

DISCUSSION 10

An attitude is an evaluative reaction (i.e., feelings), often based on belief and demonstrated through behavior. In this discussion, we will consider intergroup attitudes by examining stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination.

To inform your thinking on this topic, begin by reading "Toward a Relevant Psychology of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination: Linking Science and Practice to Develop Interventions that Work in Community Settings" (Acevedo-Polakovich, Beck, Hawks, & Ogdie, 2016), "Intergroup Contact Theory" (Pettigrew, 1998), and "Summary and Conclusions" (Sherif, Harvey, Hood, Sherif, & White, 1988).

Then, select a group. Possible dimensions from which you may select your group include, but are not limited to: race, gender, social class, nationality, sexual identity, (dis)ability, rural versus urban status, religious belief, incarceration/criminal history, occupational status, victim, military status, and so on. Provide a brief summary of the group and concrete examples to illustrate. Summarize social psychological theory and research relevant to the experiences of members of this target group (e.g., What are the origins of prejudice toward this group? What are the influences on members of this group? etc.), and explain practical, original, and specific strategies for enhancing intergroup relations.

Your initial post should be 500-1000 words in length and must contain a minimum of three scholarly, peer-reviewed references, in addition to required course resources as applicable. Additional credible references are encouraged.

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TOWARD A RELEVANT PSYCHOLOGY OF PREJUDICE, STEREOTYPING, AND DISCRIMINATION: LINKING SCIENCE AND PRACTICE TO DEVELOP INTERVENTIONS THAT WORK IN COMMUNITY SETTINGS

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Racism and other forms of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination plague the United States in insidious ways. Research conducted on nationally representative samples suggests that almost two thirds of adult U.S. residents experience some sort of day-to-day discrimination (e.g., receiving poor service, being called names) and more than one third experience a major discriminatory event in their lifetime (e.g., being denied or fired from a job, being prevented from buying a home; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999). On the extreme end of prejudice, more than 6,216 hate crimes involving race (46.9%), sexual orientation (20.8%), religion (19.8%), or ethnic/national origin (11.6%) were reported to the United States Department of Justice (USDOJ, 2012) during 2011. These reports are likely a gross underestimate, as hate-crime estimates derived from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)—a yearly survey of

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criminal victimization in the United States conducted by the USDOJ and involving a nationally representative sample of 76,000 households comprising nearly 135,300 persons—suggest that 191,000 hate crime incidents occur each year (Rand, 2009).

Compared with victims of random crimes, victims of hate crime exhibit higher rates of delayed effects, such as depression, stress, and anger (Herek, Gillis, Cogan, & Glunt, 1997). This is not surprising, as even relatively milder daily forms of discrimination can significantly affect individuals' health and well-being. The results of a meta-analysis that included 134 independent samples identified a significant and negative effect of perceived discrimination on both mental health ($r = -.20$) and physical health ($r = -.13$; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). This meta-analysis also provided evidence of specific relations between perceived discrimination and depressive symptoms, psychiatric distress, general well-being, and the probability of being diagnosed with a mental illness. Such findings poignantly underscore the harm caused by the everyday prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination encountered by most people in the United States and disproportionately by members of ethnic or racial minority groups.

Considering the prevalence and negative impact of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination in the United States, it is not surprising that addressing these variables has been an important focus of both researchers (e.g., Paluck & Green, 2009) and communities in this country (e.g., National Research Council [NRC] & Institute of Medicine [IOM], 2000). In a methodological review of the prejudice reduction literature, Paluck and Green (2009) identified 985 studies on the topic, of which 72% were published. Their review included nonpublished studies to facilitate a comparison of laboratory-based research and field-based research. Paluck and Green identified six prejudice-reduction approaches supported by both laboratory and field research (i.e., cooperative learning, entertainment, peer influence, contact, value consistency, and intercultural training), two supported mostly by laboratory evidence (i.e., social categorization, and cognitive training), and four that were often addressed in the literature but lacked research support (i.e., diversity training, multicultural education, cultural competence, and conflict resolution). These authors noted that most research has been conducted in laboratory settings, with little rigorous research occurring in field settings. As they conclude:

Those interested in creating effective prejudice-reduction programs must remain skeptical of the recommendation of laboratory experiments until they are supported by research of the same degree of rigor outside of the laboratory. (Paluck & Green, 2009, p. 351)

THE SCIENCE–PRACTICE GAP

Given the widely documented gap between research and practice across an alarming variety of domains of human behavior (Jansson, Benoit, Casey, Phillips, & Burns, 2010; Morrissey et al., 1997), Paluck and Green's (2009) findings are best understood as a specific example of this broader gap. Scholars who study the science–practice gap point out that the goals and contexts of scientists and practitioners can differ notably (Jansson et al., 2010; Morrissey et al., 1997). Practitioners are often concerned with maintaining or expanding existing services, frequently in underresourced environments; researchers are concerned with conducting rigorous studies, most often with the goal of publication. Although the ultimate aims of both practitioners and researchers may closely overlap (e.g., effective prejudice reduction), their differing concerns can present an obstacle for collaboration. For example, practitioners might perceive practices that increase methodological rigor, such as randomized assignment, as antithetical to their service principles (Acevedo-Polakovich, Kassab, & Barnett, 2012; Mason, Fleming, Thompson, Haggerty, & Snyder, 2014).

In the interest of promoting the development of effective prejudice-reduction and antiracism interventions in the communities that need them, we introduce and illustrate in this chapter some basic concepts and approaches that promote collaboration between practitioners and researchers when developing such interventions. We first discuss community–academic partnerships and their role in addressing the science–practice gap, introducing an approach to the development and maintenance of these partnerships: community-based participatory research (CBPR). After this introduction, we use existing work to illustrate two strategies for the development of research-supported community interventions: *science-to-practice* and *practice-to-science*. Although the first strategy is frequently used by scholars, it has more often than not failed to result in effective community interventions (Paluck & Green, 2009). We discuss the second, less frequently used, strategy in greater detail, as it is explicitly designed to overcome the limitations of the first strategy. We conclude the chapter by offering recommendations for future research and practice.

ADDRESSING THE SCIENCE–PRACTICE GAP THROUGH COMMUNITY–ACADEMIC PARTNERSHIPS

Overcoming the science–practice gap regarding interventions to address racism and other forms of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination requires careful attention to the development of partnerships between

academics and community service providers (Acevedo-Polakovich et al., 2012; Jansson et al., 2010; Morrissey et al., 1997; Paluck & Green, 2009). The development of such partnerships is slow and deliberate and can require changes to the traditional approaches of both academics and communities (Acevedo-Polakovich et al., 2012). For example, community service providers who are involved in these partnerships may have to reallocate resources (e.g., time, personnel) in exchange for data that support their efforts to refine, improve, and fund their services. Similarly, scientists who are involved in these partnerships may have to share control over the focus of research, its design, and implementation. The reward for scientists who engage in these partnerships is the ability to conduct field-based research that does not suffer from the limited external validity that characterizes most prejudice reduction research (Paluck & Green, 2009).

COMMUNITY-BASED PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

Various approaches to research exist that can guide the formation and maintenance of community-academic partnerships. These include—but are not limited to—participatory research (e.g., Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995), participatory action research (e.g., Baum, MacDougall, & Smith, 2006), emancipatory research (e.g., Rose & Glass, 2008), and CBPR (e.g., Israel, Eng, Schulz, & Parker, 2005). Although community-academic partnerships that seek to address stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination need not be framed by formal approaches to collaboration, the approaches we have listed are particularly worthy of consideration by such partnerships, as they represent direct attempts to rectify within the research process the very conditions of inequality that foster racism and other forms of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination (Wallerstein & Duran, 2003).

Traditional research paradigms devalue community perspectives by reflecting the assumption that researchers are the experts who have something to offer community participants (Wallerstein & Duran, 2003). When research is focused on historically aggrieved communities, this assumption raises the risk that the manner in which research is conducted will perpetuate the injustice experienced by these communities (Wallerstein & Duran, 2003). By emphasizing equity between researchers and the communities that they study, the approaches that we have listed attempt to ensure that the social conditions leading to racism and other forms of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination do not exist within the research process.

The reasons to introduce CBPR as an example of formal approaches to guide community-academic partnership development and maintenance are both conceptual and pragmatic. Conceptually, CBPR is broadly inclusive,

such that it is able to capture and incorporate many important elements of other approaches (Wallerstein & Duran, 2003). Pragmatically, our extensive discussion of the practice-to-science strategy uses an active line of CBPR as an illustration. Introducing CBPR facilitates a richer understanding of the practice-to-science strategy.

Rather than relying on particular methodologies or designs, CBPR occurs when researchers and community members adhere to values and principles emphasizing equity and shared control (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2003). One popular articulation of CBPR includes nine fundamental values and practices (Israel, Eng, Schulz, & Parker, 2005): (a) recognition of the community as a unit of identity, (b) a focus on building community strengths and resources, (c) incorporation of collaborative and equitable partnerships between scientists and community members in all phases of the research, (d) colearning and capacity building for all partners, (e) balance between research and action for the mutual benefit of all partners, (f) emphasis on the multiply determined nature of problems and on the crucial role of community context when understanding and addressing them, (g) the recognition that ideal solutions develop through cyclical and iterative processes that involve researchers and the researched community, (h) dissemination of findings with a focus on relevance to all partners, and (i) committed long-term partnerships that extend beyond one singularly-focused project.

SCIENCE-TO-PRACTICE

Within the context of community-academic partnerships, the science-practice gap can be addressed using one of two broad strategies. The first of these, which is widely used and can be broadly characterized as a science-to-practice strategy, guides the work of a community-academic partnership toward understanding community needs, cross referencing these with relevant scientific findings and then either developing or adapting interventions. Typically—but not always—this intervention development or adaptation is undergone in an academic or laboratory setting before interventions are disseminated into the community (Paluck & Green, 2009).

Important challenges can arise when using the science-to-practice strategy. First, interventions that are developed in laboratory settings must then be disseminated into communities. Dissemination is an active process that requires considerable resource investment and is not always successful (Wandersman et al., 2008). The challenges to dissemination result in limited community use of interventions developed in laboratory settings (Biglan, Mrazek, Carnine, & Flay, 2003). A second challenge is that interventions that are successfully implemented must then achieve long-term sustainability. As is the case with

dissemination, ensuring the sustainability of an intervention is an active process requiring considerable resource investment and—as such—often does not occur (Hawkins, Shapiro, & Fagan, 2010; Spoth et al., 2011). A final, and related, challenge of interventions developed using the science-to-practice approach involves their ecological validity—the compatibility between the conditions required for the intervention to be maximally effective and the conditions in the communities in which they are to be implemented (Bernal & Saez-Santiago, 2006). Interventions that are not responsive to community conditions are—on average—a quarter as effective as interventions that are responsive to those conditions (Griner & Smith, 2006). They are also much less likely to be successfully implemented and less likely to be sustainable in community settings (Hernandez, Nesman, Mowery, Acevedo-Polakovich, & Callejas, 2009).

Although—as the work of Paluck and Green (2009) suggests—the challenges of the science-to-practice strategy have disproportionately prevented the development and implementation of useful community interventions to address racism and other forms of stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination, some community-academic partnerships have successfully used this strategy. The development of *Musekweya* (i.e., “New Dawn”; as cited in Staub, Pearlman, Gubin, & Hagengimana, 2005), a radio-based intervention in Rwanda, is one powerful example. Although the focus of much of this chapter is on the United States, *Musekweya* is an important illustration because of the nationwide scope of the intervention and the magnitude of the prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination that it strives to address. In this regard, it provides a patent demonstration of the capacity of well-designed community interventions (Paluck & Green, 2009).

The need for *Musekweya* arose from the significant and longstanding conflict between Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups. After taking control of Rwanda away from Germany in the aftermath of World War I, the Belgian government capitalized on historical differences between these groups and enacted policies that ensured Tutsis would hold and retain positions of authority (Sadowski, 1998). This systemic disempowerment of Hutus fueled the escalation of interethnic conflict throughout the 20th century and led to several periods of extreme ethnic violence, including the killing of at least 10,000 Tutsi during a 1959 retaliation for the Tutsi attack on a Hutu leader (Sadowski, 1998); the 1972 killing of hundreds of thousands of Hutu by the Tutsi military leadership in neighboring Burundi (Lemarchand, 1998); and bloody civil war along ethnic lines during the 1990s that resulted in approximately 1,000,000 deaths (Kanyangara, Rime, Philippot, & Yzerbyt, 2007). In the aftermath of the civil war, the Tutsi-led government pursued a policy of unity, which provided the context for the development of *Musekweya* (Staub, Pearlman, Weiss, & Hoek, 2008).

As a first step toward the development of an intervention to foster inter-ethnic unity, the community-academic partnership that ultimately designed Musekeweya documented local conditions among Rwandans, including the historical context of the violence, the resulting trauma, and the reconciliation efforts already underway (Staub, 2006; Staub et al., 2005). These local conditions were then interpreted using existing scholarship on violence, trauma, healing, and reconciliation (Staub, 2006; Staub et al., 2008). In brief, the researchers interpreted the conflict between Tutsi and Hutu as fueled by social conditions leading to the dehumanization of the other, unjust societal arrangements, and the creation of a passive bystander culture (Staub, 2006). To address these factors, the academic partners collaborated with Hutu and Tutsi Rwandans in the development of a radio-based intervention, Musekeweya, which took the form of a soap opera—followed by an estimated 85% of radio listeners in Rwanda—that integrated themes important for reconciliation (Staub et al., 2008).

Musekeweya had positive effects on listeners' perceptions of social norms and on their behavior (Paluck, 2009). When compared with a control group that listened to a health education radio show, Rwandans who listened to Musekeweya were less likely to report that they would prohibit their children from marrying individuals from a different ethnic group, more likely to report that they should speak up if they disagree with someone's actions, and more likely to endorse talking about trauma (Paluck, 2009). Consistent with the belief that they would speak up when they disagree with someone's actions, participants in the intervention group were also more likely to challenge each other during discussions (Paluck, 2009).

Musekeweya's strong effects and broad dissemination powerfully illustrate the capacity of well-designed science-to-practice interventions that are intentional about addressing the challenges that this development strategy often encounters (Paluck & Green, 2009). Working collaboratively with communities from the outset of the process, the researchers involved in the development of Musekeweya were able to design an intervention with a high degree of ecological validity and a broad, sustainable dissemination.

PRACTICE-TO-SCIENCE: EVIDENCE-BASING COMMUNITY INTERVENTIONS

Musekeweya illustrates how a thoughtful implementation of the science-to-practice strategy can lead to successful community interventions to reduce racism and other forms of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination; however, the challenges associated with this strategy have often prevented the development of useful community interventions (Paluck & Green, 2009). In the absence of successfully scaled science-to-practice efforts, communities

have frequently developed their own interventions to address racism, often focused on improving intergroup relations (NRC & IOM, 2000).

Long-standing community-driven interventions are less likely to encounter the challenges faced by interventions developed using a science-to-practice strategy (Wandersman & Florin, 2003). Dissemination—at least with a local focus—is by definition unnecessary, as these interventions are developed in the communities that need them (Glasgow, Vogt, & Boles, 1999). Sustainability is less likely to be an issue with long-standing community interventions, as they often remain in existence because they incorporate the sustainability infrastructures that science-to-practice programs are challenged to develop (Mason et al., 2014). Finally, the development and implementation of these interventions within the community usually results in a high degree of ecological validity (Barkham & Mellor-Clark, 2003). Despite these benefits of community-driven interventions, it is usually the case that limited or no efforts have been made to rigorously examine whether these interventions produce their intended effects (NRC & IOM, 2000). For this reason, community-academic partnerships attempting to address the science-practice gap may also adopt a practice-to-science approach focused on the rigorous evaluation and improvement of interventions that are long-standing within community settings (Mason et al., 2014).

