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Collateral damage for ingroup members having outgroup friends: Effects of normative versus counternormative interactions with an outgroup

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Abstract

When people are aware that an ingroup member has an outgroup friend, they tend to improve their intergroup attitudes, which is known as the *extended contact hypothesis*. Thus far, no research has tested how the perceived degree of normativity of the intergroup interaction affects the evaluation of the ingroup member through which extended contact is experienced. Results of three studies showed that when contact was normative (i.e., positive contact with a liked outgroup, or negative contact with a disliked outgroup), the ingroup member was evaluated positively, while when the contact was counternormative (i.e., negative contact with a liked outgroup or positive contact with a disliked outgroup) the ingroup member was evaluated negatively. This effect was mediated by perceived threat posed by the ingroup member who experiences the intergroup contact and perceived similarity of the participant with the ingroup member (Experiments 2–3). In summary, the perceived normativity of the extended contact affects the perception of the ingroup member who experiences the contact, turning him/her into a "white" or a "black" sheep in the eyes of the ingroup.

Keywords

black sheep effect, counternormative contact, extended contact, ingroup norms

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The extended contact hypothesis has demonstrated that the awareness that an ingroup member has an outgroup friend can improve intergroup relations (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). However, no research has addressed the effects of extended contact on the ingroup member through which contact is experienced (*protagonist*, hereafter). If extended contact has collateral effects on the protagonist (i.e., ingroup members are *positively* or *negatively* evaluated for

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their contact with certain outgroups), they may be more or less likely to engage in such contact in the future. The present report examines how the perceived normativity of the extended contact may affect the evaluation of the protagonist.

We investigate whether *the valence of the extended contact* and *the likeability of the outgroup* interactively affect the protagonist's evaluation. We predict that when the protagonist has positive contact with a liked outgroup, or negative contact with a disliked outgroup (i.e., normative intergroup contact), s/he will be evaluated positively. In contrast, when contact is positive with a disliked outgroup, or negative with a liked outgroup (i.e., counternormative intergroup contact), s/he will be evaluated negatively, paying the price of engaging in counternormative behavior.

Effects of Extended Contact on Intergroup Relations

The benefits of extended contact on intergroup relations have been found in a myriad of countries, intergroup contexts, participant populations, and using different methodologies. Researchers around the world have demonstrated that extended contact can promote tolerance toward foreigners (Pettigrew, Christ, Wagner, & Stellmacher, 2007), improve attitudes toward the police (Eller, Abrams, Viki, & Imara, 2007) as well as stigmatized groups (Cameron, Rutland, & Brown, 2007), predict positive intergroup expectancies as well as positive intergroup attitudes among majority and minority group members (Gómez, Tropp, & Fernández, 2011), reduce hostility between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland (Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci, 2004), and promote improved intergroup relations in friends of international students in Britain (Eller, Abrams, & Zimmermann, 2011).

Moreover, moderating processes have been identified (Dovidio, Eller, & Hewstone, 2011; Turner, Hewstone, Voci, Paolini, & Christ, 2007), such as, the level of closeness to ingroup members who have contact with the outgroup (Tausch, Hewstone, Schmid, Hughes, & Cairns, 2011), contact quality (Cameron, Rutland, Hossain, & Petley, 2011), social comparison processes (Sharp, Voci, & Hewstone, 2011), and direct contact and authoritarianism (Dhont & van Hiel, 2011).

Equally extensive is the research into underlying mediating mechanisms. In particular, Turner, Hewstone, Voci, and Vonofakou (2008) showed that four processes simultaneously mediate the relationships between extended contact and intergroup attitudes: anxiety reduction, inclusion of outgroup in the self, and perceived ingroup and outgroup norms. Importantly, only *ingroup norms* are based on the *link between the ingroup protagonist and their group as a whole* (Pettigrew, 1991). In the seminal work about extended contact, Wright et al. (1997) had already suggested that this kind of indirect contact may change perceived norms about the acceptability of positive intergroup relations, which, in turn, would improve the attitudes toward the outgroup. As a matter of fact, the mediator role of ingroup norms has been supported in subsequent studies testing the effect of extended contact on the evaluation of outgroup members (Cameron et al., 2011; Capozza, Falvo, Favara, & Trifiletti, 2013; Gómez et al., 2011; Paterson, Turner, & Conner, 2015; Tezanos-Pinto, Bratt, & Brown, 2010).

Within the wide range of norms governing group life, some of them regulate intergroup relations. Ingroup norms about intergroup relations play an important role in that perceived attitudes of ingroup members toward the outgroup should shape one's own attitudes toward them, as one often looks to fellow ingroup members as a guide for intergroup attitudes and behavior (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1996, 1997). When norms concerning intergroup contact are not firmly established, ambiguous, or in a state of change, an ingroup member engaged in friendship with an outgroup member is a source of referent informational influence (Wright et al., 1997). However, when norms about intergroup contact are clear, extended contact may have different collateral effects on the ingroup members having cross-group friendships depending on whether such friendship is supported (normative contact) or vetoed (counternormative contact) by group norms.

The examination of the collateral effects of extended contact on members having intergroup contact is crucial because extended contact could be deteriorating *intragroup relations* when the interaction is judged to be counternormative. A normative interaction would fulfill ingroup expectancies with the resulting benefits for the ingroup member. However, when the protagonist breaks ingroup norms by engaging in a counternormative interaction, s/he might be evaluated negatively.

Previous research on stigma by association (see Mehta & Farina, 1988; Neuberg, Smith, Hoffman, & Russell, 1994; Pryor, Reeder, & Monroe, 2012) has shown that the companions of stigmatized persons are also discredited. This stigma arises not only from meaningful relationships as relatives or close friends (e.g., Phelan, 2005; Schmader & Lickel, 2006), but also from coincidental associations such as being seen in the mere proximity of a stigmatized person (Hebl & Mannix, 2003; Penny & Haddock, 2007). Although the consequences of stigma by association may be similar to those that we predict by counternormative intergroup contact (e.g., negative evaluation), the mechanisms underlying these processes are different. Whereas stigma by association involves a generalization of the negative attitudes associated with the marked person to companions (Pryor et al., 2012), the process that we examine does not imply a transference of attributes from the outgroup to the ingroup member, but a devaluation of the ingroup member based on the awareness that s/he is violating ingroup norms about intergroup contact.

