

Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin

<http://psp.sagepub.com>

The Other Side of We: When Outgroup Members Express Common Identity

Ángel Gómez, John F. Dovidio, Carmen Huici, Samuel L. Gaertner and Isabel Cuadrado

Pers Soc Psychol Bull 2008; 34; 1613 originally published online Oct 1, 2008;

DOI: 10.1177/0146167208323600

The online version of this article can be found at:
<http://psp.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/34/12/1613>

Published by:



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

On behalf of:



Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Inc.

Additional services and information for *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://psp.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://psp.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

Citations <http://psp.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/34/12/1613>

The Other Side of We: When Outgroup Members Express Common Identity

Ángel Gómez

Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia

John F. Dovidio

Yale University

Carmen Huici

Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia

Samuel L. Gaertner

University of Delaware

Isabel Cuadrado

Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia

Previous research on the common ingroup identity model has focused on how one's representations of members of the ingroup and outgroup influence intergroup attitudes. Two studies reported here investigated how learning how others, ingroup or outgroup members, conceive of the groups within a superordinate category affects intergroup bias and willingness to engage in intergroup contact. Across both studies, high school students who learned that other ingroup members categorized students at both schools within the common identity of "students" showed less intergroup bias in evaluations and greater willingness for contact. However, consistent with the hypothesized effects of identity threat, when participants read that outgroup members saw the groups within the superordinate category, they exhibited a relatively negative orientation, except when ingroup members also endorsed a superordinate identity (Study 1). This result occurred even when the relative status of the groups was manipulated (Study 2).

Keywords: *common ingroup identity; intergroup relations; metaperceptions; prejudice; social identity*

How people categorize others, as members of one's own group (the ingroup) or of another group (an outgroup), has a profound impact on cognitions, affect, and behavior (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Upon social

categorization, people favor ingroup members in terms of evaluations, attributions, material resources, helping, and social support (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, for a review). Whereas most of the research on social categorization focuses on the consequences of how individuals categorize others or themselves, the current research explored the effects of learning how *others* socially categorize people. In particular, we investigated how learning that ingroup or outgroup members conceive of the groups within a superordinate category affects intergroup bias.

As proposed by the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), changing the ways people

Authors' Note: This research and preparation of this manuscript were supported by a research fund granted by IUISI to Ángel Gómez, Carmen Huici, and John F. Dovidio; by Research Fund SEJ2004-01537/PSIC granted by the Science and Education Ministry of Spain to Ángel Gómez and Carmen Huici; and by National Science Foundation Grant BCS-0613218 awarded to Samuel L. Gaertner and John F. Dovidio. We are grateful to Jolanda Jetten for her comments on an earlier version of this article. Correspondence should be addressed to Ángel Gómez, C/Juan del Rosal 10, Social and Organizational Psychology Department, Psychology Faculty, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Dcho. 1.58, 28040, Madrid, Spain; e-mail: agomez@psi.uned.es.

PSPB, Vol. 34 No. 12, December 2008 1613-1626

DOI: 10.1177/0146167208323600

© 2008 by the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Inc.

categorize others can have important consequences for interpersonal and intergroup relations. The common ingroup identity model, which focuses on the representations individuals have of groups, proposes that if members of different groups are induced to categorize themselves as a superordinate group rather than as two separate groups, intergroup prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination will be reduced through the extension of pro-ingroup bias to former outgroup members. When people perceive others originally categorized as outgroup members as sharing a common ingroup identity, the processes that lead to favoritism toward ingroup members would be redirected toward former outgroup members. Superordinate categorization can be achieved by introducing a new identity shared by the groups or increasing the salience of an existing common identity.

The basic propositions of the common ingroup identity model for understanding intergroup bias have received support in research with enduring groups as well as with laboratory groups (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; González & Brown, 2006; Nier, Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, & Ward, 2001). The present research was designed to offer a new perspective on the common ingroup identity model and build on work demonstrating the importance of people's perceptions of how their group is viewed by others (i.e., intergroup metaperceptions and metastereotypes; Gómez, 2002; Méndez, Gómez, & Tropp, 2007; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998) by examining how people respond when *others*, ingroup and outgroup members, categorize the groups within a common, superordinate identity.

