

Valuing Diversity and Interest in Intergroup Contact

Linda R. Tropp*

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Rebecca A. Bianchi

Boston College

The present research examines ways in which valuing diversity relates to interest in intergroup contact among members of minority and majority status groups. Using open-ended responses, Study 1 reveals that ethnic minority group members are less likely to perceive that diversity is valued than ethnic majority group members, yet those who perceive that diversity is valued tend to express greater interest in intergroup contact. Surveys of Black and White respondents (Study 2) and ethnic minority and majority respondents (Study 3) indicate similar trends. Moreover, these studies consistently show that valuing diversity uniquely predicts interest in intergroup contact among majority group members, whereas perceiving that outgroup members value diversity predicts interest in intergroup contact among minority group members. Implications of these findings for understanding the role of diversity in intergroup relations, and reformulating aspects of intergroup contact theory, are discussed.

Growing from the early contentions of Williams (1947) and Allport (1954), decades of research on intergroup contact have shown that greater levels of intergroup contact typically correspond with lower levels of intergroup prejudice (see Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Much of this work has emphasized the importance of establishing optimal conditions within the contact situation—such

*Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Linda R. Tropp, Department of Psychology, Tobin Hall, 135 Hicks Way, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003 [e-mail: tropp@psych.umass.edu].

Portions of this research were presented at the 2004 biennial meeting of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. The authors would like to thank Ufuoma Abiola, Chenelle Boatwain, Meredith DuMais, Keith Maddox, and Joanna Sweeney for their support in data collection, and Rick Hoyle, Ratnesh Nagda, Elizabeth Levy Paluck, Thomas Pettigrew, and three anonymous reviewers for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

as equal status, cooperation, common goals, and authority sanction—in order to promote positive intergroup outcomes (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003). These perspectives have largely rested on the assumption that relations between groups would be grounded in hostility and conflict (see Williams, 1947), such that optimal conditions within the contact situation would be necessary for positive outcomes to occur (Allport, 1954).

However, new issues have begun to emerge in contact research, in response to the many societal changes that have taken place over the last several decades. Societies have become increasingly diverse (Jones, Lynch, Tenzlund, & Gaertner, 2000; Marger, 1997), and social norms and institutions have begun to shift, such that greater efforts are now being taken to acknowledge and promote racial and ethnic diversity (Chemers, Oskamp, & Costanzo, 1995; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002). Researchers have also begun to explore the motivations underlying group members' interest in intergroup contact (van Dick et al., 2004; Wright, Aron, & Tropp, 2002), at the same as other work suggests that positive contact outcomes may occur even in the absence of many of the proposed optimal conditions (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Together, these emerging perspectives encourage us to recognize that people often demonstrate an interest in relating to members of other groups, and they remind us that we need to look beyond conditions of the contact situation to understand more of the subjective features that guide group members' intergroup experiences. In particular, as greater societal emphasis is placed on diversity, we believe it is crucial for researchers to consider how perceiving that diversity is valued might contribute to promoting positive relations between groups. Some recent work relevant to this issue concerns the perceived importance or value of intergroup contact (see Molina, Wittig, & Giang, 2004; van Dick et al., 2004). For example, van Dick and his colleagues show that the more a person values his/her contact experiences, the more the contact will contribute to promoting positive intergroup attitudes. However, it should be noted that these authors examine the "importance" of contact in the context of people's relationships with specific outgroup members, rather than in terms of a more general valuing of contact between groups. By contrast, other work has focused on the broader social significance of diversity, emphasizing the importance of creating diverse institutions and enhancing the degree to which those institutions value diversity to achieve positive relations between groups (see Astin, 1993; Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Jones et al., 2000). However, little of this work has examined group members' own beliefs about the extent to which diversity is or should be valued, and how these variables might contribute to their feelings about intergroup contact.

Bringing these areas of research together, the present research examines how valuing diversity relates to group members' interest in intergroup contact. We might initially predict that the more people value diversity, the more interested they would be in interacting with members of other groups. At the same time, it is

important to note that group members' feelings about intergroup contact may not depend only on the extent to which the group members themselves value diversity, but also on the extent to which they believe diversity is valued by others within the intergroup context. Indeed, some recent work suggests that group members are often concerned with how they will be viewed and evaluated by members of other groups (Sigelman & Tuch, 1997; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998), and these concerns can play an important role in how they feel about cross-group interactions (Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001). Thus, it may be that group members' feelings about intergroup contact would depend largely on the extent to which they believe outgroup members value diversity, independent of the degree to which they themselves value diversity.

This distinction may be especially important for us to consider with respect to relations between members of minority and majority status groups. Minority group members are well aware of the fact that their group is devalued, and that they are likely to become targets of prejudice and discrimination by the majority group (see Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Swim, Cohen, & Hyers, 1998). Consequently, members of minority status groups may be vigilant in their relations with the majority outgroup, until they have reason to believe that majority group members are worthy of their trust (see Cohen & Steele, 2002; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002; Tropp, 2006). Moreover, other work suggests that, even though members of minority status groups may value diversity, they are not always convinced that diversity programming will be effective in promoting positive intergroup relations (see Ervin, 2001; see also Gallup Organization, 2001; National Conference for Community and Justice, 2000). As such, to have positive orientations toward intergroup contact, it may not be enough for minority group members to value diversity themselves, or even to perceive that diversity is valued on a broader, societal level. Rather, what may be most crucial for minority group members is the perception that members of the majority outgroup value diversity. Across three studies, the present research examines these issues by assessing the extent to which members of minority and majority groups believe that diversity is valued, and how both valuing diversity and perceiving that diversity is valued contribute to predicting interest in intergroup contact.