To summarize, although a growing body of research has revealed the effects of extended contact on intergroup relations, and the underlying mechanisms of such effects, no research up to date has explored whether the nature of extended contact affects intragroup relations and, in particular, the evaluation of the protagonist. A well established psychosocial phenomenon may offer insights into the consequences of violating ingroup norms: the *black sheep effect* (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988).

Effects of Extended Contact on Intragroup Relations

According to the black sheep effect (e.g., Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988; Marques et al., 1988), individuals evaluate a normative ingroup member more favorably than a normative outgroup member. However, individuals evaluate a counternormative ingroup member more negatively than a counternormative outgroup member. This effect has been consistently tested in a variety of intergroup contexts and a wide range of conditions (e.g., Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993; Doosje & Branscombe, 2003; Hutchison & Abrams, 2003). By looking down at the deviant ingroup member, people maintain a positive social identity, safeguarding the general positivity of their group (Marques et al., 1988). Devaluation symbolically purges the group of the deviant that represents a threat, reestablishing the positivity and subjective uniformity of the ingroup as a whole (Marques & Páez, 1994), and simultaneously engaging in intragroup and intergroup differentiation (Marques, 1990; see also Marques, Abrams, & Serodio, 2001).

One possibility to safeguard the image of the ingroup would be to get rid of the counternormative ingroup member. When this is not feasible, he or she might be evaluated in terms of whether he/she meets or does not meet "prescriptive" relevant ingroup standards (Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martínez-Taboada, 1998), which can be specific group norms, as is the case of the present research. This explanation is based on the subjective group dynamics model (e.g., Abrams, Marques, Brown, & Henson, 2000; Marques et al., 1998; Marques et al., 2001), which holds that evaluations of ingroup members are based on both *descriptive* (e.g., skin color) and *prescriptive* norms, which operate successively (Pinto, Marques, Levine, & Abrams, 2010). Prescriptive norms are the conditions that ingroup members must fulfill for a positive social identity (e.g., being honest and competent). In salient intergroup contexts, counternormative ingroup members engender a prescriptive focus. This entails an assessment of whether group members contribute (positively or negatively) to legitimize the group's superior status (Pinto et al., 2010).

Group members that contribute negatively, or act in a deviant, counternormative fashion might threaten the ingroup's image (Branscombe et al., 1993) and, consequently, are castigated, for instance, through negative evaluation (Marques et al., 2001). Thus, the derogation of the deviant serves to affirm a positive social identity when such identity has been threatened from inside one's ingroup (Marques & Paéz, 1994). Furthermore, as compared with normative individuals, those individuals who do not comply with ingroup norms are perceived by other group members as less similar to them (Abrams et al., 2000), and are no longer considered to be a genuine group member (Hutchison, Jetten, & Gutiérrez, 2011). Therefore, normative or counternormative extended contact might affect the evaluation of the protagonist having intergroup contact through perceived threat and similarity with him/her.

The Present Research

We conducted three experiments[1] to determine whether the perceived degree of normativity of the extended contact affects the perception of the protagonist. To that end, we manipulated the likeability of the outgroup (liked vs. disliked outgroup) and the valence of the extended contact (positive vs. negative contact). Both positive contact with a disliked outgroup and negative contact with a liked outgroup are counternormative because they contradict ingroup norms regarding intergroup relations. In contrast, negative contact with a disliked outgroup or positive contact with a liked outgroup are normative.

We predict that when the protagonist engages in normative contact, s/he will be evaluated more positively than when the contact is counternormative. As mentioned above, counternormative extended contact will also increase the perceived threat posed by the protagonist and will reduce the perceived similarity to the self (Experiments 2–3). Moreover, we expect the effect of the degree of the normativity of the extended contact on the evaluation of the protagonist to be mediated by perceived threat and perceived similarity to the protagonist (Experiments 2–3).

Finally, we expect the evaluation of the outgroup to depend on the quality of the contact in general, as it reflects the likeability of the outgroup and the atmosphere of the intergroup relation. In particular, the evaluation of the outgroup will be more positive when the extended contact is positive than when it is negative, and when the extended contact occurs with a liked than a disliked outgroup.

To generalize our findings, the experiments were conducted in two different contexts (UK vs. Spain) and using different methodologies (paper and pencil vs. web-based). Experiment 1 was conducted in Scotland, among young English university students (i.e., the ingroup) and using Canadians and *neds*[2] as liked and disliked outgroups, respectively. Experiments 2 and 3 took place in Spain, among Spanish university students (ingroup) and using ecologists and secessionists as liked and disliked outgroups, respectively in Experiment 2, and ecologists and immigrants as liked and disliked outgroups, respectively in Experiment 3. The liked and disliked outgroups were determined by preliminary studies. Extended contact was manipulated by means of fabricated entries on an Internet forum in which an ingroup member described his/her positive or negative contact with a member of an outgroup that was either liked or disliked by the majority of the respective participant's population.

Preliminary Studies

Twenty English students at a Scottish university (69% women, mean age = 19.3, SD = 1.15) participated in a preliminary questionnaire-based study to determine those social groups with whom they had little intergroup contact. They had to classify these groups into those they would like to have contact with and those they would not like to have contact with (liked vs. disliked outgroup from now on). There was strong consensus among participants in identifying Canadians as the liked outgroup (70% of participants) and Neds as the disliked outgroup (80% of participants). Although Neds are somewhat unlikely to be students at this particular university,

there are often seen in town and there is ample opportunity for contact.

Experiment 1

Method

Participants. Thirty-five undergraduates (62.9% women, mean age = 18.97, *SD* = 1.34) enrolled at a Scottish university, who were originally from the South-East of England, participated in the present study. A sample size of 35 provides 80% power to detect effects sizes as small as $\eta^2 = .19$. The power was fixed at .80, which is a convention proposed for general use (Cohen, 1992). Data were collected by means of self-report questionnaires. The questionnaire was sent to various student mailing lists and participants completed it on an individual basis and returned it via e-mail. Participation was voluntary but participants could enter a raffle to win two cinema tickets. Upon completion of the questionnaire, participants were thanked and debriefed via e-mail.

Procedure. Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (Type of Outgroup: liked vs. disliked) x 2 (Valence of Extended Contact: positive vs. negative) between-participants design.

