This study examined young children’s contact with individuals of high-wealth and low-wealth backgrounds and their behavior toward peers of these backgrounds in a resource distribution task. The sample included 72 ethnically diverse higher income children (M \(\text{age} = 6.68 \text{ years}, SD = 0.98 \text{ years})). Contact with individuals of low-wealth backgrounds (interwealth contact) affected children’s behavior indirectly, through social-cognitive reasoning processes. The more interwealth contact children reported, the more likely they were to reason about access to resources rather than their own wealth preferences in this context. This reasoning, in turn, was associated with more resources allocated to a low-wealth peer relative to a high-wealth peer. Thus, interwealth contact early in development was associated with more equitable peer interactions.

In their early experiences with peers, children learn to negotiate situations involving limited resources like toys as they refine their concerns for fairness and behavioral strategies like turn taking (Rose-Krasnor & Denham, 2009; Turiel, 2006). Contact with peers also supports the development of young children’s attitudes about different social groups (Aboud & Brown, 2013). In fact, young children often share more resources (e.g., toys) with members of the social groups that they prefer (Dunham, Baron, & Carey, 2011). Interestingly, young children from middle- and higher-income families express a preference for wealthy peers (Horwitz, Shutts, & Olson, 2014), raising the possibility that many children may increase resource inequalities between peers by acting on their social preferences. Intergroup contact, however, may play an important role in children’s decisions. For instance, related work has revealed positive impacts of intergroup contact on children’s racial attitudes (Killen & Rutland, 2011). To date, few studies have examined intergroup contact in early childhood, and no research has directly addressed young children’s contact with individuals of different wealth backgrounds (interwealth contact). Drawing on an intergroup framework, this study examined relations between higher income young children’s contact with individuals of high-wealth and low-wealth backgrounds and their behavior and reasoning when distributing limited resources between peers of these backgrounds.

Wealth is a continuum, yet children and adults tend to separate the spectrum into distinct groups and use labels like “rich,” “middle class,” and “poor” in daily life (Elenbaas & Killen, 2018; Kraus, Park, & Tan, 2017; Mistry, Brown, White, Chow, & Gillen-O’Neel, 2015; Stephens, Markus, & Phillips, 2014). For instance, young children identify individuals as rich or poor based on cues from their clothing and possessions (Chafel & Neitzel, 2005; Rauscher, Friedline, & Banerjee, 2017). Because children view wealth groups as distinct, an intergroup approach is useful for understanding how children’s behavior and reasoning may differ as a function of their contact with individuals whose wealth group membership is different from their own.

It is especially important to understand the role of interwealth contact in resource allocation contexts due to the possibility that children’s attitudes toward high-wealth and low-wealth groups may exacerbate existing inequalities. In addition to distinguishing between wealth groups, young children from middle- to higher income families often prefer (i.e., like more) and wish to befriend peers depicted as high-wealth (Horwitz et al., 2014; Shutts, Brey, Dornbusch, Slywotzky, & Olson, 2016). In contexts involving resource distribution, young children tend to share selectively with members of the social groups that they prefer. For instance, young
children share more with gender, racial, linguistic, and minimal in-group members than with members of relevant out-groups (Dunham et al., 2011; Kinzler, Dupoux, & Spelke, 2007; Renno & Shutts, 2015; Sparks, Schinkel, & Moore, 2017). Thus, general tendencies to benefit preferred social groups may lead children to increase existing inequalities by sharing more with high-wealth peers. Furthermore, related work indicates that young children share more with those who have shared, or could share, with them (Kenward, Hellmer, Soderstrom Winter, & Eriksson, 2015; Warneken & Tomasello, 2013). To the extent that young children recognize high-wealth peers’ greater capacity to share (i.e., greater access to resources), this factor, too, may encourage preferential sharing with well-resourced peers.

