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The Psychological Impact of Prejudice: Implications for Intergroup Contact

Linda R. Tropp
Department of Psychology, Boston College

This research concerns the effects of prejudice on how members of devalued groups feel toward intergroup contact. With members of laboratory-generated groups (Study 1) and devalued ethnic groups (Study 2), two experimental studies tested the impact of exposure to prejudice on emotional states and feelings toward cross-group interactions. Results suggest that exposure to prejudice can negatively affect group members' emotional states in intergroup contexts, and can lead them to feel more negatively toward interactions with both a single, prejudiced outgroup member, and with outgroup members in general. Implications of the findings and suggested directions for future research are discussed.

keywords devalued groups, intergroup contact, prejudice

A PRIMARY goal of intergroup contact research has been to find ways of reducing intergroup prejudice, thereby curbing the endorsement and expression of negative evaluations and attitudes based on group membership (see Allport, 1954; Brown, 1995; Jones, 1997). Decades of research have shown than contact between members of different groups can lead to reductions in prejudice, along with a variety of other positive intergroup outcomes (see Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Pettigrew, 1998 for reviews). However, with some notable exceptions (e.g. Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996; Hyers & Swim, 1998; Phinney, Ferguson, & Tate, 1997; W. G. Stephan & Stephan, 1985), the bulk of the contact literature has examined contact outcomes for members of dominant groups, with limited consideration of the distinct concerns that may be associated with contact for members of devalued groups. Members of devalued groups are readily aware of prejudices against their group (Pinel, 1999) and are regularly confronted with prejudice due to their group membership (Crocker & Major, 1989), experiences which are relatively uncommon for members of dominant groups (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001). Knowledge of their group's devaluation can produce considerable stress in intergroup contexts (Miller & Major, 2000), leading members of devalued groups to feel unsure about how they will be perceived by members of the dominant group (see Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). In turn, they may learn

Author's note
Address correspondence to Linda R. Tropp, Department of Psychology, McGuinn Hall, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA 02467 USA [email: tropp@bc.edu]

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to dread interactions with the dominant group (Jones et al., 1984) or attempt to avoid situations where they would be likely to encounter prejudice (Miller & Major, 2000).

As such, concerns that others harbor prejudices against one's group may severely limit the potential for achieving positive outcomes when intergroup contact does take place. Perceiving prejudice from the outgroup may lead members of devalued groups to be guarded in cross-group interactions (Crocker et al., 1998), limiting opportunities for group members to develop the types of close relationships across group boundaries that can contribute to positive intergroup outcomes (Pettigrew, 1997; Wright, Aron, & Tropp, 2002). Findings from a recent meta-analysis also suggest differences in responses to intergroup contact among members of devalued and dominant groups (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Consistent with the contact hypothesis (see Allport, 1954), the overall analysis shows an inverse relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice, such that greater levels of contact are associated with lower levels of prejudice. However, the results also indicate that the relationship between contact and prejudice is substantially weaker among members of devalued groups than among members of dominant groups. While several explanations for this effect are possible, it may well be that devalued group members' experiences with prejudice taint or inhibit the potential for positive outcomes from intergroup contact.

Implications of prejudice for intergroup contact

Indeed, it is conceivable that even a single experience with prejudice from the outgroup may have broad implications for how members of devalued groups would approach cross-group interactions, and the extent to which they would be willing to engage in future interactions with outgroup members. If their concerns about others' prejudices are confirmed, they may become even less willing to risk engaging in cross-group interactions and exposing themselves to prejudice in the future (see Kramer & Wei, 1999 for a related argument). Still, little is known about how group members' experiences with prejudice may affect their feelings toward future cross-group interactions. The present research explores three ways in which being a target of prejudice might influence group members' feelings toward interactions with members of the dominant outgroup.

Emotional states in intergroup contexts

First, being a target of prejudice may negatively affect group members' emotional states in intergroup contexts. While examples are few, some studies have begun to examine group members' emotional states in cross-group interactions (e.g. Devine et al., 1996; Hyers & Swim, 1998; W. G. Stephan & Stephan, 1985), as well as in response to the prejudice they perceive (e.g. Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Dion & Earn, 1975; Shelton, 2003). Results from these studies suggest that those who perceive more prejudice tend to report greater anxiety (e.g. Dion & Earn, 1975) and greater hostility toward the outgroup (e.g. Branscombe et al., 1999). However, in these studies, emotional states tend to be assessed in response to ambiguous contexts, where group members *choose* to make attributions to prejudice rather than being unquestionably exposed to prejudice from the outgroup. In the present research, emotional states were assessed in response to more direct and explicit expressions of prejudice from an outgroup member. It was predicted that group members who encounter prejudice from an outgroup member would report feeling more hostile and more anxious than those who do not encounter prejudice.

Feelings toward interactions with individual outgroup members

Along with affecting their emotional states, being a target of prejudice should negatively affect group members' feelings toward interacting with a prejudiced member of the outgroup. Using an approach akin to the attributional ambiguity literature (see Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991), Shelton (2003) manipulated group members' expectations for the attitudes of their outgroup partner, and the likelihood

they would become targets of their partner's prejudices. Shelton found that participants who believed their partner might be prejudiced reported enjoying the interaction somewhat more than those without information about their partner's attitudes. Shelton suggests that participants' reduced uncertainty about what to expect from the partner, or that expectations of prejudice from the partner were not confirmed, may have led those with a seemingly prejudiced partner to respond more favorably to the interaction.

In light of this finding, it is important to note that this study only explored feelings toward an interaction where there is a heightened *threat* of prejudice. However, experiencing the *threat* of prejudice may produce different intergroup outcomes than the *direct experience* of prejudice itself. Thus, the present studies examined feelings toward a cross-group interaction in response to a direct encounter with prejudice. It was predicted that members of devalued groups would feel less positively about interacting with an outgroup member after a direct encounter with prejudice from that outgroup member.