Firstly, all participants received the following information:

> The following entry was posted on an Internet forum for current students in [name of university]. It was written by a student from the South-East of England who has now graduated from [name of university]. We would like you to assess whether this student represents students from the SE as a group or if the person is rather unrepresentative. We will also ask you some other questions about how you are reacting to the excerpt from the forum below.

Secondly, participants were presented with a putative forum exchange, which was made as realistic as possible by modeling the format on an existing forum of students of that particular university, adapting the forum entries from actual entries found on the forum, and using casual language, orthographic errors, and emoticons. Most participants in an additional preliminary study with 13 English students at the same Scottish university (84.6% women, mean age = 19.46, *SD* = 1.20) suggested this last characteristic in a pilot test of the manipulation and measures. Participants were presented with an excerpt that started with an entry posted by a putative sixth-form student from London (*moonflower111*) who was thinking of applying to the university in question and asked the online community for advice about the university ("Are there lots of English[3] students or is it really different from home? What do you guys do there for fun? … Thank [sic] so much for your help xoxoxox.")

Subsequently, all participants read a reply to this post that was provided by a putative student (*StAlum06*) who had just graduated from the university, and who was originally from Kent, England (the ingroup protagonist of the extended contact scenario). The student replied that he/she (sex not specified) was also worried about going to university in Scotland, but that the university was great, that there were many sports teams and other societies to join and things to do. "And yes, there are lots of English students in [name of university], but also many other nationalities from all over the world. You'll make tons of friends!"

At this point, participants were randomly assigned to one level of *type of outgroup condition*, and to one level of *valence of extended contact condition*. For example, in the liked outgroup, positive extended contact condition the post went on as follows:

> I've been getting quite friendly with a group of Canadians. We regularly hang out, cook a meal or grab a drink together and Ive learned a lot about their culture and the sort of things they like to do. this is the advantege of [name of university]: it gives you the opportunity to become friends with people you might not have otherwise met. I love it here!

In the liked outgroup, negative extended contact condition the post went on as follows:

Table 1. Means and standard deviations by condition for Experiment 1 ($N = 35$).

Measure	Positive contact Liked group Canadian ($n = 8$)		Positive contact Disliked group Ned ($n = 7$)		Negative contact Liked group Canadian ($n = 10$)		Negative contact Disliked group Ned ($n = 10$)	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Rating protagonist	5.00	1.41	3.14	0.69	3.00	1.41	4.50	1.35
Rating outgroup	6.00	0.93	2.14	1.86	4.00	2.21	1.90	0.74

> However, if I were you, I'd watch out for Canadians. Over the past couple of years, I've met a few of them and have to say that I really don't like them. I'm usually quite an easygoing kind of person, but I'd prefer to chill by myself than hang out with Canadians. Other than that, I just love [name of university]!

In the disliked outgroup condition, Canadians was replaced with neds.

Finally, participants completed the questionnaire including the outcome measures (rating of the protagonist, and rating of the outgroup). At the end of the questionnaire participants were asked to write a paragraph about the likeability of the outgroup and the evaluation of the contact that the protagonist had with the outgroup. There was consensus among their descriptions and their corresponding experimental conditions. While all participants in the disliked outgroup condition recognized the outgroup as undesired, all participants in the liked outgroup condition recognized the outgroup as desired. Also, all participants in the positive extended contact condition described the situation as positive, while all participants in the negative extended contact condition described the situation as negative.

Rating of the protagonist was measured with a single item adapted from Marques et al. (1998) on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*very unfavorable*) to 7 (*very favorable*) by asking participants to indicate "whether your overall impression of STAlum06 is favorable or unfavorable."

Rating of the outgroup was measured by a single item, analogous to rating of the protagonist described before.

Results

To determine the effects of the likeability of the outgroup and the valence of the extended contact on our outcome measures, we performed a series of 2 (Type of Outgroup: liked vs. disliked) x 2 (Valence of Extended Contact: positive vs. negative) ANOVAs. Means, *SD*s, and sample sizes per cell are shown in Table 1.

Rating of the protagonist. The 2 x 2 ANOVA on the rating of the protagonist yielded the expected Type of Group x Valence of Extended Contact interaction, $F(1, 31) = 14.54$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .32$. When the valence of the extended contact was positive, the protagonist was evaluated more positively when s/he interacted with a liked outgroup member than when s/he interacted with a disliked outgroup, $F(1, 31) = 7.77$, $p = .009$, $\eta^2 = .20$. However, when the valence of the extended contact was negative, the protagonist was evaluated more positively when s/he interacted with a disliked outgroup than when s/he interacted with a liked outgroup, $F(1, 31) = 6.79$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .18$. The main effects were not significant: $F(1, 31) = 0.53$, $p = .47$, $\eta^2 = .02$, for valence, and $F(1, 31) = 0.16$, $p = .69$, $\eta^2 = .01$, for type of group.

Rating of the outgroup. The 2 x 2 ANOVA on the rating of the outgroup yielded a main effect of type of group, $F(1, 31) = 31.04$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .50$. Participants evaluated the liked outgroup more positively than the disliked outgroup, $M = 4.89$, $SD = 2.00$, versus $M = 2.00$, $SD = 1.27$. The main effect of valence of extended contact was also significant, $F(1, 31) = 4.40$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .12$. Participants expressed a better evaluation of the

outgroup when the extended contact was positive than when it was negative, $M = 4.20$, $SD = 2.43$, versus $M = 2.95$, $SD = 1.93$. The interaction effect was not significant, $F(1, 31) = 2.70$, $p = .11$, $\eta^2 = .08$.

Discussion

As predicted, when the contact was positive, the results revealed that the protagonist was evaluated more positively if s/he interacted with a liked outgroup (normative contact) than if s/he interacted with a disliked outgroup (counternormative contact). In contrast, when the contact was negative, the protagonist was evaluated more positively if s/he interacted with a disliked outgroup (normative contact) than if s/he interacted with a liked outgroup (counternormative).

In addition, also as expected, the evaluation of the outgroup was more positive when the extended contact was positive than when it was negative, and when the extended contact occurred with a liked than a disliked outgroup.

The results of Experiment 1 confirm our expectancies that a strategy that improves intergroup attitudes, as extended contact, might deteriorate intragroup evaluations, by evaluating negatively the ingroup member who has the contact if such contact is considered to be counternormative.

