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Children's group loyalty is related to parental in-group collectivism[☆]

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ABSTRACT

Group loyalty ensures that individuals favor their in-group over out-groups and is important for the continued existence of groups. As of yet, it is an unanswered question how children develop social group identifications and attitudes. Here, we investigate whether and how parental cultural values, as assessed via the GLOBE questionnaire relate to children's manifestation of group loyalty. Overall, 78 5-year-old children from intercultural families administered a loyalty task. Results show that one important aspect for the formation and maintenance of groups, Ingroup Collectivism, was reliably related to children's loyalty. The findings suggest that children's attitudes of group loyalty are socially transmitted by the environmental cultural niche that parents set.

1. Introduction

Humans are social beings and as such voluntarily and non-voluntarily part of several groups within their environment. The continued existence of such a group depends on the investments of each group member. One such investment is to show loyalty towards the in-group as compared to out-groups. Loyalty has a positive impact on everyone's interactions and is already important in childhood, especially for friendships (Lieberman & Shaw, 2019). Although group loyalty is important for all groups, the development of individual loyalty attitudes is open to environmental influences. Here, we investigate whether and if so, which parental cultural values relate to the attitudes of group loyalty in preschool children.

1.1. Group loyalty

Social groups are part of every human's identity (Tajfel, 1970). We identify with some groups (*in-groups*) but not with others (*out-groups*). This leads to an internalization of group membership as part of our self-concept (Tajfel, 1970). The identification with our in-groups involves modification of own to shared sets of behaviors, attitudes, and beliefs of the group, referred to as *group norms*. The group's cohesion is dependent on every member's adherence to these norms and their corresponding acts of group loyalty (Zdaniuk &

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Levine, 2001). Some group loyalty behaviors involve efforts to benefit the in-group at the expense of out-groups (Levine & Moreland, 2002). If members invest in the group, for example, by showing greater concern for the group welfare than the personal welfare, they help to prevent the group from collapsing (Van Vugt & Hart, 2004).

1.2. Empirical evidence for group loyalty in children

Group loyalty gradually develops during childhood and into adolescence (Rutland, Hitti, Mulvey, Abrams & Killen, 2015; Yu, Zhu, & Leslie, 2016). From early on, children perceive differences between characteristics they share with someone: For example, already in their first year of life, they distinguish between people speaking their mother tongue and those speaking other languages (Begus, Gliga, & Southgate, 2016; Buttelmann, Zmyj, Daum, & Carpenter, 2012). By age three they begin to understand that these characteristics have normative force (Schmidt & Tomasello, 2012). For example, if individuals from a group eat a specific kind of berries it is not appropriate for them to eat another kind of berries (Roberts, Gelman, & Ho, 2017; Roberts, Ho, & Gelman, 2017). The categorization between different characteristics can trigger ingroup bias, suggesting low-level processes that are independent of conscious cognitive processes (Dunham, 2018; Dunham, Baron, & Carey, 2011): Children share more stickers with friends than strangers (Lee, Esposito, & Setoh, 2018; Yu et al., 2016). They act more loyally to in-group members and keep in-group secrets more often than out-group secrets (Misch, Over, & Carpenter, 2016). Furthermore, they punish selfish resource allocations more if committed by out-group members than in-group members (Jordan, McAuliffe, & Warneken, 2014). Finally, children justify their disapproval of group-norm deviants by the need for group cohesion and the adherence to group norms (Rutland et al., 2015).

The strengths of the ingroup bias also drives children's evaluations and behaviors in third-person scenarios (Aboud, 2003; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001). As children's attention is directed towards the ingroup, children also value those behaviors that favor the ingroup (Castelli, De Amicis, & Sherman, 2007). Children rated group loyalists more positively than disloyalists on various questions (Misch, Over, & Carpenter, 2014). After having seen a conflict between two individuals from different novel social categories, children predicted that another member of one category would withhold friendship from the contrasting category (Chalik & Rhodes, 2014). But there is also evidence for the more complex features of group loyalty: Children judged that characters would feel more positive emotions helping an unfamiliar child from the in-group versus out-group (Weller & Lagattuta, 2013). This shows that the deferral of own interests in favor of the interests of the group is appreciated.