Contact with individuals of other wealth backgrounds, however, may affect children’s decisions. Intergroup contact theory predicts that cooperative, equal status interactions between members of different social groups can improve intergroup relations through a number of social, cognitive, and emotional mechanisms (Allport, 1954; Dovidio, Love, Schelhaas, & Hewstone, 2017). The social environment of school provides opportunities for children to come into contact with peers of different backgrounds (Tropp & Prenovost, 2008; Turner & Cameron, 2016). Accordingly, most developmental work in this area has focused on older children or adolescents with several years of school experience. Less research on intergroup contact has investigated young children’s experiences, and no developmental research has yet assessed the effects of children’s interwealth contact. There is evidence, however, that racial and ethnic majority British, Canadian, and American young children in diverse schools have fewer negative stereotypes and implicit biases about out-group children than their peers in nondiverse schools (McGlothlin & Killen, 2010; Rutland, Cameron, Bennett, & Ferrell, 2005; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008). This suggests that interwealth contact in the early school years may also have a positive impact on young children’s attitudes or behavior toward peers of other wealth backgrounds.

Particularly relevant to this study, intergroup contact heightens older children’s sense of fairness and justice in interactions with out-group peers. For example, European-American, African-American, and Latinx children with high levels of interracial or interethnic contact evaluate the social exclusion of a peer on the basis of race or ethnicity as more wrong, for moral reasons, than children with less intergroup contact (Killen & Rutland, 2011). Importantly, moral concerns for the fair treatment of others are also present in contexts where resources are limited. For instance, when one person already possesses more of an item (e.g., candy) than another person does, children must consider whether to distribute more resources to the individual with less, in line with principles of equity, or divide items equally. By 7–8 years of age children allocate equitably (Rizzo & Killen, 2016; Schmidt, Svetlova, Johe, & Tomasello, 2016). Younger children are less consistent in their decisions (Malti et al., 2016; Paulus, 2014).

Similar equity principles may appear relevant to children when distributing resources between peers of different wealth backgrounds if they are able to take the additional cognitive step of inferring that resources differ based on wealth (e.g., “I am handing out stickers, and it is likely that this high-wealth peer already has more stickers than this low-wealth peer”). As previously noted, however, preference for the wealthy may motivate children’s behavior in the direction of more, rather than less, inequity. Given these competing considerations, contact with individuals of low-wealth backgrounds is unlikely to completely eliminate children’s wealth preferences. Rather, interwealth contact may affect the extent to which children focus on one consideration (e.g., “who has more stickers?”) over another consideration (e.g., “who do I like more?”) when distributing resources.

This Study

To test this possibility, we examined children’s decisions about how to distribute resources (erasers) to two hypothetical peers, one depicted as low-wealth and one depicted as high-wealth, their reasoning for their decisions, and their self-reported contact with individuals of low-wealth backgrounds. The sample was comprised of primarily higher income children in kindergarten, first grade, and second grade. Based on the evidence reviewed earlier, these 5- to 8-year-olds could be expected to demonstrate a preference for high-wealth peers as well as the potential to consider equity when distributing resources. Their early contact with individuals of other wealth backgrounds might also have a positive impact on their treatment of out-group peers.

In addition to interwealth contact, we measured children’s self-reported contact with individuals of high-wealth backgrounds (intraweight contact), in order to examine the unique effect of intergroup experiences on children’s decisions. As supplementary assessments of wealth preferences and perceptions
outside of the resource allocation context, we asked children who they preferred (a high-wealth or low-wealth peer) and who they thought had more resources (a high-wealth or low-wealth peer).

We formulated three hypotheses for this study:

H1: The more interwealth contact children reported the more resources they would distribute to the low-wealth peer.
H2: The more interwealth contact children reported the more likely they would be to reason about lack of access to resources (an equity concern) and the less likely they would be to reason about wealth preferences when explaining their decision.
H3: The association between interwealth contact and children’s resource allocation behavior (i.e., more to the low-wealth peer) would be mediated by the effect of interwealth contact on children’s reasoning (i.e., focus on access to resources rather than wealth preferences).