Experiment 2 was designed to replicate the evidence obtained in Experiment 1 that ingroup members deviating from ingroup norms concerning intergroup friendship are evaluated negatively. Experiment 2 also constitutes a methodological refinement by using multiple-item scales; in Experiment 1 we used single-item measures in line with the classic studies of the black sheep literature. Furthermore, we tested the generalizability of our findings by virtue of the fact that Experiment 2 was conducted in a different country and culture (Spain), language (Spanish), age group (mature university students), using different outgroups (ecologists and secessionists), and with a bigger sample. Experiment 2 is also an extension of Experiment 1 by including two possible mechanisms underlying the effect of the experimental manipulation on our outcome measures. We introduced two mediators, perceived threat posed by the protagonist and perceived similarity to the protagonist. On the one hand, participants should perceive more threat in the counternormative relative to the normative conditions. The greater the perceived threat, in turn, the more negative we expect protagonist ratings to be. On the other hand, participants should feel more similar to the protagonist in the normative relative to the counternormative conditions. The greater the perceived similarity, in turn, the more positive we expect protagonist ratings to be. Finally, outgroup evaluation will be most positive when extended contact involves a liked outgroup and the valence of this contact is positive.

Following a similar procedure as in Experiment 1, a preliminary study was conducted to determine the liked and disliked outgroups that were most relevant for our Spanish participants. The main goal of this study was to provide some validation that the groups selected for the next experiment were indeed liked and disliked outgroups. Additionally, this preliminary study was methodologically more refined than the one prior to Experiment 1.

Preliminary Study

Six Spanish undergraduates identified ecologists as the liked outgroup and secessionists (those that demand independence of certain regions in Spain) as the disliked outgroup. Subsequently, 10 Spanish undergraduates indicated that they had little direct contact with either of these groups on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*), compared to the midpoint of the scale (4) ts > 10.85, ps $< .001$. On a scale ranging from 1 (*totally undesirable*) to 7 (*totally desirable*) they considered *ecologists* to be a liked outgroup, $M = 5.70$, $SD = 0.67$, ts > 6.7, ps $< .001$, and *secessionists* to be a disliked outgroup, $M = 1.40$, $SD = 0.52$, ts > 4.8, ps $< .001$. In this case, "secessionist" refers to people who want the independency of Catalonia (North-East Spain) from Spain. Unlike the Basque Country, advocates of independence in Catalonia have always channelled their desires through peaceful and democratic means and have

never resorted to violence or terrorism. Our participants were presumably thinking of Catalonian secessionist because, when the studies were conducted, politicians and the media in Spain constantly debated this issue.

Experiment 2

Method

Participants and procedure. Spanish undergraduates from UNED (N = 159, 86.8% women, mean age = 30.99, SD = 7.43) voluntarily participated online in the present study. A sample size of 159 provides 80% power to detect effects sizes as small as $\eta^2 = .05$. UNED is the biggest university (260,079 students) in Spain. Even though it is a distance learning education university, students can receive personal, direct support and interact with each other in the 61 associated centers throughout Spain and in 12 centers across 11 countries of Europe, America, and Africa. Students from UNED are older and more heterogeneous than students in traditional universities in Spain.

Procedure. Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (Type of Outgroup: liked vs. disliked) x 2 (Valence of Extended Contact: positive vs. negative) between-participants design and were informed that they would read forum entries posted by psychology students. The putative entry was written in casual language by a student who was thinking of applying to UNED and asked the online community about advice. The ingroup protagonist of the extended contact scenario replied in the *liked outgroup, positive extended contact condition*:

> I've been getting quite friendly with a group of ecologists. They're always petitioning politicians to stop deforestation and the greenhouse effect. But … they're really cool and help you with essays and exams. I often go out for a drink with them.

In the *disliked outgroup, positive extended contact condition*, ecologists was replaced with secessionists and their petitions were replaced by desires for political and economical independence from Spain.

In the *liked outgroup, negative extended contact condition* the post went on as follows: "If I were you, I'd watch out for ecologists. I'm talking about their political and environmental zealousness. They're constantly petitioning politicians to stop deforestation and the greenhouse effect and want to be the center of attention in every class." In the *disliked outgroup, negative extended contact condition*, ecologists was replaced with secessionists. This was followed by the dependent variables (all αs > .84).

Rating of the protagonist was measured using Wright et al.'s (1997) General Evaluation Scale, which asks participants to "indicate how you feel about this student in general" by using bipolar adjective pairs separated by a 7-point scale (1–7; i.e., *cold–warm*).

Perceived threat posed by the protagonist was measured with seven items of Duckitt's (2006) Intergroup Threat Scale (e.g., "This student seems to want to destroy or harm what is good for UNED students").

Perceived similarity of the protagonist to the self was measured with a three-item scale (e.g., "This student and I are very similar"). The threat and similarity measures scaling ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Rating of the outgroup was measured using Wright et al.'s (1997) General Evaluation Scale, as previously described, but adapted to the outgroup.

Results

A series of 2 x 2 ANOVAs was conducted on our outcome measures, and a moderated mediation analysis using bootstrapping was tested to explore whether perceived threat and perceived similarity mediate the interactive effect of our manipulation on the rating of the protagonist. Means, SDs, and sample sizes per cell are shown in Table 2.

Rating of the protagonist. The ANOVA yielded the expected Type of Group x Valence of Extended Contact interaction, $F(1, 155) = 26.86$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .15$. When the valence of the extended contact was positive, the protagonist was evaluated more positively when s/he interacted with a liked

Table 2. Means and standard deviations by condition for Experiment 2 (N = 159).

Measure	Positive contact Liked group Ecologist (n = 36)		Positive contact Disliked group Secessionist (n = 41)		Negative contact Liked group Ecologist (n = 40)		Negative contact Disliked group Secessionist (n = 42)	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Rating protagonist	4.40	1.05	3.76	0.92	3.95	0.84	4.94	1.13
Threat	2.79	1.06	3.76	0.89	3.91	0.64	2.66	1.07
Similarity	3.82	1.67	3.11	1.17	3.23	1.08	4.17	1.52
Rating outgroup	5.42	1.07	3.00	1.10	4.49	0.93	3.27	0.97

outgroup member than when s/he interacted with a disliked outgroup, $F(1, 155) = 8.01$, $p = .005$, $\eta^2 = .05$. However, when the valence of the extended contact was negative, the protagonist was evaluated more positively when s/he interacted with a disliked outgroup than when s/he interacted with a liked outgroup, $F(1, 155) = 20.52$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .12$. There was also a main effect of valence, $F(1, 155) = 5.24$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .03$. The protagonist was evaluated more positively when extended contact was negative than when it was positive, $M = 4.45$, $SD = 1.11$ versus $M = 4.06$, $SD = 1.03$. The effect of type of group was not significant, $F(1, 155) = 1.24$, $p = .27$, $\eta^2 = .01$.