Understanding the role of ingroup members' intergroup biases in people's personal prejudice has been a topic of traditional interest in social psychology. Allport (1954/1979) argued that conformity was one of the most important causes of prejudice (see also Crandall & Stangor, 2005; Pettigrew, 1958). More recent research on the effect of consensus information has yielded consistent support for Allport's assertion. Several studies demonstrate that when people learn that others are lower in prejudice than they are, they respond in less biased ways; when they discover that others are higher in prejudice, they show greater bias in terms of both attitudes and behaviors (Sechrist & Stangor, 2001; Stangor, Sechrist, & Jost, 2001a, 2001b; Wittenbrink & Henly, 1996).

Additional work further demonstrates that learning of the intergroup orientation of even a single group member, because it influences perceptions of norms, can also substantially shape an individual's intergroup responses. For instance, in a set of studies (Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 1985; Kirkland, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1987), Whites who overheard another White person make a derogatory ethnic comment about a Black person, relative to a neutral remark, subsequently evaluated the Black

person more negatively when that person behaved in a way consistent with negative group-based expectations. Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, and Vaughn (1994) similarly found that, compared to a control condition in which no information was provided, hearing another student condone racism increased both public and private racist responses; the authors also showed that hearing a person condemn racism increased *antiracist* expressions. Moreover, research in the tradition of contact theory (Allport, 1954/1979; Pettigrew, 1998) has revealed "extended contact" effects, in which simply learning that ingroup members are friends with outgroup members can significantly reduce bias toward the outgroup (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997).

In the present research, which consists of two studies integrating this line of research on prejudice with work on the common ingroup identity model, we investigated the effects of informing participants that others (ingroup members, outgroup members, or both) perceived their group and another group within a superordinate identity. The predictions for the manipulation of information from ingroup members were straightforwardly based on the research concerning the roles of consensus and social influence in prejudice. We expected that participants would be more likely to view members of another group within a common group identity and respond more positively toward outgroup members when ingroup members indicated shared identity with the outgroup than when they did not offer such a comment.

However, we further hypothesized that responses to learning that outgroup members categorized the groups within a common identity would have a different effect. At the very least, one might expect that the influence of learning about outgroup members' perceptions, compared to ingroup members' perceptions, of common identity, would show weaker effects for positive intergroup orientations because research on persuasion has revealed that the opinions of outgroup members influence individuals' attitudes and actions less than do the opinions of ingroup members (Mackie, Worth, & Asuncion, 1990; see also Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Additional work suggests, however, that the effects of outgroup expressions of common identity would not be simply weaker than for ingroup assertions of superordinate identity, but rather—at least under some conditions—these expressions would elicit reactions in the opposite direction, that is, negative responses. In mergers, for example, people are generally distrusting and suspicious of the motives of outgroup members (Jetten, Duck, & Terry, 2002).

More generally, even in the absence of the direct interdependence required of a merger, statements of superordinate connection by outgroup members may be experienced as threatening. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) proposes that people are motivated to maintain the positive

distinctiveness of their group relative to other groups. When the integrity of one's group identity is threatened, people are motivated to reestablish positive and distinctive group identities and thereby maintain relatively high levels of intergroup bias (Brown & Wade, 1987) or show increased levels of bias (Deschamps & Brown, 1983). Brewer's (1991) optimal distinctiveness theory further proposes that people have competing motives for assimilation and differentiation, which lead them to prefer membership in smaller groups that provide a balance between these motives. As a consequence, recategorization in terms of superordinate group membership, which represents a more inclusive social category, would be especially likely to arouse needs for differentiation. These needs may be satisfied through intergroup comparisons and distinctions, which generally increase intergroup bias.