Method

Participants

Participants were 5- to 8-year-olds (N = 72, M = 6.68 years, SD = 0.98 years) living and attending kindergarten, first, or second grade at three private (religious and nonsectarian) elementary schools in the ethnically and socioeconomically diverse suburbs of a large city in the mid-Atlantic United States. Participant demographics (by parent report) did not differ significantly across schools. A priori power analyses for the models described in the following Data Analytic Plan indicated that a sample size of 70 would be necessary to detect medium effects.

As indicated in Table 1, the sample was evenly distributed across grades, balanced by gender, and racially/ethnically diverse. Parents used a scale ranging from 1 = < $30K to 8 = > $210K to indicate their family’s approximate annual family income. At the time of data collection (spring 2017), the median annual household income in the area where participants lived was $100,352 and the national median was $57,617 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Thus, the majority of participants would be considered upper-middle- to higher income.

Procedure

Parental consent and children’s verbal assent were obtained for all participants. Participants were individually interviewed by trained experimenters in quiet spaces at their schools. All stimuli and measures were presented on laptops. The entire session took approximately 10 min.

Measures

Participants were introduced to two individuals using silhouette outlines of elementary-aged children. One individual was depicted as high-wealth and one individual was depicted as low-wealth using images of houses, cars, and backpacks. The experimenter pointed to each individual in turn and stated: “This is [high-wealth/low-wealth peer]. [high-wealth/low-wealth peer’s] family has a [little/lot] of money. [high-wealth/low-wealth peer] lives in this house, rides in this car, and carries this backpack.”

Images of houses, cars, and backpacks were adapted from a study of children’s perceptions of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
<th>Sample Demographics</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Grade</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second grade</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(3) $60–90K</td>
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<tr>
<td>Declined to provide family income</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Wealth Preferences and Perceptions

Children were asked “Which kid do you like more?” and “Which kid has more toys at home?” For both questions children responded verbally or by pointing to the high-wealth (Coded “1”) or low-wealth (Coded “0”) peer. The order of these initial questions was counterbalanced across participants.

Resource Allocation

Two clear plastic boxes were placed over the laptop keyboard, under the images of the high-wealth and low-wealth peers on the screen. The experimenter stated: “I have some erasers with me today. Let’s give some erasers to [high-wealth peer] and [low-wealth peer]! Here, you can put erasers for [high-wealth peer] in this box and erasers for [low-wealth peer] in this box.” The experimenter handed the child five identical laminated pictures of rainbow erasers and asked: “Can you show me how you want to give them out?” Children responded by distributing all of the items into the two clear boxes. This established a scale of the number of erasers distributed to the low-wealth peer (range = 0–5).

Reasoning About Resource Allocation

The experimenter asked: “Can you tell me why you gave [number] to [high-wealth peer] and [number] to [low-wealth peer]?” Children’s verbal reasoning was audio recorded and later coded into one of three mutually exclusive conceptual categories expected based on previous research. Table 2 provides the label and definition for each category, as well as example responses. Responses that did not fit into one of the three categories (e.g., “Just because”) were coded as “Other.” If a participant referenced more than one conceptual category, their response was coded into the category that reflected the majority of their reasoning. Coding was conducted by two research assistants blind to the hypotheses of the study. Using responses from 20% of participants, Cohen’s $\kappa = .90$ for interrater reliability.