Perceived threat of the protagonist. The ANOVA yielded a 2 x 2 interaction, $F(1, 155) = 56.14$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .27$. When the valence of the extended contact was positive, participants perceived more threat when the protagonist interacted with a disliked outgroup member than when s/he interacted with a liked outgroup, $F(1, 155) = 20.55$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .12$. However, when the valence of the extended contact was negative, participants perceived more threat when the protagonist interacted with a liked outgroup than when s/he interacted with a disliked outgroup, $F(1, 155) = 37.11$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .19$. The main effects were not significant: $F(1, 155) = 0.01$, $p = .92$, $\eta^2 = .00$, for valence, and $F(1, 155) = 0.95$, $p = .33$, $\eta^2 = .01$, for type of group.

Perceived similarity of the protagonist. The ANOVA yielded a 2 x 2 interaction, $F(1, 155) = 14.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .08$. When the valence of the extended contact was positive, participants perceived more similarity between themselves and the protagonist when the protagonist interacted with a liked outgroup than when s/he interacted with a disliked outgroup, $F(1, 155) = 5.12$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .03$. However, when the valence of the extended contact was negative, participants perceived more similarity between themselves and the protagonist when the protagonist interacted with a disliked outgroup than when s/he interacted with a liked outgroup, $F(1, 155) = 9.61$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .06$. The main effects were not significant: $F(1, 155) = 1.16$, $p = .28$, $\eta^2 = .01$, for valence, and $F(1, 155) = 0.28$, $p = .60$, $\eta^2 = .002$, for type of group.

Perceived threat and similarity of the protagonist as mediators of the interactive effect of valence and type of group on the rating of the protagonist. To test our hypothesis that the effect of the degree of the normativity of the extended contact on the evaluation of the protagonist will be mediated by perceived threat and perceived similarity of the protagonist, we tested a moderated mediation using the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2013, Model 8). Valence was defined as a moderator of the indirect effect that type of group had on the rating of the protagonist via perceived threat and perceived similarity simultaneously. Valence was coded as 0 for negative contact, and 1 for positive; type of group was coded as 0 for a disliked group, and 1 for a liked group.

As shown in Figure 1, when perceived threat and perceived similarity were considered as mediators, the effect of the interaction between valence and type of group became marginally significant and none of the confidence intervals

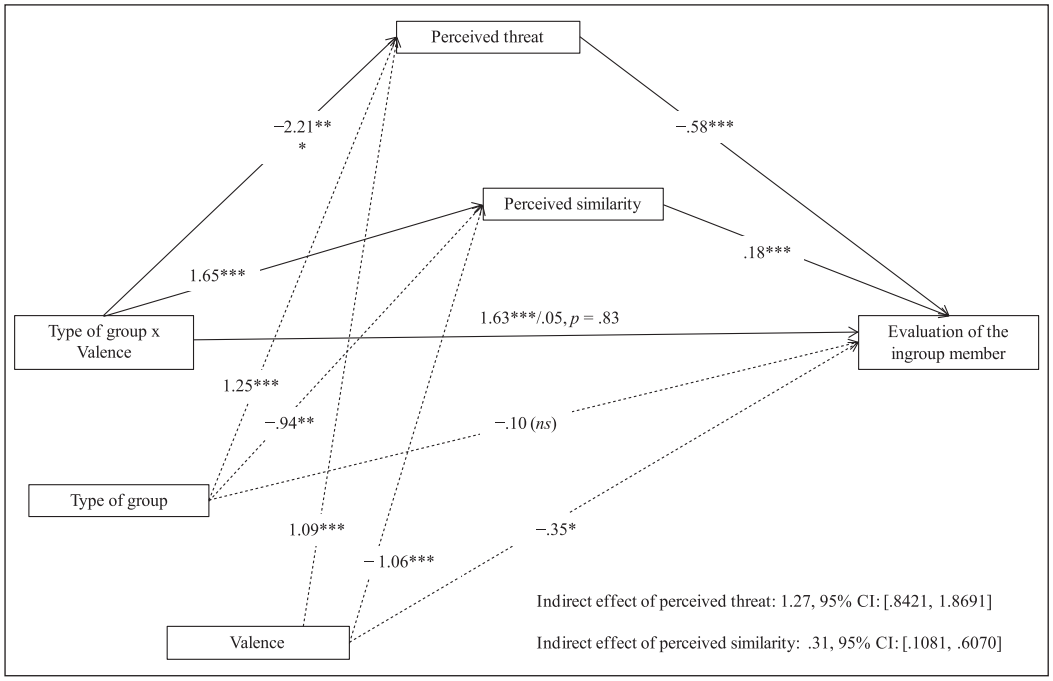

Figure 1. Experiment 2. Perceived threat and perceived similarity mediate the interactive effect of Type of Outgroup x Valence of Extended Contact interaction on the rating of the protagonist.
Note. CI = confidence interval.

contained zero. More specifically, this analysis demonstrates that the inclusion of the mediators reduces the direct influence of the interaction on evaluations of the ingroup member. This reduction of the direct effect of the interaction is produced because the indirect effects for both perceived threat and similarity were significant, meaning that they both contributed to the reduction of the direct effect.

These results confirmed our prediction that perceived threat and perceived similarity of the protagonist mediated the interactive effect of valence of extended contact and type of group on the rating of the protagonist. That is, the interaction between valence and type of group affects the evaluation of the protagonist by modifying the degree of threat posed by the protagonist and the perceived similarity between the protagonist and the participant.