Mason et al. (2014) recently described a framework to guide community-academic partnerships that pursue the practice-to-science strategy, which we summarize in Figure 14.1. The framework assumes the existence of

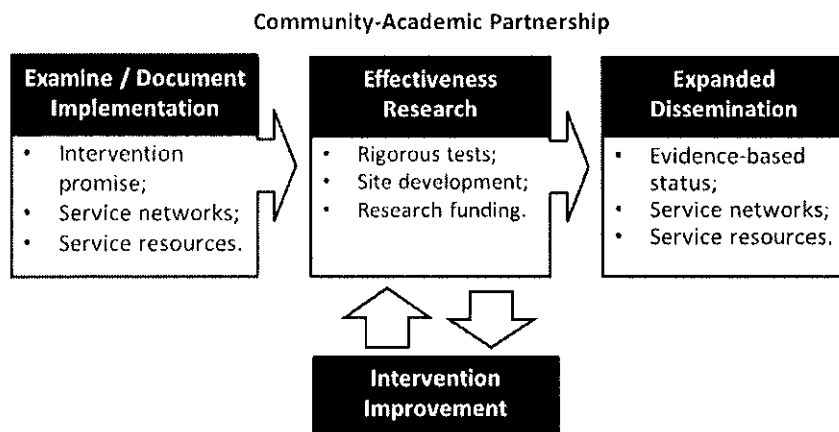


Figure 14.1. Mason et al.'s (2014) Practice-to-science framework. From "A Framework for Testing and Promoting Expanded Dissemination of Promising Preventive Interventions That Are Being Implemented in Community Settings," by W. A. Mason, C. B. Fleming, R. W. Thompson, K. P. Haggerty, and J. J. Snyder, 2014, *Prevention Science*, 15, pp. 674–683. Copyright 2013 by Springer. Reprinted with permission.

community-academic partnerships and recognizes that their development and maintenance are effortful processes that should be guided by best practices as documented in the literature. We describe and illustrate the application of Mason et al.'s framework for the evidence-basing of community interventions to address racism and other forms of prejudice using examples from active CBPR involving ANYTOWN™, an intervention for high-school-age youth in the United States, with the goals of promoting diversity acceptance, intergroup contact, social responsibility, and community involvement. Because the practice-to-science strategy is implemented much less often than its science-to-practice alternative, we focus on providing one well-developed example of its application, and we hope that our discussion can better inform researchers and practitioners considering the application of a practice-to-science strategy in different contexts.

ANYTOWN™—the focus of our practice-to-science work—is a time-limited residential intervention typically lasting one week. For the week, youth are assigned to dormitories and discussion groups such that they are maximally exposed to peers whose background differs significantly from their own in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, socioeconomic status, and sexual orientation. ANYTOWN™ includes workshops and activities on various foci of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination (e.g., race, sexual orientation, gender, socioeconomic status), dialogue, social responsibility, and community involvement. Along with the workshops and activities, youth participate in small dialogue groups to discuss the implications of the workshops and activities for their attitudes and their behavior.

EXAMINING AND DOCUMENTING CURRENT IMPLEMENTATION

Intervention Promise

As seen in Figure 14.1, a first step in the practice-to-science strategy is documenting current implementation efforts, specifically attending to an intervention's promise, its service provision networks, and its service provision resources (Mason et al., 2014). Examining and documenting an intervention's promise involves three important considerations, the first of which is examining whether it includes components associated with other successful interventions (Mason et al., 2014).

ANYTOWN™ was developed in the 1950s on the basis of Gordon Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory, which at the time provided the state-of-the-science understanding of the conditions under which stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination could be overcome. More than 60 years

of research suggest that intergroup contact is among the most reliable and powerful influences on intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). A meta-analysis that included 713 independent samples from 515 studies conducted between 1940 and 2000 found that the average effect size of intergroup contact upon prejudice was between $r = -.20$ and $r = -.21$ (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). To the extent that ANYTOWN™ successfully implements intergroup contact, it appears to include at least one component that is associated with successful interventions. Cooperative learning, peer influence, contact, and value consistency—all of which were identified by Paluck and Green (2009) as components of effective interventions to decrease prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination—are also part of ANYTOWN™.

The second consideration in determining an intervention's promise is ascertaining whether it is evaluable (Mason et al., 2014). The existence of documentation of the intervention—including intervention manuals, protocols for interventionist selection and training, and tools for the monitoring of implementation fidelity—informs this consideration. The implementation of ANYTOWN™ is guided by a carefully developed curriculum; interventionists are selected and prepared according to established and documented practices; and although limited in their current form, tools exist—and can be improved—that can be used to track fidelity.

A final consideration is reviewing any preliminary evidence of an intervention's success (Mason et al., 2014). Evaluations of ANYTOWN™ published in the peer-reviewed literature document pretreatment to post-treatment changes in single-item measures of knowledge and attitudes regarding sexual orientation, gender identity, and race (Boulden, 2005, 2006) and on psychometrically derived multi-item assessments of self-concept, personal and civic responsibility, race-based prejudice, heterosexism, and gender equality (Otis & Loeffler, 2005).

Service Provision Networks

Two levels of networks are involved in the provision of ANYTOWN™. The first involves a national network associated with the dissemination of the intervention. The second involves local networks associated with ANYTOWN™'s implementation in specific communities. At the national level, ANYTOWN™ was originally developed by the National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ; later renamed the National Conference for Community and Justice), an organization founded in 1927 to promote interfaith unity, which later expanded its scope to promote intergroup unity across races, social classes, genders, sexual orientations, and ability levels. Between 1927 and 2005, the NCCJ was structured as central organization

with regional chapters. It was through these chapters that ANYTOWN™ was originally disseminated. Although the structure of NCCJ changed after 2005 such that regional chapters became autonomous and independent, ANYTOWN™ continues to be implemented in local communities by some of the now autonomous organizations that previously functioned as NCCJ chapters.

At the local level, the implementation of ANYTOWN™ relies on the community networks of each NCCJ chapter (or their descendant organizations). For instance, within the Tampa Bay area of Florida, the local NCCJ chapter was rebranded as Community Tampa Bay Inc. (CTB), a nonprofit organization with a mission to promote dialogue and respect among all cultures, religions, and races by cultivating leaders to change communities. The local implementation of ANYTOWN™ depends on established relations between CTB and community stakeholders—such as religious congregations, schools, civic groups, and youth-serving organizations—each of which support ANYTOWN™ by referring youth and/or providing volunteers or other tangible forms of aid (e.g., funding).

Service Provision Resources

Funding for the implementation of ANYTOWN™ in the Tampa Bay area depends on a variety of sources, including donations, grants, contracts and volunteer support. This is particularly the case as—to guarantee access to as diverse a pool of participants as possible—until 2012 the program had avoided charging participants despite per-participant costs of implementation running as high as \$1,700. Reflecting national trends (Mason et al., 2014), some of the more substantial private and public grants available to CTB for the implementation of ANYTOWN™ increasingly required that the interventions they support be evidence based. This requirement both compromises the sustainability of ANYTOWN™ and heightens interest in pursuing the practice-to-science approach.

Taken together, the available evidence suggests that ANYTOWN™ is a promising intervention with strong service provision networks and resources that have enabled it to be sustainably delivered for more than 50 years nationally and for more than 20 years in the Tampa Bay area (the community that is the focus of the CBPR partnership being described in this section). At its height, the program was in existence in more than 60 communities in 22 states. Although the nationwide dissemination of the intervention has decreased—in part a result of the reduced funding of nonprofits during the recent economic downturn and the co-occurring trend among funders to primarily support evidence-based programs—CTB continues to operate ANYTOWN™ in the Tampa Bay area.

As illustrated in Figure 14.1, through the interrelated activities of rigorous intervention testing, study site development, and pursuing research funding, the second step in Mason et al.'s (2014) practice-to-science framework is focused on establishing evidence of an intervention's effectiveness and—when indicated—modifying or improving the intervention on the basis of the research data. Our CBPR has focused on the effectiveness of ANYTOWN™ with the long-term goal of examining its eligibility for inclusion in any of several registries of empirically based programs. As Mason et al. (2014) suggested, one of the main challenges we have encountered is balancing the internal validity required of good effectiveness research with the service needs of an intervention that is well established in the community.

Rigorous Intervention Tests

Mason et al.'s (2014) consideration of the effectiveness research step in general, and its rigorous program test component in particular, is heavily focused on the difficulties that can arise in attempting to implement a randomized controlled trial (RCT), which is a best practice in efficacy/effectiveness research. Although their discussion is on point with our experience, we have found that crucial antecedent issues must be addressed. The issue of determining appropriate measures is illustrative.

Determining Appropriate Measures

Although the measurement and conceptualization of stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination are remarkably advanced within the research literature (e.g., Olson, 2009), very little attention has been given to the conceptualization and measurement of the positive intergroup variables targeted by ANYTOWN™ (Fuertes, Sedlacek, Roger, & Mohr, 2000). Given this state of affairs—and before we formed our CBPR partnership—CTB worked closely with a researcher to examine available measures and determine their relevance. Although some existing measures were found to be relevant to the program and adopted as part of ANYTOWN™'s evaluation, no measure of positive intergroup variables was found adequate. As a result, CTB and its research partner developed a new measure, the Youth Diversity Acceptance scale (YoDA), which captured the intergroup change sought by the program (Lyons, 2005).

The YoDA was developed using standard psychometric practices and has demonstrated adequate internal validity in existing unpublished research, which has also shown that YoDA scores increase from pretreatment to posttreatment as a result of ANYTOWN™ participation (Beck,

2012; Hawks, 2010; Lyons, 2005). Consistent with the few other studies that have developed measures of positive intergroup variables (e.g., Fuertes et al., 2000)—but in contrast to the literature on stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination (e.g., Olson, 2009)—in the YoDA behavioral, attitudinal, and cognitive indicators hold together in one factor (Lyons, 2005; Beck et al., 2014). The YoDA is thus relevant to the program, empirically sound and conceptually relevant, but not yet published in the peer-reviewed literature.

Under this state of affairs, we have implemented several complimentary strategies as we build toward a RCT. First, we have pursued the publication of expanded psychometric work supporting the YoDA (e.g., Beck et al., 2014). If successful, these efforts would allow for the YoDA to remain as one of the program's primary outcome measures in a future RCT. Second, we have examined the usefulness of several other published scales in our efforts to evaluate and/or research ANYTOWN™ (e.g., Beck, 2012; Hawks, 2010). Although none of these measures have the relevance of the YoDA, most of them have evinced pretreatment to posttreatment changes around ANYTOWN™ participation. As such, although not ideally tied to program goals, these scales are likely to make a suitable complement to the YoDA in a future RCT.

Building Toward Randomized Controlled Trials

Echoing others (e.g., Glasgow et al., 1999), Mason et al. (2014) describe the difficulties that community–academic partnerships can encounter when attempting to implement an RCT. Briefly, RCTs require significant resources and can require modifications to service delivery practices that compromise the integrity of the intervention. For these reasons, it can be necessary and useful to conduct a series of studies—beginning with designs least disruptive to the intervention—that progressively develop the infrastructure needed for an RCT along with the justification for such a design (Glasgow et al., 1999). This progressive approach can also foster site development and the procurement of research funding, two additional components of the effectiveness research step within Mason et al.'s practice-to-science framework.

In planning the work to be conducted in the effectiveness step, our CBPR partnership first estimated the cost of conducting an RCT in a manner that would not compromise the integrity of the service practices involved in the implementation of ANYTOWN™. Although procuring the resources for an RCT depended on our success attaining external funding, our available resources enabled a series of studies that could progressively strengthen the research infrastructure of our partnership and provide data to support later proposals for external funding. We began our work by designing and implementing three studies that as a group sought to build on the published pretreatment to posttreatment evaluations of ANYTOWN™.

In Study 1, we used a non-equivalent control group design and found that, compared with students enrolled in social science courses at the same high schools from which they are recruited, ANYTOWN™ participants achieved greater short-term increases in measures of knowledge regarding diversity, diversity acceptance, social competence, social responsibility, and community involvement (Acevedo-Polakovich, Lyons, Beck, Estevez, & Hawks, 2015). It is important to note that most differences between groups remained significant at a midterm follow up. In Study 2, we examined whether potential mediating variables identified through a logic modeling exercise could account for the short-term growth in ANYTOWN™ participants' scores on diversity acceptance (Acevedo-Polakovich et al., 2015). Consistent with the intergroup contact approach that underlies ANYTOWN™, results suggested that increases in the emotional closeness participants feel toward individuals who belong to socially constructed outgroups significantly mediated the increases in diversity awareness. In Study 3, we used an expert consensus methodology to identify additional potential mediators that might account for program effects (Acevedo-Polakovich et al., 2015). Results of this approach identified other potential mediators that might be explored including group categorization strategies and changes in specific cognitive processes (i.e., awareness, defusion, action).

Site Development

The key determination in site development is where and how to access study participants, which—particularly in the case of long-standing community-driven interventions, such as ANYTOWN™—must account for established service delivery practices (Mason et al., 2014). Because these service practices can be an obstacle for an RCT, methodological flexibility can be necessary (Mason et al., 2014). As previously stated, the resources required to conduct an RCT without compromising the integrity of the service practices involved in the implementation of ANYTOWN™ are at this time unavailable to our CBPR partnership without external funding. In pursuing methodological options that can strengthen the rigor of our research while fitting within our current constraints, we opted for the implementation of two additional studies, both currently active. One of these uses a wait-list control design to assess short-term effects and another involves time series data collected from a subsample of program participants during the months before and after their participation in ANYTOWN™.

Research Funding

Scientists have access to traditional research funders (e.g., the National Institutes of Health, the National Science Foundation), whereas community

organizations can access national, regional, and local services funders (e.g., the U.S. Substance Use and Mental Health Service Administration, state departments of health and/or education, local foundations). Research into community interventions offers community-academic partnerships the opportunity to tie together these different funding streams (Mason et al., 2014). For instance, combining funding streams can make use of service grants to support the program evaluation component of research or, where allowable, make use of research funds to support the delivery of the intervention under study. Even with enhanced opportunities for funding, obtaining external funding is a competitive and challenging endeavor. Although our CBPR partnership includes individuals with a history of success attracting external funding from national, regional and local funders, our research activities to date have had to make creative use of our existing resources.

INTERVENTION IMPROVEMENT

Mason et al.'s (2014) practice-to-science framework directly relates the improvement of an intervention to effectiveness research. As findings emerge from research, they should guide the modification (with the goal of improvement) of the community intervention. The effects of these modifications should then be examined via follow-up research. One example from our work is illustrative. Our early research suggested that ANYTOWN™'s effects on diversity acceptance—one of its primary outcomes of interest—were associated with increases in the emotional closeness participants feel toward individuals who belong to socially constructed outgroups (Acevedo-Polakovich et al., 2015). Stated plainly, it is the quality—rather than the quantity—of intergroup relationships that seems to have an effect on attitudes. This finding led to changes in interventionist training. In the interest of expanding intergroup contact, interventionists had traditionally been trained to continuously encourage participants' active efforts to meet new people, often at the expense of spending time getting to know a few new people well. The findings regarding emotional closeness led to changes in the role of interventionists, who are now trained to facilitate the time and opportunity for participants to form close bonds with others whose backgrounds differ significantly from their own.

Mason et al.'s (2014) practice-to-science framework specifies that intervention modification can occur that is not directly guided by the findings of effectiveness research. The comparison of the intervention curriculum to those of other evidence-based interventions might reveal areas for improvement. It is also possible that an intervention might be modified to incorporate technological innovations that seem likely to enhance its effects or its reach.

This type of modification has been overlooked in our CBPR and constitutes an important direction for our future work.

EXPANDED DISSEMINATION

When research results support the effectiveness of an intervention, a community–academic partnership can move to the final step of Mason et al.'s (2014) practice-to-science framework, expanded dissemination. The three activities included in this step together support an expanded implementation of the program: establishment of evidence-based status, expansion of service networks, and expansion of service resources.