1.3. Forces on the development of group loyalty

How do children develop such social group identifications and attitudes? Different theories and accounts have been proposed to understand the forces on the emergence of group loyalty. The social-cognitive developmental theory of prejudice sees internal child characteristics as the major driving forces of developing intergroup attitudes (SCDT, Aboud, 2008). Aboud argues that children's attitudes towards groups show a universal sequence of changes that is driven by their own cognitive and socio-cognitive development with a minor influence of socialization factors. In this sequence, in-group and out-group biases are rising sharply at 4 or 5 years of age and are then declining after age 7. Aboud (2008) describes three child-internal psychological processes as the basis for this developmental trajectory: *Affective* processes such as emotional attachment, fear of the unknown, and preferences (before the age of 4); *perceptual* processes, such as attending to observable racial cues and identifying oneself and others according to these cues (between 4 and 7 years); and *cognitive* processes, such as the child's ability to infer abstract and internal qualities in people and simultaneously to consider inconsistent points of view (after 7 years of age). In terms of socialization factors, Aboud predicts no correlations between the attitudes of parents and their child(ren) (Aboud, 2008).

In contrast to SCDT, other accounts like the social identity development theory (SIDT; Nesdale, 2004) and the societal-social-cognitive-motivational theory (SSCMT; Barrett, 2007, 2009; Barrett & Davis, 2008) argue for a stronger influence of factors within the group itself (i.e. identification with the group) and for the societal and social niche the child grows up in. More specifically, SIDT proposes that children's development proceeds through four sequential phases (undifferentiated, ethnic awareness, ethnic preference, ethnic prejudice). However, according to this theory, children are influenced by their parents and peers to a greater extent than according to SCDT. Positive correlations between the ethnic attitudes of children and their parents might be expected, but this need not necessarily be so because the particular ethnic attitudes adopted by children also reflect their own interests and perceptions (Nesdale, 2004). SSCMT furthermore emphasizes the *macro-context* in which children's development takes place. This context constrains and influences the beliefs, attitudes, values, and practices of the individual members of the society in which the child lives (Barrett & Davis, 2008). Several factors and their combinations may be the primary drivers of children's intergroup attitudes. They include the historical, economic, and political situation of the child's ingroup; the beliefs, attitudes, values, and practices of other individuals within the society including parents and teachers; and the family's own minority/majority status, and parental discourse. Next to the macro-context, SSCMT acknowledges the role of internal cognitive, affective, and motivational processes of the child in shaping their group loyalty. Both accounts are compatible with a more general approach of morality, the interdependence hypothesis for the evolution of human morality during childhood (Tomasello, 2016). This hypothesis assumes that cross-cultural differences of loyalty as part of morality are very likely already present in childhood because children act upon the culturally shared values of their community (Tomasello, 2016).

1.4. The role of parental values in the development of group loyalty

The theoretical considerations of SSCMT and the interdependence hypothesis suggest that parental values play a major role in

shaping children's understanding of intergroup behavior and evaluations. Values are beliefs that refer to desirable goals and transcend specific actions and situations (Schwartz, 2006). Research in different developmental areas confirms the role of values by attesting cross-cultural differences of children's sharing resources (Blake et al., 2015; House et al., 2013; Rochat et al., 2009; Schäfer, Haun, & Tomasello, 2015). In the domain of racial attitudes, the findings are mixed: While some authors reported relations between parental and child racial attitudes (Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Degner & Dalege, 2013; Jugert, Eckstein, Beelmann & Noack, 2016), others did not (Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Castelli, Zogmaister, & Tomelleri, 2009). Parental values relate to children's reactions to norm violations (Gampe & Daum, 2018). The role of parental values in children's intergroup behaviors and evaluations has not been empirically substantiated yet. Therefore, in this study, we investigated whether parental values play a role in children's attitudes to group loyalty.

1.5. The current study

In this study, we investigated the relation between parental cultural values and children's attitudes on group loyalty. Following the account of SSCMT, it is important to address the macro-context of the historical, economic, and political situation, as well as the beliefs, attitudes, values, and practices of parents along with the child's developing cognitive skills.