Generalization from an individual outgroup member to the outgroup as a whole

Importantly, the present studies also extend this work by examining how expressed prejudice from a single outgroup member may generalize to more negative expectations for interactions with outgroup members altogether. Much of the contact literature has focused on the generalization of *positive* contact effects, showing that positive feelings toward an individual outgroup member can extend to more positive feelings toward the outgroup as a whole (see Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Pettigrew, 1998). A similar approach may be used to interpret the ramifications of negative contact experiences: expressions of prejudice from an outgroup member may produce negative feelings toward that particular individual, which may also generalize to more negative feelings toward contact with the outgroup as a whole.

To the author's knowledge, no previous studies have investigated how expressions of prejudice from an individual outgroup member may affect the target's expectations for interactions with outgroup members in general. Just as the effects of positive contact experiences can generalize from a single outgroup member to the outgroup as a whole, the effects of negative contact experiences may also generalize. Specifically, it was predicted that group members who encounter prejudice from a single outgroup member would have more negative expectations for interactions with outgroup members in general than those who do not encounter prejudice.

Examining responses to prejudice among members of laboratory and real groups

These predicted outcomes were examined in two experimental studies. While the studies employed the same basic design, they differed with respect to the groups involved, and correspondingly, in some of their procedures. Study 1 examined responses to expressed prejudice among laboratory-generated groups, using group categorizations commonly used in the social identity literature (see Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Studies with laboratory groups are especially advantageous, as membership in a devalued group can be controlled through experimental procedures, which are independent of participants' prior experiences. Unlike laboratory groups, however, members of real groups have histories of experiences as group members, including interactions with ingroup members (Hogg & Abrams, 1988), and often exposure to prejudice from the outgroup (Dion, 1986; Swim, Cohen, & Hyers, 1998). Such experiences may influence group members' responses to prejudice in ways beyond those that can be detected in studies with laboratory groups (see Deaux, 1992). Thus, Study 2 was conducted to examine responses to expressed prejudice among members of real groups—specifically, members of devalued ethnic groups (Latinos and Asian Americans). Taken together, these studies provide an opportunity for comparing patterns of responses to expressed prejudice among members of laboratory and real groups.

Study 1

Study 1 examined responses to expressions of prejudice among members of laboratory groups. While group membership was assigned, efforts were taken to design manipulations so that participants' experiences as group members would parallel those of members of real devalued groups.

Method

Pretest A separate sample of 25 female undergraduates stated whether they had ever heard of two fictitious, laboratory groups: 'over-estimators' and 'under-estimators' (see Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). In response to two more items, they indicated their attitudes toward each group ('How good is it to be an over-estimator/under-estimator?') on a scale from 1 (not good at all) to 7 (very good).

Some respondents stated that they had never heard of the groups before (n = 17) and some believed they had heard of the groups (n = 8). There were no significant differences in attitudes toward over- and under-estimators among those who had never heard of the groups (M = 3.29 and 3.41, respectively) ($F(1, 16) = .32$, p = .58), but those who believed they had heard of the groups tended to rate over-estimators more positively (M = 4.25) than under-estimators (M = 2.75) ($F(1, 7) = 4.50$, $p = .07$). Thus, to be consistent with the goals of the manipulation, the group 'under-estimators' was used to refer to the devalued group.

Sample A total of 91 undergraduate psychology students volunteered to participate in exchange for research credit. One had already participated in a study involving laboratory groups, three did not hear the confederate's comments, and seven suspected the use of confederates in the study; responses from these 11 participants were not retained for data analysis. Altogether, 80 participants (19 male and 61 female) were included in the final sample, with ages ranging from 17 to 34 years (M = 20.18 years).

Experimental procedures Participants were informed that the study concerned 'communication styles among over-estimators and under-estimators', and that 'estimation' represents an important personality dimension that influences social behavior. They were also informed that the experimenter would use an intercom system to communicate with participants in all of the testing rooms.

Group assignment Participants were escorted to individual testing rooms. Each participant engaged in a brief estimation task with the experimenter (i.e. estimating the number of dots on a series of poster boards), and regardless of their actual scores, they were informed that they were 'under-estimators'. Participants were also asked to wear a green shirt (to distinguish them from the blue-shirted 'over-estimators'), and a Polaroid photograph was taken of the participant, which was later attached to their personal information sheet (see below).

Personal information sheet Participants were then asked to complete a personal information sheet, in which they stated their group membership ('over-estimator' or 'under-estimator'). All participants correctly identified themselves as 'under-estimators'.

After participants completed the personal information sheet, the experimenter attached the participant's photo to the sheet and left the testing room. The experimenter later returned to the testing room with the personal information sheet of their matched partner (confederate).

Induction of devalued position With one notable exception (Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997, Experiment 2), prior studies have induced group disadvantage using a performance paradigm, where participants learn that they and other ingroup members performed worse on a task than members of another group, and are therefore accorded a lower status (see Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995; Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Rothgerber & Worchel, 1997). The underlying premise that group members are in part responsible for their group's devalued position presents some concern regarding this procedure, as it may enhance the

perceived legitimacy of status inequalities between the groups (see Major, 1994). Thus, in the present study, no information was presented to suggest that one group actually performed better than another group on any specified tasks. Instead, a new devaluation procedure was developed. Inspired by research on stigma, which stresses the impact of public evaluations (e.g. Goffman, 1963), the procedure was based upon a *public perception* that one's group is not as valued as another group.

Specifically, participants were told that 'the public' generally responds more positively to over-estimators than under-estimators. Presenting counterfeit data from a fictitious study, the experimenter explained that, for some reason, over-estimators are generally *perceived* as 'better' than under-estimators across several dimensions. Participants were further told that the underlying purpose of the study was to understand why this difference in public perception exists.

Participants learned that they were 'randomly' assigned to interact with an over-estimator (in actuality, all participants were told the same). Participants were then given the photograph and personal information sheet of their assigned partner—a blue-shirted 'over-estimator' (confederate)—and were informed that their partner had been given their photograph and personal information sheet. They were asked to read all the information on their partner's sheet, and were informed that the experimenter would call them (via intercom) when she was ready for them to come to the main room. After a short delay, the participant was called to the main room and was asked to fill out a form while the experimenter called the partner (confederate) to the main room. The experimenter then called the confederate (via intercom), at which point the confederate came to the door of the main room. As the experimenter opened the door, a scripted dialogue between the experimenter and confederate began, which would serve as the basis for the prejudice manipulation (see below). This procedure allowed the participant to overhear what the partner (confederate) said upon entering the room, without being visible to the partner (confederate).

