

# Stereotypes and Prejudice in Conflict: A Developmental Perspective

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## Introduction

One of the richest and diverse areas in the literature in social sciences deals with stereotypes and prejudice. Paradoxically, relatively limited interest has been devoted to questions such as when stereotypes and prejudice emerge, what is their developmental course, and what are the mechanisms that determine their content and complexity. Despite this observation, it has to be noted that in recent years an increase in theoretical and empirical interest in the acquisition and development of stereotypes and prejudice in children is evident. The accumulating results indicate that developmental trajectories of stereotypes and prejudice are influenced by affect, by cognitive and personality development, and by their social context.

Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford (1950) were the first to suggest that stereotypes and prejudice are rooted in childhood experiences. Influenced by psychoanalytic thinking, they proposed that hostility originally experienced toward harsh parents is projected or displaced toward other people. The easiest targets for rejection or hate are disadvantaged out-groups. At that time Allport (1954) and later Black-Gutman and Hickson (1996) suggested that social knowledge is acquired through social learning, identifying mechanisms such as imitation, modeling, or association. However, most studies showed that children's attitudes were not related to their personal environment: parents, teachers, and peers (Aboud, 2008).

Following the pioneering theoretical ideas, the first empirical studies were conducted. The most famous are Clark and Clark's (1947) doll studies and later the work of P.A. Katz (1976; Katz, Shon, & Zalk, 1975).

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## Theoretical Views Explaining the Development of Stereotypes and Prejudice

For a long time the examination of the developmental trajectory of stereotypes and prejudice has drawn on two major theories: socio-cognitive theory (SCT) (Aboud, 1988) and social identity development theory (SIDT) (Nesdale, 1999; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001). SCT suggests that due to limited cognitive capabilities, affective influence (fear), an egocentric social perspective, and early emotional attachments to individuals perceived as similar to the child, preschoolers prefer their own ethnic group and express dislike toward other ethnic groups. As cognitive development advances, at the age of 7–8, views of people shift to more objective criteria; thus, cognitive maturation encourages social tolerance.

Ample findings indicate that in multiethnic nonviolent social contexts, children aged 3–4 from dominant groups are capable of ethnic differentiation, expressing liking for the in-group or even dislike for the out-group. When they reach the ages of 7–9, stereotypes and prejudice decline (Aboud, 1988; Bigler & Liben, 1993; Black-Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Doyle & Aboud, 1995; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001). It follows that 10-year-olds and above should manifest a further reduction in biases. However, studies that included children aged 10 and up reported a renewed elevation in prejudice (Black-Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Rutland, 1999; Teichman, 2001; Vaughan, 1987). Thus, additional factors to cognitive development affect pre- and early adolescents and reintroduce social biases.

Another challenge to SCT emerged from findings showing that the developmental trajectories of ethnic preferences of majority and minority children differ. Irrespective of age, majority children prefer their own group, whereas young minority children tend to prefer the majority group, and only later their preference shifts to their own group (Aboud, 1988). Since the developmental changes in ethnic attitudes proposed by the SCT are based on universal patterns of cognitive development, SCT cannot account for the difference between same-aged children who belong to different social groups. Furthermore, findings for minority children in conflict indicated that even 12–13-year-olds did not express preference for their in-group (Teichman & Zafrir, 2003). Again it seems that factors other than cognitive maturation influence the development of children's intergroup repertoires.

The second major developmental theory—SIDT (Nesdale, 1999; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001)—is based on social identity theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Drawing on the tenets of SIT, SIDT attributes major importance to the experience of individuals as group members and to their *social identity*. According to SIDT, individuals develop as group members; thus, many of their experiences, thoughts, feelings, and actions occur within a group framework. They categorize groups, identify with the groups to which they belong, and integrate them as a part of their self-identity. Moreover, individuals perceive and treat others according to the knowledge they acquire about the relationship between their group and any given out-group. Subsequently, they engage in social comparison, and being motivated by a basic need to enhance their collective self-esteem, they favor

the in-group and devalue out-groups. Importantly, SIT and SIDT highlight the fact that social self-enhancement stems from collective experiences and is not influenced by age. Indeed, empirical evidence confirms that even a superficial newly established group identity (in a minimal group paradigm), children and adults favored in-groups and discriminated against out-groups (Bigler, Jones, & Lobliner, 1997; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961; Vaughan, Tajfel, & Williams, 1981).

Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, and Griffiths (2004) offer a developmental paradigm that applies to children aged 2–7 of dominant groups in multiethnic communities. The developmental sequence is comprised of four stages that progress from *lack of differentiation* between social groups (age 2–3) to *ethnic prejudice*, reached at the age of 6–7, when children not only prefer their own group but are also capable of disliking or even hating out-groups. According to this paradigm, the transition to out-group rejection depends on advances in the development of cognitive abilities, social knowledge, and motivation for self-enhancement. Nesdale and his associates did not study children below the age of 5. Thus, their full paradigm still needs empirical testing, but already now it may be said that existing findings indicate that capabilities for social differentiation and social preferences appear very early in the development.

One example for early expression of social biases emerges from studies conducted in contexts of conflict. The idea that conditions of conflict accelerate the development of prejudice was mentioned by many (Augoustinos & Rosewarne, 2001; Brewer, 1999; Cameron, Alvarez, Ruble, & Fuligni, 2001). This qualification acknowledges that the cognitive capabilities required for the development of inter-group categorization and preferences emerge early in life and their activation depends on the context. Indeed, findings obtained in Northern Ireland (Cairns, 1987; Connolly, Smith, & Kelly, 2002) and in Israel (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Diesendruck & haLevi, 2006) indicate that in a context of an intractable conflict, preschoolers develop social categories and children as young as 2 and 3 years old express in-group preference and even out-group rejection.

Irrespective of conflict, findings that social preferences are expressed very early in human development received important confirmation from studies performed with preverbal infants (Hamlin, Wynn, & Bloom, 2007). Even more surprisingly studies with nonhumans (rhesus macaque) (Mahajan et al., 2011) revealed that the monkeys differentiated between in- and out-group faces, displayed greater vigilance toward faces of out-groups and, as humans, favored in-group members. The researchers conclude "... that the architecture of the mind that enables the formation of these biases may be rooted in phylogenetically ancient mechanisms."

The findings reported for very young children and prehumans constitute another challenge for the developmental paradigms (SCT and SIDT) suggesting that the development of prejudice depends on cognitive capabilities that emerge at pre-school age or even after the age of 6. In an attempt to reconcile the difficulty regarding the evolution of prejudice as well as the previously mentioned challenges (reemergence of prejudice at the age of 10–12 and differences between majority and minority children), Bar-Tal and Teichman (2005) examined the development of stereotypes and prejudice in several studies in the age span of 2–17. To my knowl-

edge, this series of studies constitutes the widest perspective on the development of social perception and attitudes. The studies were performed in Israel that represents a socialization context of a violent political conflict. Accounting for the influence of conflict on children's social perception and attitudes and highlighting theoretical thinking related to *personality development*, Bar-Tal and Teichman (2005) and Teichman and Bar-Tal (2008) proposed an alternative theory regarding the development of intergroup repertoires. The new theory, referred to as an integrative developmental-contextual theory (IDCT), points out the simultaneous influence of factors acknowledged by SCT and SIDT and calls attention to additional factors such as affect, personal development, and context. The recent version of the theory is presented in the following section.

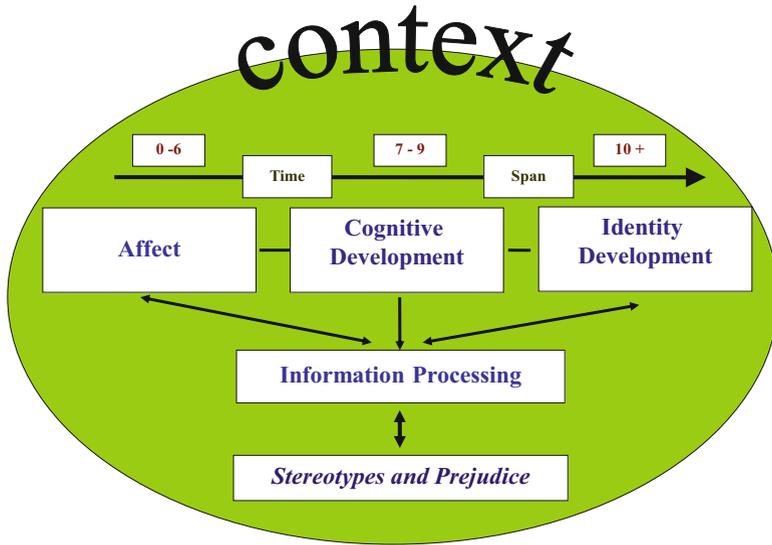
### **Integrative Developmental-Contextual Theory (IDCT)**