To examine the role of parental cultural values on children's attitudes towards group loyalty, we studied intercultural children from families living in the same country. We kept the geographical, economic, and political circumstances of the child's macro context the same. We included families in which one parent is a native citizen of the family's country of residence and one parent was born in another country. With this selection criterion, parts of the social circumstances were comparable for all children: all children are exposed to the cultural practices of the country of residence transmitted by one parent. We also introduced variations in values (Barrett, 2007): All children had a parent who grew up in a different culture than the current culture of the country of residence.

We assessed parental cultural values by asking both parents to fill out the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) questionnaire (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman & Gupta, 2004) individually. The Globe project identified nine cultural value dimensions: performance orientation, uncertainty avoidance, in-group collectivism, power distance, gender egalitarianism, humane orientation, institutional collectivism, future orientation, and assertiveness (see Table 1). The scales have good reliability and validity with other cultural scales such as Hofstede's cultural dimensions, Schwartz's value scales, and the World Values Survey. The scales were designed to explain "between-society" differences. Country scores ("as is" scores) quantify the existence of each cultural dimension currently judged and individual evaluations ("should be" scores) to determine values for how society aspires to be. We assessed the individual values ("should be") to which parents individually aspired at the time of the study. These individual values are supposed to reflect the attitudes and beliefs of parents (Barrett & Davis, 2008) and shape the activities, routines, and messages that parents choose as the settings for their child (Harkness & Super, 2002). They have already been used with intercultural families (Gampe & Daum, 2018). To control for cognitive, affective, and motivational processes of the child, we included the Children's Social Understanding Scale (CSUS; Tahiroglu, Moses, Carlson, Mahy, Olofson & Sabbagh, 2014), a measure of individual differences in children's Theory of Mind (ToM). The questionnaire is filled in by parents and has good reliability and validity in several studies and measures like parenting styles, language abilities, and general social skills (Smogorzewska, Grzegorz, & Grygiel, 2018; Tahiroglu et al., 2014). We added average parental education as further covariate (Barrett & Davis, 2008; Harkness & Super, 2002).

In the present study, children's judgments of group loyalty were assessed after they watched a video of two individuals during a group contest (Misch et al., 2014). Both individuals in the video belonged to the same group and the group was likely to lose the group contest. One of the individuals, the loyal person, wanted to stick with the group, the other individual, the disloyal person, wanted to win and therefore switched groups. Thus, in the current experiment, losing the competition was the sacrifice the loyal person made to stay with her group. We showed this video to 5-year-olds because previous research has suggested that this is an important period for

Table 1
Definitions of the cultural values used in the study.

Value Dimension	Definition
Assertiveness	The degree to which individuals in organizations or societies are assertive, confrontational, and aggressive in social relationships.
Future orientation	The degree to which individuals in organizations or societies engage in future-oriented behaviors such as planning, investing in the future, and delaying individual or collective gratification.
Gender egalitarianism	The extent to which organizations or societies minimize gender role differences while promoting gender equity and the equality of genders.
Humane orientation	The degree to which individuals in organizations or societies encourage and reward individuals for being fair, altruistic, friendly, generous, caring, and kind to others and exhibiting and promoting altruistic ideals.
Institutional collectivism	Reflects the degree to which organizational and societal institutional practices encourage and reward collective distribution of resources and collective action.
In-group collectivism	Reflects the degree to which individuals express pride, loyalty, and cohesiveness in their organizations, families, circles of close friends, or other such small groups.
Performance orientation	Refers to the extent to which high-level members of organizations and societies encourage and reward group members for performance improvement and excellence.
Power distance	The degree to which members of organizations and societies encourage and reward unequal distribution of power with greater power at higher levels.
Uncertainty avoidance	The extent to which members of organizations or societies strive to avoid uncertainty by relying on established social norms, rituals, and bureaucratic practices to decrease the probability of unpredictable future events that could adversely affect the operation of organizations or societies and also to remedy the potential adverse effects of such unpredictable future events.