Introducing conditions that make intergroup comparisons salient (Mummendey, Klink, & Brown, 2001) in ways that challenge the positive distinctiveness of one's group, such as emphasizing similarity or overlapping boundaries between the groups (Dovidio et al., 1997; Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1997) or shared identity (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000), can exacerbate intergroup bias as a way of reaffirming positive distinctiveness. Hornsey and Hogg (2000), for instance, found that a condition that emphasized students' common university membership produced even higher levels of bias between humanities and math-science students than did a condition that emphasized their separate group identities (see also Crisp, Walsh, & Hewstone, 2006). Moreover, identity threat may be particularly likely to be aroused when the emphasis on common identity originates from beyond the ingroup, for example, from members of an outgroup (as in the present research) or from a third party. To the extent that learning that members of another group perceive a common identity with one's own group arouses identity threat, this information is also likely to elicit negative intergroup orientations.

However, the effects of learning that members of an outgroup see the group memberships within a common group identity may depend critically on whether the ingroup shares that perception of superordinate connection. Abrams, Rutland, and Cameron (2003), for example, demonstrated that perceptions of the norms about the exclusiveness (vs. inclusiveness) of one's group predicted relatively negative evaluations of members of another group. We therefore proposed that knowledge that an outgroup perceives a superordinate connection would be identity threatening primarily when the ingroup does not share this inclusive perception. In the research showing that identity threat increases intergroup bias (e.g., Crisp et al., 2006; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000), typically no information is provided about the ingroup's perceptions or responses. However, when both groups share

a superordinate goal (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961) or see their group relations as cooperative or complementary (Brown & Hewstone, 2005), intergroup suspicions may be allayed, thereby minimizing identity threat. Consequently, the effect of learning that outgroup members see the groups in terms of a common identity is likely moderated by whether participants are informed that ingroup members see the groups within a superordinate identity. Specifically, we hypothesized that whereas expressions of common identity by outgroup members would arouse identity threat in the absence of information that ingroup members saw the groups in the same way, such expressions would be responded to positively when they were consonant with ingroup members' feelings of common identity.

Other features of the intergroup context may moderate the influence of learning that members of another group feel that they share a common identity with one's group. For instance, although expressions of common identity by members of low-status groups can threaten to diminish the position of members of high-status groups, expressions of common connection by high-status group members may be viewed positively by members of low-status groups as an avenue to social mobility and an opportunity to enhance personal and group status (Ellemers, 1993; González & Brown, 2006).

In two studies, we exposed participants to information that others perceived two different groups within a superordinate identity or not, and we varied whether that information came from ingroup or outgroup members. The main dependent measures of interest were evaluations of the outgroup and ingroup, as well as willingness to engage in contact with members of the other group. Study 1 examined participants' responses when they learned that students from their high school or students from another school viewed the students at the two schools primarily in terms of a superordinate identity. Study 2 tested whether the effects of ingroup and outgroup categorization depend on ingroup's status as compared with outgroup's status. Although direct competition for resources between schools in the same district is rare, and thus realistic threat is minimal, local schools in the area experience rivalry for prestige and exhibit high levels of school pride. Thus, intergroup "threat" in this context is less likely to represent realistic group competition than symbolic threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), which nevertheless can be an important factor in intergroup relations (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

STUDY 1

This study explored (a) whether information (vs. no information) about perceptions of others in terms of a

common ingroup identity could influence intergroup bias and (b) whether this effect would be moderated by the group membership (ingroup or outgroup) of those to whom the statement was attributed. High school students read a newspaper article about the opinions students have of teachers, which systematically included, or did not include, information that members of the participants' ingroup (students at the participants' school) or an outgroup (students at the another school) categorized the students from two schools within a common identity (i.e., students). The four conditions represented the factorial combination of the ingroup categorization (common identity or no information) and outgroup categorization (common identity or no information) independent variables.

