Chapter 4
Intergroup Helping: How Do Children See It?

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When 18-month-old children see an adult unsuccessfully reach for a pen which (s) he accidentally dropped on the floor, most of them will get up and hand over the pen. When an adult wants to put magazines into a cabinet, but is unable to open the doors of that cabinet, many children will walk towards the cabinet and open the doors (Warneken & Tomasello, 2006). It is quite miraculous that children who can barely walk or talk spontaneously offer such help. In addition, they do so in the absence of rewards and they are willing to help, even if this means leaving a fun toy behind (Warneken & Tomasello, 2008), or when they have to overcome obstacles (Warneken, Hare, Melis, Hanus, & Tomasello, 2007). This suggests that children are sensitive to the needs of others, and that they are motivated to help from a young age (Eisenberg, 1992). In other words, it clearly appears that children have a proclivity to do good.

At the same time, however, there is good reason to expect that children might not be helpful to everyone. There is a wealth of developmental and social psychological evidence showing that children's behaviour not only depends on their psychological dispositions and abilities, but also on the intergroup context (see Bennett & Sani, 2004; Levy & Killen, 2008, for reviews). Most of that research has focused on negative aspects of intergroup relations such as prejudice and discrimination. Raabe and Beelman (2011) conducted a meta-analysis of 113 studies, and they concluded that children as young as age 3 express a bias towards their ethnic ingroup over their ethnic outgroup that increases until the age of 7

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(Raabe & Beelman, 2011). In addition, many studies have examined the antecedents and consequences of ethnic exclusion and ethnic peer victimisation in late childhood and early adolescence (e.g. Killen & Rutland, 2011; Tolsma, van Deurzen, Stark, & Veenstra, 2013; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002).

Despite the substantial body of developmental intergroup research, and despite the growing body of research on intergroup helping among adults (see Stürmer & Snyder, 2010), little is known about the consequences of intergroup contexts for children's positive behaviours. The conditions and processes that govern positive intergroup behaviour may be rather different from those that govern negative ones. For example, research has demonstrated the existence of a positive–negative asymmetry effect, which implies that people are more likely to show ingroup bias when it comes to positive attributes compared with negative attributes (Mummendey et al., 1992). It seems that ingroup bias in the negative domain is less acceptable. This means that ingroup bias may more readily emerge in children's prosocial behaviour, such as helping, compared with their negative behaviour. Related to this, positive intergroup behaviour probably involves a different type of moral regulation from negative intergroup behaviour. Research by Janoff-Bulman, Sheikh, and Hepp (2009) describes how behaviours are regulated by two moral systems. The first system is *proscriptive*, and it focuses upon how we should definitely not behave. The rules within this system are strict ("one should never harm others"). In comparison, the second and *prescriptive* moral system regulates positive and desirable outcomes, and it is concerned with how we should behave ideally. This system is less strict and more commendatory ("we should help others if we can").

In this chapter, we discuss research examining how children think about helping behaviour across and within different groups. In doing so, we primarily focus on middle to late childhood (age 8–12), which is a crucial period for the development of intergroup relations (Aboud, 1988; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). We define helping behaviour as any kind of voluntary behaviour that is intended to benefit another person (Eisenberg, 1986). This includes acts such as helping a peer with finding a lost key, assisting with homework, or getting help when someone has been injured. Although much is known about the development of prosocial behaviour, less research has focused on the underlying social–cognitive mechanisms (Paulus & More, 2012). Therefore, our main focus is on children's social cognitions (i.e. reasoning, evaluations and intentions). Still, we start by briefly considering research on children's helping and sharing behaviours in intergroup contexts. Next, we focus on how children reason helping in general and continue by examining how group boundaries influence children's judgement of helping. In doing so, we discuss the role of social identity and loyalty. Fourth, we consider the role of self-presentation and group norms in intergroup helping decisions and discuss how inducing empathy can stimulate the intention to help across group boundaries. We end with conclusions and suggestions for future research.

Actual Intergroup Helping and Sharing Among Children

Research on children's intergroup helping behaviours is scarce. To our knowledge, there are only two studies in this area. Katz, Katz, & Cohen (1976) conducted an experiment among white children (aged 5–6 and 9–10 years). After various tasks, the children were asked whether they wanted to return to their classroom or help the experimenter, who was either black (outgroup) or white (ingroup), to set up materials for the next participant. The children who agreed to help were asked to sort cards into two containers. They could stop doing this if they wished. Although children's decision whether to help at all was not influenced by the experimenter's group membership, they did help the white experimenter for longer and more comprehensively than they did the black experimenter. Another extensive study on the effect of social categorisation on the willingness of children (aged 6–9 years) to help made use of artificial groups (Bigler, Jones, & Lobliner, 1997). In this study group membership was manipulated by using yellow and blue shirts on the basis of a biological marker (eye colour) or randomly. Results showed that children preferred the ingroup over the outgroup, and this held for a variety of outcome measures, such as their evaluations of hypothetical behaviour or their ratings of peers. However, children's decisions to help and the amount of help provided did not depend on the group membership of the receiving peer in either condition. Research into children's intergroup helping thus shows mixed results with regard to group-based biases.