Note. Source: House et al. (2004).

the development of intergroup relations (Barrett, 2009; Dunham et al., 2011; Dunham & Emory, 2014; Nesdale, 2004; Rutland et al., 2015) and further norms of the country of residence are not yet induced via entry to the formal schooling (Barrett, 2007). Like in the original study (Misch et al., 2014), we investigated children's attitudes about these persons by asking them forced-choice questions about niceness, trust, morality, and deservingness of rewards. These questions evaluate important aspects of group loyalty: do children evaluate the loyal person as positive, do they rely on the loyal person, do children feel that loyalty is a moral obligation, and whom do they reward? We hypothesized that individual differences in children's group loyalty are related to parental cultural values after controlling for covariates like parental education and child-specific social-cognitive skills. We had no specific hypotheses on the different cultural values playing a role in the transmission between parents and children as no previous research was available and thus investigated this relation on an exploratory level.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

Participants were 78 intercultural 5-year-old children (38 girls, and 40 boys, $M_{age} = 5$ years; 6 months, $SD_{age} = 4$ months) who were tested in the lab. Parents were born in two separate cultural regions (as defined by the existence of own cultural values in the GLOBE Scale) with one parent being born or grown up in German-speaking Switzerland to assure that all children understood the language being used in the video and were able to answer the questions asked. Two additional girls were tested as pilot children but were

Table 2
Countries, parents were born in.

Country	Mothers	Fathers
Algeria	1	1
Afghanistan	0	1
Argentina	1	0
Australia	0	3
Bosnia	1	0
Brazil	2	1
Canada (English-speaking)	0	1
Chile	1	0
China	2	0
Croatia	1	0
Czech Republic	1	0
Ecuador	2	1
Estonia	1	0
France	0	3
Gambia	0	1
Germany (East)	2	0
Great Britain	1	3
Greece	2	0
Guatemala	0	2
Hungary	0	3
India	1	1
Indonesia	0	1
Iraq	0	1
Ireland	0	1
Israel	0	1
Italy	1	2
Japan	2	0
Kuwait	0	1
Macedonia	1	1
Mexico	0	2
Mozambique	0	1
Nigeria	0	1
Norway	2	0
Philippines	0	1
Poland	1	0
Russia	3	0
Senegal	0	1
Serbia	2	1
Spain	3	0
Sweden	1	0
Switzerland (German-speaking)	38	39
Switzerland (French-speaking)	2	0
Taiwan	1	0
Turkey	1	1
Ukraine	0	1
USA	1	1

excluded for the final analysis.

We aimed for 80 children because a typical effect of Cohen's $d = 0.45$ with 80% power would require 78 children (Bergmann et al., 2018; Oakes, 2017). Standard sample sizes in studies comparing different cultures comprise 16–35 children in each culture or 50–100 in cultures with broad age ranges (Blake et al., 2015; House et al., 2020; Kärtner, Keller, Lamm, Abels, Yovsi & Chaudhary, 2007; Keller, Kärtner, Borke, Yovsi & Kleis, 2005; Schäfer et al., 2015).

Table 2 provides an overview of the different cultural regions in which parents were born. Parents accompanied their children during the test but were instructed not to speak or intervene.

All procedures were approved by the local Ethics Commission and performed in accordance with the ethical standards of the 1964 Helsinki declaration and its later amendments. All parents were recruited from local birth records and gave informed consent. Children received a small toy (5 USD) and a certificate after their participation. All study related data is available on OSF: https://osf.io/nbqv9/?view_only=6ad3cbe0fa1742ceabccbe31a8b30e5e.

2.2. Materials

A Lenovo ThinkPad portable PC was used to present children with a video similar to the original video used by Misch (Misch et al., 2014). The video showed a cup-stacking competition between two groups. The two groups were indicated by different colors (green and yellow) of their tricots. Both groups consisted of two male and two female actors. After the groups introduced themselves, the competition in cup-stacking started. The group with the green tricots (henceforth referred to as *slow group*) was shown to be much slower than the group with the yellow tricots (henceforth referred to as the *fast group*). Shortly before the fast group placed their last cups, the camera zoomed in towards two members of the slow group (one loyal individual, one disloyal individual). Two versions of the video were created, one in which the zoomed-in individuals were female and one in which they were male. The loyal individual said, "The yellow group is winning! I would also like to win, but I'll stay with my green group." The disloyal individual said, "The yellow group is winning! I would also like to win, so I'm going over to the yellow group." The video then ended, and a still frame of the loyal and disloyal individuals (both with neutral facial expressions looking directly at the camera) remained on the screen for the duration of the question phase. We created a female (only women as protagonists) and a male (only men as protagonists) version of the competition. The original study of Misch et al. (2014) did not find any influence of the identity of the individual who played the loyal person, the side on which he/she sat, and which of them spoke first. Thus, we did not create additional versions of the videos.