Evidence-Based Status

In the United States, several registries of evidence-based interventions exist and have come to play an important role in the promotion of interventions. As part of the trend to finance only empirically supported treatments, funders will often require that proposals seeking support for services focus only on interventions included in these registries. Given this funding climate, our CBPR into the effectiveness of ANYTOWN™ has the long-term goal of examining its eligibility for inclusion in these registries. As Mason et al. (2014) pointed out, most of these registries have a hierarchy of designations and—although it is in some cases impossible for one research team to facilitate the consideration of an intervention for the highest level designations—we have tried to develop our research agenda such that, if positive, findings would first allow for the lower level designations, with subsequent research facilitating the consideration of the program at higher designations. Inclusion at even the lowest level of the registry notably expands the funding opportunities available to ANYTOWN™ or any other community-developed intervention.

Expanded Service Networks

It is important to keep in mind that although inclusion in the registries of empirically supported programs provides the opportunity for increased dissemination of an intervention, dissemination is an active and resource-intensive process that must be carefully managed to be successful (Wandersman et al., 2008). One of the interesting challenges of our work with ANYTOWN™ is its existing dissemination across an established national network. Prevalent models for the dissemination of interventions—such as the interactive systems framework of Wandersman et al. (2008)—tend to focus on dissemination into new

settings. Should our effectiveness research prove successful, we will be faced with the challenge of attempting to disseminate any innovations that have been made to the program across the existing national network. The extent to which the dissemination of innovations and/or improvements to an existing intervention parallels the dissemination of entirely new interventions is an important direction for future research.

Expanded Service Resources

We have noted that dissemination is an active and resource intensive process. Mason et al. (2014) highlight that the lack of resources to support dissemination can lead to many unrealized opportunities. To this end, they suggest that community organizations take advantage of opportunities to capitalize financially on the inclusion of the interventions they have developed into evidence-based registries.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite devoting a great deal of attention to racial and ethnic prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination, psychologists have largely failed to provide communities with interventions to address these issues. In part, this failure reflects the broader practice of research existing independently from community needs or contexts. Successfully addressing racism and other forms of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination within communities requires partnerships between these communities and researchers. Community-academic partnerships can follow two broad strategies in the development of interventions to address and prevent racism. The first, science-to-practice, can lead to the development of innovative interventions with broad public impact, such as Musekeweya. The second strategy, practice-to-science, can document, improve and give broader dissemination to successful community-developed interventions, such as ANYTOWN™.

The traditional manner in which social scientists study racism and other forms of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination has provided few tractable solutions for the communities harmed by these social ills (Paluck & Green, 2009). The scientific understanding of racism is voluminous and growing. The human beings that suffer because of racism and other injustices do not need one more study examining one more nuance within this scientific understanding—Instead, they need solutions for the injustices that challenge their daily living. It is high time for social scientists to work alongside the communities aggrieved by the injustices that they study. To do otherwise is to be complicit with scientific obsolescence in the face of people's suffering.

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INTERGROUP CONTACT THEORY

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ABSTRACT

Allport specified four conditions for optimal intergroup contact: equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and authority support. Varied research supports the hypothesis, but four problems remain. 1. A selection bias limits cross-sectional studies, since prejudiced people avoid intergroup contact. Yet research finds that the positive effects of cross-group friendship are larger than those of the bias. 2. Writers overburden the hypothesis with facilitating, but not essential, conditions. 3. The hypothesis fails to address process. The chapter proposes four processes: learning about the outgroup, changed behavior, affective ties, and ingroup reappraisal. 4. The hypothesis does not specify how the effects generalize to other situations, the outgroup or uninvolved outgroups. Acting sequentially, three strategies enhance generalization—decategorization, salient categorization, and recategorization. Finally, both individual differences and societal norms shape intergroup contact effects. The chapter outlines a longitudinal intergroup contact theory. It distinguishes between essential and facilitating factors, and emphasizes different outcomes for different stages of contact.

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INTRODUCTION

Social scientists began to theorize about intergroup contact after World War II (Watson 1947, Williams 1947). Allport's (1954) hypothesis proved the most influential by specifying the critical situational conditions for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice. His hypothesis has received extensive attention both for its rare theoretical status and policy importance (Pettigrew 1971). Oddly, for a discipline that focuses on face-to-face interaction, social psychology rarely decomposes situations into their basic components. Allport's attempt is a prominent exception. And it has proven useful in applied settings, such as in the distinction between racial desegregation and integration in schools (Pettigrew 1975).

Allport's Intergroup Contact Hypothesis

Allport (1954) held that positive effects of intergroup contact occur only in situations marked by four key conditions: equal group status within the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom.

EQUAL STATUS Allport stressed equal group status *within* the situation. Most research supports this contention, although "equal status" is difficult to define and has been used in different ways (Cagle 1973, Riordan 1978). It is important that both groups expect and perceive equal status in the situation (Cohen & Lotan 1995, Cohen 1982, Riordan & Ruggiero 1980, Robinson & Preston 1976). Some writers emphasize equal group status *coming into* the situation (Brewer & Kramer 1985). Thus, Jackman & Crane (1986) show negative effects from contact with outgroup members of lower status. Yet Patchen (1982), in research on racially mixed high schools, found this to be less important than equal status within the situation. The meta-analytic results of Mullen et al (1992) clarify these disparities. They noted that ingroup bias increased with relative status in laboratory groups but decreased in field research with real groups.

COMMON GOALS Prejudice reduction through contact requires an active, goal-oriented effort. Athletic teams furnish a prime example (Chu & Griffey 1985, Miracle 1981, Patchen 1982). In striving to win, interracial teams need each other to achieve their goal. Goal attainment, such as a winning season, furthers this process.

INTERGROUP COOPERATION Attainment of common goals must be an interdependent effort without intergroup competition (Bettencourt et al 1992). Sherif (1966) demonstrated this principle vividly in his Robbers' Cave field study. Intergroup cooperation in schools provides the strongest evidence (Brewer & Miller 1984, Desforges et al 1991, Johnson et al 1984, Schofield 1989, Slavin 1983, Slavin & Madden 1979). Drawing on this thinking, Aronson's jigsaw classroom technique structures classrooms so that students strive cooperatively for common goals (Aronson & Patnoe 1997). This technique has led to positive results for a variety of children: Australians (Walker & Crogan 1997), Germans (Eppler & Huber 1990), Japanese (Araragi 1983), and Mexican Americans (Aronson & Gonzalez 1988).

SUPPORT OF AUTHORITIES, LAW, OR CUSTOM The final condition concerns the contact's auspices. With explicit social sanction, intergroup contact is more readily accepted and has more positive effects. Authority support establishes norms of acceptance. Field research underscores its importance in military (Landis et al 1984), business (Morrison & Herlihy 1992), and religious (Parker 1968) institutions.

INITIAL EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Allport (1954) derived his hypothesis from early field research. An Alabama study revealed negative effects when all four conditions were violated (Sims & Patrick 1936). White college students from the North increased on average in antiblack prejudice with each year spent in the South.

Other studies investigated optimal conditions. After desegregation of the Merchant Marine in 1948, interdependency developed on ships and in the maritime union. The more voyages the white seamen took with blacks under these conditions, the more positive their racial attitudes became (Brophy 1946). Similarly, white police in Philadelphia who had worked with black colleagues had fewer objections to black police joining their districts, teaming with a black partner, and taking orders from qualified black officers (Kephart 1957).

Studies of public housing provided robust evidence. Deutsch & Collins (1951) compared racially desegregated housing projects in New York City with similar but segregated projects in Newark. Sharp differences emerged. Desegregated white housewives held their black neighbors in higher esteem and favored interracial housing more (75% to 25%). When asked to name black faults, they listed such personal issues as feelings of inferiority. Segregated white women voiced stereotypes such as "rowdy" and "dangerous."

Later public housing research extended these findings (Wilner et al 1955). Favorable racial attitudes developed among only one third of the white tenants who just had casual greetings with their black neighbors. But half who entered

into conversations and three fourths who had multiple interactions developed positive racial views. Social norms are crucial. In the desegregated projects, whites expected approval from their neighbors for their friendly interracial behavior. In the segregated projects, they feared social ostracism from other whites for such behavior. "Contact and perceived social climate tend to reinforce each other when their influence operates in the same direction, and to cancel each other out when their influence works in the opposite direction" (Wilner et al 1955, p. 106).

RECENT EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Allport's formulation continues to receive support across a variety of situations, groups, and societies. Some research, conducted in situations that do not provide key conditions, uncovers negative effects. Poorly arranged entry of black workers into London's public transportation, for example, led to hostility by white workers (Brooks 1975). Interracial housing research sometimes reveals few effects on racial attitudes (Bradburn et al 1971, Meer & Freedman 1966, Zuel & Humphrey 1971). These findings support Allport, although some writers mistakenly view their results as falsifying his hypothesis. The erroneous notion that the hypothesis holds that intergroup contact "will of itself produce better relations between... groups" still persists (McGarty & de la Haye 1997, p. 155).

Most studies report positive contact effects, even in situations lacking key conditions. Although it concentrates on school and housing situations (Ford 1986), the contact literature ranges from Chinese students in the United States (Chang 1973) and interracial workers in South Africa (Bornman & Mynhardt 1991) to German and Turkish school children (Wagner et al 1989) and Australians (McKay & Pitman 1993) and Americans (Riordan 1987) getting to know Southeast Asian immigrants. It involves attitudes toward a wide range of targets beyond ethnic groups—the elderly (Caspi 1984, Drew 1988), homosexuals (Eskilson 1995, Herek & Capitanio 1996), the mentally ill (Desforges et al 1991), disabled persons (Anderson 1995), victims of AIDS (Werth & Lord 1992), and even computer programmers (McGinnis 1990). In addition, diverse research methods yield supporting results—field (Meer & Freedman 1966, Ohm 1988), archival (Fine 1979), survey (Jackman & Crane 1986; Pettigrew 1997a,b; Robinson 1980; Sigelman & Welch 1993), and laboratory (Cook 1978, 1984; Desforges et al 1991).

Research with African Americans is also supportive. Works (1961) found that both black wives and husbands in a desegregated housing project felt more positively about their white neighbors than those in a segregated project. With longitudinal data, Smith (1994) found contact meeting Allport's conditions decreased prejudice among both black and white neighbors, though there were

group differences in contact effects. In a national probability sample, interracial friendships proved to be a strong predictor of blacks' racial attitudes (Ellison & Powers 1994, Powers & Ellison 1995).

These varied investigations broaden the application of the hypothesis. They also raise the question: Why does intergroup contact usually have positive effects even when the situation does not attain all of Allport's conditions? In addition, they typically do not address the basic problems with the original contact hypothesis—problems to which I now turn.

PROBLEMS

The Causal Sequence Problem

Selection bias limits the interpretation of many cross-sectional studies of contact. Instead of optimal contact reducing prejudice, the opposite causal sequence could be operating. Prejudiced people may avoid contact with outgroups. Three methods overcome this limitation. 1. Find an intergroup situation that severely limits choice to participate. In the Merchant Marine, police, and public-housing research, little choice was available to participants. 2. Statistical methods borrowed from econometrics allow researchers to compare the reciprocal paths (optimal contact lowers prejudice and prejudice decreases contact) with cross-sectional data. Powers & Ellison (1995) use endogenous switching regression models. Later I review the use of a nonrecursive structural equation model. 3. Although not without problems (Clogg 1986), longitudinal designs are best (Pettigrew 1996). Yet such research is rare in intergroup research; Sherif's (1966) study is a famous exception. Indeed, the major findings of the Robbers' Cave study would not have emerged without its longitudinal design (Pettigrew 1991a). The initial intergroup contact situations had little effect. Only after repeated treatments did the positive results cumulate.

Independent Variable Specification Problem

Allport's hypothesis risks being an open-ended laundry list of conditions—ever expandable and thus eluding falsification (Pettigrew 1986, Stephan 1987). Researchers keep advancing new situational factors for optimal contact. From Germany, Wagner & Machleit (1986) concluded that positive effects require a common language, voluntary contact, and a prosperous economy. From Israel, Ben-Ari & Amir (1986) held that the group's initial views of one another cannot be too negative. From the United States, Cook (1978) insisted that stereotype disconfirmation is crucial.

This growing list of limiting conditions threatens to remove all interest from the hypothesis. Too many factors would exclude most intergroup situations. The hypothesis would rarely predict positive results from contact, al-

though research typically finds positive results. The problem is that writers often confuse *facilitating* with *essential* conditions. Many factors suggested for optimal contact may not be essential but relate to the underlying mediating processes. This point leads to the third problem.

Unspecified Processes of Change Problem

The original hypothesis says nothing about the *processes* by which contact changes attitudes and behavior. It predicts only *when* contact will lead to positive change, not *how* and *why* the change occurs. A broader theory of intergroup contact requires an explicit specification of the processes involved, which I provide below.

The Generalization of Effects Problem

Nor does the hypothesis specify how the effects generalize beyond the immediate situation. Such generalization is pivotal if intergroup contact is to have broad and lasting consequences. There are three distinct types of generalization: *Situational*—do the changes generalize across situations? *Individual to group*—do the changes generalize from the specific outgroup members with whom there is contact to the outgroup? *To uninvolved outgroups*—do the changes toward the outgroup generalize to other outgroups not involved in the contact? (For analyses of the generalization of different effects, see Brewer & Miller 1988 and Hewstone 1996.) Thus, a broader theory of intergroup contact also requires explicit predictions of how the contact effects will generalize, another task I undertake below.

FOUR PROCESSES OF CHANGE THROUGH INTERGROUP CONTACT

Recent work suggests that four interrelated processes operate through contact and mediate attitude change: learning about the outgroup, changing behavior, generating affective ties, and ingroup reappraisal.

LEARNING ABOUT THE OUTGROUP Initial theory held this process to be the major way that intergroup contact has effects. When new learning corrects negative views of the outgroup, contact should reduce prejudice. Support for such a benign process is available, though plausible rival explanations remain. Consider Jeffries & Ransford's (1969) findings on middle-class white reactions to the Watts race riot in Los Angeles. Those who had prior interracial contact were significantly less fearful of blacks, less punitive, and less likely to view the riot as caused by outside agitators.

Yet cognitive research has uncovered a host of mechanisms that limit learning material that counters our attitudes and stereotypes. Writing from this per-

spective, Rothbart & John (1985) conclude that disconfirming evidence alters stereotypes only if (a) the outgroup's behavior is starkly inconsistent with their stereotype and strongly associated with their label, (b) occurs often and in many situations, and (c) the outgroup members are seen as typical. These restrictions eliminate most intergroup contact situations.

Nonetheless, new information about an outgroup can improve attitudes. Stephan & Stephan (1984) found that contact allowed Anglo students to learn more about Chicano culture that in turn led to more positive attitudes toward Chicano classmates. "Ignorance," they assert, "promotes prejudice..." (Stephan & Stephan 1984, p. 238). Other studies with the cultural assimilator technique of Triandis (1994) provide further evidence that learning about an outgroup can improve intergroup attitudes and stereotypes (Gardiner 1972, Weldon et al 1975).

Still, the dominant consensus of cognitive analyses denies the likelihood of positive effects from most contact situations. Yet the research literature suggests that positive effects are more common than either the contact hypothesis or cognitive analyses predict. Why the contradiction? The basic reason is that learning about the outgroup is only one of several processes involved. Cognitive analyses are not so much wrong as they are incomplete. Other processes are also involved.

CHANGING BEHAVIOR Optimal intergroup contact acts as a benign form of behavior modification. Behavior change is often the precursor of attitude change. New situations require conforming to new expectations. If these expectations include acceptance of outgroup members, this behavior has the potential to produce attitude change. We can resolve our dissonance between old prejudices and new behavior by revising our attitudes (Aronson & Patnoe 1997). This behavioral process also benefits from repeated contact, preferably in varied settings (Jackman & Crane 1986). Repetition makes intergroup encounters comfortable and "right." Repetition itself leads to liking (Zajonc 1968). Appropriate rewards for the new behavior enhances the positive effects further.

GENERATING AFFECTIVE TIES Emotion is critical in intergroup contact. Anxiety is common in initial encounters between groups, and it can spark negative reactions (Islam & Hewstone 1993; Stephan 1992; Stephan & Stephan 1985, 1989, 1992; Wilder 1993a,b). Such anxious, negative encounters can occur even without intergroup prejudice (Devine et al 1996). Continued contact generally reduces anxiety, though bad experiences can increase it.