In general, we hypothesized that two general processes, ingroup social influence and identity threat, would operate as a function of the ingroup categorization and outgroup categorization manipulations to jointly determine bias in intergroup evaluations and willingness to engage in contact with the outgroup. Specifically, when ingroup members asserted a common identity with the outgroup, which establishes a normative standard, participants were expected to respond more positively (with lower levels of intergroup bias and greater willingness for contact) when the outgroup conformed to this standard by also asserting common identity than when no such information about the outgroup was provided. We further hypothesized, however, that in the absence of information in the newspaper article about members of the ingroup viewing the other group within a superordinate identity, learning that the outgroup viewed the groups with a common connection would arouse identity threat. In particular, we predicted that under these conditions there would be more negative responses (greater bias and less willingness for contact) when the outgroup expressed common identity than when it did not. Thus, with respect to intergroup bias, we predicted an Outgroup Categorization \times Ingroup Categorization \times Ingroup/Outgroup Ratings interaction. In terms of willingness to engage in contact, we anticipated an analogous Outgroup Categorization \times Ingroup Categorization interaction.

Method

Participants and design. Ninety-four high school students (59 female and 35 male, M age = 15.41, SD = 1.14) from Madrid, Spain, voluntarily participated in the present study in their classrooms with the consent of their school and parents. The study employed a 2 (ingroup categorization: no information vs. common identity) \times 2 (outgroup categorization: no information vs. common identity) design. Each participant, randomly

assigned to a condition, was exposed to one level of the ingroup categorization and one level of the outgroup categorization independent variables.

Procedure. After providing students with a description of how the Spanish Ministry for Education is interested in opinions of students toward their teachers and education, a newspaper article, "How High School Students See Their Teachers," was presented to each participant. To enhance the credibility of the information while minimizing suspicion, the text appeared in the form of a 320-word article in a local, well-known newspaper. The article described a research project ostensibly supported by a nearby university and the Ministry for Education. Information presented within the article was systematically varied to represent the factorial combination of the ingroup categorization (no information or common identity) and outgroup categorization (no information or common identity) manipulations. After reading materials unrelated to the present study to obscure the true purpose of the research, one of four forms of the newspaper article was randomly distributed to each participant.

The newspaper article stated that the reporter had interviewed students at two local schools about what they thought about their teachers. Information indicating that students categorized the groups within a superordinate identity was conveyed by a statement in the article in which students (from the ingroup school, the outgroup school, or both schools) responded that they "don't know how students in the other school might answer," but they feel that "the only thing that is sure for them is that students at both schools belong to the same group: All of them are students." In the ingroup categorization and outgroup categorization conditions, this statement was attributed to one group or the other; no mention was made of specific responses by students at the other school. In the ingroup common identity/outgroup common identity condition, the statement was presented as representing the responses of students at both schools. That is, the newspaper article reported that when asked about what they thought, "students from both schools said they didn't know how students other places might answer," but that "students from both schools feel that the only thing that is sure for them is that students at their schools belong to the same group: All of them are students." In the ingroup no information/outgroup no information condition, this statement was omitted from the article.

After reading the newspaper article, participants were asked to respond to a series of questions about their attitudes and orientations. Among questions asking students' opinions about the newspaper article and general educational issues, which were included to reinforce the cover story, were the items of interest for the

present research. Some of these items were designed to assess possible unintended influences in the study, specifically perceived differences in the credibility of the article and in the status of the ingroup and outgroup. Six items assessed the perceived credibility of the newspaper article. Students rated (1 = *totally disagree* to 5 = *totally agree*) the article as credible, convincing, realistic, trustworthy, sincere, and reliable (Cronbach's alpha = .80). Four items examined perceived status differences between the groups. Participants rated their agreement (1 = *totally disagree* to 7 = *totally agree*) with statements about the other high school, compared to students' own school, being better educationally, having more resources, having more prestige, and having students of higher socioeconomic status (Cronbach's alpha = .76). Participants' personal representation of the groups was assessed by asking them to select the representation (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) that best represented their view of the students at the schools: (a) one group, (b) two different groups, and (c) separate individuals.