2.3. Parental cultural values

The assessment of parental cultural values was based on the dimensions of the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) project (see Table 2; House et al., 2004). Both parents were asked to independently fill out the GLOBE questionnaire on their should-be judgements in their preferred language (from a selection of French, Italian, German, English and Spanish), allowing us to estimate the cultural values they aspired to individually. Parents completed an online questionnaire at a convenient time approximately within a two-week window around the child's test date. Both parents create the environmental cultural niche for the child and thus both need to be taken into account (Harkness & Super, 2002). We subsequently averaged the parental values (see Fig. 1). The average between both parents corresponds to the average of the individual characteristics of the country-specific cultural values. The average thus represents an approximation of the possible values of these children at a later point in time. We have evidence from previous studies that the individual values of older intercultural children lie between the values of the two cultures of the parents and that the children identify with both cultures (Kalmijn, 2015; Padilla, 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 1991; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002).

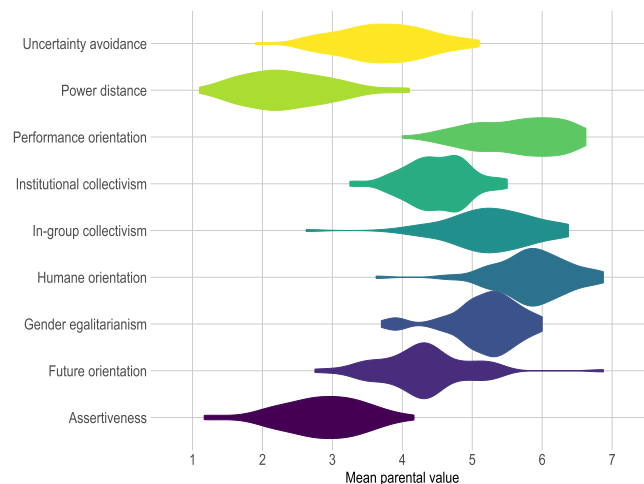


Fig. 1. Violin plot of the distribution of averaged parental cultural values in the different value dimensions.

The actual expression of the values, however, depends on many factors (Kalmijn, 2015; Padilla, 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 1991; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002). For exploratory analyses, we also report the individual predictions of father's and mother's values.

2.4. Social-cognitive skills

The participating parent filled in the CSUS questionnaire on their children's ToM skills (Tahiroglu et al., 2014). The CSUS contains six subscales: *belief* (there can be different beliefs about the same situation), *knowledge* (people can have different levels of knowledge), *perception* (people can direct the perceptual attention of others and can perceive the world differently), *desire* (people can have different desires), *intention* (people's actions can depend on their intentions), and *emotion* (there can be different feelings about the same situation). The 42 statements are assessed on a four-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (definitely untrue for my child) to 4 (definitely true for my child). We calculated the overall sum score by the procedures of the authors of the questionnaire recommended, that is we excluded questionnaires with more than 20% missing answers, remaining missing answers were replaced using maximum likelihood imputation procedures and all item answers were finally averaged.

2.5. Procedure

Child and experimenter sat at a table opposite each other in the room. The parents sat behind the child in the test room. At the end of the video, a still image with the two individuals was shown. Subsequently, the experimenter asked the child three questions in the following order: "With whom would you like to play with?" (niceness question); "Which one would you lend your favourite toy?" (trust question) and "Which one did the right thing?" (moral question). Children were asked to point to one of the individuals on the still frame video. For the reward question, the experimenter placed a plastic bowl beside each picture and gave the child six pieces of chocolate in the middle of the two pictures of the loyal and disloyal individuals, asking to child to distribute the pieces as they like.

The responses were classified as pointing/rewarding towards the "loyal individual" (score of 1), no choice between individuals (none, both, don't know, score of 0) and the "disloyal individual" (score of -1). The ordinal scores of each decision were used as dependent variable in a multi-level ordinal regression. The last question was a memory check, where children should point to the individual who wanted to stay in his/her group.