Although little research has focused on children's intergroup helping, some studies have examined children's sharing behaviour with ingroup and outgroup peers. Helping and sharing are both considered prosocial behaviours, although they involve distinct considerations (see Paulus & Moore, 2014). For example, the (moral) rules concerning sharing are typically clearer (e.g. equal sharing is fair) compared with helping (e.g. helping a lot is not always better than helping a little). Moreover, sharing often involves the distribution of tangible resources (e.g. stickers, candy etc.), whereas the effort and benefits involved in helping may be less obvious (e.g. time, ability, good intentions). However, given that sharing sometimes, but not always, involves behaviour that is intended to benefit another person, it is worthwhile discussing studies on intergroup sharing in this chapter on intergroup helping.

Research into intergroup sharing has yielded various important findings. First, children aged 4–10 years expect peers to share more with others in the ingroup than those in the outgroup (DeJesus, Rhodes, & Kinzler, 2014). Moreover, many studies have found ingroup bias in children's own sharing behaviours. Those studies involved a variety of groups: playgroups, kindergarten or school classes (Fehr, Bernhard, & Rockenbach, 2008), minimal groups (Dunham, Baron, & Carey, 2011), groups based on language (Kinzler, Dupoux, & Spelke, 2012), and groups based on gender or ethnicity (Renno & Shutts, 2015; Zinser, Rich, & Bailey, 1981). Yet, there are exceptions to this rule. Kinzler and Spelke (2011) found that children aged 2.5 to 3 years shared equally with racial ingroup and outgroup members. Moreover, one older study among white children in preschool, second and third grade reported racial outgroup bias rather than racial ingroup bias in the sharing behaviour of the

older children (Zinser, Perry, Bailey, & Lydiatt, 1976). Taken together, the available studies on children's actual intergroup helping and sharing show that children's prosocial behaviour is sometimes influenced by the recipient's group membership, but not always. To better understand why this is the case, it is important to study how children reason helping others and to gain insight into their underlying motivations.

How Do Children Reason Helping Others?

Why we help others has puzzled scientists and philosophers for centuries. One way to approach this question is to study how children reason about helping and examine how and when doing "good", such as helping others, becomes important to children. The developmental study of helping and prosociality is closely connected to the study of moral development. This line of work starts with Piaget's theory on cognitive development (1932). Piaget maintained that moral reasoning develops through consecutive stages and that children learn moral principles by figuring them out themselves, rather than by being socialised by adults. He assumed, for example, that children learn about fairness by playing with peers and taking turns. Kohlberg (1969) developed this notion further by assessing children's reasoning about moral dilemmas. A famous dilemma involves the case of Heinz, who considers stealing a drug for his dying wife because he cannot afford to buy it. In his theory, Kohlberg postulated that children's moral reasoning first revolves around considerations of punishment and self-interest (pre-conventional level), subsequently involves their understanding of social norms (conventional level), and ends when adolescents or adults are able to take into account universal ethical principles of justice and fairness (post-conventional). However, Kohlberg also argued that this last stage is seldom reached.

Both Piaget and Kohlberg claimed that (young) children cannot grasp moral principles such as fairness and justice, and that their moral reasoning is limited to concerns with obedience and sanctions. In his social cognitive domain theory, Turiel (1983) proposed a different perspective by arguing that there are distinct domains of social knowledge that exist next to each other: the psychological, the social conventional, and the moral domain. The psychological domain involves knowledge about and concerns with aspects of personal agency, such as desires, goals and preferences. The social conventional domain refers to social norms and the prohibitions that govern them. The moral domain includes concerns with justice and the rights and welfare of others. The distinction between domains is believed to be present from an early age, and development within each domain occurs through children's experiences with the social world. Research shows that children use these domains in their judgement and justifications of social behaviour (see Smetana, Jambon, & Ball, 2014; Turiel, 2002). When children apply the moral domain, they rely on rules that are obligatory, universal and impartial, and they are unlikely to change their judgement. However, when they use the social conventional and psychological

domains their evaluations are contingent on social norms and personal preferences respectively (Smetana et al., 2014).

Although social cognitive domain theory has guided much research on children's reasoning of social behaviour, most of this research has focused on negative aspects, such as social exclusion and discrimination. Yet, in one of our own studies we assessed how the three domains of knowledge relate to children's reasoning regarding helping behaviour (Sierksma, Thijs, Verkuyten, & Komter, 2014). Children (aged 8–13 years) were individually interviewed on stories about helping situations that systematically varied with regard to the costs of helping and the recipients' needs. We assessed how children judged the refusal of help in each story, and we asked them to explain their evaluation. The results showed that, in most cases, children were rather negative about a peer's decision not to help another peer. They justified their answers by referring to the recipient's wellbeing and fairness. Moreover, these children did not change their minds when asked to imagine that their peers or parents would sanction the refusal to help. This study thus showed that in many cases helping behaviour is perceived by children as a moral issue that is independent of authority demands or social consensus.