Positive emotions aroused by optimal contact also can mediate intergroup contact effects. Empathy plays a role here. Reich & Purbhoo (1975) found that school contact improved cross-group role-taking ability among both majority and minority Canadian students. And empathy for a stigmatized outgroup

member—a young woman with AIDS, a homeless man or a convicted murderer—can improve attitudes toward the whole outgroup (Batson et al 1997).

Positive emotions aroused by intergroup friendship also can be pivotal. The Oliners (1988) found that non-Jews who risked their lives to save Jews during World War II reported more close friendships as children with other groups. Similarly, Rippl (1995) found friendship to be decisive in shaping contact effects between West and East Germans. These findings support earlier claims by Amir (1976) concerning the importance of intimacy in intergroup contact.

The most extensive data on intergroup friendship derive from 1988 surveys in Western Europe (Pettigrew 1997a,b; Pettigrew & Meertens 1995). (For survey details, see Reif & Melish 1991; for a different, though consistent, analysis of these data, see Hamberger & Hewstone 1997). Over 3800 majority group respondents in seven probability samples of France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and West Germany were asked their attitudes toward major minority groups in their country and whether they had friends of another nationality, race, culture, religion, or social class. In all samples, Europeans with outgroup friends scored significantly lower on five prejudice measures even after controlling for seven variables. The largest effect occurred for a two-item measure of affective prejudice. Those with intergroup friends significantly more often reported having felt sympathy and admiration for the outgroup. Few studies in the contact literature have used affective dependent variables. When they have, similar results emerge (Wright et al 1997).

Figure 1 compares the paths between intergroup friends and affective prejudice. Note that living in an intergroup neighborhood makes it more likely that a European will have an outgroup friend (+.356). There is no direct relationship, however, between mixed neighborhoods and affective prejudice. This allows a test of the paths between friendship and affective prejudice (Bollen 1989, Heist 1975). As in other research (Herek & Capitanio 1996), the prejudiced avoid intergroup contact (−.137). But the path from friendship to reduced affective prejudice is significantly stronger (−.210), a finding consistent with that of Powers & Ellison (1995). In short, like prejudice, contact involves both cognition and affect.

INGROUP REAPPRAISAL. Optimal intergroup contact provides insight about ingroups as well as outgroups. Ingroup norms and customs turn out not to be the only ways to manage the social world. This new perspective can reshape your view of your ingroup and lead to a less provincial view of outgroups in general (“deprovincialization”). In the European surveys, outgroup friendship related to significantly less “pride” in nationality even after education, age, and political conservatism are controlled (Pettigrew 1997c). (A comparable

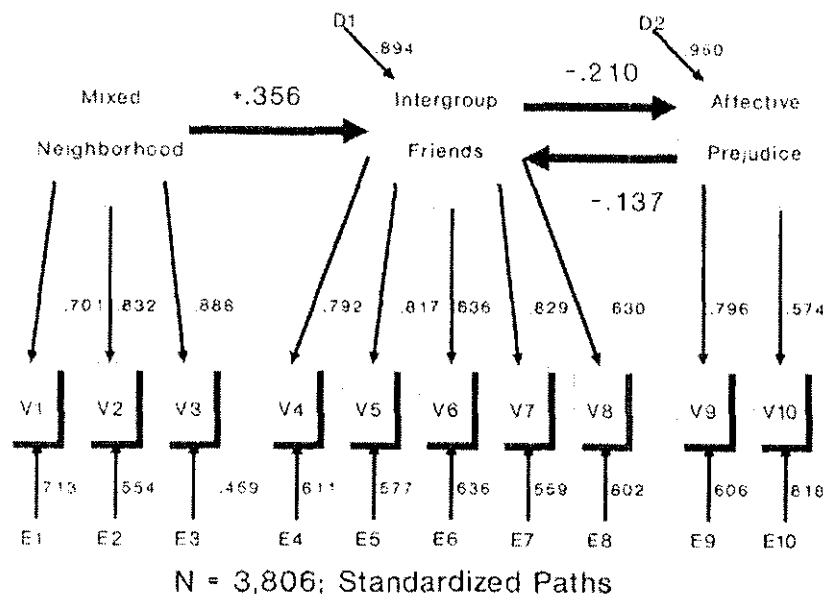


Figure 1 Friends - prejudice model

analysis to Figure 1 reveals similar results with a significant path from out-group friends to less national pride.)

Part of this process involves having less contact with the ingroup as a result of more contact with the outgroup. Wilder & Thompson (1980) covaried contact with the ingroup and outgroup in a laboratory study. While it had no impact on ingroup ratings, less ingroup contact led to less bias toward the outgroup. This finding is consistent with meta-analytic results that show ingroup bias is positively related with ingroup salience (Mullen et al 1992).

THREE TYPES OF GENERALIZATION

GENERALIZATION ACROSS SITUATIONS World War II research showed major improvements in white attitudes toward black soldiers after combat together (Stouffer et al 1949). Yet whites continued to favor racially separate post exchanges (military stores). Other early studies also demonstrated limited generalization across situations (Biesanz & Smith 1951, Deutsch & Collins 1951, Harding & Hogrefe 1952, Minard 1952, Reitzes 1953, Saenger & Gilbert 1950).

Recall that the first cooperative encounters of the Robbers' Cave study did not generalize either. Only the cumulative effect of repeated optimal situations

altered the attitudes of the rival groups. Similarly, only after the US Army offered many types of optimal interracial situations could it conclude that its program of racial desegregation "works" (US Department of Defense 1955, Moscos & Butler 1996).

GENERALIZATION FROM THE OUTGROUP INDIVIDUAL TO THE OUTGROUP Brown & Turner (1981) questioned the generalization of effects between *interpersonal* and *intergroup* phenomena. They doubted whether positive effects from getting to know an outgroup member (interpersonal) could affect attitudes about the outgroup (intergroup).

Following this reasoning, Hewstone & Brown (1986) theorized that contact effects generalize to the outgroup only when group membership is salient. When group saliency is low, the situation is interpersonal and no intergroup effects should result. Only when the interactants view one another as group representatives does the contact become an intergroup event. Research that supports this *salient categorization strategy* shows stereotype change generalizes best to the intergroup level when the individuals involved are typical group members (Johnston & Hewstone 1992, Vivian et al 1995, Weber & Crocker 1983, Wilder 1984). As typical members, their group memberships were more salient.

This poses a problem. Typical members of real groups are different in many ways, but people with similar interests and status seek each other out—the similarity principle (Byrne 1971). People from different groups who have contact, then, are more likely to share similar interests and values. And outgroup members with similar interests to the ingroup often will not typify their group or make group membership salient. Hence, Brewer & Miller (1984) advocate a *decategorization strategy*. The opposite of salient categorization, it holds that intergroup contact is most effective when group saliency is low.

So, given real differences between groups, those most likely to have intergroup contact are atypical of their groups. Yet contact effects generalize best when the participants are typical group members. Thus, people most likely to engage in intergroup contact are the least likely to evoke changes that generalize to their groups.

How, then, can effective contact take place? First, the similarity principle is not the whole story. Durkheim (1960) pointed out that similarity (mechanical solidarity) is only one form of social bond. Society could not exist without bonds across reciprocal roles—parents and children, clerks and customers. So differences (organic solidarity) also are important for social bonds. These differences, widespread in modern society, guarantee that contact takes place between dissimilar people. Further, under some conditions, optimal contact leads to positive changes that generalize even when atypical members are involved (Hamburger 1994, Werth & Lord 1992).

Second, the time sequence is crucial. Conflicting as they seem, both strategies are possible if they occur sequentially. Diminished saliency of group categories can be important when intergroup contact is initiated. Once established, salient group categorization is required for the effects to generalize to the intergroup level (Van Oudenhoven et al 1996).

In time, the Common Ingroup Identity Model emphasizes that *recategorization* becomes possible (Anastasio et al 1997; Gaertner et al 1993, 1994). After extended contact, people can begin to think of themselves in a larger group perspective. Recategorization adopts an inclusive category that highlights similarities among the interactants and obscures the "we" and "they" boundary (Perdue et al 1990). Note, however, that recategorization is the final state many interacting groups never reach. The progression through these three stages of categorization is not automatic, and recategorization into a single group often will not be attained.

Wright and his colleagues propose a further form of generalization involving friendship. Using both questionnaire and experimental methods, they show that even knowledge of an ingroup member's friendship with an outgroup member relates to more positive attitudes toward the outgroup (Wright et al 1997). Such an "extended contact effect" does not require intergroup friendship for the perceiver.

GENERALIZATION FROM THE IMMEDIATE OUTGROUP TO OTHER OUTGROUPS
This higher-order form of generalization presupposes the other forms and is seldom studied because many regard it as highly unlikely (but see Reich & Purbhoo 1975, Weigert 1976). Nonetheless, the European surveys show that such generalization is possible. Having an ingroup friend related to greater acceptance of minorities of many types (Pettigrew 1997a,b). The 3800 respondents rated how favorable they were toward eight outgroups, many of whom were not in their country. In all samples, significant relationships emerged even after seven variables were controlled. For each outgroup, those with intergroup friends were significantly more positive in their views. And a test like that of Figure 1 showed that the path from friendship to reduced prejudice is significantly stronger than the prejudice to less friendship path. These findings challenge Rose's (1981) assertion that intimate relationships cannot generalize to different persons and groups.

A REFORMULATION OF INTERGROUP CONTACT THEORY

These considerations provide direction for a reformulation of Allport's hypothesis. At least four processes, not one, are involved, and these processes may well overlap and interact in complex ways. Intergroup friendship is potent

because it potentially invokes all four mediating processes. This suggests that constructive contact relates more closely to long-term close relationships than to initial acquaintanceship—a dramatic shift for the intergroup contact research literature.

Optimal intergroup contact requires time for cross-group friendships to develop. Past work has focused chiefly on short-term intergroup contact—the very condition that Sherif's (1966) Robbers' Cave field experiment found minimally effective. Once we adopt a long-term perspective that allows cross-group friendship to develop and the full decategorization, salient categorization, and recategorization sequence to unfold, we can expect striking results. Such a revised perspective explains why extended intergroup contact often has more positive results than either the contact hypothesis or cognitive analyses predict.

The power of cross-group friendship to reduce prejudice and generalize to other outgroups demands a fifth condition for the contact hypothesis: *The contact situation must provide the participants with the opportunity to become friends.* Such opportunity implies close interaction that would make self-disclosure and other friendship-developing mechanisms possible. It also implies the potential for extensive and repeated contact in a variety of social contexts. Allport (1954) alluded to this point when he favored intimate to trivial contact; Cook (1962) called it "acquaintance potential." These European results suggest that "friendship potential" is an essential, not merely facilitating, condition for positive intergroup contact effects that generalize. Further, they suggest that Allport's conditions are important in part because they provide the setting that encourages intergroup friendship.

Instead of a list of conditions, then, I propose a longitudinal model as schematically outlined in Figure 2. Note first that this version of intergroup contact theory involves the meso-level of analysis. Yet it is placed within the micro- and macrolevel contexts of (B) the participants' experiences and characteristics as well as the larger societal setting of the situation. The basic features of this reformulated version consist of (A) the essential and facilitating situational factors and (C, D, E) the time dimension. Each of these features involves details not shown in Figure 2.

(A) From the previous discussion, the theory posits Allport's four conditions and friendship potential as essential situational factors for positive intergroup outcomes—less negative stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. An array of additional factors, such as equivalent group status outside the situation, act as facilitating factors for such effects. Complicating the picture further, such factors might prove important at different stages of the intergroup contact.

(C, D, E) in Figure 2 designate only three stages. As diagrammed, this time dimension is obviously oversimplified. The stages will overlap, and at any point the groups can break off contact. This heuristic, however, following the

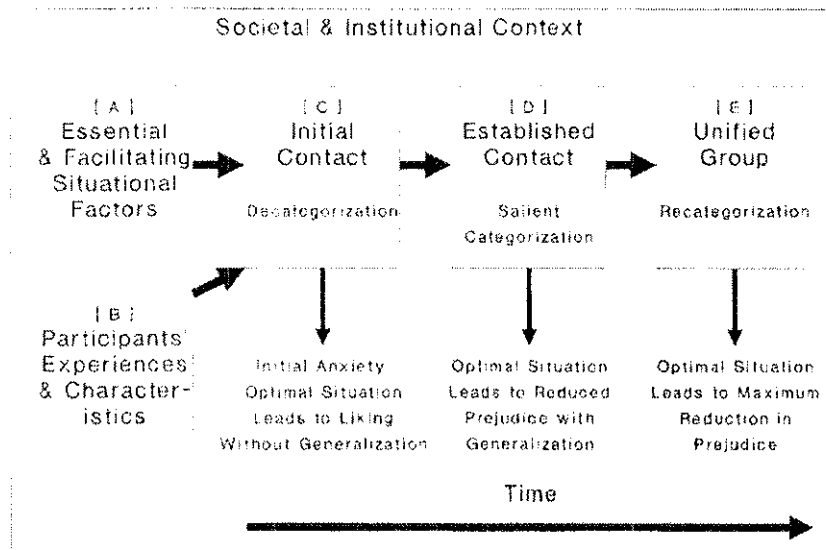


Figure 2 Reformulated contact theory.

three research traditions on group categorization, allows the theory to predict different outcomes at different stages.

We need research on several points. While the recategorization of the unified group, if attained, appears to yield the maximum in prejudice reduction, we have little data on how this effect generalizes. Further, we must understand how the four contact processes of change are activated and become important at each stage. The thrust of the time dimension is to underline the need for longitudinal research on intergroup contact. Though rare in this literature, this reformulated theory holds that such research designs are necessary for further progress.

Conceptualizing intergroup contact as a meso-level, situational phenomenon links it to both the microindividual and macrosocietal levels of analysis (Pettigrew 1991b, 1996). Research has shown how important these cross-level links can be.

Individual Differences Shape Contact Effects

Prior attitudes and experiences influence whether people seek or avoid intergroup contact, and what the effects of the contact will be. Figure 1 showed that prejudiced Europeans are less likely to have outgroup friends. Other characteristics also deter contact. Value differences shaped differential readiness for in-

tergroup contact among both Israeli Arabs and Jews (Sagiv & Schwartz 1995). Cook (1984) found large individual differences in the effects of even optimal contact; 40% of his experimental subjects, compared with 12% of controls, evinced sweeping attitude changes. Yet other experimental subjects averaged little change.

High intergroup anxiety and threat also can impede both contact and its positive effects (Islam & Hewstone 1993; Stephan 1992; Stephan & Stephan 1985, 1989, 1992, 1996; Wilder 1993a,b; Wilder & Shapiro 1989). Such emotions often derive from no prior experience with the outgroup. Black and white high school students who had the most favorable earlier interracial experience were more positive toward the other race (Patchen 1982). Thus, intergroup contact and its effects are cumulative—we live what we learn. Braddock (1989) found that black graduates of segregated high schools were significantly less likely later to work with whites. Since jobs with white co-workers have better pay and promotions, this result helps to explain why black graduates of interracial schools do better in later life than those from segregated schools (Braddock 1989, Braddock et al 1984, Braddock & McPartland 1987).

Societies Shape Contact Effects

Situations are embedded in social institutions and societies. Thus, institutional and societal norms structure the form and effects of contact situations (Kinloch 1981, 1991). Consider intergroup strife in Northern Ireland and Quebec. These societal contexts severely limit all forms of intergroup contact. Moreover, they render the contact that does occur less than optimal. Implicit in Allport's equal-status condition is equivalent group power in the situation. This is difficult to achieve when a struggle over power fuels the larger intergroup conflict.

The meager equal-status contact between groups that takes place in such societies is typically subversive in character. In Northern Ireland, neighboring Catholic and Protestant farmers cooperate in their agricultural pursuits but remain apart in other activities (Harris 1972, Kirk 1993). Even conversations are circumscribed. In both Quebec and Northern Ireland, intergroup interaction focuses on local issues and avoids divisive group concerns (Taylor et al 1986, Trew 1986). It is at best constrained discussion, not the easy banter of friends.