3. Results

3.1. Descriptives

Only children passing the memory question (which actor wanted to stay in his/her group) were included in the following analyses ($n = 74/78$, 95%) (see Table 3). Overall, children showed a preference towards the loyal person only in the moral question ($p = 0.007$). Four children answered all questions with the disloyal option and eleven children answered all questions with the loyal option.

3.2. Prediction by values

To assess whether parental cultural values predict children's reactions and decisions, we ran one ordinal regression with the ordinal package in R (Christensen, 2015). The children's decisions for each question (loyal person, no choice, disloyal person) was the dependent measure that was predicted by the nine value dimensions of the GLOBE questionnaire including the demographic factors age, sex, parental education as well as the social-cognitive skills of the child and question (niceness, trust, moral, reward). Participant and question were included as random effect. We decided to include all parental cultural values in one model to avoid multiple testing and to account for the interdependence of each cultural value to the other values. Results for the regression are shown in Table 4 and Fig. 2 (as well as Fig. A.1 in Supplement). The regression showed that ingroup collectivism was positively related to children's decision in the task (estimate = 0.908, $p = 0.011$), that is the more their parents valued ingroup collectivism the higher the probability that the child chose the loyal person.

We further ran two exploratory analyses on the father's and the mother's values separately because the average of both parents is only an assumption for intercultural children (Kalmijn, 2015; Padilla, 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 1991; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002). We included the same predictors and added whether the parent was born in Switzerland, the family's country of residence (see Tables A.2 and A.3). These exploratory analyses showed that ingroup collectivism of the father (estimate = 0.602, $p = 0.030$) significantly and ingroup collectivism of the mother (estimate = 0.519, $p = 0.059$) marginally predicted children's decision. Paternal

Table 3

Number of children who chose the loyal, disloyal or none of the individuals for the different questions.

Question	Loyal person	No preference	Disloyal person
Niceness (Who would you like to play with?)	38	9	27
Trust (Whom would you lend your favourite toy?)	34	11	29
Moral (Who did the right thing?)	48	6	20
Reward (Distribute 6 pieces of chocolate)	20	45	9

Table 4
Results of the ordinal regression predicting children's decisions.

Type	Dimension	estimate	SE	z	p
Parental Cultural Values	Uncertainty Avoidance	0.124	0.386	0.321	0.748
	Future Orientation	-0.218	0.348	-0.624	0.532
	Power Distance	-0.687	0.479	-1.433	0.152
	Institutional Collectivism	-0.308	0.500	-0.615	0.538
	Human Orientation	-0.148	0.490	-0.303	0.762
	Performance Orientation	-0.168	0.381	-0.440	0.660
	Ingroup Collectivism	0.908	0.358	2.535	0.011
Education	Gender Egalitarianism	-0.703	0.568	-1.238	0.216
	Assertiveness	-0.236	0.422	-0.560	0.576
Social-cognitive skills	Parental Education	0.220	0.160	1.380	0.168
	CSUS	-0.009	0.018	-0.504	0.615
	Age in days	0.001	0.002	0.723	0.470
	Sex (male)	-0.495	0.474	-1.046	0.296

Note: Significant p-values are indicated in bold.

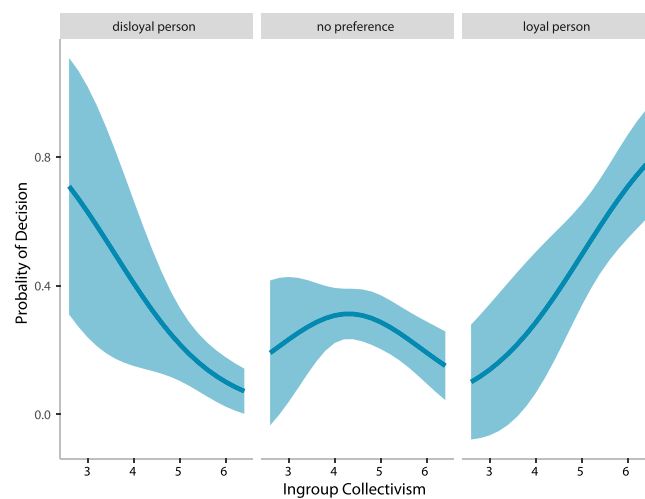


Fig. 2. Predicted probabilities for children's decisions and ingroup collectivism of both parents. please note that ordinal regression output the probabilities for each level of the dependent variable.

human orientation (estimate = -0.725 , $p = 0.042$) was negatively related to children's decisions. The results also showed that it was not predictive whether the mother was raised in the family's country of residence but if the father was born in Switzerland (estimate = -0.927 , $p = 0.038$), children tended to choose the disloyal person more. Furthermore, higher educated fathers had more loyal children (estimate = 0.400 , $p = 0.005$).