Although children did not generally refuse to help, there was one exception: when the costs of helping were high and the recipient's need was low, a slim majority of the children indicated that it would be acceptable not to help. They justified their evaluation by referring to the personal freedom and preferences of the non-helper, which are notions that pertain to the psychological domain. However, when these children were asked to imagine that their parents disagreed, they changed their mind. Similarly, when children were told that refusal of help contrasted with reciprocity rules (i.e. the recipient had previously helped the refuser), they changed their evaluation and stated that refusing to help was wrong. Overall, children thus often consider helping others to be a moral issue (Sierksma et al., 2014). This is in line with previous developmental work in which reasoning about helping is considered part of the moral domain. For example, a wealth of studies by Eisenberg and colleagues (for an overview, see Eisenberg, 1992) showed that prosociality and moral reasoning are strongly related. In addition, Miller, Bersoff, and Harwood (1990) showed that children view helping others in great need as morally obligatory. However, exceptions to this moral rule are also possible, and this means that group boundaries may play a role in children's evaluations of helping behaviour.

A Social Identity Perspective on Helping

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) assumes that people are motivated to enhance and maintain a positive and distinctive sense of their social self. This is achieved by positively differentiating the ingroup from the outgroup. Much developmental work has shown that children's intergroup reasoning and behaviour is signified by ingroup bias (e.g. Killen & Rutland, 2011; Levy & Killen, 2008; Sani & Bennett, 2004). In addition, these group-based biases seem to contribute to

children's collective self-esteem (Verkuyten, 2001, 2007). Therefore, children's reasoning about helping behaviour may also be influenced by social identity concerns. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) has little to say about the developmental trajectory of group-based biases. Other scholars have provided theoretical explanations for the development of group-based biases, and these may also be relevant for the mechanisms underlying children's intergroup helping.

Nesdale's (2004) social identity development theory is a developmental adaptation of the social identity theory. It states that there are four sequential stages regarding the development of ethnic bias and prejudice. Around the age of 2–3, ethnicity is not yet salient to children. Then, at around the age of 3 years, ethnic awareness is assumed to increase. During this time, children start to notice ethnic differences, especially when these are labelled and made perceptually salient. In addition, children start to understand that they belong to certain ethnic groups themselves as well, a process called self-identification. By 4 or 5 years of age children are assumed to enter an ethnic preference phase in which they are mainly focused on the ingroup and show ingroup favouritism. Only during the last stage (from age 7 onwards) do children focus on the outgroup. Prejudice or outgroup dislike emerges in some children, depending on their ingroup identification, their perceptions of threat, and the perceived norms of the ingroup (Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005).

Another important model for the development of ethnic bias is Aboud's (1988) cognitive developmental theory (Aboud, 1988). This theory claims that prejudice and discrimination are seen as information-processing errors owing to immature cognitive abilities (Doyle & Aboud, 1995). It is assumed that before the age of 7, children have polarised views of the ingroup and outgroup, whereas later in life their views become more nuanced. In this theory, cognitive classification skills are important for the development of prejudice. The idea is that with age, children are better able to use multiple attributes when judging others. They thus see others both as individuals and as group members. This results in a weaker focus on group boundaries as children mature (however, see Abrams & Rutland, 2008).

Another view is proposed in the developmental model of subjective group dynamics (Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, & Marques, 2003). This model assumes that children's evaluations of specific in- and outgroup members develop from simple ingroup preferences to more complex assessments of individuals within groups. The latter are based on children's experiences with groups and their understanding of group norms. Children are motivated to protect the ingroup, and they tend to derogate ingroup members who reject ingroup norms. At the same time, they tend to favour outgroup deviants who prefer the ingroup norms rather than the norms of *their* own group (Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier, & Ferrell, 2009). Together, these three theoretical frameworks emphasise different (developmental) factors with regard to children's intergroup biases that may also be important for helping behaviour. Children's intergroup helping may be influenced, for example, by their age, classification skills, desire for a positive social identity, ingroup identification, salience of group boundaries, perceived group norms and outgroup dislike.

Children's Reasoning About Intergroup Helping

Next, we review empirical evidence of how the group context influences children's judgement about intergroup helping. In so doing, we look at the role of identification and at different types of groups. Studies show that children take into account the relationship between the helper and the recipient with regard to helping. For example, children perceive a stronger obligation to help friends and family than strangers or disliked peers (Killen & Turiel, 1998; Olson & Spelke, 2008; Paulus & Moore, 2014). Moreover, children report that they are less likely to receive help from dissimilar peers (Van Rijsewijk, Dijkstra, Pattiselanno, Steglich, & Veenstra, 2016). Children thus take into account the relational context when reasoning about helping. Does that also mean that group boundaries influence reasoning about helping? To date, some studies suggest that this might be the case.