Prejudice manipulation Participants were randomly assigned to one of two additional conditions, determined by the content of the scripted dialogue between the confederate and the experimenter. In the *prejudice* condition, the confederate asked the experimenter if she could switch partners, because she would rather not interact with an under-estimator. The experimenter responded that a change in partners was not possible due to random assignment, at which point the confederate stated her willingness to continue with the study. In the *neutral* condition, the confederate made a benign comment, asking the experimenter if the study would take over an hour to complete, because she did not want to be late for class. The experimenter responded that the study should not take over an hour, at which point the confederate stated her willingness to continue with the study. Once the participant and confederate were seated at separate tables, each was given a questionnaire packet to complete (see 'Dependent measures', below). Once they were completed, the experimenter asked the confederate to leave the room for a moment, and began to debrief the participant.

Debriefing At the beginning of the debriefing, the experimenter asked participants several questions to discern whether they had suspicions about the true goals of the study, and to check that they had overheard the confederate's comments prior to the anticipated interaction. All participants in the final sample were able to recall correctly the statements made by the confederate.

Participants were then informed that: (a) their assignment to be 'under-estimators' was arbitrary, (b) there is no meaningful distinction between over-estimators and under-estimators in theories of psychology, and therefore (c) the dimension holds no real significance for social behavior. Participants were also informed that all of the statements were scripted and did not reflect the actual attitudes of the people involved. Participants were then given the opportunity to meet their partner (confederate) and to ask any questions they had about the study.

Dependent measures

Emotional states in intergroup contexts Participants rated their feelings of hostility and anxiety prior to the anticipated interaction, using two items that shared the same stem ('In thinking about interacting with your partner, to what extent do you feel hostile/anxious?'). Responses ranged from 1 (not at all) to 9 (very much).

Expectations for interactions with ingroup members and outgroup members In four separate items, participants also reported their anticipated feelings toward interacting with ingroup members and outgroup members, with two items pertaining to each group (i.e. 'I think I would get along with most under-/over-estimators' and 'I think I would enjoy interacting with most under-/over-estimators'). Two parallel items also asked participants how they felt about interacting with their partner ('I think I will get along with my conversation partner' and 'I think I will enjoy interacting with my conversation partner'). Item responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree). For each target, participants' responses to the two items were averaged and these averages were used in data analysis. Alpha coefficients for the two-item measures were .79 for interactions with ingroup members, .82 for interactions with outgroup members, and .94 for interactions with the partner.

Results

Emotional states in intergroup contexts Separate analyses of variance were conducted for feelings of hostility and anxiety prior to the anticipated interaction. While their scores fell well below the midpoint of the scale, there was a significant effect of Condition on hostility ($F(1, 76) = 4.20$, $\eta^2 = .05$, $p = .04$), such that participants in the prejudice condition reported feeling significantly more hostile ($M = 2.73$) than participants in the neutral condition ($M = 1.78$). At the same time, although participants in the prejudice condition reported feeling slightly more anxious ($M = 4.68$) than participants in the neutral condition ($M = 4.33$), there were no significant differences in anxiety across the conditions ($F(1, 76) = .59$, $\eta^2 < .01$, $p = .44$).

Expectations for interactions with ingroup members and outgroup members A 2 (Condition: Prejudice/Neutral) × 3 (Target: Ingroup Members/Outgroup Members/Partner) analysis of variance was conducted for expectations for interactions, with Target as a repeated measures factor. The significant main effect of Condition ($F(1, 76) = 6.89$, $\eta^2 = .08$, $p < .01$), was qualified by a significant Condition × Target interaction ($F(2, 152) = 9.03$, $\eta^2 = .11$, $p < .001$) (see Figure 1). Simple effects tests showed that participants in the prejudice and neutral conditions did not significantly differ in their expectations for interactions with ingroup members ($F(1, 78) = .46$, $\eta^2 < .01$, $p = .50$). However, those in the prejudice condition were significantly less positive about interacting with their partner ($F(1, 78) = 17.19$, $\eta^2 = .18$, $p < .001$), and marginally less positive about interacting with outgroup members in general ($F(1, 78) = 3.75$, $\eta^2 = .05$, $p = .06$), than those in the neutral condition.

Post hoc tests were also conducted to see whether participants in each condition differed significantly in their expectations for interactions with ingroup members and outgroup members. These tests revealed that participants in the neutral condition were marginally more positive about interacting with their partner ($M = 6.03$) and outgroup members ($M = 5.99$) than with ingroup members ($M = 5.47$) ($F(1, 39) = 2.91$ and 3.24, respectively, $\eta^2 = .07$ and .08, $p < .10$). Instead, participants in the prejudice condition were significantly less positive about interacting with their partner ($M = 4.63$) than with ingroup members ($M = 5.70$) ($F(1, 39) = 10.49$, $\eta^2 = .21$, $p < .01$). At the same time, participants in the prejudice condition were only slightly (and not significantly) less positive about interacting with outgroup members ($M = 5.48$) than with ingroup members ($F(1, 39) = .76$, $\eta^2 = .02$, $p = .39$).