Russell (1961) showed how societal norms of discrimination poison intergroup contact. She tested a racially mixed neighborhood at the height of South Africa's *Apartheid* policy of intense racial segregation. This rare area had 50% whites, 20% Coloureds, and 30% Indians. Even here, modest improvements emerged in white attitudes toward their neighbors of color. Yet the larger social context constrained these effects. The improved attitudes did not general-

ize to Coloureds and Indians as groups, and whites were defensive about their interracial contact. Some avoided it, and the exchange that took place was not reciprocal. Whites received neighborly aid and entered nonwhite homes far more than the reverse. Many whites rationalized their interracial behavior with the exploitative nature of the relationship. All were aware that the then stern South African norms punished equal-status interracial contact. Such norms erode true neighborliness.

Alternatively, when a society embraces intergroup harmony, equal-status contact between groups is no longer subversive. Normative support makes attainment of other optimal conditions far easier.

GENERAL EVALUATIONS OF CONTACT EFFECTS

Consider this reformulation in light of two efforts to test the chief contentions of contact theory, one with surveys and the other experimental.

In meta-analytic fashion, the European surveys tested the link between intergroup friendship and five different measures of prejudice across seven samples (Pettigrew 1997a). Weighting for sample size, the average correlations ranged between $-.14$ and $-.32$ without controls. With controls for seven variables and weighting for sample size, the average correlations ranged between $-.10$ and $-.25$. These results are consistent with the preliminary findings of a meta-analysis of the full contact literature now under way (Pettigrew et al 1998).

Cook (1984) provided the most extensive laboratory test of the intergroup contact hypothesis. He set up an ideal interracial situation featuring equal status, a stereotype-disconfirming minority member, an interdependent task, task success, high friendship potential, and equalitarian social norms. Highly prejudiced white subjects worked with two partners who were confederates, one black and one white. They operated an imaginary railroad system over 40 sessions, sharing successes and failures but eventually winning bonus money. To enhance generalization, the black confederate told of a personal experience with racial discrimination after rapport had developed. Later, the white confederate disapproved of the discriminatory practice.

Cook recorded major changes. Subjects reported highly favorable opinions of their black partner, and these views generalized. In another context, the subjects evinced on average more positive racial views toward African Americans than controls. Observe the time sequence. First, the prejudiced subjects found the stereotype-disconfirming black as similar and grew to like her in the optimal situation. Next the black confederate made race salient by telling of past discrimination. Then the white confederate emphasized the link between their friend's bad treatment and racial discrimination.

SUMMARY

Allport's hypothesis specified four conditions for optimal contact. The situation must allow equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and authority support. Recent research adds another: The contact situation must have "friendship potential."

Varied research supports the hypothesis—from field and archival studies to national surveys and laboratory experiments. However, cross-sectional studies suffer from a selection bias. Prejudiced people avoid intergroup contact, so the causal link between contact and prejudice is two-way. Yet those studies that have tested both paths find that the positive effects of cross-group friendship are larger than those of the bias.

Three additional problems limit the contact hypothesis. 1. Writers have overburdened the hypothesis with too many facilitating, but not essential, conditions. 2. The hypothesis does not address process. It predicts only when positive contact effects will occur, not how and why. The chapter details four interrelated processes underlying contact effects: learning about the outgroup, changing behavior, generating affective ties, and ingroup reappraisal. Intergroup friendship has strong positive effects, because it potentially entails all four processes.

3. The hypothesis does not specify how the effects generalize to other situations, the entire outgroup or uninvolved outgroups. Many effects do not generalize beyond the immediate contact situation and participants. There are three strategies to enhance generalization: decategorization, salient group categorization, and recategorization. Thinking of these strategies acting sequentially removes the apparent contradiction between them. Since similarity attracts, initial stages of intergroup contact benefit from not making group membership salient. Later, as anxiety and threat subside, group membership must become salient to maximize the generalization of positive effects beyond the immediate situation. Then recategorization becomes possible if the participants adopt an all-encompassing group identification.

Both individual differences and societal norms shape intergroup contact effects. The deeply prejudiced both avoid intergroup contact and resist positive effects from it. Societies suffering intergroup conflict both restrict and undercut intergroup contact. From these considerations, the chapter advances a longitudinal reformulation of the intergroup contact hypothesis. Within the contexts of the participants' characteristics and the situation's societal setting, the chapter outlines a meso-level theory with two key features. It distinguishes between essential and facilitating situational factors. And it emphasizes the time dimension with different outcomes predicted for different stages of intergroup contact.

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resume the "garbage fight," as the Eagles called it. At this supper, throwing of objects started in a rather good-natured way but, in time, took on serious proportions and had to be stopped.

On the way to breakfast the following morning, the Rattlers saw the Eagles coming and made several derisive comments. Barton (R) remarked that the Eagles had gone in the mess hall first the last time. When they got close to the front of the mess hall, Simpson (high-status R) said "Howdy," and was answered by several Eagles. The same procedure was followed of having both groups wait for a time while staff members kept away. The Eagles entered first again. While in line, the Rattlers started singing the Caisson Song and were joined by several Eagles. As the boys started putting food on their trays, the cook (who had no special authority in their eyes) asked for their attention. She told them that throwing things at each other during meals made such a mess and cleaning up was taking so much time that she would not be able to cook such good meals if it did not stop. This appeal was effective. During breakfast there was some horseplay and intermingling between groups. Someone started to throw something, and McGraw (E) said, "Remember, you guys, no throwing." The groups parted peacefully after the meal.

In spite of the cessation of "garbage fights" there was tangible evidence of negative intergroup attitudes when the Rattlers were told before lunch that there was a possibility of going to a nice lake 60 miles away for an overnight campout. The Rattlers showed general enthusiasm until Mills (R leader) asked, "Are those damn Eagles going?" Another Rattler added, "I'm not going if *they* go."

Similarly, when the Eagles were told of the possibility of getting a movie to show, Craig said, "Do we have to do it with the Rattlers?" Later he said, "We want to do some things by ourselves." On the other hand, other Eagles indicated that they had no serious objection if the Rattlers were in on the movie too.

The Problem of Securing a Movie

The next superordinate goal to be introduced was a feature-length movie that had been a favorite for boys of this age level. Two films had been chosen, after consulting experts on films, and brought to camp along with other stimulus materials. The plan was to ascertain the appeal value of the film for the boys and then to make securing it

(supposedly from the neighboring town) dependent on both groups contributing a sum of money that would appear rather prohibitive for one group to contribute alone.

In the afternoon, the boys were called together and the staff suggested the possibility of securing either *Treasure Island* or *Kidnapped*. Both groups yelled approval of these films. After some discussion, one Rattler said, "Everyone that wants *Treasure Island* raise their hands." The majority of members in both groups gave enthusiastic approval to *Treasure Island*, even though a few dissensions were expressed.

Then the staff announced that securing the film would cost \$15 and the camp could not pay the whole sum. Members of both groups began to make all kinds of suggestions. Mills (R leader) jumped out between the two groups and suggested \$5 each from the camp, Rattlers, and Eagles. Myers (E) said the camp should pay \$5, the Rattlers \$10, and the Eagles nothing. Harrison (R) suggested that the Eagles pay \$15 and the camp and Rattlers nothing. Simpson (R) suggested that the Eagles pay \$5 and the Rattlers \$2. Then Myers (E) proposed that each group pay \$3.50. Mills (R) took this suggestion from Myers (E) and called for a vote. He counted votes in both groups. The proposal was strongly supported. Afterward, both groups heatedly discussed who would do the figuring for each group to find out how much each member would have to pay. While the groups were figuring this out, a great deal of horseplay and intermixing took place between them.

At last, each group came up with its solution. The Rattlers figured that each of the 11 Rattlers would have to contribute 31¢; each of the 9 Eagles would have to contribute 39¢ toward securing the common goal. The Rattlers asked their staff members to contribute so that their total would come to \$3.50. McGraw and Myers (E's) told the Eagle staff members that they would have to pay also, and gave the reason that the staff would get to see the movie too. Both staff members agreed to do so. Martin read the list of contributions from the Rattlers, and McGraw those of the Eagles.

It is worth noting that in individual terms, this scheme of contribution was not equitable. But it was an equitable solution between the two groups. The cooperation needed to secure the movie was cooperation *between groups*, and it was perceived as such by individual members. Therefore, the solution was seen as an equitable one by individual members of both groups.

At supper there were no objections to eating together. Some scuffling

and play at sticking chewing gum around occurred between members of the two groups, but it involved fewer boys on both sides than were usually involved in such encounters. It looked like a fist fight might develop between Simpson (R) and Mason (E), but their tempers cooled off.

After supper, *Treasure Island* was shown in the mess hall. Five rows of benches were placed in the hall with an aisle in between. Both groups were waiting to enter and were told to come in. There was some confusion momentarily as to where to sit. When the milling about stopped, the seating arrangement was pretty much along group lines, with a few exceptions. The boys were absorbed in the film, and there was very little conversation.

Additional Superordinate Goals

In line with the main hypotheses of this stage, it was planned to have a series of situations embodying superordinate goals. However, a serious concern arose for further planning of superordinate goals. It became evident that in a camp situation like this one, isolated from a city or town and from outside influences, the facilities for daily activities were by this time acquiring decidedly routine aspects. Since the subjects had come to know the facilities afforded by the camp and in the general surroundings, it became increasingly difficult to introduce superordinate goals that would arouse high motivational appeal but were also inherent in the situations. Therefore, an attempt was made during the next day to secure additional transportation facilities to take both groups to Cedar Lake, which is 60 miles southeast of the camp and in many respects affords complete detachment from the accustomed camp facilities.

Of course, this procedure does not imply that under all circumstances and for all groups one has to search for an isolated place to find situations embodying superordinate goals for functionally related groups. If there are goals of sufficient strength for both groups in question, or serious issues in which both groups are involved with high concern, superordinate goals can be introduced even within some neighborhood of a metropolis. But in a camp situation that was by now familiar and with subjects of the age level in question, the alternatives for superordinate goals were limited in number. The im-

mediate possibilities at the camp were fairly static, since no outside influences intervened.

Failure to secure transportation thwarted the plan to go to Cedar Lake on the day following the showing of *Treasure Island*. Therefore, instead of introducing superordinate goals in an improvised way with items that might appear artificial to the subjects, we let the day be marked by a return to ingroup areas and activities.

While waiting in line for breakfast on the day following the movie, the two groups, after discussion, reached an agreement that the Rattlers would go into breakfast first, and at lunch the Eagles would be first. (Such alternation had been discussed the previous day, but no agreement had been reached.) Thus the notion of "taking turns" was introduced by the boys on the *intergroup level* to regulate matters of mutual concern, rather than each group rushing to be first.

The Rattler group went to their hideout to look after their boat, tent, and other equipment there and to take them back to their cabin. One of the activities they engaged in had important carry-over effects and significant implications in the course of intergroup interaction on the following day, when the joint overnight campout actually did materialize. Before lunch, the Rattlers again started chopping on a big, dead pine tree which they had been trying to chop down in leisure moments for two days. When the trunk was chopped through, the tree still did not fall. The standing tree constituted both a challenge and a hazard (since it might crash down at some inopportune moment). The boys discussed how to get it down. One suggested that they had beaten the Eagles at tug-of-war, so let's have a tug-of-war against the tree. The tug rope was tied to the tree, and they all pulled the tree down—to everyone's great satisfaction. Thus, a means once used in conflict with the outgroup was now employed to defeat a stubborn and hazardous tree.

In the meantime, the staff was planning the overnight campout at Cedar Lake, both its introduction to the groups and its execution. Both groups were asked to name their preferred activities for the remaining three days of camp, with the promise that as many as possible would be carried out. The two groups discussed the selection of activities separately. Camping out was on the list of preferred activities prepared by both groups. During the two previous days, the staff had been dropping descriptions of the Cedar Lake site, 14 miles south of

Heavener, Oklahoma. Objectively, the site is an attractive spot—a clear-water lake surrounded by wooded hills; picnic facilities on high flat ground with tall shady trees; a freshwater pump, centrally located. This site's greatest advantage was that there were practically no people visiting there. It looked as though it were an abandoned island. This isolation, as well as other characteristics of the site, was carefully checked beforehand on two trips to the site by different staff members.

The “buildup” of the Cedar Lake site to the subjects became almost superfluous. While the Eagle participant observer was trying to describe it, the boys had decided they wanted to go there before he even finished. One of the attractions for them was riding there in a truck. When it was mentioned that Cedar Lake was only about 30 miles from Arkansas, the immediate response was, “Maybe we could go to Arkansas.” This desire spread among the members of both groups. However, Mason (E) asked in a displeased way if the Rattlers would be in on everything the Eagles wanted to do.

It will be recalled that the Rattlers had also raised some objections on the previous day to going to Cedar Lake with the Eagles. Staff members in both groups assured the members that they could have their own trucks for the trip to Cedar Lake.

Campout at Cedar Lake

The staff spent most of the night before the departure for Cedar Lake on final preparations. A separate truck was parked near each cabin, and equipment for each group was placed near their respective trucks. A special point was made by staff to mix up the tent accessories (poles, stakes, hammers) in a way that would make it impossible for either group to erect their tent without exchanging parts with the other group. Food for lunch was chosen in bulk form, so that the problem of dividing it between groups and then of slicing it into individual portions would arise.

Both groups were most enthusiastic about the trip, and ate breakfast at 6 A.M. in short order. Especially in the case of the Rattlers, enthusiasm was so great that their insistence on an early start grew to nuisance proportions for the staff. They had voluntarily loaded and packed the truck before breakfast, the truck being floored with mattresses, with bedrolls around the sides to lean on. The trucks pulled

out around seven o'clock, the Rattlers' shortly after the Eagles'. Except for intervals of rest, the boys sang their preferred songs during most of the trip.

On arrival at Cedar Lake, each group was taken first to a level place over the concrete dock by the lake. The swimming place was about one-fifth of a mile from the main camping area and separated from it by a little valley and trees so that it was not visible. When the Rattlers arrived, the Eagles were already in the water. The Rattlers went in the water also. There was about a half-hour overlap when both groups were in the water together. There was some intermingling between groups, but most conversation was directed to fellow group members.

While both groups were swimming, the trucks moved to the main camp area. The gear, tents, and so on, were dumped in two piles about 50 to 60 yards apart, the water pump being approximately halfway between the Eagle pile and the Rattler pile. Beside each pile of belongings there were separate picnic tables and fireplaces in case the Eagles and Rattlers chose to have their meals separately. Only one truck was left at this main camp area, and this was the older looking of the two. The tug-of-war rope was thrown on the ground about 20 feet from the truck, which was parked at a central point. The newer truck and a station wagon were removed and hidden behind trees on side paths away from the main camping area. The food was left in the station wagon; however, eating utensils (paper plates, cups, flatware) and jars of pickles and mustard were stacked on a table centrally located and near the lake.

After the swimming session, each group's counselor took his group to its respective tent location and picnic table. The boys were getting hungry after the early breakfast, trip, and swim. Members of both groups went to inspect the centrally located table piled with utensils and accessories. This situation set the stage for the introduction of a superordinate goal.

Tug-of-War Against the Truck

The staff member who drove the truck announced, so that everyone could hear, that he would go down the road a piece to get the food. Both groups (about 15 yards apart now) watched with interest as the driver got into the truck. The driver feigned great effort, the truck made all sorts of noises, but it just would not start (as planned). The

boys became more and more interested. Several Rattlers suggested, "Let's push it," but they abandoned the idea because the truck was parked facing uphill. The tug-of-war rope was in plain sight of both groups. Mills (R) said, "Let's get 'our' tug-of-war rope and have a tug-of-war against the truck." Someone said, "Yeah, we can't push it." Swift (R) said, "20 of us can." Several boys agreed loudly with this, Mills adding, "20 of us can pull it for sure." The idea of having a tug-of-war against the truck was repeated by several boys in both groups. Mills (R) ran over to get the rope and started to tie it to the front bumper of the truck. An Eagle said it would be too long, and suggested pulling it halfway through the bumper, thus making two pulling ropes (see Figure 7.2). Clark (E) fed it through the bumper while Mills (R) stretched it out. Harrison (R) suggested that the Eagles pull one rope and the Rattlers the other. Barton (R) said, "It doesn't make any difference."