IDCT proposes that social psychological intergroup repertoires (SPIRs) that include stereotypes and prejudice are products of simultaneous influence of multiple factors in a given social context. This proposition is derived from Marcia's (1998) theoretical expansion of Erikson's (1968) developmental model. Marcia (1998) stressed the cumulative progression of experience along the life-span. Thus, although developmental experiences and issues are stage specific and critical stages are defined, all developmental issues have precursors and successors that unfold through life. Advancing from stage to stage, individuals face new stage-related issues that are experienced with association to the accumulated experiences and resolutions from previous stages (vertical progression). The accumulated attainments and experiences from each stage are the foundation for the next developmental stage (horizontal progression). In Marcia's words: "...each stage has its preparatory predecessors in the form of partial resolutions occurring before that stage's ascendancy. As well, each stage, once its ascendancy has been reached and the psychological issues resolved, contributes its strength to the resolution of succeeding stages" (p. 32).

As for factors influencing the development of SPIRs, IDCT acknowledges the role of cognitive development and socially embedded self-enhancement motivation, highlighted by SCT and SIDT. However, instead of focusing on any specific factor, IDCT includes both and traces their influence within a developmental perspective. Along with cognitive and social identity development, IDCT acknowledges affect, *personal* self-identity and motivation for personal self-enhancement, and social context as factors exerting important influence on the development of SPIRs.

Applying the cumulative schema to the development of SPIRs, IDCT proposes that though having critical stages, all the factors involved in the development of SPIRs (affect; cognitive and identity development, personal and social; and context) are active all along the developmental span. However, in different stages, a different factor has the potential for acquiring salience and major influence, but due to contextual conditions that also exist through the development or previous experiences, it does not always do so and other factors may overshadow it. Thus, in infancy

## IDCT: Developmental Model



**Fig. 1** A representation of the integrative developmental-contextual theory (IDCT)

the main factor is affect, in school age, cognitive development, and in pre- and early adolescence, social and personal identity development.

Proposing that at any given time SPIRs are determined cumulatively by multiple factors expands the theoretical perspective to a wider developmental span than that covered by SCT and SIDT. On the younger end of the developmental trajectory, IDCT relates to children from the time they can use language, namely, ages 2–3, all the way through adulthood. This theorization suggests a differential approach, in which the specific configurations of the different factors vary by age and context, thus influencing information processing and being influenced by it. The different configurations determine specific developmental trajectories for each case. This theoretical framework is depicted in Fig. 1.

### **Factors Identified by IDCT as Influencing the Development of Social Biases**

An examination of the proposed factors involved in the development of stereotypes and prejudice will demonstrate that IDCT helps to explain findings not explained by SCT or SIDT, such as the expression of out-group negativity among very young children, the maintenance of prejudice among 7–9-year-olds, the reemergence of prejudice during pre- and early adolescence, as well as differences between majority and minority children.

*Affect:* Aboud (1988) suggested that in infancy and young age, the basic reactions to people are determined by the emotions they arouse (positive/negative). However, Aboud (1988) also stated that “in the social domain affective processes dominate from 3 to 6 years and then decline” (p. 119). Contrary to this position and closer to Allport’s view, IDCT proposes that negative affect (i.e., anxiety, threat, or fear) produces negativity toward the individuals or groups that arouse such feelings and create distance from them. The implications for a context of conflict suggest that early in life children absorb the affective atmosphere related to the dangerous out-group. These affective consequences interfere with information processing and reappraisal of experiences, thereby causing individuals to overlook new inputs and to judge out-group members by relying on expectations or stereotypes (Wilder & Simon, 2001). Thus, irrespective of developmental progression in other domains (cognitive, identity development), affect may stabilize beliefs and attitudes established at a very early age and may instigate, maintain, or perpetuate them (Silverstein & Flamenbaum, 1989). Indeed, the fact that through the life-span emotions play an important role in interpersonal and intergroup perceptions and responses was reported in many studies (Bar-Tal, 2001; Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1994; Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The continuous influence of affect is shown in Fig. 1.