Discussion

Overall, the results indicated that being a target of prejudice can negatively affect devalued

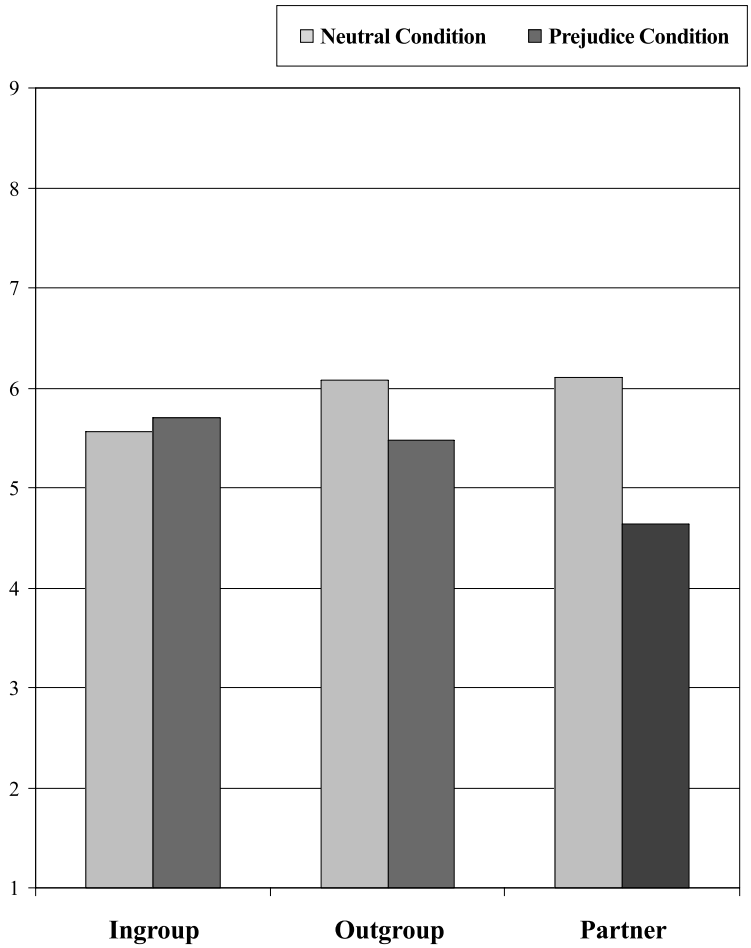

Figure 1. Expectations for interactions with ingroup members, outgroup members, and partner among participants in each condition (Study 1).

group members' feelings toward interactions with the dominant outgroup. Group members exposed to prejudice from an outgroup member reported greater levels of hostility prior to the anticipated interaction than those who were not exposed to prejudice from an outgroup member. Furthermore, compared to those who did not encounter prejudice, those who encountered prejudice had less positive expectations for interactions with their partner, and marginally less positive expectations for interactions with outgroup members in general. Surprisingly, there were no significant differences in reported anxiety across the conditions. This particular finding diverges from prior research indicating that an awareness of group membership in intergroup contexts should correspond with greater anxiety (W. G. Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Nonetheless, the general patterns of findings suggest that exposure to prejudice may negatively influence group members' inclinations toward intergroup contact. As people are motivated to avoid uncomfortable social situations

(Goffman, 1963; Jones et al., 1984), those who have been the targets of prejudice from an outgroup member may become less willing to engage in interactions with any members of the outgroup in the future. Further, if unable to avoid cross-group interactions, they may still respond more negatively to the interaction, in a manner consistent with their negative expectations (see Darley & Fazio, 1980). Thus, even when conditions of the contact situation are designed to maximize the potential for positive intergroup outcomes (see Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998), group members' prior experiences with prejudice may curb their interest in cultivating relationships with members of the outgroup.

Responses to prejudice among laboratory and real groups

The primary findings from Study 1 suggest that prejudice expressed by a single outgroup member can influence group members' feelings toward interactions with that individual, and with the outgroup as a whole. However, these results were obtained in the context of laboratory groups, where participants were assigned to a group through experimental procedures. An empirical replication with members of real groups is an important, and perhaps crucial, extension of the research, as studies with real and laboratory groups can yield considerably different patterns of findings (see Hinkle & Brown, 1990).

Memberships in real groups and laboratory groups differ in at least two respects relevant to the present research. First, the meaning of group membership may differ dramatically for laboratory and real groups. Real group memberships grow out of an ongoing personal history of social experiences as a group member (see Deaux, 1992), and often assume a prominent role in how individuals are perceived and treated by others (Goffman, 1963). Consequently, members of real groups may be more invested in, and affected by, experiences associated with their group membership than members of laboratory groups.

Furthermore, members of real groups and laboratory groups differ in the nature of their relationships with the outgroup. Members of laboratory groups have no other information about the outgroup beyond that provided in the experimental context. Instead, members of real groups can often refer to a variety of prior intergroup experiences on which to base their feelings toward intergroup interactions. Thus, a single experience with prejudice may automatically become a centrally defining feature of the intergroup relationship for members of laboratory groups, while that same experience may simply be one of many intergroup experiences for members of real groups.

Addressing these issues, Study 2 examines responses to prejudice among members of real, devalued groups. To explore how group members' histories of experiences may also relate to their feelings toward cross-group interactions, prior positive intergroup experiences (friendships with outgroup members) and negative intergroup experiences (perceptions of personal discrimination) were measured.

Friendships with outgroup members Cross-group friendships involve intimate ties with outgroup members (see Pettigrew, 1997). Just as cross-group friendships can foster positive intergroup orientations among members of dominant groups (Pettigrew, 1997; Wright & Van Der Zande, 1999), they may encourage members of devalued groups to develop positive orientations toward interactions with the dominant outgroup. Indeed, some research suggests that members of devalued groups who have had positive experiences with outgroup members report less intergroup anxiety (C. W. Stephan & Stephan, 1992) and expect to feel more comfortable in cross-group interactions (Devine et al., 1996). It is conceivable that, due to their prior positive experiences with outgroup members, devalued group members may continue to have positive orientations toward the outgroup, despite being a target of prejudice from another member of the outgroup. To examine this possibility, the present study explores the degree to which cross-group friendships may relate to group members' feelings toward cross-group interactions.

Perceptions of personal discrimination At the same time, orientations toward the outgroup could be negative, due to the ongoing perception that one is a target of prejudice and discrimination (Crocker et al., 1998). While a single experience with prejudice may produce negative feelings toward the outgroup, this ongoing perception may serve as a broader foundation for negative feelings toward cross-group interactions, beyond the effect of any single intergroup experience. Thus, the present study will also examine how ongoing perceptions of oneself as a target of prejudice and discrimination relate to group members' feelings toward cross-group interactions.