From a third-party perspective, vignette studies have shown that children expect peers to help gender ingroup members more than outgroup members (Weller & Lagattuta, 2014). They have also been shown to feel better about helping racial ingroup versus outgroup peers (Weller & Lagattuta, 2013). In addition, when children's ethnic identity is made salient, children who strongly identify with their ethnic group evaluate an outgroup member not helping an ingroup member more negatively than vice versa (Sierksma, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2014a, Study 2). However, children who identify less strongly with the ingroup do not show ingroup bias in their evaluations of third-party helping. When an outgroup member does not help the ingroup, this implies that the outgroup is more powerful. This may be a threatening situation for children with strong ingroup attachment, because they tend to be more concerned about the status of their ingroup compared to lower identifiers. Therefore, children may protect their social identity by being more negative about unhelpful outgroup peers than about unhelpful ingroup peers (Sierksma et al., 2014a).

Research into the first-person perspective has looked at children's own intergroup helping intentions. The results indicate that children make a distinction between ingroup and outgroup peers. They are more inclined to help peers who belong to their group of friends than those who do not (Sierksma, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2015), and they intend to help peers from minimal outgroups less than peers in interpersonal contexts, particularly when there is a competitive intergroup situation (Abrams, Van de Vyver, Pelletier, & Cameron, 2015).

The studies on third-party evaluations and children's helping intentions further show that groups based on friendship (i.e. Sierksma et al., 2015) or gender (Weller & Lagattuta, 2014) seem to easily trigger ingroup bias in helping, possibly because friendship groups are salient for children, and because differentiations based on these group memberships are socially accepted. Ethnic group boundaries, on the other hand, may be less important to children, especially for those belonging to a majority status group. This suggests that the type of group might influence how readily group identity concerns emerge. In line with the social identity development theory (Nesdale, 2004), group boundaries may only influence children's (reasoning about) helping when self-involvement is enhanced by making group boundaries

salient or by labelling the groups (see Sierksma et al., 2014a). In addition, and in line with the model of subjective group dynamics (Abrams et al., 2003), children may inhibit ethnic group biases in helping when they are aware of social disapproval concerning discrimination. This could mean that during middle childhood ethnic group boundaries influence children's help-related reasoning and decisions only in less explicit ways, for example by affecting the time they intend to spend on helping (see Katz et al., 1976).

Overall, the available studies suggest that children's motivation for portraying their group in a positive light is an important factor in their helping judgments. Moreover, their ingroup identification and the nature of the groups concerned seem to influence the extent to which children take into account group boundaries. Unfortunately, no research has been conducted on the other factors identified by the theoretical frameworks described above, such as classification skills and outgroup dislike. It is reasonable to expect that children's age might determine the extent to which group boundaries influence their intergroup helping, and whether ingroup bias regarding helping is motivated by outgroup dislike, ingroup favouritism and/or cognitive abilities. For example, in younger children, this bias may be motivated by ingroup favouritism, whereas older children may show ingroup bias regarding helping because they dislike the outgroup (Nesdale, 2004). Future research should include these factors and study helping judgments in a broader age group.

Moral Obligation to Help and the Group Context

The previous sections show that children's reasoning regarding helping is influenced by moral considerations on the one hand and group identity concerns on the other hand. One question that arises from these lines of research is whether group and moral considerations belong to separate domains of reasoning, or whether the moral obligation to help can also involve concerns about the group. Within social cognitive domain theory (Turiel, 1983), morality and concerns about group functioning are assumed to belong to distinct domains of reasoning. Morality involves considerations of fairness, justice and caring for others. The rules within this domain are assumed to be obligatory, general and impartial. Considerations of group functioning and social identity, on the other hand, are assumed to be part of the social conventional domain. Rules within this domain are context-specific. They are dependent on rules from groups and authorities and they are therefore alterable. The distinction between the moral and social conventional domains may imply that group memberships are irrelevant when helping is considered to be a moral issue. Indeed, according to the social cognitive domain theory moral obligations apply to all people everywhere.

However, other theories propose that morality encompasses more than concerns about rights, justice and caring for others. Specifically, the moral foundations theory (Graham et al., 2013) proposes group loyalty to be a moral concern as well. The core idea is that, as a result of evolutionary adaptive challenges, we have acquired the

(potential for) five distinct intuitive moral foundations: care/harm, fairness/cheating, authority/subversion, sanctity/degradation, and loyalty/betrayal. Some empirical studies have provided support for the presence of moral intuitions early in life. For example, by using preferential looking tasks—which make the assumption that babies look for longer at scenes that surprise them than at expected events—studies have shown that infants prefer fair distributions to unequal ones (Geraci & Surian, 2011; Sommerville, Schmidt, Yun, & Burns, 2013). Moreover, infants expect those who work versus those who do not to be rewarded (Sloane, Baillargeon, & Premack, 2012), and they prefer helpers over hinderers (Hamlin, Wynn, & Bloom, 2007).

If the moral foundations theory holds true, the consideration of group boundaries in helping judgement may signal a special kind of moral obligation reasoning. This may mean that children consider loyalty in helping (i.e. helping one's group members) morally important. If so, it could be that children evaluate helping between ingroup members as more obligatory compared with helping outside the group. Moreover, because moral rules are generally regarded as universal and impartial, children's evaluations should not depend on their relationship with the (non)helper.