*Cognitive development:* Since Aboud’s (1988) contribution to the understanding of prejudice in children, cognitive development is acknowledged as an important determinant of prejudice. However, cognitive skills guide social perception and attitudes much earlier than proposed by SCT and SIDT. As previously mentioned, the view that infants possess cognitive capabilities needed for acquiring social knowledge, developing a theory about their environment, and expressing it in preferences and rejections is based on ample empirical evidence. Apparently, infants are aware of stimuli in their surroundings; they process information, absorb, encode, analyze, categorize, and remember their inanimate and social environment (Hamlin et al., 2007; Hirschfeld, 1996; Sherman, 1985; Wellman & Gelman, 1992; Younger, 1993). Later in development, contextual inputs (information), experiences (affect), and the desire to preserve consistency and continuity (Stangor & Ruble, 1989) reinforce and stabilize the initially formed categories, beliefs, and attitudes associated with them.

Integrating affect and cognition as underlying factors in the development of SPIRs provides the developmental background for Allport’s (1954) definition of prejudice as “an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization” (p. 9). The *early established* antipathy and faulty generalizations constitute the foundation for the primary intergroup categorization and biases. These biases continue to develop and depending on the level of threat in the context gain power or decline during preschool age. Accordingly, in a context of an intractable conflict, one would not expect 8–9-year-olds to express moderation toward the enemy.

From preadolescence (age 10 and later), abstract and hypothetical thinking begin to develop, providing the ground for valuing justice, dignity, equality, and human rights. All of these contribute to the advancement of social tolerance (Kohlberg, 1969; Selman, 1980). However, as with children aged 8–9, advance in cognitive development represents a *potential* contribution, the realization of which depends

on the context in which they grow up and on the other factors involved in the influence on the development of SPIRs. A factor of major importance for this age is identity development.

*Self-identity:* Extending the theoretical thinking about the development of social biases beyond school age directs attention to self-identity. IDCT refers to self-identity as an integrated identity, including personal identity, social identity, and the self-esteem related to each.<sup>1</sup> Importantly, self-identity as well begins in infancy (Amsterdam, 1972) and proceeds through the developmental span (Marcia, 1998). This suggests that in early development, along with affective and cognitive influences on SPIRs, experiences related to self-esteem may influence the development of children's intergroup biases. Considering minority children, it is plausible that, due to the salience of identity and its social meaning, this factor influences their intergroup responses earlier than it does for majority children, motivating them to express out-group preference.

Irrespective of specific environments, during pre- and early adolescence (ages 10–14), identity formation and consolidation become the main developmental task (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1998). The insecurity aroused by the processes involved in the integration of the different aspects of identity increases the need for self-reassurance. In this stage the status of the groups to which one belongs, the drive for self-enhancement identified by SIT and others (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1998), and intergroup comparisons which reflect on self-esteem become highly relevant. It follows that in pre- and early adolescence, the advancement in cognitive development or affective experiences alone cannot account for social biases.

In multiethnic communities as well as in a context of intractable conflict, it was found that, compared with younger children and occasionally with adolescents, pre- and early adolescents manifest an increase in in-group preference and out-group rejection (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Black-Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Teichman, 2001; Teichman, Bar-Tal, & Abdolrazeq, 2007; Vaughan, 1987). These findings support the contention that issues and motivations activated during early adolescence influence intergroup biases. Likewise, findings reported by Nesdale and Brown (2004) show that children aged 9 and 12 were more sensitive to a negative representative of their *in-group* than were younger children. The fact that this reaction was more pronounced at the ages of 9–12 may be attributed to the threat that the negative, unlikable in-group member posed for the group members' self-esteem.

A more direct examination of the association between self-worth, in-group favoritism, and out-group rejection may be performed, comparing intergroup responses of participants with high and low personal or collective self-esteem (Crocker, Blaine, & Luhtanen, 1993). In the child and adolescence literature, few studies have examined issues related to self-esteem. As in the adult literature (for a review see Long & Spears, 1998), these studies have yielded inconclusive results. Studies that examined 6–9-year-olds reported that high-self-esteem participants expressed higher in-group favoritism (Bigler et al., 1997; Gagnon & Morasse,

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<sup>1</sup>Other aspects of self-identity, i.e., gender identity, religious identity, family identity, etc., are also parts of the integrated identity but are not considered in this chapter.