Rating of the outgroup. The ANOVA yielded a 2 x 2 interaction, $F(1, 155) = 13.69$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .08$. When the valence of the extended contact was positive, the liked outgroup was evaluated more positively than the disliked outgroup, $F(1, 155) = 107.95$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .41$. When the valence of the extended contact was negative, the liked outgroup was also evaluated more positively than the disliked outgroup, but the effect was smaller, $F(1, 155) = 29.37$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .16$, than when the valence was positive. The ANOVA also showed a main effect of the type of group, $F(1, 155) = 126.22$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .45$, $M_{liked} = 4.93$, $SD = 1.10$, $M_{disliked} = 3.13$, $SD = 1.04$, and a main effect of the valence of extended contact, $F(1, 155) = 4.24$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .03$, $M_{positive} = 4.13$, $SD = 1.63$, $M_{negative} = 3.86$, $SD = 1.13$.

Discussion

Experiment 2 provides further evidence that the evaluation of the ingroup member who has contact with an outgroup member changes as a function of whether his/her direct contact is perceived to be normative or counternormative for the

ingroup. Experiment 2 replicated and extended the results of Experiment 1 with a larger sample, in a different country, language, age group, and using different outgroups. Experiment 2 generally replicated the results obtained in Experiment 1 with respect to the interactive effects of the type of group by the valence of extended contact on the evaluation of the protagonist.

Importantly, Experiment 2 extends previous findings by showing the mediating roles of perceived threat and perceived similarity between the Type of Group x Valence of Extended Contact interaction effect and the evaluation of the protagonist.

Finally, adding to its validity, the present study offers evidence for the effects of extended contact on the evaluation of the outgroup. Results indicated that participants evaluated the outgroups more positively when extended contact was positive than when it was negative.

It could be argued that the disliked outgroup (secessionists) in the second study does not necessarily have impermeable membership, which is very different from the groups that are the focus of the vast majority of the intergroup contact literature (e.g., ethnic groups). Having contact with secessionists might be more threatening for ingroup members than having contact with people from other ethnic groups, because in the first case there is a risk of turning into a secessionist oneself, whereas in the second case mobility is not possible. To discard this alternative explanation, in Experiment 3 we selected an outgroup repeatedly studied in previous research about intergroup contact, that is, immigrants.

Additionally, to maximize data quality and guarantee that participants carefully read our instructions, we included a control question adapted from Oppenheimer, Meyvis, and Davidenko (2009). All our participants responded correctly to this task.

Experiment 3

Method

Participants and procedure. Spanish undergraduates from UNED (N = 116, 64.7% women, mean age = 34.14, SD = 10.31) voluntarily participated online in the present study. A sample size of 116 provides 80% power to detect effects sizes as small as $\eta^2 = .06$.

Procedure. The design basically replicated Study 2. Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (Type of Outgroup: liked vs. disliked) x 2 (Valence of Extended Contact: positive vs. negative) between-participants design and were informed that they would read forum entries posted by psychology students. However, this time the disliked outgroup was immigrants. This group is a credible outgroup for our participants because a remarkable number of immigrants study in UNED, a distance learning education university.

The experimental manipulation was followed by the same dependent variables as in Study 2, rating of the protagonist, perceived threat posed by the protagonist, perceived similarity of the protagonist, and rating of the outgroup, (all αs > .84).

Results

A series of 2 x 2 ANOVAs were conducted on our outcome measures, and a moderated mediation analysis using bootstrapping was tested to explore whether perceived threat and perceived similarity mediate the interactive effect of our manipulation on the rating of the protagonist. Means, SDs, and sample sizes per cell are shown in Table 3.

Rating of the protagonist. The ANOVA yielded a 2 x 2 interaction, $F(1, 112) = 20.95$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .16$. When the valence of the extended contact was positive, the protagonist was evaluated more positively when s/he interacted with a liked outgroup member than when s/he interacted with a disliked outgroup, $F(1, 112) = 16.25$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .13$. However, when the valence of the extended contact was negative, the protagonist was evaluated more positively when s/he interacted with a disliked outgroup member than when s/he interacted with a liked outgroup, $F(1, 112) = 6.07$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .05$. There was also a main effect of valence, $F(1, 112) = 41.20$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .27$. The protagonist was evaluated more positively when extended contact was positive than when it was

Table 3. Means and standard deviations by condition for Experiment 3 (N = 116).

Measure	Positive contact Liked group Ecologist (n = 38)		Positive contact Disliked group Immigrant (n = 23)		Negative contact Liked group Ecologist (n = 31)		Negative contact Disliked group Immigrant (n = 24)	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Rating protagonist	5.23	1.17	4.13	0.77	3.08	0.58	3.77	1.40
Threat	2.25	1.07	2.90	1.01	4.24	0.87	3.54	1.64
Similarity	4.93	1.48	4.17	1.13	2.51	1.32	3.64	2.02
Rating outgroup	5.37	1.07	2.51	0.98	4.96	0.99	1.93	0.85

negative, $M_{positive}$ = 4.81, SD = 1.16 versus $M_{negative}$ = 3.38, SD = 1.07. The effect of type of group was not significant, $F(1, 112) = 1.09$, $p = .30$, $\eta^2 = .01$.

Perceived threat of the protagonist. The ANOVA yielded a 2 x 2 interaction, $F(1, 112) = 9.56$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .08$. When the valence of the extended contact was positive, the participant perceived more threat when the protagonist interacted with the disliked outgroup than when s/he interacted with the liked outgroup, $F(1, 112) = 4.56$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .04$. However, when the valence of the extended contact was negative, the participant perceived more threat when the protagonist interacted with the liked outgroup than when s/he interacted with the disliked outgroup, $F(1, 112) = 5.00$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .04$. There was also a main effect of valence, $F(1, 112) = 36.21$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .24$. The participant perceived more threat when the contact was negative than when it was positive, $M_{negative}$ = 3.94, SD = 1.30 versus $M_{positive}$ = 2.49, SD = 1.09. The effect of type of group was not significant, $F(1, 112) = 0.01$, $p = .91$, $\eta^2 = .00$.