The lineup pulling on the two ends of the rope was Eagles on one side and Rattlers on the other, with the exception that Swift (big R) joined the Eagle side as anchor man and Craig (E) was next to Brown (R), the anchorman on the Rattler side.

The first pull did not "start" the truck, and it was allowed to roll back down the hill for another pull. (The truck was, of course, in running order, but the performance was completely convincing.) On the second pull, the members of both groups were thoroughly intermixed on both ropes. Some members of both groups began chanting "Heave, heave" in rhythm, something the Eagles had started during the tug-of-wars in Stage 2. Finally, the truck started, and the boys all jumped and cheered. Allen (R) shouted, "We won the tug-of-war against the truck!" Bryan (E) repeated, "Yeah! We won the tug-of-war against the truck." This cry was echoed with satisfaction by others from both groups.

Much intermingling of groups, friendly talk, and backslapping immediately followed this success. Four boys went to the pump and pumped water for each other: Mills (R), Hill (R), Craig (E), and Bryan (E). Thus the successful, interdependent efforts of both groups in pulling the truck, which was to get their food, had an immediate effect similar to that of superordinate goals introduced on previous days at the camp—intermingling of members of the two groups and friendly interaction between them.

Figure 7.2 Intergroup relations: cooperating to start the truck



First efforts to start the truck: some boys from both groups try to push it



Successful effort to start the truck: both groups have tug-of-war against the vehicle

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Figure 7.3 Intergroup relations: meal preparation and trip to Arkansas



Meals on the overnight campout show intergroup mingling in preparation and serving

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Members from both groups asked to be photographed on attaining the Arkansas state line

Meal Preparation

The driver went in the truck to get the food. While waiting for it to arrive, the participant observer of each group brought up the problem of whether his group wanted to alternate preparing meals with the other group or prepare them separately for themselves. In the Rattler group, Mills (leader) suggested that the Rattlers prepare one meal that day and the Eagles the other. This was discussed at some length and agreed upon by the Rattlers. There were no derisive comments about the Eagles during this discussion and no objections made to eating with them, although prior to the trip several Rattlers had objected to the idea of coming to the same place as the Eagles.

The discussion on this topic in the Eagle group took a different turn. At the outset, Craig and McGraw objected to an alternating arrangement in preparing meals, saying they wanted to cook for themselves. Low-status Eagles (Clark, Cutler, and Lane) were in favor of alternating with the Rattlers. After some discussion, the decision was crystallized by Mason (E leader), who stated his opposition to alternating food preparation, and other high-status members supported his position, one after another.

These discussions and the decisions reached are particularly enlightening in view of what actually took place immediately thereafter. The lunch materials had been selected so that if the groups decided to eat separately, they would have to divide the ingredients before doing so. For example, the main item was an 8-pound can of uncut luncheon meat. These situational factors, including the location of the food, took the upper hand in determining how the meal would be prepared. Here, curtailment of the effort involved in division of the supplies became dominant.

When the truck arrived with the food, both groups rushed from their respective camp areas and started carrying the food to the centrally located picnic table. At the table, they gathered around discussing across group lines whether they would alternate in meal preparation, the Rattlers favoring it and the Eagles opposing it. But in the midst of this discussion, food preparation *together* actually began. McGraw, the customary meat cutter in the Eagle group, began cutting the meat. He received much advice from everyone, and Mills (R) stood at his elbow for a time and helped him. In the meantime, Simpson (R) and Craig (E) poured Kool Aid into a bucket, Harrison (R) went for water to mix it, and Myers (E) poured in what he thought was sugar. Unfortunately, it turned out to be salt; but Myers was not berated by either Eagles or Rattlers for his mistake, even though the only immediately available Kool Aid was ruined. Harrison (R) pointed out that it wasn't really Myers's fault, since the salt was in a sugar sack. Low-status members of both sides became particularly active in preparing and distributing food. At one point, Mason (E leader) and Simpson (R) were talking, and Simpson said, "You never thought we'd be eating together?" The reply was laughter (see Figure 7.3).

The first Eagles through the line went to a centrally located picnic shed nearby and sat down at the tables. The first five or six Rattlers went to tables near their own camp area. Allen (R) asked a staff member where he should sit, and was told to sit any place he wanted. He then went to the shed and sat down with the Eagles. Neither at this time nor later was he criticized for his action. After eating, Mills (R) and Barton (R) also drifted over to the Eagle table for a short time. Shortly, both groups went to their respective camp areas for a rest period.

After separate rests, the two groups were taken to swim, one

shortly after the other. This time the Rattlers were in first, but got out of the water on seeing a water moccasin darting about. When the Eagles arrived, the Rattlers told them in excited tones of a snake moving around in the vicinity, describing it in detail. For about 15 minutes, all of the boys stood together at the pier and discussed this common threat coming from nature. Then they swam together at another spot for a short period, both groups mixing together in the water.

Tent Pitching

At about four o'clock in the afternoon, after the swim, another superordinate goal was introduced. It will be remembered that in packing the tents, the accessories were mixed so that for either group to erect a tent, some exchange of parts would be necessary. Now, when each group prepared to erect their tent for the night, each noticed right away that they did not have all the complete and necessary accessories. The staff member who was regarded by the boys as the camp authority was standing between the two camp areas. The two groups started toward him carrying extra parts and arrived in front of him at about the same time. Members of the two groups began telling *each other* what extra parts they had and what they needed. After exchanging very few words, the trading of necessary items was accomplished in a matter-of-fact way between the two groups—the perceptual situation was that compelling.

When the Rattlers started to erect their tent, they found they had neglected to get a stake-driving mallet in the trade. They used rocks instead, with staff assistance, finishing the job by themselves. They were aware throughout of the Eagles' progress in tent pitching and felt quite satisfied when their own tent was up first, since the Eagles had won two out of three tent-pitching contests in Stage 2. Someone commented that they had won this time even using rocks; and another Rattler suggested that maybe they should have used rocks for driving stakes in the contest. The Eagles were also aware of the Rattlers' progress; but since they were having a hard time putting their tent up on uneven ground, they did not try to compete with the Rattlers.

The Truck Stalls Again

Before supper, the truck going to get food stalled again, as planned. This time discussion was practically unnecessary. The pattern for co-operation was established. The first effort, initiated by Rattlers, was again to push the truck. When the truck rolled into a hanging tree limb, Mills (R) got the tug-of-war rope again. The rope was pulled through the bumper, and two bunches of boys lined up to pull. However, these two lines on each side were not the Eagle and Rattler groups. Members of both groups were thoroughly mixed together in the pulling, which was accompanied by concerted rhythmic chants of "Heave, heave."

They got the truck going, and again there was pride in the joint accomplishment. Thus the same tool that had first served in a competitive situation during group conflict, and that was later used by one group in their efforts to fell a tree, now became the standard means for interdependent efforts by both groups toward a common, superordinate goal (starting the truck, which brought food for all).

This sequence probably points to the fact that the nature of intergroup relations—for good or evil—does not necessarily stem from the existence of tools and techniques: the same tools and techniques can serve harmony and integration as well as deadly competition and conflict.

As soon as the boys saw the truck returning with food, they rushed to the table where food was served at noon. This time the main dish was steak meat in a big chunk, and the necessary division of labor was more elaborate. However, the cooperative pattern was now established and there was no appreciable discussion of it. As soon as the truck was unloaded, in which the boys helped, both groups began to work at preparing supper. There was much intermingling—Rattlers and Eagles working side by side, taking suggestions from each other and reaching decisions about what to do together. For example, McGraw (E) told three Rattlers, "Come on, boys, and put that Kool Aid in there," and they did. Simpson (R), Hill (R), and McGraw (E) all tried their hand in the initial stage of cutting steaks off the big chunk of meat. McGraw (E), Simpson (R), and Wilson (E) declared that they were going to cook.

After these boys declared their intention to cut meat and cook, staff members stepped in to give effective assistance in cutting the meat

and broiling the steaks. Other Eagles and Rattlers worked together in setting out utensils and other food. After the preliminary preparations, those boys who were not helping rushed to pick up paper plates and to form a line by the fire, in which no one gave a moment's thought of preserving arrangements in terms of group lines.

All of the boys ate under the shed where the Eagles had eaten lunch. Eagles and Rattlers were interspersed up and down the table on both sides. Considerable changing and shifting back and forth in the seating arrangements occurred throughout the meal.

After supper a good-natured water fight started at the edge of the lake, but the throwing and splashing was not along group lines. The leading parties on one side were Simpson (R), Mason (E), and Swift (R), while those leading the other side were Mills (R) and Brown (R). The boys engaged in this play until they were soaking wet, then dried out by the fire. Rain clouds came up over the hill with a strong wind. The boys retired for the night to their respective group areas.

The Trip to the Border

The following morning (day 6, Stage 3), the Rattlers awoke first and started talking about the trip to Arkansas, exchanging notes on the states they had visited. The Rattlers' attention was concentrated on the Eagle camp. Martin (R) asked if the Eagles were going to Arkansas too. When the counselor answered affirmatively, there was no objection or comment. Simpson, Newman, Harrison, and Allen (all R's) went to the Eagle camp to see the lizards Mason (E) had caught and some frogs that Cutler (E) and Clark (E) had collected. The Rattlers were anxious to start on the trip to Arkansas before breakfast, and they kept getting in and out of their truck, which they had loaded before breakfast. A short time later both groups were asked to come to a central location for an announcement.

It was announced that as they well knew from experiences of the previous day, the older truck was not in good shape for the trip to Arkansas and back to the camp. (The truck referred to happened to be the Eagle truck. Of course, as noted, it was in running condition. But it had been demonstrated on the previous day to be liable to break down, and this buildup of a poor reputation for the truck was also appropriate for the introduction of the problem situation now being described.) It was added that in view of the condition of the

truck, it might be preferable to give up the idea of going to Arkansas, since there was only one truck. Both groups voiced general disappointment, especially the Eagles.

McGraw (E) suggested that the Rattlers go to Arkansas first, and then that the Eagles would go in the Rattler truck when they returned. But Craig (E) objected that the Eagles didn't want to wait around all morning; and when Mason (former E leader, by now displaced, as will be discussed later in the chapter) started chanting "Let's go home, Let's go home . . ." (meaning back to the camp), Craig joined him.

At one point, Clark (E) said, "We could all go together," but Simpson (R) said, "No"—that the Rattlers would go to Arkansas and the Eagles could go back to the camp. This discussion illustrates well the state of flux that prevailed at this time in intergroup affairs. At times, as at supper the previous evening, the group lines seemed to disappear; at others, the group demarcations would reappear. Whether or not group lines would be followed was coming to depend more and more on factors in the immediate situation (*situational factors*).

In this instance, the problem at hand was discussed for a short time. Then Mills (R leader) proposed that they all go in the Rattler truck: "We can move some of the mattresses into the other truck, and then we can all get in our truck." Allen (low-status R) repeated this suggestion and several Eagles expressed approval. Simpson (R) agreed that it would be possible but added, "Let's don't."

Mills (R) now moved out of his group and paced up and down between the groups, explaining his ideas to both of them. When staff asked what they were going to do, there was a general hubbub, which was resolved when Mills (R) and Clark (E) said, "Let's go!" and headed for the Rattler truck. All the other boys, both Rattlers and Eagles, ran after them, piled in the truck, and yelled out to staff, "Hurry up! Let's go!" This is another striking instance of action taking precedence over verbal discussion, although the latter played an important part even in this decision.

While both groups were in the Rattler truck waiting to pull out, the Rattlers asked the Eagles to tell them who got homesick and went home from their group. Then, as the truck started out on the trip, notes and memories were exchanged concerning the raids that had aroused so much indignation during Stage 2. Now there was mirth

over some of the episodes, and some bragging over who did what. Shortly, Clark (E) began to whistle the "Star Spangled Banner" and was joined by several boys. Boys from both groups joined, and shortly everyone was singing. Without any discussion, the members of both groups now continued singing for about half an hour, alternating a song that had become associated with the Eagles with one that the Rattlers had adopted. No one suggested that the songs of the two groups be alternated, but in fact they were. The arrangement of "taking turns" at an intergroup level was being extended from one activity to others.

The truck stopped in Heavener, Oklahoma, to allow the boys to have cool drinks. They streamed out of the truck into a drugstore; and the seating arrangements at the tables, which seated four or five boys each, reflected little of the group demarcations.

A few miles out of Heavener but before the Arkansas state line the road turned from a hard-surfaced highway to a dirt road. Conversation died down during this dusty portion of the trip. When the truck finally arrived at the prearranged lunch stop, the boys felt they had "been through" something together: the fine dust was deposited over everything and everyone.

Lunch was eaten in a private dining room at a restaurant, amid much laughter and boisterous conversation. Members from both groups were thoroughly intermixed at the four tables. After second servings, a paper and pencil were placed on each table, and the boys were told to list the flavors of ice cream they wanted. Then they were told to combine the lists at a side table. Myers (E) and Martin (R) both volunteered to do the combining. Myers was closest to the table, and therefore was able to get the pencil and paper first. But boys from both groups intervened, insisting that Myers and Martin work up the combined lists together, which they did.

After lunch most of the boys wrote postcards to send home as evidence that they had been in Arkansas. Then the trip continued back to the Arkansas line, which had been crossed in the morning, but not noted because there was no marker and the road was so dusty.

At a Coke stop near Fort Smith, Craig (E) and Allen (R) suggested that when the camp was over everyone should return to Oklahoma City together on the same bus. This idea was approved by most boys in both groups, although some said nothing and Harrison (R) mut-

DISCUSSION 2. Journal

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To prepare for this journal, watch *Social Thinking*Links to an external site. (2017). Reflect on this topic. Specifically, consider concepts other than those covered in discussions and/or assignments. Explain how a particular theoretical perspective applies to your own experience, personal or professional. Describe the social situation in the context of social psychological theory and research, and appraise the factors that impact your behavior as well as the role your own actions play in producing and perpetuating the situation. Your journal should be approximately one single-spaced page and include at least one reference to a required course reading.

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INTERGROUP CONTACT THEORY

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KEY WORDS: affective ties, ingroup reappraisal, group categorization

ABSTRACT

Allport specified four conditions for optimal intergroup contact: equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and authority support. Varied research supports the hypothesis, but four problems remain. 1. A selection bias limits cross-sectional studies, since prejudiced people avoid intergroup contact. Yet research finds that the positive effects of cross-group friendship are larger than those of the bias. 2. Writers overburden the hypothesis with facilitating, but not essential, conditions. 3. The hypothesis fails to address process. The chapter proposes four processes: learning about the outgroup, changed behavior, affective ties, and ingroup reappraisal. 4. The hypothesis does not specify how the effects generalize to other situations, the outgroup or uninvolved outgroups. Acting sequentially, three strategies enhance generalization—decategorization, salient categorization, and recategorization. Finally, both individual differences and societal norms shape intergroup contact effects. The chapter outlines a longitudinal intergroup contact theory. It distinguishes between essential and facilitating factors, and emphasizes different outcomes for different stages of contact.

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INTRODUCTION

Social scientists began to theorize about intergroup contact after World War II (Watson 1947, Williams 1947). Allport's (1954) hypothesis proved the most influential by specifying the critical situational conditions for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice. His hypothesis has received extensive attention both for its rare theoretical status and policy importance (Pettigrew 1971). Oddly, for a discipline that focuses on face-to-face interaction, social psychology rarely decomposes situations into their basic components. Allport's attempt is a prominent exception. And it has proven useful in applied settings, such as in the distinction between racial desegregation and integration in schools (Pettigrew 1975).

Allport's Intergroup Contact Hypothesis

Allport (1954) held that positive effects of intergroup contact occur only in situations marked by four key conditions: equal group status within the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom.