Study 2

Study 2 investigated how members of real, devalued groups respond to prejudice in relation to their prior experiences as group members. First, using a design similar to that of Study 1, responses to prejudice were examined among members of two socially devalued ethnic groups in the United States (Latinos and Asian Americans). Additional analyses then explored the degree to which prior positive and negative intergroup experiences were associated with group members' feelings toward cross-group interactions, beyond the influence of the prejudice manipulation.

The use of real groups also required some changes from the procedures used in Study 1. Rather than categorizing participants into a laboratory group, a pretest was used to recruit members of devalued ethnic groups. Additionally, to reduce the potential intensity of the prejudice manipulation for members of real groups, no actual face-to-face interaction with the prejudiced outgroup member was expected.[1] Instead, participants expected to interact with a prejudiced outgroup member through a partition.

Method

Sample During a mass pretesting session, students in psychology classes completed a brief questionnaire used to recruit Latino and Asian American participants. Latino and Asian American students were contacted individually following the pretest, and a total of 93 students volunteered to participate in the study in exchange for research credit. During debriefings, six participants indicated that they were suspicious of the experimental manipulations. One participant was not a native speaker of English and had substantial difficulty understanding the procedures. Responses from these seven participants were not retained for data analysis.

Of the 86 participants in the final sample (mean age = 19.3 years), 38 were Latino (16 male, 22 female) and 48 were Asian American (22 male, 26 female). Participants were assigned to one of two experimental conditions: a *prejudice* condition or a *neutral* condition. Random assignment was principally used to assign participants to condition; however, toward the very end of data collection, efforts were taken to ensure that balanced numbers of participants from each ethnic group were assigned to each condition. This assignment resulted in comparable proportions of Latinos and Asian Americans across the conditions ($\chi^2(1, 86) = .19$, $p = .66$), and equal numbers of males and females in each condition (19 males, 24 females).

Experimental procedures The procedures used in Study 2 were virtually identical to those used in Study 1, differing mostly with respect to the group memberships involved. Participants were informed that the study concerned 'communication styles' among members of different racial and ethnic groups.[2] After completing a filler task and filling out a personal information sheet, participants learned they were 'randomly' assigned to interact with a European American, and they were given the photograph and personal information sheet of their European American partner (confederate).

Participants then overheard one of two scripted dialogues between the confederate and the experimenter, on the other side of a partition. In the *prejudice* condition, the confederate asked to switch partners, because he would rather not interact with a Latino/Asian person. In the *neutral* condition, the partner asked if the

study would take over an hour, because he did not want to be late for class. It should be noted that the person making these comments was a native English-speaking, Asian American confederate, rather than the European American who participants believed was their partner. The motivation for this procedure was to ensure that, through the debriefing process, participants would be confident that the European American they saw in the photograph did not express or endorse prejudices against their ethnic group.

After the manipulation, the participant and the confederate were each given a questionnaire packet to complete, including measures of emotional states prior to the anticipated interaction, expectations for interacting with one's partner and with members of different racial and ethnic groups, and prior intergroup experiences. Once they were completed, the experimenter asked the confederate to leave the room for a moment, and began to debrief the participant.

Debriefing Due to the sensitive nature of the manipulations, special care was taken to debrief the participants, following procedures outlined by Aronson, Brewer, and Carlsmith (1985) and by Ross, Lepper, and Hubbard (1975). Participants were given extensive explanations of the experimental procedures, why those procedures were necessary, and why they should not feel badly about believing what they were told during the study. Participants met the confederate and learned that all statements made during the course of the study were scripted and did not reflect the actual attitudes of the people involved. Participants were also given opportunities to discuss their feelings and to ask any questions they had about the study. Within one week of their participation, follow-up calls were also conducted for participants in the prejudice condition, to provide them with additional opportunities to discuss their feelings about the study, and to ask questions once they had a chance to reflect on their participation.

As part of the debriefing, participants were asked whether they heard the comments of their partner (confederate). All participants correctly identified the comments made by the confederate. Participants were also probed for suspicion as to whether they believed the confederate's comments to be related to the goals of the study.

Dependent measures

Emotional states in intergroup contexts Participants rated their emotions with eight items sharing the same stem ('In thinking about interacting with your partner, to what extent do you feel . . .'). The items were adapted from the Multiple Affect Adjectives Checklist (Zuckerman & Lubin, 1965), the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (Spielberger, Gorsuch, & Lushene, 1970), and those used by Stephan and Stephan (1985, 1992). Responses ranged from 1 (not at all) to 9 (very much). Positively worded items were reverse-scored, so that higher scores would correspond with greater levels of hostility or anxiety.

For each ethnic sample, the eight items were entered into a principal components factor analysis (varimax rotation). Both analyses produced the same two factors: *hostility* (irritated, upset, angry, and frustrated) and *anxiety* (nervous, worried, calm, relaxed), accounting for 69% of the variance in the Latino sample, and 73% of the variance in the Asian American sample. Rotated factor loadings for the hostility factor ranged from .76 to .86 among Latino participants, and from .81 to .87 among Asian American participants. Rotated factor loadings for the anxiety factor ranged from .73 to .87 among Latino participants, and from .71 to .83 among Asian American participants. Among Latino and Asian American participants, respectively, alpha coefficients were .85 and .90 for the hostility scale, and .80 and .81 for the anxiety scale.

Expectations for interactions with ingroup members and outgroup members With expanded versions of the measures used in Study 1, participants rated their expectations for interactions with ingroup members, outgroup members, and with their partner. Participants rated how they felt about interacting with members of their own ethnic group and with

European Americans, with five items pertaining to each group: (1) 'I think I would get along with most . . .', (2) 'I think I would enjoy interacting with most . . .', (3) 'I think I would have a lot in common with most . . .', (4) 'I think I would feel comfortable with most . . .', and (5) 'I think I could trust most . . .'. Five parallel items asked participants how they felt about interacting with their partner. Item responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree). For each target, participants' responses to the five items were averaged and these averages were used in data analysis. Among Latino and Asian American participants, respectively, alpha coefficients were .87 and .92 for interactions with members of their own ethnic group, .92 and .89 for interactions with European Americans, and .91 and .97 for interactions with their partner.