Study 1

An initial study was conducted to assess the extent to which members of ethnic minority and majority groups generally perceive diversity to be valued. Undergraduate students were recruited through e-mails and meetings of campus organizations, as part of a larger research study on intergroup relationships. Altogether, 135 undergraduate students (54 males, 81 females) participated in this study. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 26 years (mean age = 19.96 years). This sample included responses from 78 ethnic minority participants (20

Asian-Americans, 25 African-Americans, 21 Latinos(a), and 12 non-White biracials) and 57 ethnic majority participants (White European-Americans).

As part of this study, participants completed an open-ended item in which they were asked to state their views regarding the extent to which they believe diversity is generally valued. Specifically, the following open-ended question was presented to participants:

In society today, people often talk about diversity and how important it is to include members of different groups. Even though claims are made that diversity is valued, individuals still vary in the degree to which they trust those claims to be true. What do you think? Do you believe people generally value diversity?

Two independent judges coded participants' open-ended responses to this item, to determine the extent to which ethnic minority and majority participants generally believe that diversity is or is not valued in society. Specifically, the judges coded whether the participants explicitly stated that diversity is either valued or not valued, or whether they indicated some combination of these options in their responses. The initial correlation between judges' ratings of these responses was .88, and discrepancies between their ratings were resolved through further discussion.

Overall, only 22 of the 135 participants (16.3%) explicitly stated that diversity is valued, whereas 19 participants (14.1%) explicitly stated that diversity is not valued, and most participants in the sample ($n = 94$, 69.6%) reported some combination of these views. A chi-square analysis was then conducted to examine whether ethnic minority and majority participants might differ in their general views regarding the extent to which diversity is valued. The chi-square analysis was significant, $\chi^2(2) = 7.65, p = .02$, indicating that ethnic minority and majority participants' general views about diversity diverged beyond what would typically be expected by chance. Specifically, as summarized in Table 1, a greater proportion of ethnic minority participants reported that diversity is not valued in society, whereas a greater proportion of ethnic majority participants reported that diversity is generally valued.

A supplementary analysis also tested whether ethnic minority and majority participants' open-ended responses corresponded with interest in intergroup contact. As part of the larger study, participants reported their interest in interacting

Table 1. Proportions of Ethnic Minority and Majority Participants Reporting That Diversity Is Either Valued or Not Valued (Study 1)

Responses	Ethnic Minority		Ethnic Majority	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Diversity is valued in society	8	10.3	14	24.6
Combination of valued and not valued	55	70.5	39	68.4
Diversity is not valued in society	15	19.2	4	7.0
Total	78	100.0	57	100.0

with outgroup members, with responses ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very interested). Ethnic minority respondents indicated how interested they were in interacting with Whites, whereas ethnic majority respondents indicated how interested they were in interacting with Asians, Blacks, and Latinos, and their responses to these three items were averaged ($\alpha = .91$). A 2 (Participant Ethnic Status: Minority/Majority) \times 3 (Coded Open-Ended Response: Diversity Not Valued/Valued/Combination) analysis of variance revealed significant differences in participants' interest in intergroup contact corresponding with their coded responses, $F(2, 125) = 4.13, \eta^2 = .06, p < .02$. Generally, participants who indicated that diversity is not valued reported less interest in intergroup contact ($M = 4.44$) relative to those who reported that diversity is valued ($M = 5.71$), $t(38) = -3.09, p < .01$, or those who reported some combination of both responses ($M = 5.51$), $t(108) = -3.31, p < .001$.

For the 94 participants who did not state explicitly whether diversity is or is not valued, the judges re-coded the responses to see if additional information could be gleaned from them. The most common responses included: (1) people say they value diversity, but they do not actively work to promote it (18.1%), (2) people say they value diversity only if it affects them directly (13.8%), and (3) people say they value diversity because they wish to be "politically correct" (7.4%).¹ Correlations between judges' ratings of these open-ended responses ranged from .80 to .99, and discrepancies were resolved through further discussion. Chi-square analyses then examined whether ethnic minority and majority participants differed in their tendencies to offer these open-ended responses. Results from these analyses showed that ethnic minority and majority participants did not significantly differ in reporting that people say they value diversity but do not actively work to promote it, $\chi^2(1) = .33, p = .57$, or that people say they value diversity to be politically correct, $\chi^2(1) = 2.31, p = .13$. However, a significantly greater proportion of ethnic minority participants indicated that people value diversity only if it affects them directly (20.0%) relative to the proportion of ethnic majority participants who endorsed that view (5.1%), $\chi^2(1) = 4.24, p = .04$.

Findings from this first study provide some important insights regarding the beliefs that are likely to affect minority and majority group members' feelings about intergroup contact. Results from this study show that ethnic minority and majority group members tend to have different views regarding the extent to which diversity is generally valued. Ethnic minority participants are significantly less likely to perceive that diversity is valued in society relative to those from the ethnic majority group. It is also interesting to note that ethnic minority participants are especially likely to think that people will value diversity more to the extent that diversity concerns affect them personally, given the large body of work showing

¹ All other categories comprised less than 4% of the coded responses, such that there were insufficient numbers of cases with which to conduct more detailed analyses.

that they are regularly subjected to prejudice and discrimination due to their group membership (see Crocker et al., 1998; Swim et al., 1998). Moreover, we find that those who perceive diversity to be valued tend to express greater interest in intergroup contact, as compared to those who perceive that diversity is generally not valued. Taken together, these findings suggest that ethnic minority and majority group members are likely to hold divergent views of their intergroup relationships, which may in turn impact how they feel about intergroup contact (see also Tropp, 2006).