EQUAL STATUS Allport stressed equal group status *within* the situation. Most research supports this contention, although "equal status" is difficult to define and has been used in different ways (Cagle 1973, Riordan 1978). It is important that both groups expect and perceive equal status in the situation (Cohen & Lotan 1995, Cohen 1982, Riordan & Ruggiero 1980, Robinson & Preston 1976). Some writers emphasize equal group status *coming into* the situation (Brewer & Kramer 1985). Thus, Jackman & Crane (1986) show negative effects from contact with outgroup members of lower status. Yet Patchen (1982), in research on racially mixed high schools, found this to be less important than equal status within the situation. The meta-analytic results of Mullen et al (1992) clarify these disparities. They noted that ingroup bias increased with relative status in laboratory groups but decreased in field research with real groups.

COMMON GOALS Prejudice reduction through contact requires an active, goal-oriented effort. Athletic teams furnish a prime example (Chu & Griffey 1985, Miracle 1981, Patchen 1982). In striving to win, interracial teams need each other to achieve their goal. Goal attainment, such as a winning season, furthers this process.

INTERGROUP COOPERATION Attainment of common goals must be an interdependent effort without intergroup competition (Bettencourt et al 1992). Sherif (1966) demonstrated this principle vividly in his Robbers' Cave field study. Intergroup cooperation in schools provides the strongest evidence (Brewer & Miller 1984, Desforges et al 1991, Johnson et al 1984, Schofield 1989, Slavin 1983, Slavin & Madden 1979). Drawing on this thinking, Aronson's jigsaw classroom technique structures classrooms so that students strive cooperatively for common goals (Aronson & Patnoe 1997). This technique has led to positive results for a variety of children: Australians (Walker & Crogan 1997), Germans (Eppler & Huber 1990), Japanese (Araragi 1983), and Mexican Americans (Aronson & Gonzalez 1988).

SUPPORT OF AUTHORITIES, LAW, OR CUSTOM The final condition concerns the contact's auspices. With explicit social sanction, intergroup contact is more readily accepted and has more positive effects. Authority support establishes norms of acceptance. Field research underscores its importance in military (Landis et al 1984), business (Morrison & Herlihy 1992), and religious (Parker 1968) institutions.

INITIAL EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Allport (1954) derived his hypothesis from early field research. An Alabama study revealed negative effects when all four conditions were violated (Sims & Patrick 1936). White college students from the North increased on average in antiblack prejudice with each year spent in the South.

Other studies investigated optimal conditions. After desegregation of the Merchant Marine in 1948, interdependency developed on ships and in the maritime union. The more voyages the white seamen took with blacks under these conditions, the more positive their racial attitudes became (Brophy 1946). Similarly, white police in Philadelphia who had worked with black colleagues had fewer objections to black police joining their districts, teaming with a black partner, and taking orders from qualified black officers (Kephart 1957).

Studies of public housing provided robust evidence. Deutsch & Collins (1951) compared racially desegregated housing projects in New York City with similar but segregated projects in Newark. Sharp differences emerged. Desegregated white housewives held their black neighbors in higher esteem and favored interracial housing more (75% to 25%). When asked to name black faults, they listed such personal issues as feelings of inferiority. Segregated white women voiced stereotypes such as "rowdy" and "dangerous."

Later public housing research extended these findings (Wilner et al 1955). Favorable racial attitudes developed among only one third of the white tenants who just had casual greetings with their black neighbors. But half who entered

into conversations and three fourths who had multiple interactions developed positive racial views. Social norms are crucial. In the desegregated projects, whites expected approval from their neighbors for their friendly interracial behavior. In the segregated projects, they feared social ostracism from other whites for such behavior. "Contact and perceived social climate tend to reinforce each other when their influence operates in the same direction, and to cancel each other out when their influence works in the opposite direction" (Wilner et al 1955, p. 106).

RECENT EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Allport's formulation continues to receive support across a variety of situations, groups, and societies. Some research, conducted in situations that do not provide key conditions, uncovers negative effects. Poorly arranged entry of black workers into London's public transportation, for example, led to hostility by white workers (Brooks 1975). Interracial housing research sometimes reveals few effects on racial attitudes (Bradburn et al 1971, Meer & Freedman 1966, Zuel & Humphrey 1971). These findings support Allport, although some writers mistakenly view their results as falsifying his hypothesis. The erroneous notion that the hypothesis holds that intergroup contact "will of itself produce better relations between... groups" still persists (McGarty & de la Haye 1997, p. 155).

Most studies report positive contact effects, even in situations lacking key conditions. Although it concentrates on school and housing situations (Ford 1986), the contact literature ranges from Chinese students in the United States (Chang 1973) and interracial workers in South Africa (Bornman & Mynhardt 1991) to German and Turkish school children (Wagner et al 1989) and Australians (McKay & Pitman 1993) and Americans (Riordan 1987) getting to know Southeast Asian immigrants. It involves attitudes toward a wide range of targets beyond ethnic groups—the elderly (Caspi 1984, Drew 1988), homosexuals (Eskilson 1995, Herek & Capitanio 1996), the mentally ill (Desforges et al 1991), disabled persons (Anderson 1995), victims of AIDS (Werth & Lord 1992), and even computer programmers (McGinnis 1990). In addition, diverse research methods yield supporting results—field (Meer & Freedman 1966, Ohm 1988), archival (Fine 1979), survey (Jackman & Crane 1986; Pettigrew 1997a,b; Robinson 1980; Sigelman & Welch 1993), and laboratory (Cook 1978, 1984; Desforges et al 1991).

Research with African Americans is also supportive. Works (1961) found that both black wives and husbands in a desegregated housing project felt more positively about their white neighbors than those in a segregated project. With longitudinal data, Smith (1994) found contact meeting Allport's conditions decreased prejudice among both black and white neighbors, though there were

group differences in contact effects. In a national probability sample, interracial friendships proved to be a strong predictor of blacks' racial attitudes (Ellison & Powers 1994, Powers & Ellison 1995).

These varied investigations broaden the application of the hypothesis. They also raise the question: Why does intergroup contact usually have positive effects even when the situation does not attain all of Allport's conditions? In addition, they typically do not address the basic problems with the original contact hypothesis—problems to which I now turn.

PROBLEMS

The Causal Sequence Problem

Selection bias limits the interpretation of many cross-sectional studies of contact. Instead of optimal contact reducing prejudice, the opposite causal sequence could be operating. Prejudiced people may avoid contact with outgroups. Three methods overcome this limitation. 1. Find an intergroup situation that severely limits choice to participate. In the Merchant Marine, police, and public-housing research, little choice was available to participants. 2. Statistical methods borrowed from econometrics allow researchers to compare the reciprocal paths (optimal contact lowers prejudice and prejudice decreases contact) with cross-sectional data. Powers & Ellison (1995) use endogenous switching regression models. Later I review the use of a nonrecursive structural equation model. 3. Although not without problems (Clogg 1986), longitudinal designs are best (Pettigrew 1996). Yet such research is rare in intergroup research; Sherif's (1966) study is a famous exception. Indeed, the major findings of the Robbers' Cave study would not have emerged without its longitudinal design (Pettigrew 1991a). The initial intergroup contact situations had little effect. Only after repeated treatments did the positive results cumulate.

Independent Variable Specification Problem

Allport's hypothesis risks being an open-ended laundry list of conditions—ever expandable and thus eluding falsification (Pettigrew 1986, Stephan 1987). Researchers keep advancing new situational factors for optimal contact. From Germany, Wagner & Machleit (1986) concluded that positive effects require a common language, voluntary contact, and a prosperous economy. From Israel, Ben-Ari & Amir (1986) held that the group's initial views of one another cannot be too negative. From the United States, Cook (1978) insisted that stereotype disconfirmation is crucial.

This growing list of limiting conditions threatens to remove all interest from the hypothesis. Too many factors would exclude most intergroup situations. The hypothesis would rarely predict positive results from contact, al-

though research typically finds positive results. The problem is that writers often confuse *facilitating* with *essential* conditions. Many factors suggested for optimal contact may not be essential but relate to the underlying mediating processes. This point leads to the third problem.

Unspecified Processes of Change Problem

The original hypothesis says nothing about the *processes* by which contact changes attitudes and behavior. It predicts only *when* contact will lead to positive change, not *how* and *why* the change occurs. A broader theory of intergroup contact requires an explicit specification of the processes involved, which I provide below.

The Generalization of Effects Problem

Nor does the hypothesis specify how the effects generalize beyond the immediate situation. Such generalization is pivotal if intergroup contact is to have broad and lasting consequences. There are three distinct types of generalization: *Situational*—do the changes generalize across situations? *Individual to group*—do the changes generalize from the specific outgroup members with whom there is contact to the outgroup? *To uninvolved outgroups*—do the changes toward the outgroup generalize to other outgroups not involved in the contact? (For analyses of the generalization of different effects, see Brewer & Miller 1988 and Hewstone 1996.) Thus, a broader theory of intergroup contact also requires explicit predictions of how the contact effects will generalize, another task I undertake below.

FOUR PROCESSES OF CHANGE THROUGH INTERGROUP CONTACT

Recent work suggests that four interrelated processes operate through contact and mediate attitude change: learning about the outgroup, changing behavior, generating affective ties, and ingroup reappraisal.

LEARNING ABOUT THE OUTGROUP Initial theory held this process to be the major way that intergroup contact has effects. When new learning corrects negative views of the outgroup, contact should reduce prejudice. Support for such a benign process is available, though plausible rival explanations remain. Consider Jeffries & Ransford's (1969) findings on middle-class white reactions to the Watts race riot in Los Angeles. Those who had prior interracial contact were significantly less fearful of blacks, less punitive, and less likely to view the riot as caused by outside agitators.

Yet cognitive research has uncovered a host of mechanisms that limit learning material that counters our attitudes and stereotypes. Writing from this per-

spective, Rothbart & John (1985) conclude that disconfirming evidence alters stereotypes only if (a) the outgroup's behavior is starkly inconsistent with their stereotype and strongly associated with their label, (b) occurs often and in many situations, and (c) the outgroup members are seen as typical. These restrictions eliminate most intergroup contact situations.

Nonetheless, new information about an outgroup can improve attitudes. Stephan & Stephan (1984) found that contact allowed Anglo students to learn more about Chicano culture that in turn led to more positive attitudes toward Chicano classmates. "Ignorance," they assert, "promotes prejudice..." (Stephan & Stephan 1984, p. 238). Other studies with the cultural assimilator technique of Triandis (1994) provide further evidence that learning about an outgroup can improve intergroup attitudes and stereotypes (Gardiner 1972, Weldon et al 1975).

Still, the dominant consensus of cognitive analyses denies the likelihood of positive effects from most contact situations. Yet the research literature suggests that positive effects are more common than either the contact hypothesis or cognitive analyses predict. Why the contradiction? The basic reason is that learning about the outgroup is only one of several processes involved. Cognitive analyses are not so much wrong as they are incomplete. Other processes are also involved.

CHANGING BEHAVIOR Optimal intergroup contact acts as a benign form of behavior modification. Behavior change is often the precursor of attitude change. New situations require conforming to new expectations. If these expectations include acceptance of outgroup members, this behavior has the potential to produce attitude change. We can resolve our dissonance between old prejudices and new behavior by revising our attitudes (Aronson & Patnoe 1997). This behavioral process also benefits from repeated contact, preferably in varied settings (Jackman & Crane 1986). Repetition makes intergroup encounters comfortable and "right." Repetition itself leads to liking (Zajonc 1968). Appropriate rewards for the new behavior enhances the positive effects further.

GENERATING AFFECTIVE TIES Emotion is critical in intergroup contact. Anxiety is common in initial encounters between groups, and it can spark negative reactions (Islam & Hewstone 1993; Stephan 1992; Stephan & Stephan 1985, 1989, 1992; Wilder 1993a,b). Such anxious, negative encounters can occur even without intergroup prejudice (Devine et al 1996). Continued contact generally reduces anxiety, though bad experiences can increase it.

Positive emotions aroused by optimal contact also can mediate intergroup contact effects. Empathy plays a role here. Reich & Purbhoo (1975) found that school contact improved cross-group role-taking ability among both majority and minority Canadian students. And empathy for a stigmatized outgroup

member—a young woman with AIDS, a homeless man or a convicted murderer—can improve attitudes toward the whole outgroup (Batson et al 1997).

Positive emotions aroused by intergroup friendship also can be pivotal. The Oliners (1988) found that non-Jews who risked their lives to save Jews during World War II reported more close friendships as children with other groups. Similarly, Rippl (1995) found friendship to be decisive in shaping contact effects between West and East Germans. These findings support earlier claims by Amir (1976) concerning the importance of intimacy in intergroup contact.

The most extensive data on intergroup friendship derive from 1988 surveys in Western Europe (Pettigrew 1997a,b; Pettigrew & Meertens 1995). (For survey details, see Reif & Melish 1991; for a different, though consistent, analysis of these data, see Hamberger & Hewstone 1997). Over 3800 majority group respondents in seven probability samples of France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and West Germany were asked their attitudes toward major minority groups in their country and whether they had friends of another nationality, race, culture, religion, or social class. In all samples, Europeans with outgroup friends scored significantly lower on five prejudice measures even after controlling for seven variables. The largest effect occurred for a two-item measure of affective prejudice. Those with intergroup friends significantly more often reported having felt sympathy and admiration for the outgroup. Few studies in the contact literature have used affective dependent variables. When they have, similar results emerge (Wright et al 1997).

Figure 1 compares the paths between intergroup friends and affective prejudice. Note that living in an intergroup neighborhood makes it more likely that a European will have an outgroup friend (+.356). There is no direct relationship, however, between mixed neighborhoods and affective prejudice. This allows a test of the paths between friendship and affective prejudice (Bollen 1989; Heist 1975). As in other research (Herek & Capitanio 1996), the prejudiced avoid intergroup contact (−.137). But the path from friendship to reduced affective prejudice is significantly stronger (−.210), a finding consistent with that of Powers & Ellison (1995). In short, like prejudice, contact involves both cognition and affect.

INGROUP REAPPRAISAL Optimal intergroup contact provides insight about ingroups as well as outgroups. Ingroup norms and customs turn out not to be the only ways to manage the social world. This new perspective can reshape your view of your ingroup and lead to a less provincial view of outgroups in general ("deprovincialization"). In the European surveys, outgroup friendship related to significantly less "pride" in nationality even after education, age, and political conservatism are controlled (Pettigrew 1997c). (A comparable

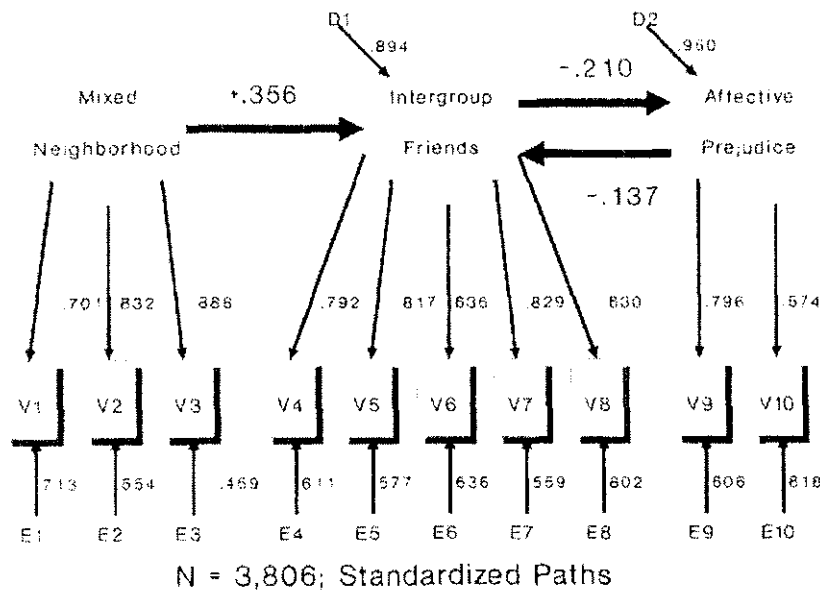


Figure 1 Friends - prejudice model

analysis to Figure 1 reveals similar results with a significant path from out-group friends to less national pride.)