Previous studies examining children's third-party evaluations of intergroup helping (Weller & Lagattuta, 2013) or loyalty (e.g. Castelli, De Amicis, & Sherman, 2007) are in line with the moral foundations theory. They show that children expect others to be loyal to their group. However, these studies solely included children's evaluation of an ingroup peer helping an outgroup peer, or of the exchange of help between two ingroup peers. When the loyalty principle is regarded as a moral rule, it should apply to ingroup members and outgroup members. Therefore, to test whether children consider loyalty an universal obligation, it is critical to use a design in which all combinations of intergroup and intragroup interaction are presented to the children.

To examine whether children apply loyalty as a universal moral principle to the evaluation of helping behaviour, we conducted a vignette study (Sierksma et al., 2014a, Study 1). In this study, native Dutch children evaluated hypothetical helping situations in which the ethnicity of the helper and of the recipient of help were systematically varied. The scenarios either portrayed an intergroup context (Dutch helper/Turkish recipient, Turkish helper/Dutch recipient) or an intragroup context (Dutch helper/Dutch recipient, Turkish helper/Turkish recipient). The children (whose ethnicity was not made explicitly salient) were asked to evaluate the refusal to help in each situation. In general, the refusal to help was evaluated very negatively. However, the results also showed that children were more negative about the refusal to help when it concerned an intragroup context compared with an intergroup context. In addition, they were equally negative about the refusal to help between two Dutch ingroup members and two Turkish outgroup members. The evaluation was unrelated to their degree of ethnic identification. This indicates that children apply a general moral rule of loyalty: "help should be provided especially when it concerns members of your own group".

These results echo those of other studies that have demonstrated the importance of loyalty during childhood. For example, the famous Robbers Cave Experiment conducted by Sherif et al. (1961) showed how easily young boys became attached to their group, and how quickly loyalty became the norm. Recent experimental studies

also underline the value children attach to loyalty: children from the age of 4 value loyalty in others (Abrams, Rutland, Ferrell, & Pelletier, 2008; Misch, Over, & Carpenter, 2014; Rhodes & Brickman, 2011). In addition, children not only value loyalty in others, but they are also willing to pay a cost to stay loyal to their ingroup (Misch, Over, & Carpenter, 2016). This indicates that the norm of loyalty cannot easily be changed or overruled, in contrast to social conventional rules, which depend on social consensus and/or authority.

In summary, children consider intragroup refusal to help negatively when it concerns ingroup and outgroup helping (Sierksma et al., 2014a). This suggests that children perceive a general moral obligation to be loyal with regard to helping. More research is needed to understand to what extent, and when, children consider helping ingroup members as a moral rule.

Group Norms and Self-Presentation

Social behaviour often occurs in the presence of others, and group norms are especially relevant when others are aware of our actions. Adults tend to alter their behaviour in the presence of others (see Täuber, Chap. 11), for example, by becoming more generous (e.g. Reinstein & Riener, 2012; Satow, 1975) and fairer (Reis & Gruzen, 1976). With age, children also take the presence of others into account. By age 6 they change their behaviour according to the audience present (Banerjee, 2002), they strategically manipulate the impressions that others form of them (Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, & Ferrell, 2007), and they inhibit racial bias when held accountable to others (De França & Monteiro, 2013; Rutland, Cameron, Milne, & McGeorge, 2005).

The tendency to show enhanced prosocial responding in the presence of others is often explained by evolutionary accounts. It is argued that the display of prosocial behaviour increases our chances of survival because a cooperative forager is more attractive than a solitary or selfish one (Jaeggi, Burkart & Van Schaik 2010). In addition, the evolution of large groups triggered the development of new ways of showing that one is a desirable group member beyond kinship and familiarity (Nettle & Dunbar, 1997). Therefore, showing others how generous you are is important in the search for cooperative partners. Displays of selfishness may lead to mistrust and social exclusion. As such, people are highly motivated to establish and maintain a positive reputation and to keep track of others' prosocial behaviour. Such sensitivity is supported by studies that show, for example, that adults become more generous in response to the mere presence of eye-like shapes on a computer screen (Haley & Fessler, 2005).

The competitive altruism hypothesis (Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006; Roberts, 1998) postulates that helping in particular is an effective way to assert oneself within the group, because it shows that one is competent and trustworthy. For this reputation enhancement to occur, helping should be costly for the actor, a public action, and perceived to be reflective of a general prosocial nature. From 5 years onwards, children appear to be aware that helping can be a way to present oneself favourably.

In one study, children were given a choice to allocate stickers to another peer without disadvantaging themselves (Leimgruber, Shaw, Santos, & Olson, 2012). Children were only generous when the recipient of the stickers was aware of how many stickers they gave. When recipients were ignorant to this fact, children were rather ungenerous. Another study showed that costly helping also increases in children when they are observed versus when they are alone (Engelmann, Herrmann, & Tomasello, 2012). Five-year-old children played a sticker game in which they had to place stickers according to a predefined system. When children were given an additional sticker to either keep for themselves or share with an anonymous receiver, more children shared the sticker when they were being observed compared with when there were alone.