A strength of this study is that the observed trends emerged on the basis of participants' spontaneous, open-ended responses. At the same time, due to the open-ended nature of the responses, we have gained little information regarding the particular referents participants used when stating that diversity either is or is not valued. For example, participants' reports that diversity is valued could be based largely on the anticipated responses of outgroup members, as people are often concerned about how they will be received by the outgroup in intergroup contexts (see Devine & Vasquez, 1998; Frey & Tropp, *in press*; Shelton & Richeson, 2005; Tropp, 2006). Alternatively, it could be that participants' general perceptions about the extent to which diversity is valued would be consistent with their own personal beliefs about diversity, as people tend to assume that others share their views such that they project their views onto others (Frey & Tropp, *in press*; Robbins & Krueger, 2005). Given that we wish to understand how these views relate to feelings about intergroup contact, it is especially important for us to specify the extent to which ethnic minority and majority group members believe that outgroup members value diversity, and to distinguish these assessments from the extent to which they report valuing diversity themselves.

We explore these issues in two additional studies, using samples of Black and White American respondents (Study 2), and ethnic minority and majority respondents (Study 3). Rather than asking generally about whether diversity is valued in these studies, we present participants with surveys in which they are asked to report the extent to which they believe outgroup members value diversity, and the extent to which they personally value diversity, along with indicating their interest in intergroup contact.

Study 2

Altogether, 67 Black Americans (21 males, 46 females) and 85 White Americans (17 males, 68 females) participated in this study. Participants' ages ranged from 17 to 22 years (mean age = 19.52 years), and they were recruited for participation from student organizations on two university campuses in the Northeast region of the United States. Each participant completed a questionnaire packet individually in a small group setting, which included measures of interest in intergroup contact and the extent to which diversity is valued.

Interest in Intergroup Contact

In two separate items, participants indicated their interest in interacting with members of the outgroup (e.g., “To what extent are you interested in interacting with Whites?”) and how interested they believe outgroup members are in interacting with members of their own group (i.e., “To what extent do you think Whites are interested in interacting with Blacks?”). Responses to these items were scored on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very interested).

Valuing Diversity

Participants also completed two measures concerning the extent to which diversity is valued. Participants first completed a 4-item scale regarding the extent to which they personally value racial and ethnic diversity in their college, group of friends, neighborhood, and workplace ($\alpha = .78$ for Black respondents, .92 for White respondents). Participants then completed a single item in which they reported the extent to which they believe outgroup members generally value diversity. Responses to these items were scored on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much).

Additional Measures

In addition, participants responded to measures of two other variables that have been shown to correspond with group members' feelings toward intergroup contact in prior research (see Tropp, 2003; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Specifically, participants reported their numbers of outgroup friends on a scale ranging from 0 (none) to 10 (10 or more). Participants also indicated the extent to which they perceive themselves to be discriminated against due to their group membership, with scores ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree).

Results

Preliminary analyses examined whether Black and White respondents generally differ in their reported interest in intergroup contact, and in the extent to which they perceive diversity to be valued. First, a 2 (Respondent Race: Black/White) \times 2 (Target of Rating: Self/Outgroup) mixed model analysis of variance was conducted for interest in intergroup contact. This analysis yielded a significant main effect for Target of Rating, $F(1, 147) = 201.08, \eta^2 = .55, p < .001$, indicating that while both Black and White respondents generally report interest in intergroup contact, they believe outgroup members are less interested in contact ($M = 4.13$) than they are ($M = 5.79$). This analysis also yielded a significant main effect for Respondent Race, $F(1, 147) = 24.14, \eta^2 = .14, p < .001$, such that Black respondents generally

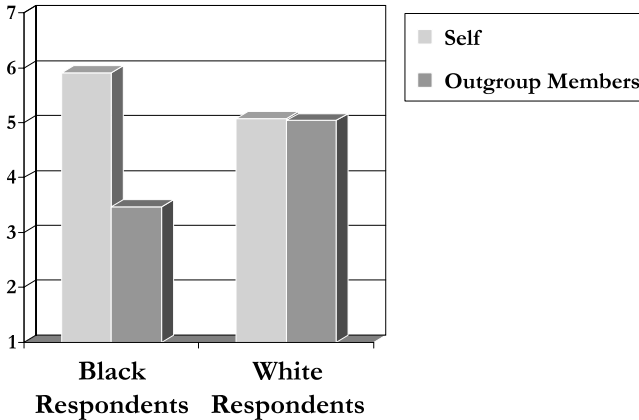


Fig. 1. Reported valuing of diversity among Black and White respondents (Study 2).

reported lower interest in intergroup contact ($M = 4.57$) than White respondents ($M = 5.28$).