Data Analytic Plan

All analyses were conducted in SPSS 24 (IBM Corporation, New York, United States). To test H1, we used a linear mixed model to examine the effects of Contact-LW, Contact-HW, and Age on the number of erasers that children allocated to the low-wealth peer. To test H2, we used generalized linear mixed model (multinomial probability distribution, generalized logit link function)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptual category</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wealth preferences</td>
<td>References to a preference for one recipient on the basis of that recipient’s wealth status</td>
<td>“Because he’s so nice, like his things.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to resources</td>
<td>References to the recipients’ relative access to erasers specifically or generally</td>
<td>“[High-wealth peer] probably has more stuff already.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality</td>
<td>References to a desire to distribute equally</td>
<td>“It should be equal.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inter and Intra-wealth Contact

The experimenter removed the erasers and clear boxes, pointed to each individual in turn, and asked: “Do you know anybody with a family like [high-wealth/low-wealth peers] family?” Children who responded in the affirmative were asked: “How many people do you know with a family like [high-wealth/low-wealth peers] family? A few people, some people, or a lot of people?” Dots were used to represent the scale; “a few” was represented by a single dot, “some” by three dots, and “a lot” by six dots. Children responded verbally to both questions. This established two separate scales reflecting children’s reported contact with individuals of low-wealth backgrounds (Contact-LW, range = 0–4) and reported contact with individuals of high-wealth backgrounds (Contact-HW, range = 0–4).
to examine the effects of the same predictors on children’s reasoning about Wealth Preferences, Access to Resources, or Equality. For both models we included School as a random effect. For both models we also checked for interaction effects after testing our hypotheses; none were significant.

To test H3 we used a bootstrapping method (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) to examine whether reasoning about Access to Resources and Wealth Preferences mediated the effect of Contact-LW on the number of erasers that children allocated to the low-wealth peer. Bootstrapping generates an empirical approximation of the sampling distribution of the total and specific indirect effects by repeated random resampling with replacement from the original data set, and uses this distribution to calculate $p$ values and CIs for the effects. A 95% CI containing zero is reflects a nonsignificant effect. In this analysis, we used 5,000 bootstrap samples.

As will be noted next, at the bivariate level, children’s Contact-HW and Contact-LW were correlated with their race/ethnicity, and Contact-HW was correlated with family income. For all three models, we initially included Race/Ethnicity and Approximate Annual Family. In no case were the effects significant. To preserve power for testing our primary hypotheses, we did not include these variables in the final models reported here.

**Results**

**Reported Contact With High-Wealth and Low-Wealth Individuals**

Just over half of the sample reported some form of contact. Specifically, 25% of children ($n = 19$) knew people of both wealth backgrounds, 17% ($n = 12$) knew someone of high-wealth background but no one of low-wealth background, and 8% ($n = 6$) knew someone of low-wealth background but no one of high-wealth background. 49% ($n = 35$) reported no contact.

On the scale from 0 = no one to 4 = a lot of people the sample average for Contact-HW was $M = 0.81$ ($SD = 1.07$) and the sample average for Contact-LW was $M = 0.68$ ($SD = 1.06$). Table 3 provides the distribution of responses to both contact questions.

**Resource Allocation to High-Wealth and Low-Wealth Peers**

The average number of erasers that children distributed to the low-wealth peer was $M = 2.80$ ($SD = 1.10$, range = 0–5). At the bivariate level, children’s behavior correlated positively with their Contact-LW, Contact-HW, and Age (see Table 4).

The model testing H1 was significant, $LR \chi^2(3, N = 71) = 16.58, p < .001$. Supporting H1, the more contact children reported with individuals of low-wealth backgrounds the more erasers they distributed to the low-wealth peer, $F(1, 66.69) = 4.27, b = 0.25$ 95% CI [0.01, 0.50], $p = .04$. The effect for Contact-HW was not significant, $F(1, 66.64) = 0.86, b = 0.11$ 95% CI [–0.13, 0.35], $p = .36$. The effect for Age was significant, $F(1, 66.30) = 15.06, b = 0.51$ 95% CI [0.25, 0.77], $p < .001$.

**Reasoning About Resource Allocation**

When reasoning about their decisions, 58% ($n = 42$) of participants referenced Access to Resources, 26% ($n = 19$) referenced Wealth Preferences, 6% ($n = 4$) referenced Equality, and 10%
(n = 7) of answers were coded as “other,” \( \chi^2(3, N = 72) = 49.67, p < .001 \).