Prior experiences with outgroup members

Friendships with outgroup members Participants also reported percentages of friends from different ethnic groups, and the percentage of European-American friends was used as the measure of friendships with outgroup members. Percentages ranged from 0 to 90% (M = 32%). Latinos and Asian Americans did not significantly differ in reported percentages of European-American friends (M = 30.40 and 34.08, respectively) ($F(1, 84) = .49$, $\eta^2 < .01$, $p = .49$).

Perceptions of personal discrimination Participants stated whether they perceived themselves to be discriminated against because of their ethnicity, on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree). Latino and Asian American participants did not significantly differ in the degree to which they perceived personal discrimination (M = 4.92 and 5.17, respectively) ($F(1, 83) = .19$, $\eta^2 < .01$, $p = .66$).

Results

Data were analyzed in two phases. First, analyses of variance were conducted for each of the dependent measures, following a 2 (Condition) × 2 (Ethnicity) factorial design.[3] Correlations and partial correlations were then used to examine the degree to which prior intergroup experiences related to group members' feelings toward cross-group interactions.

Emotional states in intergroup contexts Separate 2 (Condition: Prejudice / Neutral) × 2 (Ethnicity: Latino / Asian American) analyses of variance were conducted for participants' feelings of hostility and anxiety prior to the anticipated interaction. No main or interaction effects involving Ethnicity were statistically significant.

There was a significant main effect of Condition on hostility ($F(1, 80) = 35.79$, $\eta^2 = .31$, $p < .001$), such that participants in the prejudice condition reported feeling more hostile (M = 4.72) than those in the neutral condition (M = 2.06). There was also a significant main effect of Condition on anxiety ($F(1, 80) = 4.37$, $\eta^2 = .05$, $p < .05$). Participants in the prejudice condition reported feeling more anxious prior to the anticipated interaction (M = 4.62) than participants in the neutral condition (M = 3.63).

Expectations for interactions with ingroup members and outgroup members A 2 (Condition: Prejudice / Neutral) × 2 (Ethnicity: Latino / Asian American) × 3 (Target: Ingroup Members / Outgroup Members / Partner) analysis of variance was conducted for expectations for interactions, with Target as a repeated measures factor. No main or interaction effects involving Ethnicity were statistically significant.

There were significant main effects of Condition ($F(1, 81) = 14.89$, $\eta^2 = .16$, $p < .001$), and Target ($F(2, 163) = 49.33$, $\eta^2 = .38$, $p < .001$), and these were qualified by a significant Condition × Target interaction ($F(2,163) = 29.00$, $\eta^2 = .26$, $p < .001$) (see Figure 2). Participants did not significantly differ in their expectations for interactions with ingroup members across the conditions ($F(1, 84) = .01$, $\eta^2 < .01$, $p = .91$). However, those in the prejudice condition were less positive about interacting with their partner ($F(1, 84) = 56.60$, $\eta^2 = .40$, $p < .001$), and marginally less positive about interacting with outgroup members in general ($F(1, 84) = 3.19$, $\eta^2 = .04$, $p = .08$), compared to those in the neutral condition.

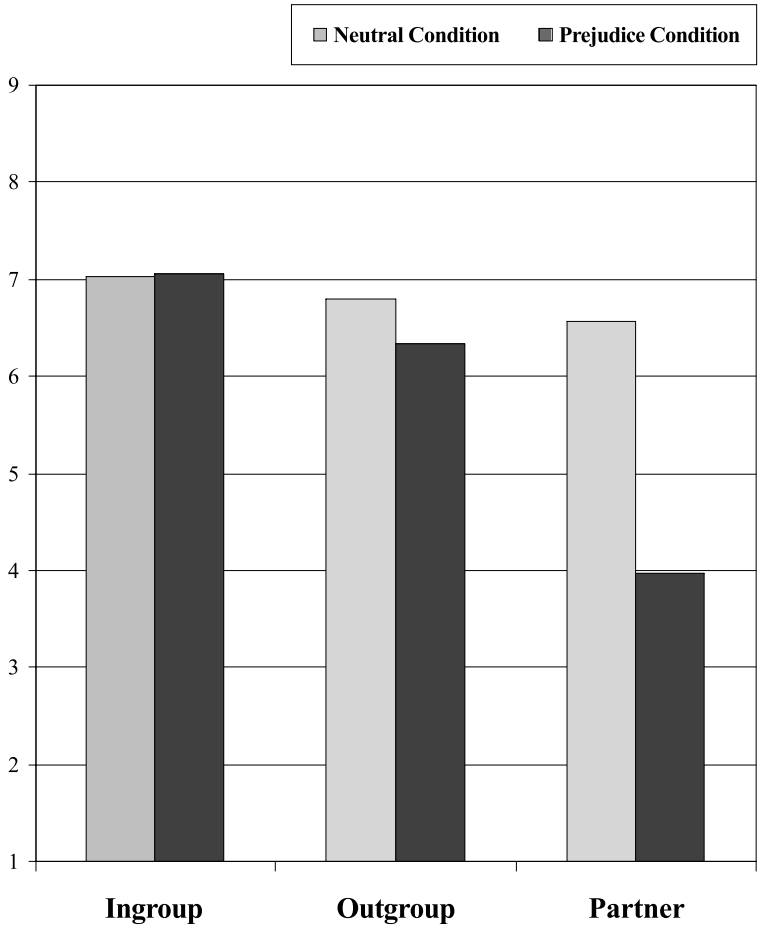

Figure 2. Expectations for interactions with ingroup members, outgroup members, and partner among participants in each condition (Study 2).

As in Study 1, post hoc tests were also conducted to see whether participants in the neutral condition differed significantly in their expectations for interactions with ingroup members and outgroup members. Participants in the neutral condition did not significantly differ in their feelings toward interacting with ingroup members (M = 7.02) and outgroup members (M = 6.79) ($F(1, 42) = .84$, $\eta^2 = .02$, $p = .36$), yet they were marginally more positive about interacting with ingroup members than with their partner (M = 6.57) ($F(1, 42) = 3.37$, $\eta^2 = .07$, $p = .07$). At the same time, participants in the prejudice condition were significantly less positive about interacting with their partner (M = 3.97), and with outgroup members in general (M = 6.32) than with ingroup members (M = 7.06) ($F(1, 42) = 83.19$ and 10.04, respectively, $\eta^2 = .67$ and .19, $p < .01$).