4. Discussion

We investigated if and how parental cultural values relate to children's group loyalty in families with intercultural children. The results show that differences between children's attitudes towards loyal and disloyal individuals were related to parental cultural values in ingroup collectivism but not to any other parental cultural value.

4.1. Group loyalty varies between cultures

The results of the current study support previous findings on differences in adult group loyalty. Individual differences are reported from different cultures (Triandis, 2004). For example, in a collectivist culture such as Japan, the self is seen more as an aspect of the group, whereas in an individualist culture such as the USA, the self is seen as an entity independent of groups. This leads to a prioritization of personal goals over in-group goals in individualistic cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In line with this logic, cross-cultural differences have been demonstrated in cultural value dimensions such as (ingroup) collectivism (Hofstede, 2001; House et al., 2004) and moral foundations of loyalty (Graham et al., 2013, Graham, Meindl, Beall, Johnson & Zhang, 2016). Group loyalty is also not equally strong across cultures, as not all individuals have a greater concern for the group good due to the relative independence or interdependence of the group self (Zdaniuk & Levine, 2001). Our study provides evidence for cross-cultural variance in group loyalty among 5-year-olds while controlling for macro-context (Barrett & Davis, 2008). Although all children grew up in the same

country within the same historical, and similar economic and political situation, the cultural values of the parents were associated with different children's attitudes towards loyalty.

4.2. Ingroup collectivism is associated with children's group loyalty

We found that one particular cultural dimension, ingroup collectivism, predicted children's performance in the loyalty task. Because cultural values are interdependent, we considered all cultural values in the analysis. Ingroup collectivism in the GLOBE scales reflects the degree to which individuals express pride, loyalty, and cohesion in their groups. The higher the average parental scores on ingroup collectivism, the more likely children are to rate the loyal person's behavior as the appropriate behavior. This converges with findings that children with parents from collectivist cultures are less self-interested and show more spontaneous sharing than children with parents from individualistic cultures (Fischer & Derham, 2016; Rao & Stewart, 1999; Rochat et al., 2009). These previous studies used differences between countries or country-level predictors. In contrast, in the present study, we measured the individual expression of parents' ingroup collectivism values and related them to children's loyalty attitudes. The current study showed that these individual values of parents are related to their children's evaluation of other people's behavior. Thus, they go beyond previous findings and provide a first contribution to cultural unpacking, that is not only comparing differences across cultures but looking at the source of these differences (Chen, Mak, & Lam, 2020; Heine, 2016; Singelis, Bond, Sharkey & Lai, 1999), in the domain of group loyalty.

4.3. Other values in the development of group loyalty

In the present study, none of the other parental cultural values had a reliable influence on children's decisions when the average values of both parents were considered. But when the parents were studied separately, the father's values in human orientation also predicted the children's loyalty. Human orientation refers to the extent to which people in organizations or societies encourage and reward individuals who are fair, altruistic, kind, generous, caring, and nice to others and who display and promote altruistic ideals. Societies with higher values in human orientation societies emphasize caring, compassion, sympathy, and personal relations. The present results showed that the higher the fathers' human orientation scores were, the less likely were children to rate the loyal person's behavior as correct. The direction of these findings suggests that when fathers value that all individuals should be treated kindly, their children are more likely to think that the selfish option of the disloyal person is also okay. This findings seems counter-intuitive but human-oriented societies are likely to have projects that allow people to be tolerant of mistakes (Heales, Cockcroft, & Radulescu, 2004). People are expected to value the quality of life and would be motivated to care for others as well as the environment (Parboteeah, Addae, & Cullen, 2012). Future research is needed to replicate or challenge the current findings and evaluate the possible role of other parental cultural values, such as power distance, which was the second strongest but non-significant value in both parents in our study. Furthermore, we need to analyze the daily routines of parents to investigate what cultural messages intercultural children receive about group loyalty and how children process these into their own ideas and evaluations (Over & McCall, 2018).