A 2 (Respondent Race: Black/White) \times 2 (Target of Rating: Self/Outgroup) mixed model analysis of variance was also conducted for ratings of the extent to which diversity is valued. This analysis yielded main effects for both Target of Rating, $F(1, 149) = 68.75, \eta^2 = .32, p < .001$, and Respondent Race, $F(1, 149) = 4.32, \eta^2 = .03, p < .05$, and these effects were qualified by a significant two-way interaction, $F(1, 149) = 107.88, \eta^2 = .30, p < .001$. As shown in Figure 1, White respondents reported that they and outgroup members value diversity to similar degrees, $t(84) = .18, p = .86$, whereas Black respondents reported that they value diversity substantially more than do most outgroup members, $t(66) = 10.31, p < .001$.

Subsequent analyses examined relationships between respondents' own interest in intergroup contact and each of the remaining variables. Means, standard deviations, and their correlations with interest in intergroup contact are provided in Table 2. Perceived outgroup interest and own interest in intergroup contact were positively related among both Black and White respondents. Interest in intergroup contact was also positively associated with both valuing diversity and perceiving that the outgroup values diversity among White respondents, yet only perceiving that the outgroup values diversity corresponded with interest in contact among Black respondents. Additionally, interest in intergroup contact was associated with greater proportions of outgroup friends among both Black and White respondents. However, perceived discrimination corresponded with less interest in intergroup contact only among Black respondents.

Regression analyses were then conducted to examine the extent to which perceived outgroup interest in intergroup contact and the diversity measures would

Table 2. Predictor Variable Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations with Interest in Intergroup Contact among Black and White Respondents (Study 2)

Variable	Black Respondents			White Respondents		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>r</i>
Perceived outgroup interest	3.69	1.52	.24*	4.46	1.18	.27*
Diversity valued by self	5.89	1.13	.01	5.07	1.40	.36***
Diversity valued by outgroup	3.47	1.47	.34**	5.04	1.52	.24*
Number of outgroup friends	6.33	3.67	.59***	4.46	3.16	.34**
Perceived discrimination	4.66	2.47	-.32**	2.02	1.40	.07
<i>N</i>	67			85		

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

uniquely predict respondents' own interest in intergroup contact. Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted separately for Black and White respondents. Numbers of outgroup friends and perceived discrimination were entered at the first stage of analysis, to control for prior positive and negative intergroup experiences that might contribute to group members' expectations for cross-group interactions (see Tropp, 2003, 2006). Perceived outgroup interest was then entered at the second stage of analysis, as recent work suggests that expectations for how one will be received by outgroup members can affect one's own interest in cross-group interactions (see Frey & Tropp, in press). Finally, the two diversity measures were entered at the third stage of analysis, to test the extent to which valuing diversity and perceived that diversity is valued by the outgroup predict one's own interest in intergroup contact, beyond that accounted for by variables entered at earlier stages in the model.

Results from these analyses are summarized in Table 3. Of particular import is that perceived outgroup interest significantly predicts own interest in intergroup contact among both Black and White respondents, beyond what can be predicted by variables entered at the first stage of analysis. However, at the third stage of analysis, only perceiving that diversity is valued by the outgroup uniquely predicts interest in intergroup contact among Black respondents, whereas only valuing diversity oneself uniquely predicts interest among White respondents.

Further analysis also reveals that perceiving that the outgroup values diversity partially mediates the relationship between perceived outgroup interest and own interest in contact among Black respondents, $z = 1.86$, $p = .06$. Following the guidelines proposed by Baron and Kenny (1986), a mediation model was constructed to test whether perceiving that the outgroup values diversity serves as a mediator of the relationship between perceived outgroup interest and own interest in intergroup contact. As a first step, perceived outgroup interest significantly predicts Black respondents' own interest in intergroup contact, $\beta = .24$, $p = .05$. Perceived outgroup interest also significantly predicts the extent to which Black respondents believe outgroup members value diversity, $\beta = .40$, $p < .001$, which

Table 3. Standardized Regression Coefficients (β) from Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Interest in Intergroup Contact (Study 2)

	Black Respondents			White Respondents		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Proportion of outgroup friends	.59***	.58***	.60***	.32**	.29**	.24*
Perceived discrimination	-.25*	-.24*	.23*	.10	.11	.11
Perceived outgroup interest		.20*	.09		.23*	.12
Diversity valued by self			-.10			.22*
Diversity valued by outgroup			.24*			.11
R ²	.42***	.46***	.52***	.12**	.17**	.23**
R ² change	.42***	.04*	.06*	.12**	.05*	.05*
F change	23.05***	4.30*	3.50*	5.56***	5.18*	2.72 [†]

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; [†] $p = .07$.

in turn predicts their own interest in intergroup contact, $\beta = .34$, $p < .01$. Moreover, when entered simultaneously as predictors, only perceiving that outgroup members value diversity significantly predicts Black respondents' own interest in intergroup contact, $\beta = .29$, $p = .03$, while perceived outgroup interest is no longer a significant predictor of own interest, $\beta = .13$, $p = .34$. Thus, perceiving that outgroup members are interested in intergroup contact largely predicts their own interest in intergroup contact, to the extent that they believe outgroup members value diversity.

Extending the results of Study 1, findings from this study reveal that the valuing of diversity can play a critical role in predicting group members' interest in intergroup contact. Generally, results from this study show that people tend to believe they are more interested in intergroup contact than outgroup members, a finding that is consistent with some other recent work (e.g., Shelton & Richeson, 2005). At the same time, the results indicate that Black and White respondents importantly differed in the extent to which they perceived diversity to be valued, and that valuing diversity predicts interest in intergroup contact in different ways for these groups of respondents. Relative to White respondents, Black respondents were less likely to perceive that outgroup members value diversity, yet perceiving that outgroup members value diversity appears to serve as an important mechanism by which their interest in intergroup contact can be enhanced.