Prior experiences with outgroup members A separate set of analyses explored the degree to which group members' histories of positive experiences with outgroup members (cross-group friendships) and negative experiences with outgroup members (perceptions of

personal discrimination) were associated with their feelings toward cross-group interactions. Reported percentages of outgroup friends and perceptions of personal discrimination were not significantly correlated with each other ($r(85) = –.14$, $p = .19$), and this trend was consistent for Latino participants ($r(37) = –.20$, $p = .23$), and Asian American participants ($r(48) = –.12$, $p = .42$). Additionally, although participants in the prejudice condition reported slightly smaller percentages of outgroup friends ($M = 28.28$) and greater personal discrimination ($M = 5.51$) than participants in the neutral condition ($M = 36.63$ and 4.60, respectively), these trends were not statistically significant ($t(84) = 1.61$ and –1.66, respectively, $p > .10$).

Correlations and partial correlations (controlling for condition) were conducted to explore the degree to which cross-group friendships and perceived personal discrimination were related to emotional states and expectations for cross-group interactions (see Table 1).[4]

Emotional states in intergroup contexts Percentage of outgroup friends was correlated negatively with hostility, yet this relationship was not significant after controlling for condition. Percentage of outgroup friends was not significantly associated with anxiety. By contrast, personal discrimination correlated positively with hostility and anxiety before and after controlling for condition, such that those who perceived greater personal discrimination reported feeling more hostile and more anxious prior to the anticipated interaction.

Expectations for interactions Percentage of outgroup friends correlated positively with expectations for interactions, indicating that greater proportions of outgroup friends were associated with more positive expectations for interactions with outgroup members in general, and with one's partner. Personal discrimination was not significantly associated with expectations for interactions with outgroup members in general. However, both before and after controlling for condition, greater perceptions of personal discrimination corresponded with more negative expectations for interactions with one's partner.

General discussion

Overall, results from the two studies suggest that even a single expression of prejudice from an outgroup member can have negative implications for intergroup relations, both in terms of how group members feel in intergroup contexts, and their expectations for future cross-group interactions. Those who encountered prejudice from an outgroup member reported feeling both more hostile (Studies 1 and 2) and more anxious (Study 2) prior to an anticipated

Table 1. Correlations (*r*) and partial correlations (*pr*) for relationships between friendships with outgroup members, personal discrimination, and feelings toward cross-group interactions

	Friendships with outgroup members		Personal discrimination	
Feelings toward cross-group interactions	*r*	*pr*	*r*	*pr*
Emotional states				
Hostility	–.23*	–.15	.28**	.22*
Anxiety	.09	.14	.27*	.23*
Expectations for interactions				
With outgroup members	.46***	.42***	–.16	–.14
With partner	.31**	.27*	–.32**	–.27*

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$.

Note: Partial correlations (*pr*) represent correlations between the variables, after controlling for condition.

interaction than those who did not encounter prejudice. Furthermore, group members who encountered prejudice not only had more negative expectations for interactions with the prejudiced partner, but they had marginally more negative expectations for interactions with outgroup members in general. The patterns of results were virtually identical across studies involving laboratory and real groups, and they were consistent across the two ethnic samples in Study 2. It is also important to highlight that these effects were observed after exposure to only one manipulated expression of prejudice from an outgroup member. As members of devalued groups are regularly confronted with prejudice in their everyday lives (see Swim et al., 1998), we must consider the broader, detrimental impact that repeated exposure to prejudice is likely to have on their feelings toward future cross-group interactions.

Traditionally, however, contact research has tended to focus on conditions within the contact situation that can maximize the potential for achieving positive intergroup outcomes (see Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). Results of these studies suggest that we may need to broaden our focus far beyond the immediate contact situation, to place a greater emphasis on how group members' accrued histories of social experiences may also contribute to their feelings toward cross-group interactions (see Devine et al., 1996; Swim et al., 2001).

Additional analyses from Study 2 begin to address this issue, exploring how group members' prior intergroup experiences may contribute to their emotional states in intergroup contexts, and their expectations for future cross-group interactions. Greater proportions of outgroup friends corresponded with more positive expectations for interactions with one's partner and with outgroup members in general, both before and after controlling for condition. These results mesh nicely with other work on intergroup contact, which suggests that ongoing, close relationships with outgroup members can facilitate the development of positive intergroup attitudes (see Pettigrew, 1997; Wright & Van Der Zande, 1999).

Interestingly, though, percentage of outgroup friends was not significantly related with either reported hostility or anxiety prior to the anticipated interaction, once variance associated with condition was controlled. This finding appears to be inconsistent with prior work, most notably that exploring the relationships between contact and intergroup anxiety (e.g. Islam & Hewstone, 1993; W. G. Stephan & Stephan, 1985). However, it is important to note that in these previous studies, members of devalued groups were asked to report levels of anxiety in *imagined* interactions with outgroup members, rather than assessing anxiety in actual intergroup contexts. As increased contact with outgroup members is generally associated with more positive orientations toward cross-group interactions (see Pettigrew, 1998), it makes sense that group members with greater proportions of outgroup friends would report feeling less anxious when asked to imagine future cross-group interactions. However, in the case of anticipating actual cross-group interactions, it may be that members of devalued groups are regularly attuned to the possibility that they may encounter prejudice in interactions with unknown outgroup members, irrespective of their existing close relationships with familiar outgroup members. Thus, although members of devalued groups may generally be positively oriented toward cross-group interactions, the potential threat of becoming a target of prejudice may inhibit their ability to feel entirely comfortable during those interactions (see Devine et al., 1996). Future research should therefore continue to examine the conditions under which close relationships with individual outgroup members may or may not contribute to devalued group members' feelings toward interactions with unfamiliar members of the outgroup.