The model testing H2 was significant, LR \( \chi^2(5, N = 65) = 273.74, p < .001 \). Supporting H2, the effect for Contact-LW was significant, \( F(2, 57) = 3.34, p = .04 \). Specifically, the more contact children reported with individuals of low-wealth backgrounds the more likely they were to reason about Access to Resources, \( b = 1.84 \) 95% CI [0.36, 3.33], \( t(57) = 2.49, p = .02 \), and about Equality, \( b = 1.90 \) 95% CI [0.15, 3.66], \( t(57) = 2.17, p = .03 \), relative to reasoning about Wealth Preferences. Contact-LW was not significantly associated with children’s reasoning about Access to Resources relative to Equality, \( b = -0.06 \) 95% CI [-1.16, 1.05], \( t(57) = -0.11, p = .92 \). The effects for Contact-HW, \( F(2, 57) = 0.52, p = .60 \), and Age, \( F(2, 57) = 2.28, p = .11 \), were not significant.

**Mediation of Interwealth Contact on Resource Allocation**

The model testing H3 was significant, \( F(3, 67) = 19.38, p < .001, R^2 = .44 \). As demonstrated by a 95% CI not containing zero, the total indirect effect of Contact-LW on Resource Allocation was significant, \( b = 0.23 \) 95% CI [0.10, 0.39]. Furthermore, the specific indirect effects of reasoning about Access to Resources, \( b = 0.13 \) 95% CI [0.06, 0.24], and reasoning about Wealth Preferences, \( b = 0.09 \) 95% CI [0.01, 0.21], were both significant. Thus, H3 was supported; the increased likelihood of reasoning about recipients’ access to resources and decreased likelihood of reasoning about wealth preferences associated with greater reported contact with low-wealth individuals mediated the effect of interwealth contact on children’s distributive behavior (Figure 1).

**Wealth Preferences and Perceptions**

Most children (61%, n = 44) liked the high-wealth peer more than the low-wealth peer, \( \chi^2(1, N = 72) = 3.56, p = .05 \). Preferences were not significantly correlated with Contact-LW, \( r = -0.13 p = .26 \) or Contact-HW, \( r = -0.04 p = .73 \). The majority of children (94%, n = 68) thought that the high-wealth peer had more toys at home, \( \chi^2(1, N = 72) = 56.89, p < .001 \). Perceptions were not significantly correlated with Contact-LW, \( r = -0.02 p = .89 \) or Contact-HW, \( r = 0.18 p = .12 \).

**Discussion**

This study used an intergroup framework to examine higher-income young children’s behavior toward high-wealth and low-wealth peers in a resource distribution task. The more contact children reported with individuals of low-wealth backgrounds the more likely they were to focus on access to resources rather than their own wealth preferences in this context. This reasoning, in turn, was associated with more resources allocated to a low-wealth peer relative to a high-wealth peer. Thus, interwealth contact affected children’s distributive behavior indirectly, through social-cognitive reasoning processes.
This study was the first to examine the effects of young children’s contact with individuals of different wealth backgrounds on their behavior toward peers of these backgrounds. The findings suggest that interwealth contact is important to children’s conceptions of distributive justice. More broadly, the results align with intergroup contact theory which holds that, under cooperative and equal status conditions, intergroup contact improves intergroup attitudes (Allport, 1954; Dovidio et al., 2017). Typically young children share selectively with members of the social groups that they prefer (e.g., Dunham et al., 2011). In this study, however, interwealth contact heightened children’s focus on equity over social preferences.