The primary dependent measures were intergroup evaluations (evaluations of the outgroup and ingroup) and willingness to engage in contact with the other group. The former was a measure of intergroup bias, whereas the latter represented behavioral intentions. On the basis of previous pilot testing with high school students in the district, the evaluations of the outgroup and the ingroup were assessed in counterbalanced order by asking participants to indicate the percentage of members of each group possessing the following characteristics: (a) intelligent, (b) hardworking, (c) creative, (d) sociable, (e) friendly, (f) intolerant, (g) submissive, (h) humorous, and (i) emotional. Students responded with a number from 0% to 100% for each item. The negative items were recoded and averaged to yield composite outgroup (Cronbach's alpha = .86) and ingroup (Cronbach's alpha = .80) measures.

The willingness to engage in contact items were presented in the context of input that might be communicated to the school board, which was interested in conserving funds by consolidating activities (e.g., field trips) among different schools. Willingness of participants to engage in contact with the other group was measured by participants' responses (1 = *totally disagree* to 7 = *totally agree*) to each of the following statements about activities: (a) coordinating with students of the other high school to try to solve several problems that affect all the students, (b) doing leisure activities with students of the other high school, (c) having contact with students of the other high school, and (d) having students of the other high school as friends. These responses were averaged to produce a composite measure. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .83.

Results

Preliminary analyses. To evaluate whether participants interpreted the newspaper article differently depending on whether it conveyed information about ingroup or outgroup members categorizing the schools within a superordinate identity (i.e., as students), a 2 (ingroup categorization: no information vs. common identity) \times 2 (outgroup categorization: no information vs. common identity) ANOVA was performed on the composite credibility measure. The analysis revealed no main effects or interactions ($ps > .10$), indicating that the article was equivalently credible across conditions.

Because perceived school status could moderate the effects of the manipulations, we also examined whether the perceived status of the groups varied on the basis of the manipulations. The 2 (ingroup categorization) \times 2 (outgroup categorization) ANOVA on school status measure also demonstrated no main effects or interaction ($ps > .27$). Thus, as anticipated, perceptions of relative group status did not vary across conditions. In general, participants saw the other school as lower in status than their school: The grand mean (3.26) of the scale was lower than the midpoint (4), $t(93) = -7.12$, $p < .001$.

Our next analyses tested the effects for ingroup categorization, outgroup categorization, and their interaction on group representations, specifically the dichotomous measure of whether participants perceived the students at the schools as one group using binary logistic regression. The only significant effect in the model was for ingroup categorization (Wald statistic = 16.94, $p < .001$), $\chi^2(1, N = 94) = 59.29$, $p < .001$. When the newspaper article contained information that ingroup members endorsed common identity, 95.7% of the participants represented the groups as one group (the other 4.3% selected the two-group representation), but only 16.7% selected the one-group representation (70.8% selected the two-group representation, and 12.5% chose separate individuals) when this information was not presented. Outgroup categorization had no such effect (44.0% vs. 45.5%, $p > .90$).

Evaluations of ingroup and outgroup members. A 2 (ingroup categorization) \times 2 (outgroup categorization) \times 2 (ingroup/outgroup ratings) mixed-model ANOVA, with repeated measures on the last factor, was performed on group evaluations. A main effect of ingroup/outgroup ratings, $F(1, 90) = 78.71$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .47$, revealed that overall participants evaluated the ingroup more favorably than the outgroup ($M_s = 62.27$ vs. 50.21). In addition, an Ingroup Categorization \times Ingroup/Outgroup Ratings interaction was obtained, $F(1, 90) = 10.78$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .11$. Bias in evaluations was weaker