At the same time, group members who perceived greater levels of personal discrimination tended to report greater hostility and greater anxiety prior to the anticipated interaction. Paralleling these results, prior research suggests that both hostility and anxiety should be associated with the perception that one is a target of prejudice and discrimination. Recognizing the

possibility that one may become the target of prejudice and discrimination can contribute to greater stress and anxiety in intergroup contexts (Miller & Major, 2000). And, if one perceives discrimination from outgroup members, it is likely that one would feel angered by such treatment (Dion, 1986), which could translate into greater hostility toward the outgroup and its members (Branscombe et al., 1999).

Group members who perceived greater personal discrimination also expected a more negative interaction with their partner, both before and after controlling for condition. This finding is consistent with the notion that perceiving oneself as a target of prejudice and discrimination should contribute to more negative orientations toward cross-group interactions (see Devine et al., 1996; Jones et al., 1984; Swim et al., 1998). Interestingly, however, personal discrimination was not significantly associated with group members' expectations for interactions with outgroup members in general. Together with the results for hostility and anxiety, this finding may suggest that perceptions of personal discrimination only relate meaningfully to group members' feelings toward cross-group interactions in immediate intergroup contexts, where the threat of becoming a target of prejudice actually exists. As such, these trends may be seen as encouraging in that perceiving personal discrimination may not necessarily color group members' broader views of the relations between the groups, thereby suggesting that they may still be open to the possibility of engaging in cross-group interactions. At the same time, the findings pose a formidable challenge for achieving positive outcomes from intergroup contact, as group members who chronically perceive themselves as targets of prejudice and discrimination may be negatively oriented toward any such cross-group interactions that would take place. Future research should therefore explore strategies that could simultaneously promote positive orientations toward cross-group interactions among members of devalued groups, while also minimizing the threat that group members would encounter prejudice during those interactions.

Additionally, while the results yielded several interesting patterns of findings, some limitations of these studies must also be acknowledged. For example, measures of personal discrimination and proportions of outgroup friends were included only at the end of Study 2. Although there were no significant differences in reports of personal discrimination and proportions of outgroup friends across the conditions, responses to these measures should have been assessed prior to the experimental procedures, to eliminate the possibility that they could have been affected by the prejudice manipulation.

The research would have also benefited from the inclusion of other comparison conditions. Other conditions might have involved comments made from an ingroup member, to test whether a comment must be perceived as intergroup prejudice to exert a negative effect, or whether negative outcomes might result from any expressed rejection of one's group. Participants also could have experienced a rejection from an outgroup member that was not based on group membership, to see whether the rejection must be construed as prejudice against one's group for the effects to generalize to expectations for interactions with outgroup members in general. Such comparisons may be pursued in future research, to provide a more comprehensive examination of how social rejection may influence intergroup outcomes, depending on how and by whom such rejections are expressed.

Alternatively, other conditions could have allowed for comparisons of responses to prejudice between members of devalued and dominant groups. Some recent work suggests that, like members of devalued groups, members of dominant groups are vulnerable to the threat of confirming negative stereotypes about their groups (Leyens, Desert, Croizet, & Darcis, 2000). Correspondingly, members of devalued and dominant groups may be likely to show similar patterns of responses to prejudice from a member of the outgroup. At the same time, members of devalued and dominant groups are differentially exposed to prejudice in the larger society (Jones et al., 1984; Swim et al., 2001),

which may lead them to show different responses to expressed prejudice from the outgroup. Future research may therefore be directed toward examining potential similarities and differences in how members of devalued and dominant groups would respond to expressions of prejudice against their groups.

Conclusion

The goal of this research was to examine how expressions of prejudice may affect group members' feelings toward future cross-group interactions. Results with laboratory and real groups indicated that even a single experience with prejudice can have a considerable, negative impact on how group members feel in intergroup contexts, and on their expectations for future cross-group interactions. Among members of real groups, negative outcomes were reinforced further by ongoing perceptions of oneself as a target of prejudice and discrimination, while those who had close relationships with outgroup members tended to have more positive orientations toward cross-group interactions.

The principal focus of this research has been on the predicament that prejudice poses for members of devalued groups. However, we must resist the temptation to regard prejudice solely as a problem for its intended targets. Just as members of devalued groups live with the anticipation of becoming a target of prejudice (Swim et al., 1998), members of the dominant group anticipate being perceived as the perpetrators of prejudice (Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998). Thus, for people on both sides of the interaction, prejudice produces conditions that can diminish interest in contact across group boundaries (see Darley & Fazio, 1980; Shelton, 2003). As societies become increasingly diverse (Marger, 1997), it becomes all the more important for us to ensure that members of different groups feel open to and comfortable in interactions with each other. Research must therefore continue to explore strategies that can curb the endorsement and expression of prejudice, so that prejudice will play a less significant role in relations among members of different groups.

Notes

1. This change was prompted by a concern that members of real groups would respond more strongly to prejudice than members of laboratory groups, as real group memberships tend to be more meaningful than laboratory group memberships (see Spears et al., 1997).
2. This procedure was used to provide a rationale for asking subsequent questions about expectations for interactions with ingroup members and outgroup members.
3. Since prior research has shown group identification and self-esteem to be associated with evaluations of ingroup members and outgroup members (e.g. Aberson, Healy, & Romero, 2000; Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990), these variables were also assessed during the pretest, in order to be used as covariates in data analysis. Parallel sets of analyses were conducted with and without these variables entered as covariates, and these analyses yielded the same patterns of results. Thus, to simplify the presentation of the results, only analyses without covariates have been reported.
4. Regression analyses were also conducted to examine whether friendships with outgroup members and personal discrimination moderated the effects of the prejudice manipulation on the dependent measures. After centering the cross-group friendships and discrimination variables (see Aiken & West, 1991), separate regression analyses were conducted for each of the dependent measures, with condition, cross-group friendships, and discrimination entered as predictors at the first stage of the analysis, the two-way interaction terms entered at the second stage, and the three-way interaction term entered at the third stage. Across all of these analyses, none of the interaction terms emerged as significant predictors for any of the dependent measures.

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Biographical note

LINDA R. TROPP is an assistant professor of psychology at Boston College. Her primary research interests concern relations between members of minority and majority groups, and responses to prejudice and disadvantage among members of socially devalued groups.