Importantly, the effect of interwealth contact on children’s behavior was explained by how children weighed the importance of these competing concerns. Children consider multiple social and moral issues when making decisions in peer interactions (Killen, Elenbaas, & Rutland, 2015). The reasoning processes that children bring to bear on their decisions highlight what they perceive to be the most important aspects of a given situation, and shed light on how exactly interwealth contact affects behavior early in development. For instance, older children with higher levels of interracial contact relative to their peers are more likely to reason about race-based social exclusion in moral terms (e.g., as unfair or hurtful) rather than conventional terms (e.g., as normal or expected; Killen & Rutland, 2011). In this study, the majority of participants reported a preference for the high-wealth peer, but also perceived that the low-wealth peer had fewer toys at home, indicating that both social preferences and equity concerns were salient to children. When they had the opportunity to distribute resources, however, children with more interwealth contact focused on who had more rather than who they liked more. Reasoning along these lines translated into more erasers for the low-wealth peer.

Interestingly, children’s age also related to their behavior (but not their reasoning); the older the child the more erasers they distributed to the low-wealth peer. Age, however, did not correlate significantly with children’s reports of direct interwealth contact. One possible explanation is that, relative to younger children, older children had experienced more “extended” (or indirect) contact with individuals of low-wealth backgrounds. Extended contact entails knowing someone who knows someone from the relevant out-group (e.g., having a friend from a high-wealth background who is friends with someone from a low-wealth background). Although it is not typically as effective at changing attitudes as direct contact, extended contact can reduce children’s prejudice toward a variety of out-groups (Vezzali, Hewstone, Capozza, Giovannini, & Wölfer, 2014; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). Future studies may be able to determine whether, across the kindergarten, first-, and second-grade years, extended contact has a cumulative effect on children’s distributive behavior that operates similarly to (but independent from) the effect of direct contact that was the focus of this study.

Furthermore, although it was not significant in the multivariate model, contact with high-wealth individuals correlated with children’s behavior on a bivariate level. One possibility is that, alongside interwealth contact, more social experience with others (of any wealth background) can promote concern for equity through the development of more general social-cognitive competencies (e.g., Paulus & Leitherer, 2017; Rizzo & Killen, 2016). Future research may benefit from directly assessing the joint and separate effects of intergroup and intragroup contact on decisions like these.

**Limitations and Future Directions**

Findings from this study point to several directions for further investigation. For instance, future studies might include parent report, teacher report, or observational data to strengthen the evidence for relations between self-reported interwealth contact and children's reasoning and behavior. Although young children can identify others as high-wealth or low-wealth (Rauscher et al., 2017), and can report on who, for instance, is their friend or not their friend (Howes, 2009), future work would benefit from supporting evidence of children’s interwealth contact provided by others who are familiar with their social partners.

Furthermore, the effects of intergroup contact on intergroup attitudes are strongest in cross-group friendships versus more temporary interactions (Aboud & Brown, 2013). Most prior research on intergroup contact with young children has conceptualized contact in broad terms, for instance by comparing the attitudes of children in ethnically diverse and nondiverse schools (e.g., McGlothlin & Killen, 2010; Rutland et al., 2005; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008). In this study, by asking young children directly whether they knew anyone of high-wealth or low-wealth background, we aimed to obtain a more fine-grained assessment of their intergroup contact experiences. However, future
research on children’s concern for equity may benefit from investigating not only the quantity, but also the quality, of children’s interwealth contact.

Including the perspectives of children of lower income backgrounds is also crucial for future work in this area. Interwealth contact may have different social consequences for lower income children than it does for higher income children (Odgers & Adler, 2018). Likewise, although most children in the sample were from higher income families, measuring children’s own identification with a wealth status (Mistry et al., 2015) would strengthen future research on in-group/out-group distinctions and children’s fairness decisions.

Given the effect of interwealth contact on children’s capacity to prioritize equity concerns, the findings from this study have implications for how to structure children’s daily interactions to encourage fair treatment. Interestingly, however, interwealth contact may be increasingly rare. Economic segregation has been on the rise in the United States and many other countries for some time, limiting children’s opportunities for peer interactions across economic lines. When it does occur, contact with individuals of other economic backgrounds can promote young children’s concern for equity, highlighting the positive impact of these interactions early in development.

References