Self-presentation via helping may also depend on *who* is observing. If helping is a way of showing one's aptness as group member, it should be especially pronounced when ingroup members are present. Indeed, Engelmann and colleagues (Engelmann, Over, Herrmann, & Tomasello, 2013) have shown that, in a minimal group setting using t-shirt colour to differentiate groups, 5-year-old children were more generous towards an anonymous recipient when ingroup members rather than outgroup members were present. Older children also seem to take the identity of audiences into account. Using a friendship group context, we presented children aged 8–13 years with stories in which an outgroup peer was in need of help when ingroup peers, outgroup peers, or no bystanders were present (Sierksma, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2014b; Fig. 4.1). For example, children read "Marcel is doing homework with his friends. Kevin sits with them but is *not a friend* (vs. is a friend). Marcel has to give a speech tomorrow but does not know how to do that. He asks Kevin to help him with the speech". The helper was presented as being either in the presence of outgroup peers (i.e. the recipient of help was with his or her friends), ingroup peers (i.e. the helper was with his or her friends), or there were no bystanders. Subsequently,
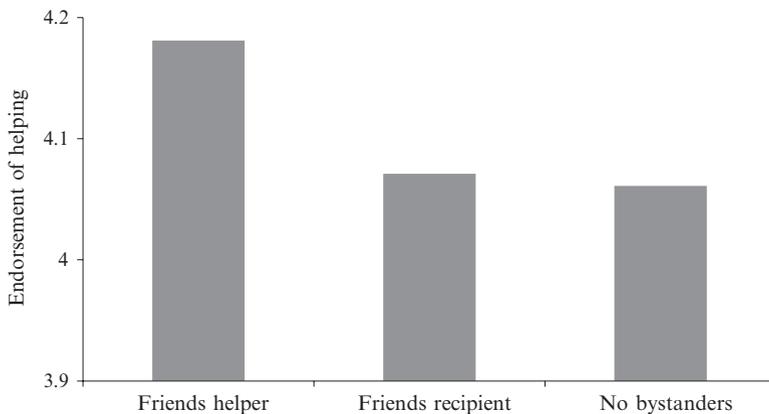
Fig. 4.1 Endorsement of helping an outsider peer when friends of the helper, friends of the recipient or no bystanders are present

children were asked to what extent they thought that the helper should help. Results showed that children expected peers to help outgroup peers the most when ingroup members were present, compared with the outgroup or no bystanders conditions. Taken together, these studies indicate that self-presentational concerns are especially relevant when ingroup members are present and when the targets of help are strangers or outgroup members. More research is needed to understand whether the same holds true for children's ingroup helping.

Apart from considerations about who is present, self-presentational benefits may also depend on the recipient of help. Helping behaviour that stands out is noticed by others more readily. Providing help to ingroup members is normatively expected, and may therefore attract less attention than when helping outgroup members. Because outgroup helping is less common, it may be seen as more diagnostic of the helper's underlying characteristics, such as trustworthiness and competence. To examine this assumption, we conducted a study in which we assessed children's intentions to publicly versus privately help national ingroup (Dutch) versus outgroup (German) peers (Sierksma, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2014c). Moreover, we measured children's perceived descriptive ingroup norm about the outgroup (i.e. "How do you think your ingroup evaluates German people?") to understand the relation between norms, self-presentation and intergroup helping. When helping was public and the recipients' needs were low, children intended to help the outgroup more compared with the ingroup, particularly when they perceived a positive norm toward the outgroup. This supports the idea that children take into account self-presentational concerns in their reasoning about helping. After all, helping outgroup peers does not contribute to a positive ingroup reputation when the ingroup regards the outgroup as negative. These findings are in line with studies showing strategic outgroup helping in adults (see also Wakefield & Hopkins, Chap. 8, and van Leeuwen, Chap. 7).

In summary, apart from moral and social identity concerns, children also seem to consider that helping is a way of presenting oneself favourably to others. The research so far suggests that self-presentation is especially relevant when ingroup members are present. The likely explanation for this is that it can be advantageous to demonstrate "good citizenship" to other ingroup members. In addition, helping outgroup members stands out, i.e. is less normative, than helping ingroup members. It may thus be more effective for the establishment of a positive image of oneself.

Promoting Helping Across Group Boundaries: The Role of Empathy

The previous paragraphs give some insight into the mechanisms that (may) underlie children's intergroup helping. It is also important to examine to what extent we can stimulate children to help others. We may thus be able to intervene in children's differential helping of outgroup versus ingroup members.

There have been many (school-based) attempts to improve relations among children from different ethnic groups. Typically, such interventions involve a learning component—aimed at increasing children's understanding and appreciation of outgroups—and a normative component that rejects prejudice and discrimination. The available evidence indicates that such interventions are only moderately successful (Aboud et al., 2012; Bigler, 1999; Stephan, Renfro, & Stephan, 2004; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). For example, a recent review shows that interventions aimed at changing children's prejudice were not effective in 50% of the cases studied (Aboud et al., 2012). Moreover, in 10% of the cases, intervention even increased children's prejudice. One of the reasons for these negative outcomes is that an emphasis on group differences may strengthen group boundaries and foster stereotypical thinking (Bigler, 1999).