This study usefully extends the work presented in Study 1 in that the variables of interest were assessed with specific reference to outgroup members and the respondents themselves. This approach has allowed us to distinguish between perceptions that the outgroup values diversity and respondents' reports of the extent to which they personally value diversity as we attempt to predict group members' interest in intergroup contact. At the same time, one limitation is that it does not include an assessment of the extent to which diversity is perceived to be valued within the larger society, and whether this perception would uniquely

predict group members' interest in contact. As societies have begun to place greater emphasis on racial and ethnic diversity (see Chemers et al., 1995; Jones et al., 2000), it is conceivable that the more general perception that the larger society values diversity would contribute meaningfully to group members' feelings about intergroup contact. Study 3 explores this possibility, along with attempting to replicate the results of Study 2, using samples of ethnic minority and majority respondents.

Study 3

A total of 159 undergraduate respondents (56 males, 103 females) were recruited for participation in this research. Respondents' ages ranged from 17 to 22 years (mean age = 19.21 years). Eighty-five of the respondents belonged to an ethnic minority group (32 Asian-Americans, 26 Black Americans, 12 Latinos(a), and 15 non-White mixed heritage), and the remaining 74 respondents belonged to the ethnic majority group (White, European-Americans). As in Study 2, each respondent completed a questionnaire individually in a small group setting, which included measures of interest in intergroup contact and the extent to which diversity is valued.

Interest in Intergroup Contact

Using items similar to those used in the previous studies, respondents reported their interest in contact with outgroup members, and outgroup members' interest in contact with members of their group, with responses ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very interested). To assess their own interest in contact, ethnic minority respondents indicated how interested they were in interacting with Whites, whereas ethnic majority respondents indicated how interested they were in interacting with Asians, Blacks, and Latinos, and responses to these three items were averaged ($\alpha = .91$). Similarly, to assess perceived outgroup interest, ethnic minority respondents indicated the extent to which they believe Whites are interested in interacting with Asians, Blacks, and Latinos ($\alpha = .78$), and ethnic majority respondents indicated the extent to which they believe Asians, Blacks, and Latinos are interested in interacting with Whites ($\alpha = .73$).

Valuing Diversity

Extending the research from Study 2, respondents also completed three measures regarding the extent to which diversity is valued, with responses ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much). First, all respondents reported the extent to which they personally value diversity (i.e., "To what extent do you value racial and

ethnic diversity in American society?"). Then, using the same item stem, ethnic minority respondents reported the degree to which they believe Whites value diversity, while ethnic majority respondents reported the degree to which they believe Asians, Blacks, and Latinos value diversity, and responses to these items were averaged ($\alpha = .75$). In addition, all respondents completed two items concerning the extent to which diversity is generally valued in society (i.e., "To what extent do people acknowledge and promote ethnic diversity in American society?" and "To what extent are efforts made to establish norms of tolerance and acceptance among different ethnic groups in society?"); responses to these items were averaged both for ethnic minority respondents ($\alpha = .74$) and ethnic majority respondents ($\alpha = .85$).

Additional Measures

Using similar measures to those used in Study 2, respondents also reported their proportions of outgroup friends, with possible scores ranging from 0% to 100%, as well as the extent to which they are discriminated against due to their group membership, on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much).

Results

Following the analytic approach used in Study 2, preliminary analyses examined whether ethnic minority and majority respondents differ in their reported interest in intergroup contact, and in the extent to which they perceive diversity to be valued. First, a 2 (Respondent Ethnic Status: Minority/Majority) \times 2 (Target of Rating: Self/Outgroup) mixed model analysis of variance was conducted for interest in intergroup contact. This analysis yielded a significant main effect for Target of Rating, $F(1, 156) = 191.55$, $\eta^2 = .55$, $p < .001$, which was qualified by a significant Target of Rating \times Respondent Ethnic Status interaction, $F(1, 156) = 6.18$, $\eta^2 = .04$, $p = .01$. Similar to Study 2, ethnic minority and majority respondents reported that outgroup members are less interested in contact than they are, yet the mean difference between these ratings was significantly greater among ethnic minority respondents ($M_{\text{diff}} = 1.76$) than among ethnic majority respondents ($M_{\text{diff}} = 1.22$).

A 2 (Respondent Ethnic Status: Minority/Majority) \times 2 (Target of Rating: Self/Outgroup) mixed model analysis of variance was also conducted for ratings of the extent to which diversity is valued. Paralleling the results from Study 2, this analysis yielded main effects for both Target of Rating, $F(1, 154) = 127.72$, $\eta^2 = .45$, $p < .001$, and Respondent Ethnic Status, $F(1, 154) = 4.11$, $\eta^2 = .03$, $p < .05$, and these effects were qualified by a significant two-way interaction, $F(1, 154) = 52.81$, $\eta^2 = .26$, $p < .001$. As shown in Figure 2, ethnic majority respondents

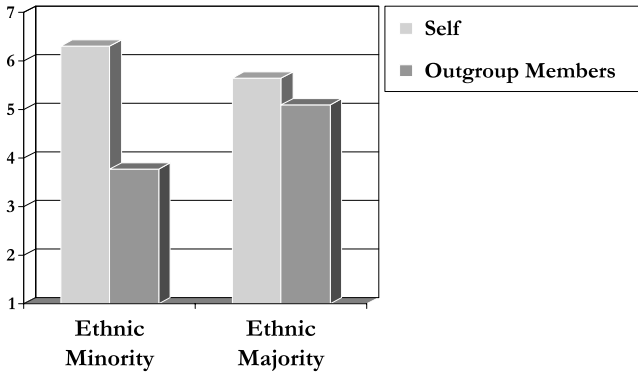


Fig. 2. Reported valuing of diversity among ethnic minority and majority respondents (Study 3).