1995), whereas results reported for participants, aged 10–12, reported this tendency for low-self-esteem participants (Sasson, 2004, reviewed by Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). Possibly, while younger children manifest self-enhancement or self-maintenance, older children experiencing stronger self-doubts manifest self-protection (Crocker et al., 1993). Focusing on collective self-esteem, Teichman et al. (2007) reported that irrespective of age, participants from the highest collective self-esteem group displayed highest intergroup biases. More importantly, the highest biases were expressed by the 10–12-year-olds.

The often reported manifestation of biases by pre- and early adolescents offers support for the relationship, suggested by IDCT between identity-related needs during these stages and intergroup responses. However, further examination of this proposition is required, and more empirical evidence to support it will be presented.

*Social Context:* As reflected in Fig. 1, affective experiences and cognitive and identity development are embedded in a *social context* and nourished by it through information processing. The information processed regarding any group, its representatives, or events related to them is molded by the group's social knowledge and shared beliefs that include categorization of social groups and their stereotypical definitions. Thus, most often new information is processed in a way that reinforces the existing feelings, concepts, and motivations related to the in- and out-group and the cycle never stops.

In an attempt to identify the factors within the social context that influence social knowledge, Tajfel and Turner (1986) noted the importance of the status of groups, legitimacy and stability of the status relationships, and the nature of the boundaries between them, mainly permeability. Others added factors such as group norms (Brown, 2000), intensity of group identification (Brewer, 1999), and the threat that groups pose for each other (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Sherif, 1966; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). By now, the influence of most of these factors on social perception has been examined and confirmed in studies with children (Augoustinos & Rosewarne, 2001; Bigler et al., 1997; Nesdale et al., 2005).

Conflictual intergroup relationships exert intensive and lasting effects on personal and intergroup reality. These effects are of special interest for the study of the development of stereotypes and prejudice. On the personal level a conflict determines the level of threat, anger, hostility, sense of danger, uncertainty, and hardship (affect). Conflict accelerates information processing and thus the acquisition of specific linguistic expressions, concepts, and knowledge while at the same time controls others (cognitions) (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Cairns, 1987; Connolly et al., 2002; Diesendruck & haLevi, 2006). Finally, conflict intensifies awareness regarding group boundaries and distinctiveness, namely, the collective and personal identification (identity) (Brewer, 1999), and commitment (Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1999).

On the intergroup level, conflict determines the content and intensity of the intergroup repertoire. It institutionalizes the norms guiding the behavioral intentions and actual behaviors toward the adversary, the status ascribed to the involved groups, the type of boundaries between them, and as a result the level and type of contact between their members. Usually, the information disseminated in societal channels presents the in-group as pursuing moral goals, while the out-group is demonized (Bar-Tal, 1989;

Sande, Goethals, Ferrari, & Worth, 1989). In creating this dichotomy aggression, violence, and animosity become salient topics in the social discourse.

The circular interaction between the personal and contextual levels contributes to the creation of the most critical aspect of the social context for intergroup perspective, namely, the body of shared beliefs. These beliefs are constructed and shaped through the cumulative experiences experienced and information processed within each society. Shared beliefs are expressed in products such as tangible and intangible symbols, scripts, habits, rules, narratives, concepts, and knowledge relating to one's group and other social groups. Together these products represent the shared psychological repertoire (SPIR) that provides meaning, definitions, rules of practice, and codes for intergroup relationships (Teichman & Bar-Tal, 2008).

SPIRs are transmitted to the younger generation by socialization agents. Children absorb and process information related to shared beliefs, and it shapes their perspectives on their social world, including their views about the nature of the relationships between their group and other groups within or outside their society (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998; Nasie, Chap. 3). With time the repertoire becomes rigid and resistant to change.

In a study reported by Bar-Tal and Teichman (2005), Israeli preschoolers mentioned television as the main source of information about the adversary out-group. Parents, particularly mothers, were mentioned in the second place and only then teachers. The fact that television was mentioned in the first place suggests that the information reaching children exposes them to the violent aspects of the conflict and to the different sentiment toward in- and out-group. It does not come as a surprise that children who grow up in conflict express stereotypes and prejudice about the adversary in a younger age than children growing up in a multiethnic society express toward minorities.

Socialization is reflected not only in content of beliefs and the affect which accompanies them but also in the structure of in- and out-group images, i.e., their level of complexity and the level of homogeneity attributed to members of the two groups. It is plausible to suggest that promoting simplification and generalizations about any out-group advances stereotypical thinking about it. New findings regarding complexity of images displayed by Jewish Israeli children will be presented in the next section. These findings provide evidence for the fact that a conflict encourages generalized images and, again, the tendency of pre- and early adolescents to stand out in favoring the in-group.