Another way of enhancing positive intergroup interactions may be to encourage positive behaviour, such as helping across group boundaries, instead of reducing negative attitudes. This may be done by stimulating empathy in children. Empathy is often defined in terms of a cognitive and affective component. For example, Eisenberg (2000, p. 671) 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". Whereas the cognitive aspect refers to the ability to understand another person's emotions and perspectives, the affective component is about co-feeling. The role of empathy in (pro)social behaviour can be studied in two ways. It can be examined as disposition or trait and measured with self-reports and/or facial or physiological responses. It can also be studied as a state, in which case the focus is on how particular contexts elicit empathic understanding and co-feeling in children and adults. Both trait and state empathy are often associated with children's attempts to help (e.g. Eisenberg, Zhou, & Koller, 2001; Knafo, Zahn-Waxler, Van Hulle, Robinson, & Rhee, 2008; Williams, O'Driscoll, & Moore, 2014). In addition, research with adults shows that inducing empathy is effective at triggering increased helping (e.g. Batson, 2011). Some intervention programmes have been implemented to stimulate children's prosocial behaviour via perspective taking (the cognitive component) and feelings of empathy (Battistich, Watson, Solomon, Schaps, & Solomon, 1991; Gorden, 2005). However, these programmes typically do not take into account the intergroup context.

Very little is known about the influence of empathy on children's intergroup helping (Davis & Maitner, 2010). Research with adults has shown that state empathy is a predictor of intragroup helping but not intergroup helping (Stürmer, Snyder, Kropp, Siem, & Kiel, 2006; see also Stürmer & Siem, Chap. 6). However, there is also evidence that inducing empathy may be effective in producing altruistic motivations towards stigmatised individuals, such as drug addicts (Batson, Chang, Orr, & Rowland, 2002). Therefore, we conducted a study in which situational empathy was induced in a helping context involving hypothetical friendship groups (Sierksma, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2015). Children were presented with various situations in which an ingroup peer (a hypothetical same-sex friend) or outgroup peer (a hypothetical same-sex non-friend) needed help. After reading each story, half of the participants were asked to rate how the (potential) recipient of help might feel (i.e. sad, upset, down), before they indicated how much they intended to help. The other half of the
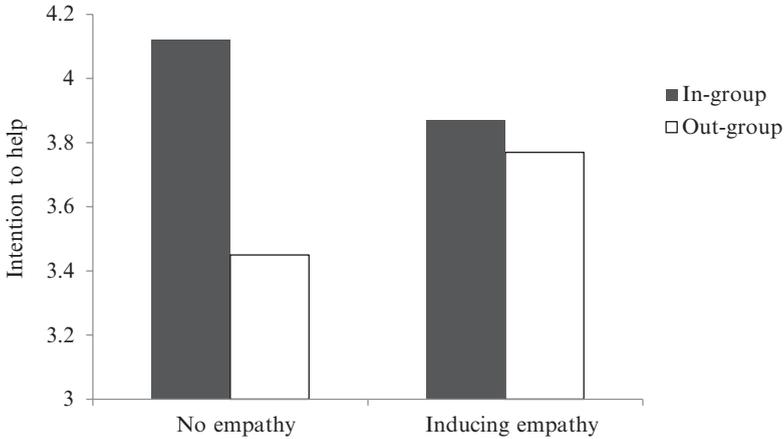
Fig. 4.2 Intention to help ingroup and outgroup peers when empathic understanding is induced or not induced

participating children solely indicated their intention to help after reading the stories. This last group preferred to help ingroup peers more than outgroup peers. In contrast, the children who were induced to think about how the recipient of help might feel no longer showed ingroup bias in helping (Fig. 4.2). Moreover, these children expected ingroup and outgroup peers to feel equally bad in the stories presented.

Thus, although people may spontaneously experience more empathy for ingroup than for outgroup others (Stürmer et al., 2006), actively inducing empathy may be effective in overpowering ingroup bias in children's helping. However, it should be noted that our study focused on friendships. Although friendship groups are important during middle childhood (e.g. Henrich, Kuperminc, Sack, Blatt, & Leadbeater, 2000), group boundaries are more permeable than, for example, ethnic and gender groups. Therefore, ingroup bias may be more easily overcome in a friendship context than in an ethnic intergroup context. Future studies should examine the role of spontaneous empathy (see Stürmer et al., 2006), and clarify whether inducing empathy is effective in other group contexts and whether this can increase children's actual helping.

Limitations and Future Directions

Some general questions arise from the research on children's intergroup helping, and some gaps should be addressed for the field to move on. First, the research described here suggests that children take into account social identity, morality, self-presentation and empathy in their reasoning regarding intergroup helping. This provides us with insight into children's intergroup helping, and could function as guidance in understanding the inconclusive findings in studies on children's

intergroup helping. A next step would be to study how the factors identified in theory on the development of intergroup attitudes (i.e. age, classification skills, the desire for a positive social identity, ingroup identification, the salience of group boundaries, perceived group norms and outgroup dislike) are related to children's helping. Most studies to date have focused on the role of group boundaries in children's sharing behaviour. As described before, it is likely that distinct considerations apply to helping. For example, in contexts where children are asked to share, moral rules of fairness are often very salient, whereas in helping situations involving minor needs (e.g. picking up objects, providing help with lost objects) moral rules are less important than personal preferences. More studies are needed on children's intergroup actual peer encounters. These studies should take into account underlying socio-cognitive motivations.