4.4. Theoretical embedding

The results provide evidence for the general interdependence hypothesis for the evolution of human morality in childhood (Tomasello, 2016) according to which children act upon the culturally shared values of their community. In our study, intercultural children were tested and their parental values predicted how they rated other people's loyal behavior. Passing on how to behave according to shared norms and values starts in the first year of life (Köster, Cavalcante, Carvalho, de, Resende & Kärtner, 2016) and plays into children's motivation to learn through imitation (Carpenter, Akhtar, & Tomasello, 1998; Gergely & Csibra, 2006; Meltzoff, 1995).

The results also support the societal-social-cognitive-motivational theory of social identity development (SSCMT; Barrett, 2007, 2009; Barrett & Davis, 2008). Through the selection of activities and recurrent communication about how something is done, parents pave the way for children to become competent members of the group and society as a whole. The findings are also consistent with Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT; Nesdale, 2004), which assumes that connections between parental values and children's attitudes are possible. They are however not in line with the social-cognitive developmental theory of prejudice (SCDT; Aboud, 2008). The SCDT argues for internal child characteristics as the major driving forces of developing intergroup attitudes. We included the social-cognitive skills as one of the internal child characteristics in our analysis and found that parental values were stronger predictors of child's attitudes.

4.5. Exploratory: role of mothers and fathers

The exploratory analyses showed that mothers and fathers may play different roles in the children's environment. The association of ingroup collectivism was strongest for fathers and slightly weaker for mothers. In addition, fathers' values of human orientation, fathers' education, and whether fathers were born in the family's country of residence predicted children's attitudes. Children whose fathers were born in Switzerland showed lower ingroup loyalty values. Since Swiss values tend to be individualistic, the pattern of results seems plausible regarding the connection with ingroup collectivism. Previous research has already shown that not all values are transmitted to the same extent, nor do all values have comparable transmission efforts (Vedder, Berry, Sabatier & Sam, 2009). There are differences between value types: Collectivistic values seem to be transmitted more often than individualistic ones (Knafo &

Schwartz, 2001). Fathers who tend to have collectivist values have children with more loyal values.

The finding that fathers make a unique contribution to children's development is consistent with previous research (Amodia-Bidakowska, Laverty, & Ramchandani, 2020; Cabrera, Shannon, & Tamis-LeMonda, 2007; Cabrera, Shannon, Mitchell & West, 2009; Flouri & Buchanan, 2004; Gettler, 2016; Kolak & Volling, 2013; McDowell & Parke, 2009; Vogel, Bradley, Raikes, Boller & Shears, 2006) and theoretical accounts (Cabrera, Fitzgerald, Bradley & Roggman, 2014, Cabrera, Volling, & Barr, 2018). In these accounts, children actively participate in their own development and fathers' behaviors are directly and indirectly related to children's behaviors through other family relationships and contextual factors such as frequency and quality of contact. Differences between maternal and paternal behavior are said to reflect differences by biology but also by family structure, education, cultural beliefs, and values (Cabrera et al., 2014). In the cultural domain there is already evidence, that mothers and fathers significantly differ from one another (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). It was suggested that the father-child relationship may have stronger effects than the mother-child relationship on certain aspects of children's development and might change with age but unfortunately, we still understand little about how parenting unfolds in different cultural contexts and different family structures (Cabrera et al., 2018). Future research is needed to uncover the unique contributions of mothers and fathers in different cross-cultural family contexts.

5. Conclusion

The current study investigated the strength of children's group loyalty and its relation to parental cultural values. The results revealed that group loyalty develops in the eye of parents: Parents with higher values in ingroup collectivism had children favoring loyalty to a stronger degree. Taken together, the study indicates that value differences seen in adults are early transmitted to children by their parents and that intercultural children are affected by both parental cultures' values. Group loyalty is not universally strong but depends on the individual's prioritization towards group-related values. Children's attitudes of group loyalty are socially transmitted by the environmental cultural niche that parents set.

Conflict of interest

We have no known conflict of interest to disclose.

Appendix A. Supporting information

Supplementary data associated with this article can be found in the online version at [doi:10.1016/j.cogdev.2021.101130](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cogdev.2021.101130).

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