reported that they and outgroup members valued diversity to somewhat similar degrees ($M = 5.65$ and 5.10 , respectively), $t(72) = 2.47$, $p = .02$, while ethnic minority participants reported that they valued diversity much more than outgroup members ($M = 6.31$ and 3.77 , respectively), $t(83) = 15.32$, $p < .001$. Additionally, ethnic minority respondents were less likely to report that diversity is generally valued in society ($M = 4.19$) relative to ethnic majority respondents ($M = 4.75$), $t(157) = -3.07$, $p < .01$.

Subsequent analyses then examined relationships between respondents' own interest in intergroup contact and each of the remaining variables. Means, standard deviations, and their correlations are provided in Table 4. Similar to Study 2, positive relationships were observed between perceived outgroup interest and own interest in intergroup contact among both ethnic minority and ethnic majority respondents. Interest in intergroup contact was also positively associated with valuing diversity and perceiving that the outgroup values diversity among ethnic majority respondents, yet only perceiving that the outgroup values diversity corresponded with interest in contact among ethnic minority respondents. At the same time, interest in intergroup contact did not relate significantly to perceptions that diversity is generally valued in the broader society. Additionally, interest in intergroup contact was associated with greater proportions of outgroup friends among both ethnic minority and ethnic majority respondents, while it did not significantly relate to perceptions of discrimination.

Regression analyses then tested the extent to which perceived outgroup interest and the diversity measures would uniquely predict respondents' own interest in intergroup contact. As in Study 2, hierarchical regression analyses were conducted separately for ethnic minority and majority respondents, with proportions of outgroup friends and perceived discrimination entered at the first stage of analysis, perceived outgroup interest entered at the second stage, and the three diversity

Table 4. Predictor Variable Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations with Interest in Intergroup Contact among Ethnic Minority and Majority Respondents (Study 3)

Variable	Ethnic Minority Respondents			Ethnic Majority Respondents		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>r</i>
Perceived outgroup interest	3.90	1.13	.24*	4.23	1.09	.56***
Diversity valued by self	6.31	.90	.15	5.58	1.34	.60***
Diversity valued by outgroup	3.81	1.45	.38***	5.15	1.69	.25*
Diversity valued by society	4.21	1.08	-.01	4.80	1.14	.17
Proportion of outgroup friends	29.80	30.05	.21*	6.46	6.69	.38***
Perceived discrimination	3.78	1.75	-.17	1.83	1.12	.19
<i>N</i>		85			74	

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

measures entered at the third stage of analysis. Results from these analyses are summarized in Table 5. Paralleling the results from Study 2, perceived outgroup interest significantly predicts own interest in intergroup contact among ethnic minority and majority respondents, beyond what can be predicted by variables entered at the first stage of analysis.² However, at the third stage of analysis, only perceiving that diversity is valued by the outgroup uniquely predicts interest in intergroup contact among ethnic minority respondents, whereas valuing diversity oneself uniquely predicts interest among ethnic majority respondents.

Once again, perceiving that the outgroup values diversity also mediates the relationship between perceived outgroup interest and own interest among ethnic minority respondents, $z = 2.32, p = .02$. Perceived outgroup interest significantly predicts ethnic minority respondents' own interest in intergroup contact, $\beta = .24, p = .03$. Perceived outgroup interest also predicts the extent to which ethnic minority respondents believe outgroup members value diversity, $\beta = .53, p < .001$, which in turn predicts their own interest in intergroup contact, $\beta = .38, p < .001$. Moreover, when entered simultaneously as predictors, only perceiving that outgroup members value diversity significantly predicts ethnic minority respondents' own interest in intergroup contact, $\beta = .36, p < .01$, while perceiving outgroup interest in contact is no longer a significant predictor, $\beta = .04, p = .73$. Thus, similar to the results obtained in Study 2, perceiving that outgroup members are

² It is interesting to note that neither proportions of outgroup friends nor perceived discrimination significantly predicted interest in intergroup contact among ethnic minority respondents in the present study, while both were significant predictors of interest among Black respondents in Study 2. This divergence may have emerged because proportions of outgroup friends and perceived discrimination were significantly correlated among ethnic minority respondents in Study 3, $r = -.40, p < .001$, while these variables were not significantly correlated among Black respondents in Study 2, $r = -.14, p = .25$. Moreover, when entered separately as predictors in Study 3, proportions of outgroup friends significantly predicts ethnic minority respondents' interest in intergroup contact, $\beta = .22, p < .05$, at the same time as perceived discrimination emerges as a marginally significant predictor, $\beta = -.19, p = .09$. Thus, it appears that proportions of outgroup friends and perceived discrimination may account for overlapping variance in interest in intergroup contact among ethnic minority respondents in Study 3.