Second, and related to the previous point, there is currently an age gap in studies that examine children's judgement with regard to intergroup relations and intergroup helping and in studies that examine children's prosocial actual peer encounters. The first type of study generally focuses upon children in late childhood (8–13 years), whereas the latter type predominantly examines helping in children much younger (4–5 years; for overviews see Paulus & Moore, 2012; Warneken & Tomasello, 2014). This means that it is difficult to compare the two lines of research. It also means that we know relatively little about the developmental trajectory that underlies intergroup helping. Interestingly, the studies on children's (reasoning about) intergroup helping and sharing show that children favour the ingroup as young as 2.5 years (i.e. Kinzler et al., 2012) up to 13 years of age (Sierksma et al., 2014a, 2015). This suggests that, in contrast to studies on prejudice (Raabe & Beelman, 2011), no overall decrease might be found in children's group biases in prosocial behaviour. This absence highlights the need for more systematic research into how group biases might influence children's helping behaviour across a much broader age range. In addition, for research focusing on middle and late childhood it would be important to include helping judgement and helping behaviours in the same studies. Although it is reasonable to assume that children base their behaviours on their judgement, the relationship between the two is not self-evident and may depend on individual differences and contextual aspects.

Third, research into intergroup relations in childhood, in particular intergroup prosociality, examines various kinds of groups, such as gender, ethnic and friendship groups, school classes, minimal groups and artificial groups. A common assumption seems to be that the intergroup processes in children's (helping) behaviour do not depend on the type of group studied. However, these groups may have very different meanings in children's daily life, which may influence the extent to which group boundaries play a role in children's reasoning of helping, and in their intergroup helping. For example, group boundaries based on friendship are probably more salient for children than group boundaries based on ethnicity. Moreover, boundaries based on friendship groups are more permeable than those based on gender, ethnic or even minimal groups. Future studies should focus on understanding and comparing how children's intergroup helping differs in various group contexts.

On a related note, almost all the studies described here involve majority group children. In addition, many of the majority group children from our own research came from relatively homogeneous "white" schools. There is a strong need to understand whether ethnic and racial intergroup relations have a similar influence on the helping behaviour of children with more heterogeneous backgrounds and/or a minority status. There are reasons to suggest that we might find differences. For example, the participating children presumably had very little contact with the children from the ethnic outgroup, and contact with outgroups tends to ameliorate the attitudes towards those groups (Tropp & Prenovost, 2008). Moreover, children from an ethnic minority may be much more aware of their ethnicity than children from a majority ethnicity. In addition, the status differential between minority and majority group children could have implications for how they view intergroup helping, because helping others often implies a power difference between helper and recipient (e.g. Halabi & Nadler, 2010; see also Wakefield & Hopkins, Chap. 8, and Halabi & Nadler, Chap. 10). Furthermore, children's cultural background may influence how they value helping. Cross-cultural research by Miller et al. (1990), for example, has shown that Indian children are less likely to pay attention to the needs and social relationships in helping situations than American children. Whereas both groups of children indicated that it was important to help others in situations of great need, the American but not the Indian children judged that help refusal was less blameworthy in the case of strangers and situations of low need. Such cultural differences may also play a role in interethnic contexts, and it is important to appreciate their impact.

Finally, more research is needed on the value of perspective taking and empathy as intervention tools for promoting children's helping behaviour across group boundaries. As mentioned, we do not know whether these tools are effective in the case of groups with less permeable boundaries, such as ethnic groups. Yet, empathy-based interventions can be expected to be successfully combined with contact interventions, as perspective taking and empathy are considered crucial mediating mechanisms in the link between outgroup contact and outgroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Related to this, it would be worthwhile adding and examining empathy induction as an explicit component of existing multicultural or intercultural interventions.

Conclusion

Children are remarkably helpful from a young age onwards (Warneken & Tomasello, 2006), but at the same time tend to show bias towards their own group versus outgroups (Raabe & Beelman, 2011). This chapter has brought together these two lines of research by describing how children's (reasoning of) helping behaviour is influenced by the intergroup context. Research on children's intergroup helping and sharing is scarce and the findings are inconclusive: children were sometimes found to favour their ingroup when helping, but other studies found outgroup bias or no bias at all. Therefore, there is a strong need to examine the social cognitions and motivations that might explain these divergent findings. The research described in

this chapter provides a first attempt at systematically theorising about why and when children think that help should be provided or refused, and it shows that this depends on moral considerations, social identity concerns, loyalty, self-presentation, group norms and empathy. Future studies are needed to understand when and how these and other factors influence children's helping. Ultimately, this research will provide us with the tools to enhance intergroup solidarity from a young age.

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