## **Complexity of Images of Jews and Arabs Revealed by Jewish Israeli Youth**

The perceptual differentiation of objects of social attitude was studied with adults extensively. Its relationship to in-group preference was repeatedly confirmed (Linville, 1982; Linville & Jones, 1980). Livesley and Bromley (1973) were the first to examine complexity with children. Complexity refers to quantitative

differences in perception or attributions to in- and out-group representations. As such, it may be considered an implicit measure for the assessment of differential group perceptions. Livesley and Bromley (1973) asked 7–15-year-olds to attribute traits to eight figures that differed by age. Results indicated that the *number* of the attributed traits used increased with age and that same age figures (in-group) were attributed more traits than different age groups (out-groups). This line of research was adopted with a different measurement methodology based on human figure drawings (HFDs). It was proposed that complexity may be inferred from the number of items drawn in a figure. Indeed, as hypothesized, participants drew in-group figures (a Jew) with more items than out-group figures (an Arab). Interestingly, the critical age in which differentiation in complexity emerged was early adolescence (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Teichman, 2001).

A recent study performed with Jewish Israeli children and adolescents aged 8–16 continued to examine different aspects of complexity of mental images of “a Jew” and “an Arab” (Teichman, Stein, & Shechner, [in preparation](#)). The images were assessed using HFDs that were systematically scored for complexity, but in this study the drawings were followed by questions regarding social knowledge about the two groups reflected in the attributed name and profession to the drawn figures. The scoring of the names and professions was quantitative reflecting the variety of names and professions associated with each group. A name or profession mentioned by many participants received a low complexity score, while those mentioned rarely received a high complexity score. An examination of the developmental range revealed that with regard to the in-group age, differences were almost defused and all age groups presented members of their in-group (Jew) as more complex. For the out-group (Arab), the critical age at which differences in complexity emerged was early adolescence. Namely, after acquiring a certain level of complexity related to names or professions at the age of 8–9, at the age of 10–12, it regresses to a lower level. The regression suggests motivational influence to present the out-group members with a lesser complexity. It is suggested that in-group favoritism expressed explicitly in complexity is even more conspicuous than favoritism expressed in content variables. Although prevention and intervention are beyond the scope of this chapter, these findings imply that introducing more complexity to social representations before the onset of adolescence along with interventions related to the stabilization of personal and social self-esteem may facilitate preventions aiming at reducing the development of stereotypes, prejudice, or racism.

## **Summary of the Developmental Paradigm of Social Biases Proposed by IDCT**

The theoretical and empirical evidence presented in this chapter is based on studies that examined children in a broad developmental range from preschool age through different stages of adolescence. Children reacted to in- and out-group stimuli, with explicit investigator determined traits and feelings, or to free-response implicit

measures. They were assessed on content and structure variables. The findings suggest that in multiethnic social contexts, social biases emerge at the age of 3–4 and preschoolers express only positive in-group biases. For school-age children, the leap in cognitive development and conflict-free personal development leads to a reduction in social biases that reappear in pre- and early adolescence. Moderation may appear in late adolescence when cognitive and identity development reach maturity and consolidation.

For children who grow up in a context of conflict, due to the interplay of emotional, cognitive, identity-related, and contextual influences, from very early age forward, children absorb threat associated with the out-group representing the adversary. The threat accelerates social categorization and the emergence of positive in-group *and* negative out-group biases. The continuous exposure to negative and threatening information reinforces these biases. In terms of progress in age-related trajectories, two different treks are plausible: Conflict could either amplify or defuse the conflict-free developmental pattern. Amplification would suggest an intensification of the developmental trends outlined above; diffusion suggests a commonly shared age-free social bias overpowering developmental, age-related influences. The findings reviewed for the Israeli context (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005) reveal with few exceptions for the in-group a tendency for a diffused positive preference and for the out-group a zigzagging pattern in which biases are acquired early in preschool age, occasionally drop at school age, and reemerge in the onset of adolescence. In late adolescence both reduction and acceleration were observed. The available findings suggest that as proposed by IDCT an integrative approach that accounts for the simultaneous influence of multiple factors offers a framework for a comprehensive look at the developmental trajectory of social biases.

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