Table 5. Standardized Regression Coefficients (β) from Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Interest in Intergroup Contact (Study 3)

	Ethnic Minority Respondents			Ethnic Majority Respondents		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Proportion of outgroup friends	.17	.17	.14	.31**	.26**	.17
Perceived discrimination	-.12	-.12	-.13	.17	.08	-.04
Perceived outgroup interest		.22*	.09		.50***	.37***
Diversity valued by self			.09			.45***
Diversity valued by outgroup			.32*			-.02
Diversity valued by society			-.19			.16
R ²	.06	.11*	.20**	.14**	.38***	.54***
R ² change	.06	.05*	.10*	.14**	.24***	.16***
F change	2.55	4.44*	3.05*	5.37**	26.31***	7.50***

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

interested in intergroup contact predicts ethnic minority respondents' own interest in contact, to the extent that they believe outgroup members value diversity.

Although these patterns of findings are based on single-item measures and not multi-item scales, results from this study replicate and extend those obtained in Study 2 in several important ways. Once again, we observe different patterns of beliefs among members of ethnic minority and majority groups regarding the perceived value of diversity, and how these beliefs predict interest in intergroup contact. Majority group members generally believe that they and minority group members value diversity to a similar extent, whereas minority group members believe that they place a much greater value on diversity relative to members of the majority group. Also, valuing diversity oneself uniquely predicts interest in intergroup contact among ethnic majority respondents, while perceiving that the outgroup values diversity uniquely predicts interest among ethnic minority respondents. Replicating the mediation results from Study 2, we find that perceived outgroup interest in intergroup contact predicts minority group members' own interest, to the extent that they believe majority group members value diversity. However, while we observe that minority group members are less likely to perceive that diversity is valued in society relative to members of the majority group, we also find that this perception does not uniquely contribute to predicting interest in intergroup contact among either ethnic minority or ethnic majority group members. Rather, it appears that group members' own beliefs, and the beliefs they have about each other, are more meaningful for predicting their interest in intergroup contact than their beliefs about the broader social context.

Conclusions

Taken together, findings from these studies demonstrate that diversity concerns can play a central role in predicting group members' interest in intergroup contact. Moreover, they compel us to recognize that perceptions of the value of

diversity, and the role that diversity plays in intergroup relationships, are likely to vary considerably among members of minority and majority status groups. In particular, relative to members of the majority group, minority group members are significantly less likely to perceive that diversity is valued by the outgroup or by society as a whole. Nonetheless, it is precisely the perception that outgroup members value diversity, that appears to serve as a driving force behind minority group members' interest in intergroup contact.

Given the longstanding histories of prejudice and discrimination against their groups (Swim et al., 1998), it is understandable that minority group members would express interest in contact only when they have reason to believe that diversity is valued by the outgroup. Indeed, recent work suggests that minority group members are often vigilant in their dealings with the majority outgroup until they can be confident that majority group members are worthy of their trust (e.g., Cohen & Steele, 2002). Thus, perceiving that diversity is valued may serve as an especially important cue for minority group members to feel that they are likely to be welcomed and accepted within the intergroup context (see also Purdie, Steele, & Davies, 2004).

At the same time, we must consider how members of minority and majority status groups may differ not only in the extent to which the valuing of diversity can predict their interest in intergroup contact, but also in terms of the criteria they might use to determine whether diversity is or is not valued. In particular, findings from Study 1 suggest that ethnic minority group members are significantly more likely than ethnic majority group members to perceive that people value diversity to the extent that diversity concerns affect them personally. Similarly, Eibach and Ehrlinger (2006) have recently proposed that members of ethnic minority and majority groups are likely to differ in the extent to which the goal of achieving racial equality holds personal significance. These authors also contend that this difference is likely to promote different views of and criteria for evaluating progress toward racial equality, such that minority group members are more likely to focus on steps that still need to be taken, whereas majority group members are more likely to reflect on the progress that has already been made. As such, it may be that members of the minority and majority status groups differ on the criteria they use to determine what constitutes a true commitment to diversity, which could contribute further to divergent views of their intergroup relationships.

Together, these trends suggest that we need to think more broadly about the strategies we commonly propose to improve relations between members of the minority and majority status groups through intergroup contact. Traditional approaches have sought to establish an objective set of optimal conditions within the contact situation in order to promote positive outcomes from intergroup contact (see Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). However, findings from these studies indicate that, even when they have opportunities to interact, members of the minority and majority status groups are still likely to differ in how they perceive the intergroup

context and in what they believe about each other, in relation to their prior social experiences and views of the intergroup relationship (see also Nagda, this issue). Thus, as we attempt to develop more effective strategies for promoting positive intergroup relations, we must begin to grant more attention to the subjective views that members of the minority and majority status groups bring to the intergroup context, and how these views may color their responses to intergroup contact.

