces potential ceiling effect issues, and we may therefore have lacked the requisite variability to detect covariation with implicit preferences. Future work incorporating other measures could fruitfully address this possibility.

The present results are broadly consistent with prior research from South Africa, which found that children of all three racial groups reported explicit preferences for White over Black and for Colored over Black (K. R. Olson et al., 2012; Shutts et al., 2011). However, our (older) Black participants expressed explicit preferences for Black over Colored, something not reported in prior work. This difference is most likely attributable to our extremely homogenous Black sample, most of whom had little or no contact with members of other racial groups. We suspect that the increased interracial contact in more heterogeneous settings provides Black children with abundant opportunities to more directly experience the status divide between Black and Colored, supporting the emergence of more Colored-favoring preferences, something that did not occur in the more racially isolated Black children tested in the present work.

In conclusion, our data add important nuance to the overall picture of how intergroup bias emerges in hierarchical social environments. Notably, ingroup preference continues to appear across intermediate levels of status disparity, even when individuals are well aware of the status differences (as in Black children's attitudes toward Colored children). Our data also suggest another somewhat perverse consequence of occupying a highly disadvantaged position on the status hierarchy: a tendency to shift toward more compensatory parochialisms in a way that could impede efforts towards political unity and common purpose. Indeed, this tendency appeared in two distinct respects. First, members of the lower-status group manifested increased preferences in the nonrace domain, in this case in favor of one's school, neighborhood, gender, and country. Second, on explicit attitude measures, members of both nondominant groups actually preferred the high-status, historically oppressive White group over other lower-status groups (i.e., Black children preferred White over Colored, and Colored children preferred White over Black); and Black children implicitly preferred the intermediate-status group (Colored) over their own lower-status group. Thus, our findings are broadly supportive of a general psychological tendency to internalize, sometimes in subtle ways, an existing and often unjust status hierarchy.

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