Part of this process involves having less contact with the ingroup as a result of more contact with the outgroup. Wilder & Thompson (1980) covaried contact with the ingroup and outgroup in a laboratory study. While it had no impact on ingroup ratings, less ingroup contact led to less bias toward the outgroup. This finding is consistent with meta-analytic results that show ingroup bias is positively related with ingroup salience (Mullen et al 1992).

THREE TYPES OF GENERALIZATION

GENERALIZATION ACROSS SITUATIONS World War II research showed major improvements in white attitudes toward black soldiers after combat together (Stouffer et al 1949). Yet whites continued to favor racially separate post exchanges (military stores). Other early studies also demonstrated limited generalization across situations (Biesanz & Smith 1951, Deutsch & Collins 1951, Harding & Hogrefe 1952, Minard 1952, Reitzes 1953, Saenger & Gilbert 1950).

Recall that the first cooperative encounters of the Robbers' Cave study did not generalize either. Only the cumulative effect of repeated optimal situations

altered the attitudes of the rival groups. Similarly, only after the US Army offered many types of optimal interracial situations could it conclude that its program of racial desegregation "works" (US Department of Defense 1955, Moscos & Butler 1996).

GENERALIZATION FROM THE OUTGROUP INDIVIDUAL TO THE OUTGROUP Brown & Turner (1981) questioned the generalization of effects between *interpersonal* and *intergroup* phenomena. They doubted whether positive effects from getting to know an outgroup member (interpersonal) could affect attitudes about the outgroup (intergroup).

Following this reasoning, Hewstone & Brown (1986) theorized that contact effects generalize to the outgroup only when group membership is salient. When group saliency is low, the situation is interpersonal and no intergroup effects should result. Only when the interactants view one another as group representatives does the contact become an intergroup event. Research that supports this *salient categorization strategy* shows stereotype change generalizes best to the intergroup level when the individuals involved are typical group members (Johnston & Hewstone 1992, Vivian et al 1995, Weber & Crocker 1983, Wilder 1984). As typical members, their group memberships were more salient.

This poses a problem. Typical members of real groups are different in many ways, but people with similar interests and status seek each other out—the similarity principle (Byrne 1971). People from different groups who have contact, then, are more likely to share similar interests and values. And outgroup members with similar interests to the ingroup often will not typify their group or make group membership salient. Hence, Brewer & Miller (1984) advocate a *decategorization strategy*. The opposite of salient categorization, it holds that intergroup contact is most effective when group saliency is low.

So, given real differences between groups, those most likely to have intergroup contact are atypical of their groups. Yet contact effects generalize best when the participants are typical group members. Thus, people most likely to engage in intergroup contact are the least likely to evoke changes that generalize to their groups.

How, then, can effective contact take place? First, the similarity principle is not the whole story. Durkheim (1960) pointed out that similarity (mechanical solidarity) is only one form of social bond. Society could not exist without bonds across reciprocal roles—parents and children, clerks and customers. So differences (organic solidarity) also are important for social bonds. These differences, widespread in modern society, guarantee that contact takes place between dissimilar people. Further, under some conditions, optimal contact leads to positive changes that generalize even when atypical members are involved (Hamburger 1994, Werth & Lord 1992).

Second, the time sequence is crucial. Conflicting as they seem, both strategies are possible if they occur sequentially. Diminished saliency of group categories can be important when intergroup contact is initiated. Once established, salient group categorization is required for the effects to generalize to the intergroup level (Van Oudenhoven et al 1996).

In time, the Common Ingroup Identity Model emphasizes that *recategorization* becomes possible (Anastasio et al 1997; Gaertner et al 1993, 1994). After extended contact, people can begin to think of themselves in a larger group perspective. Recategorization adopts an inclusive category that highlights similarities among the interactants and obscures the "we" and "they" boundary (Perdue et al 1990). Note, however, that recategorization is the final state many interacting groups never reach. The progression through these three stages of categorization is not automatic, and recategorization into a single group often will not be attained.

Wright and his colleagues propose a further form of generalization involving friendship. Using both questionnaire and experimental methods, they show that even knowledge of an ingroup member's friendship with an outgroup member relates to more positive attitudes toward the outgroup (Wright et al 1997). Such an "extended contact effect" does not require intergroup friendship for the perceiver.

GENERALIZATION FROM THE IMMEDIATE OUTGROUP TO OTHER OUTGROUPS
This higher-order form of generalization presupposes the other forms and is seldom studied because many regard it as highly unlikely (but see Reich & Purbhoo 1975, Weigert 1976). Nonetheless, the European surveys show that such generalization is possible. Having an ingroup friend related to greater acceptance of minorities of many types (Pettigrew 1997a,b). The 3800 respondents rated how favorable they were toward eight outgroups, many of whom were not in their country. In all samples, significant relationships emerged even after seven variables were controlled. For each outgroup, those with intergroup friends were significantly more positive in their views. And a test like that of Figure 1 showed that the path from friendship to reduced prejudice is significantly stronger than the prejudice to less friendship path. These findings challenge Rose's (1981) assertion that intimate relationships cannot generalize to different persons and groups.

A REFORMULATION OF INTERGROUP CONTACT THEORY

These considerations provide direction for a reformulation of Allport's hypothesis. At least four processes, not one, are involved, and these processes may well overlap and interact in complex ways. Intergroup friendship is potent

because it potentially invokes all four mediating processes. This suggests that constructive contact relates more closely to long-term close relationships than to initial acquaintanceship—a dramatic shift for the intergroup contact research literature.

Optimal intergroup contact requires time for cross-group friendships to develop. Past work has focused chiefly on short-term intergroup contact—the very condition that Sherif's (1966) Robbers' Cave field experiment found minimally effective. Once we adopt a long-term perspective that allows cross-group friendship to develop and the full decategorization, salient categorization, and recategorization sequence to unfold, we can expect striking results. Such a revised perspective explains why extended intergroup contact often has more positive results than either the contact hypothesis or cognitive analyses predict.

The power of cross-group friendship to reduce prejudice and generalize to other outgroups demands a fifth condition for the contact hypothesis: *The contact situation must provide the participants with the opportunity to become friends.* Such opportunity implies close interaction that would make self-disclosure and other friendship-developing mechanisms possible. It also implies the potential for extensive and repeated contact in a variety of social contexts. Allport (1954) alluded to this point when he favored intimate to trivial contact; Cook (1962) called it "acquaintance potential." These European results suggest that "friendship potential" is an essential, not merely facilitating, condition for positive intergroup contact effects that generalize. Further, they suggest that Allport's conditions are important in part because they provide the setting that encourages intergroup friendship.

Instead of a list of conditions, then, I propose a longitudinal model as schematically outlined in Figure 2. Note first that this version of intergroup contact theory involves the meso-level of analysis. Yet it is placed within the micro- and macrolevel contexts of (B) the participants' experiences and characteristics as well as the larger societal setting of the situation. The basic features of this reformulated version consist of (A) the essential and facilitating situational factors and (C, D, E) the time dimension. Each of these features involves details not shown in Figure 2.

(A) From the previous discussion, the theory posits Allport's four conditions and friendship potential as essential situational factors for positive intergroup outcomes—less negative stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. An array of additional factors, such as equivalent group status outside the situation, act as facilitating factors for such effects. Complicating the picture further, such factors might prove important at different stages of the intergroup contact.

(C, D, E) in Figure 2 designate only three stages. As diagrammed, this time dimension is obviously oversimplified. The stages will overlap, and at any point the groups can break off contact. This heuristic, however, following the

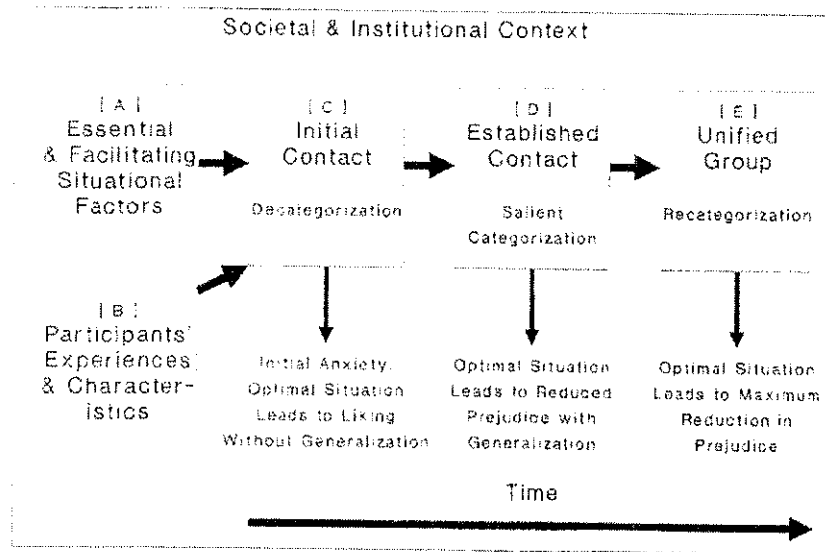


Figure 2 Reformulated contact theory.

three research traditions on group categorization, allows the theory to predict different outcomes at different stages.

We need research on several points. While the recategorization of the unified group, if attained, appears to yield the maximum in prejudice reduction, we have little data on how this effect generalizes. Further, we must understand how the four contact processes of change are activated and become important at each stage. The thrust of the time dimension is to underline the need for longitudinal research on intergroup contact. Though rare in this literature, this reformulated theory holds that such research designs are necessary for further progress.

Conceptualizing intergroup contact as a meso-level, situational phenomenon links it to both the microindividual and macrosocietal levels of analysis (Pettigrew 1991b, 1996). Research has shown how important these cross-level links can be.

Individual Differences Shape Contact Effects

Prior attitudes and experiences influence whether people seek or avoid intergroup contact, and what the effects of the contact will be. Figure 1 showed that prejudiced Europeans are less likely to have outgroup friends. Other characteristics also deter contact. Value differences shaped differential readiness for in-

tergroup contact among both Israeli Arabs and Jews (Sagiv & Schwartz 1995). Cook (1984) found large individual differences in the effects of even optimal contact; 40% of his experimental subjects, compared with 12% of controls, evinced sweeping attitude changes. Yet other experimental subjects averaged little change.

High intergroup anxiety and threat also can impede both contact and its positive effects (Islam & Hewstone 1993; Stephan 1992; Stephan & Stephan 1985, 1989, 1992, 1996; Wilder 1993a,b; Wilder & Shapiro 1989). Such emotions often derive from no prior experience with the outgroup. Black and white high school students who had the most favorable earlier interracial experience were more positive toward the other race (Patchen 1982). Thus, intergroup contact and its effects are cumulative—we live what we learn. Braddock (1989) found that black graduates of segregated high schools were significantly less likely later to work with whites. Since jobs with white co-workers have better pay and promotions, this result helps to explain why black graduates of interracial schools do better in later life than those from segregated schools (Braddock 1989, Braddock et al 1984, Braddock & McPartland 1987).

Societies Shape Contact Effects

Situations are embedded in social institutions and societies. Thus, institutional and societal norms structure the form and effects of contact situations (Kinloch 1981, 1991). Consider intergroup strife in Northern Ireland and Quebec. These societal contexts severely limit all forms of intergroup contact. Moreover, they render the contact that does occur less than optimal. Implicit in Allport's equal-status condition is equivalent group power in the situation. This is difficult to achieve when a struggle over power fuels the larger intergroup conflict.

The meager equal-status contact between groups that takes place in such societies is typically subversive in character. In Northern Ireland, neighboring Catholic and Protestant farmers cooperate in their agricultural pursuits but remain apart in other activities (Harris 1972, Kirk 1993). Even conversations are circumscribed. In both Quebec and Northern Ireland, intergroup interaction focuses on local issues and avoids divisive group concerns (Taylor et al 1986, Trew 1986). It is at best constrained discussion, not the easy banter of friends.

Russell (1961) showed how societal norms of discrimination poison intergroup contact. She tested a racially mixed neighborhood at the height of South Africa's *Apartheid* policy of intense racial segregation. This rare area had 50% whites, 20% Coloureds, and 30% Indians. Even here, modest improvements emerged in white attitudes toward their neighbors of color. Yet the larger social context constrained these effects. The improved attitudes did not general-

ize to Coloureds and Indians as groups, and whites were defensive about their interracial contact. Some avoided it, and the exchange that took place was not reciprocal. Whites received neighborly aid and entered nonwhite homes far more than the reverse. Many whites rationalized their interracial behavior with the exploitative nature of the relationship. All were aware that the then stern South African norms punished equal-status interracial contact. Such norms erode true neighborliness.

Alternatively, when a society embraces intergroup harmony, equal-status contact between groups is no longer subversive. Normative support makes attainment of other optimal conditions far easier.

GENERAL EVALUATIONS OF CONTACT EFFECTS

Consider this reformulation in light of two efforts to test the chief contentions of contact theory, one with surveys and the other experimental.

In meta-analytic fashion, the European surveys tested the link between intergroup friendship and five different measures of prejudice across seven samples (Pettigrew 1997a). Weighting for sample size, the average correlations ranged between $-.14$ and $-.32$ without controls. With controls for seven variables and weighting for sample size, the average correlations ranged between $-.10$ and $-.25$. These results are consistent with the preliminary findings of a meta-analysis of the full contact literature now under way (Pettigrew et al 1998).

Cook (1984) provided the most extensive laboratory test of the intergroup contact hypothesis. He set up an ideal interracial situation featuring equal status, a stereotype-disconfirming minority member, an interdependent task, task success, high friendship potential, and equalitarian social norms. Highly prejudiced white subjects worked with two partners who were confederates, one black and one white. They operated an imaginary railroad system over 40 sessions, sharing successes and failures but eventually winning bonus money. To enhance generalization, the black confederate told of a personal experience with racial discrimination after rapport had developed. Later, the white confederate disapproved of the discriminatory practice.

Cook recorded major changes. Subjects reported highly favorable opinions of their black partner, and these views generalized. In another context, the subjects evinced on average more positive racial views toward African Americans than controls. Observe the time sequence. First, the prejudiced subjects found the stereotype-disconfirming black as similar and grew to like her in the optimal situation. Next the black confederate made race salient by telling of past discrimination. Then the white confederate emphasized the link between their friend's bad treatment and racial discrimination.

SUMMARY

Allport's hypothesis specified four conditions for optimal contact. The situation must allow equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and authority support. Recent research adds another: The contact situation must have "friendship potential."

Varied research supports the hypothesis—from field and archival studies to national surveys and laboratory experiments. However, cross-sectional studies suffer from a selection bias. Prejudiced people avoid intergroup contact, so the causal link between contact and prejudice is two-way. Yet those studies that have tested both paths find that the positive effects of cross-group friendship are larger than those of the bias.

Three additional problems limit the contact hypothesis. 1. Writers have overburdened the hypothesis with too many facilitating, but not essential, conditions. 2. The hypothesis does not address process. It predicts only when positive contact effects will occur, not how and why. The chapter details four interrelated processes underlying contact effects: learning about the outgroup, changing behavior, generating affective ties, and ingroup reappraisal. Intergroup friendship has strong positive effects, because it potentially entails all four processes.

3. The hypothesis does not specify how the effects generalize to other situations, the entire outgroup or uninvolved outgroups. Many effects do not generalize beyond the immediate contact situation and participants. There are three strategies to enhance generalization: decategorization, salient group categorization, and recategorization. Thinking of these strategies acting sequentially removes the apparent contradiction between them. Since similarity attracts, initial stages of intergroup contact benefit from not making group membership salient. Later, as anxiety and threat subside, group membership must become salient to maximize the generalization of positive effects beyond the immediate situation. Then recategorization becomes possible if the participants adopt an all-encompassing group identification.

Both individual differences and societal norms shape intergroup contact effects. The deeply prejudiced both avoid intergroup contact and resist positive effects from it. Societies suffering intergroup conflict both restrict and undercut intergroup contact. From these considerations, the chapter advances a longitudinal reformulation of the intergroup contact hypothesis. Within the contexts of the participants' characteristics and the situation's societal setting, the chapter outlines a meso-level theory with two key features. It distinguishes between essential and facilitating situational factors. And it emphasizes the time dimension with different outcomes predicted for different stages of intergroup contact.

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