References

- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Astin, A. W. (1993). *What matters in college? Four critical years revisited*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *51*, 1173–1182.
- Chemers, M. M., Oskamp, S., & Costanzo, M. A. (Eds.) (1995). *Diversity in organizations: New perspectives for a changing workplace. Claremont Symposium on Applied Social Psychology* (Vol. 8). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cohen, G. L., & Steele, C. M. (2002). A barrier of mistrust: How negative stereotypes affect cross-race mentoring. In J. Aronson (Ed.), *Improving academic achievement: Impact of psychological factors on education* (pp. 303–327). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Crocker, J., Major, B., & Steele, C. M. (1998). Social stigma. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (4th ed., pp. 504–553). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Devine, P. G., & Vasquez, K. A. (1998). The rocky road to positive intergroup relations. In J. L. Eberhardt & S. T. Fiske (Eds.), *Confronting racism: The problem and the response* (pp. 234–262). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Kawakami, K. (2003). Intergroup contact: The past, present, and future. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *6*, 5–21.
- Eibach, R. P., & Ehrlinger, J. (2006). “Keep your eyes on the prize”: Reference points and racial differences in assessing progress toward equality. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *32*, 66–77.
- Ervin, K. S. (2001). Multiculturalism, diversity, and African American college students: Receptive, yet skeptical? *Journal of Black Studies*, *31*, 764–776.
- Frey, F. E., & Tropp, L. R. (in press). Being seen as individuals versus as group members: Extending research on metaperception to intergroup contexts. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*.
- Gallup Organization. (2001, July). *Black-White relations in the United States: 2001 update*. Washington, DC: The Gallup Organization.
- Gurin, P., Dey, E. L., Hurtado, S., & Gurin, G. (2002). Diversity and higher education: Theory and impact on educational outcomes. *Harvard Educational Review*, *72*, 330–366.
- Gurin, P., Nagda, B. A., & Lopez, G. E. (2004). The benefits of diversity in education for democratic leadership. *Journal of Social Issues*, *60*, 17–34.
- Jones, J. M., Lynch, P. D., Tenglund, A., & Gaertner, S. L. (2000). Toward a diversity hypothesis: Multidimensional effects of intergroup contact. *Applied and Preventative Psychology*, *9*, 53–62.
- Marger, M. N. (1997). *Race and ethnic relations: American and global perspectives* (4th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Molina, L. E., Wittig, M. A., & Giang, M. T. (2004). Mutual acculturation and social categorization: A comparison of two perspectives on intergroup bias. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *7*, 239–265.
- National Conference for Community and Justice. (2000). *Taking America's pulse: NCCJ's survey of intergroup relations in the United States*. New York: NCCJ.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *49*, 65–85.

- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*, 751–783.
- Purdie, V. J., Steele, C. M., & Davies, P. (2004). Achieving trust in mainstream settings: Managing situational identity threat. *Paper presented at the biennial convention of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues*, Washington, DC.
- Robbins, J. M., & Krueger, J. I. (2005). Social projection to ingroups and outgroups: A review and meta-analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 9*, 32–47.
- Shelton, J. N., & Richeson, J. A. (2005). Intergroup contact and pluralistic ignorance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88*, 91–107.
- Sigelman, L., & Tuch, S. A. (1997). Meta-stereotypes: Blacks' perceptions of Whites' stereotypes of Blacks. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 61*, 87–101.
- Steele, C. M., Spencer, S. J., & Aronson, J. (2002). Contending with group image: The psychology of stereotype and social identity threat. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 34*, 379–440.
- Swim, J. K., Cohen, L. L., & Hyers, L. L. (1998). Experiencing everyday prejudice and discrimination. In J. K. Swim & C. Stangor (Eds.), *Prejudice: The target's perspective* (pp. 37–60). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Tropp, L. R. (2003). The psychological impact of prejudice: Implications for intergroup contact. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 6*, 131–149.
- Tropp, L. R. (2006). Stigma and intergroup contact among members of minority and majority status groups. To appear in S. Levin & C. van Laar (Eds.), *Stigma and group inequality: Social psychological perspectives* (pp. 171–191). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Tropp, L. R., & Pettigrew, T. F. (2005). Differential relationships between intergroup contact and affective and cognitive indicators of prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 31*, 1145–1158.
- van Dick, R., Wagner, U., Pettigrew, T. F., Christ, O., Wolf, C., Petzel, T., Castro, V. S., & Jackson, J. S. (2004). The role of perceived importance in intergroup contact. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 87*(2), 211–227.
- Vorauer, J. D., & Kumhyr, S. M. (2001). Is this about you are me? Self- versus other-directed judgments and feelings in response to cross-group interaction. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27*, 706–719.
- Vorauer, J. D., Main, K. J., & O'Connell, G. B. (1998). How do individuals expect to be viewed by members of lower status groups? Content and implications of meta-stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 75*, 917–937.
- Williams, R. M., Jr. (1947). *The reduction of intergroup tensions*. New York: Social Science Research Council.
- Wright, S. C., Aron, A., & Tropp, L. R. (2002). Including others (and groups) in the self: Self-expansion and intergroup relations. In J. P. Forgas & K. D. Williams (Eds.), *The social self: Cognitive, interpersonal, and intergroup perspectives* (pp. 343–363). New York: Psychology Press.

LINDA R. TROPP is Associate Professor at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, where she contributes to the Social Psychology Division's emerging concentration in intergroup relations and conflict resolution. Dr. Tropp is a member of the Governing Council of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, and she serves on the editorial boards of *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* and *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*. She received the Gordon Allport Intergroup Relations Prize for her research on intergroup contact, as well as the McKeachie Early Career Award for the teaching of psychology. Her research concerns experiences with intergroup contact among minority and majority status groups, identification with social groups, interpretations of intergroup relationships, and responses to prejudice and disadvantage. In addition to conducting research in these areas, she lends her expertise to the "Safe Schools Initiative"

sponsored by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Attorney General's office, a program which has been developed to reduce bullying, hate crimes, and harassment in Massachusetts schools.

REBECCA A. BIANCHI received her BA from Albion College and her MA in social psychology from Boston College. Her academic research interests concern such topics as group membership salience, prejudice reduction, diversity, and intergroup relations. She now serves as a policy analyst with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Executive Office of Public Safety, in which she coordinates statewide efforts in the management of sex offender policy and practices.