Perceived similarity of the protagonist. The ANOVA also yielded a 2 x 2 interaction, $F(1, 112) = 10.88$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .09$. When the valence of the extended contact was positive, the participant marginally perceived more similarity when the protagonist interacted with the liked outgroup than when s/he interacted with the disliked outgroup, $F(1, 112) = 3.59$, $p = .06$, $\eta^2 = .03$. However, when the valence of the extended contact was negative, the participant perceived more similarity when the protagonist interacted with the disliked outgroup than when s/he interacted with the liked outgroup, $F(1, 112) = 7.61$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2 = .06$. There was also a main effect of valence, $F(1, 112) = 26.69$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .19$. The participant perceived more similarity with the protagonist when the extended contact was positive that when it was negative, $M_{positive}$ = 4.64, SD = 1.40 versus $M_{negative}$ = 3.00, SD = 1.74. The effect of type of group was not significant, $F(1, 112) = 0.43$, $p = .51$, $\eta^2 = .003$.

Perceived threat and similarity of the protagonist as mediators of the interactive effect of valence and type of group on the rating of the protagonist. To test our hypothesis that the effect of the degree of the normativity of the extended contact on the evaluation of the protagonist will be mediated by perceived threat and perceived similarity of the protagonist, we tested a moderated mediation using the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2013, Model 8). Valence was defined as a moderator of the indirect effect that type of group had on the rating of the protagonist via perceived threat and perceived similarity simultaneously. Valence was coded as 0 for negative contact, and 1 for positive; type of group was coded as 0 for a disliked group, and 1 for a liked group.

As shown in Figure 2, when perceived threat and perceived similarity were considered as mediators, the effect of the interaction between valence and type of group became less significant and none of the confidence intervals contained zero. These results confirmed our prediction that perceived threat and perceived similarity of the

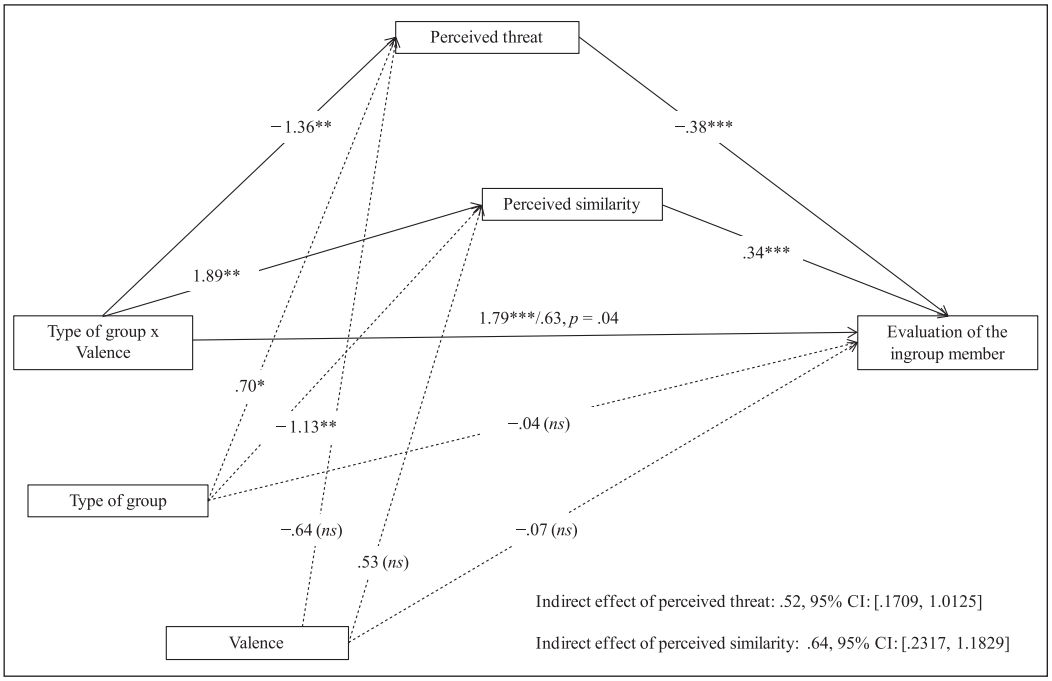

Figure 2. Experiment 3. Perceived threat and perceived similarity mediate the interactive effect of Type of Outgroup x Valence of Extended Contact interaction on the rating of the protagonist.
CI = confidence interval.

protagonist mediated the interactive effect of valence of extended contact and type of group on the rating of the protagonist. That is, the interaction between valence and type of group affects the evaluation of the protagonist by modifying the degree of threat posed by the protagonist and the perceived similarity between the protagonist and the participant.

Rating of the outgroup. The ANOVA showed a main effect of the type of group, $F(1, 112) = 245.64$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .69$, indicating that participants evaluated the liked outgroup more positively than the disliked outgroup, $M_{liked} = 5.18$, $SD = 1.05$, $M_{disliked} = 2.21$, $SD = 0.95$. The effect of the valence of extended contact was also significant, $F(1, 112) = 6.92$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .06$, indicating that participants evaluated the outgroup more positively when the contact was positive than when it was negative, $M_{positive} = 4.29$, $SD = 1.74$, $M_{negative} = 3.64$, $SD = 1.77$. The interaction was not significant, $F(1, 112) = 0.19$, $p = .66$, $\eta^2 = .002$.

Discussion

Experiment 3 provides converging evidence that the evaluation of the ingroup member who has contact with an outgroup member depends on the perceived normativity of the direct intergroup contact. Experiment 3 replicated and extended the results of Experiments 1–2 using a different outgroup, more similar to the traditional groups considered in the literature about extended contact. As in Experiment 2, the type of group moderated the effect that the valence of extended contact had on the evaluation of the protagonist, on the similarity with her/him and on perceived threat. Protagonists who had counternormative contact were evaluated more negatively, as less similar, and more threatening than participants engaged in normative contact.

Importantly, Experiment 3 replicates our previous findings of the mediating roles of perceived threat and perceived similarity between the interactive effect of type of group and valence on the evaluation of the protagonist.

Results indicated that participants evaluated the outgroups more positively when extended contact was positive than when it was negative.

General Discussion

To the best of our knowledge, this is the first paper integrating extended contact and intragroup processes and looking at how ingroup norms affect attitudes towards ingroup members when extended contact takes place. In particular, the present research provides a unique perspective on a hitherto unexamined question: the evaluation of ingroup members involved in intergroup contact.

Conceptualizing normativity as a combination of the valence of the extended contact and the likeability of the outgroup, participants evaluated ingroup members engaging in normative intergroup contact more positively than ingroup members having counternormative intergroup contact. The link between the normativity of contact and the protagonist evaluation was mediated by perceived threat posed by the protagonist and perceived similarity with the participant. Consistent with the preliminary studies that we conducted to determine the likeability of the outgroup for each study, the outgroup was evaluated more positively when it was liked by the ingroup than disliked. But, importantly, our manipulation of the valence of extended contact significantly affected the evaluation of the outgroup as we discuss below.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Our paper demonstrates that ingroup norms relating to intergroup relations may affect intragroup relations through extended contact. Our results present evidence that ingroup members who violate ingroup norms are evaluated negatively because they are seen as more threatening and less similar to oneself. In contrast, when ingroup norms are fulfilled, ingroup members are rewarded with positive evaluations, because they are seen as less threatening, and more similar to oneself. Interestingly, the differential effects of normative versus counternormative extended contact on the protagonist occur independently of valence. In short, engaging in counternormative contact makes ingroup members black sheep and engaging in normative contact makes them white sheep (Marques et al., 2001).

Although the aim of the present research was to examine the collateral effects of the extended contact, our findings make several key contributions to the extended contact literature. Firstly, we provide new evidence that, in the liked outgroup conditions, positive extended contact has positive consequences as compared with negative extended contact in two studies.[4] This impact relates not only to the outgroup in question but also to the ingroup protagonist, a relationship that is scarcely investigated in the extended contact literature (but see Tausch et al., 2011). However, in the disliked outgroup conditions, positive extended contact did not improve the image of the outgroup as a whole as compared with negative extended contact. The reason for the failure of positive extended contact to improve attitudes towards the disliked outgroup as compared with negative contact may rest on the negative evaluation of the protagonist having counternormative contact. As Wright et al. (1997) warn, the observation of a single case, as in our studies, can lead one to question or dismiss the status of the ingroup member having intergroup contact as an important part of the group, consistent with the idea of Marques et al. (1998) and with the present results. Critical readers could also argue that the reason explaining why the positive effect of extended contact did not emerge is that the protagonists of the intergroup contact were not perceived as representative members of the group in the first place (Liebkind & McAlister, 1999). Unfortunately, we did not measure the prototypicality of the protagonists before or after our manipulations. In any case, we must note that the comparison was made between negative and positive extended contact, not between positive extended contact and a control condition. To properly determine the positive effect of extended

contact when disliked outgroups are considered, a control condition should be included.

Secondly, we present initial evidence that extended contact may have counterproductive effects when social norms proscribe this contact as compared with when social norms allow it, and might deteriorate the image of the ingroup member who has the contact with the outgroup. As Crandall, Eshleman, and O'Brien (2002) remarked, "To be a good group member, one must adopt the prejudices that the group holds and abstain from those prejudices that the group frowns upon" (p. 360).

Third, we have identified two mediators (threat and similarity) of the effects of perceived normativity of extended contact on group member evaluation.

Fourth, our findings have been replicated in a traditional context for intergroup relations literature (Experiments 1–3), such as immigration, ethnicity, religion, etcetera, but also with groups that differ on political values or attitudes (Experiment 2). The fact that in Experiment 2 the counternormative conditions (and the outgroups) are defined by a disagreement in attitudes towards the environment or about secession is not only a key point for generalizing the fact that extended contact affects intragroup relations in a variety of contexts, but also opens a door for investigating extended contact effects in unexplored intergroup relations situations.

In terms of practical implications, the present work demonstrates the utility of considering online media to portray extended contact and prejudice-reduction interventions. An additional advantage of our intervention, based on fictitious stories, is that the "collateral damage" is only inflicted on a fictitious character, but not on real individuals (see also Cameron & Rutland, 2006).

An additional strength of the present work is that we identified salient outgroups through preliminary studies before implementing each of the main experiments.

Our results also show that when designing extended intergroup contact interventions, social policy makers need to be aware of ingroup norms prescribing or proscribing contact with certain outgroups. Interventions designed to reduce intergroup bias should not disregard social norms about intergroup contact but should attempt to modify them directly, as otherwise, in certain cases intergroup contact might be futile and can incur costs for those individuals who dare to break ingroup norms. A single observation of an ingroup member having positive contact with a member of a disliked group, as in the present studies, does not seem to be sufficient to modify the perceived acceptability of intergroup contact (Wright et al., 1997). On the contrary, the protagonist of such contact may be no longer be considered to be part of the group, which allows ingroup norms about the intergroup contact to remain intact.

Finally, we wanted to note that although our goal was focused on the intragroup effects of extended contact, further research should include more measures regarding the extended contact hypothesis, as willingness to engage in intergroup contact or intergroup anxiety, that have not been considered in this research. Also, someone might argue that our results do not offer a complete empirical test of the black sheep effect (BSE) because no measure is taken of the evaluation of outgroup members who are comparable to the ingroup "protagonist." Including outgroup members having ingroup friends as a way of manipulating extended contact would constitute a new line of research that would exceed our goals, but future research should consider this point, that would allow a complete test of the BSE.

Conclusions

The present research investigates how breaking or adhering to ingroup norms in an extended contact context may affect intragroup attitudes. While ingroup members engaging in normative contact (*white sheep*) are rewarded and evaluated positively, ingroup members engaging in counternormative contact (*black sheep*) are punished and evaluated negatively. These differential evaluations occur because the normativity of extended contact leads observers to perceive more or less threat and similarity. The current findings support but also expand the literatures of extended contact theory and the black sheep effect

showing that strivings to improve intergroup relations might deteriorate intragroup relations.

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Notes

1. Data and syntax of all experiments are available at: https://osf.io/7geh9/?view_only=3c43186a47e244ecb26521160dae8200
2. Ned is a derogatory term applied in Scotland to youths who wear casual sports clothes, with the stereotypical implication that they engage in hooliganism or petty criminality. Such usage in Glasgow dates back to the 1960s or earlier.
3. The great majority of students at this particular university are English, not Scottish. For this reason we decided to use "English" as the ingroup, not "Scottish" or "British."
4. A set of Tukey comparisons indicated that positive extended contact improved the evaluation of the liked outgroup in Experiments 1–2 as compared with negative contact, $p = .05$ in Study 1 and $p = .001$ in Study 2, but not in Experiment 3, $p = .32$. Positive contact with a disliked outgroup, however, did not improve the evaluation of the outgroup as compared with negative contact in any of the three studies, $ps > .20$.

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