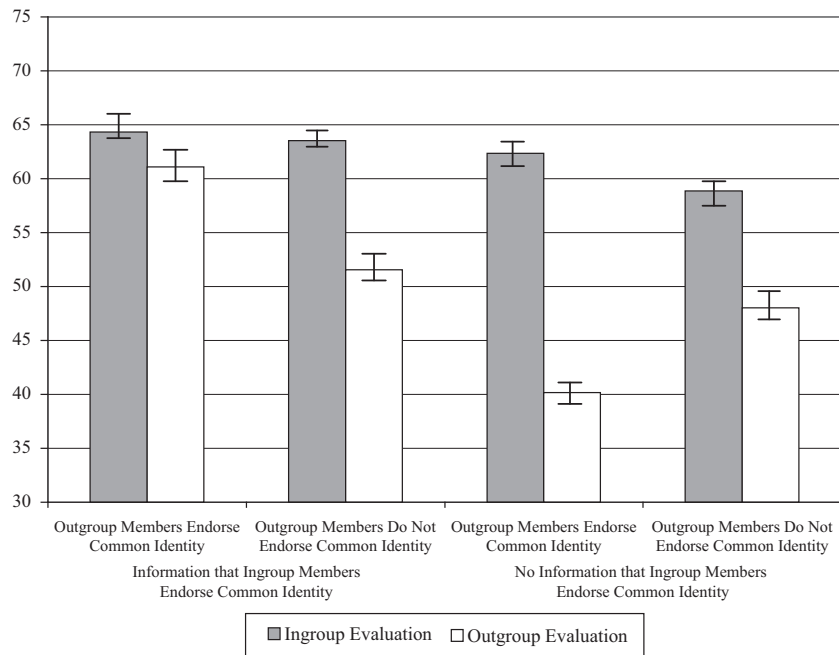


Figure 1 Study 1: The effects of learning that ingroup or outgroup members see students within the two schools within a superordinate identity (vs. no information) on ingroup and outgroup evaluations.

NOTE: Error bars represent the standard error of the mean.

when the participants learned that ingroup members endorsed a common identity ($M_s = 63.93$ for the ingroup and 56.33 for the outgroup), $F(1, 45) = 12.32$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .22$, than when they were not provided this information ($M_s = 60.61$ for the ingroup and 44.09 for the outgroup), $F(1, 47) = 74.59$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .61$.¹ Moreover, consistent with the prediction that information about recategorization by ingroup and outgroup members would differentially affect evaluation of the ingroup and outgroup, this analysis also revealed a three-way interaction, $F(1, 90) = 13.57$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .13$. This interaction is depicted in Figure 1.

To examine the specific predictions, simple interaction analyses were performed separately for the conditions in which ingroup members did or did not assert superordinate identity. For the conditions in which participants learned that ingroup members endorsed common identity, an Outgroup Categorization \times Ingroup/Outgroup Ratings interaction was obtained, $F(1, 44) = 4.56$, $p < .038$, $\eta^2 = .09$. When ingroup members asserted common group identity, there was, as expected, less evaluative intergroup bias when the outgroup members correspondingly endorsed superordinate identity than when this information was not included in the newspaper article. Specifically, when both ingroup and outgroup members asserted common identity, there

was not significant intergroup bias ($M_s = 64.34$ for the ingroup and 61.09 for the outgroup), $F(1, 23) = 1.77$, $p = .197$, $\eta^2 = .07$; however, when ingroup members asserted superordinate identity while the outgroup did not mention shared identity, ingroup members were evaluated significantly more favorably than were outgroup members ($M_s = 63.52$ for the ingroup and 51.57 for the outgroup), $F(1, 21) = 13.06$, $p < .002$, $\eta^2 = .38$.

Also as anticipated, for the conditions in which no information was provided about ingroup members endorsing a common identity, an Outgroup Categorization \times Ingroup/Outgroup Ratings interaction was found, $F(1, 46) = 9.79$, $p < .003$, $\eta^2 = .18$. When the newspaper article did not include information about the ingroup endorsing the common identity, intergroup bias was greater when members of the outgroup expressed a superordinate identity ($M_s = 62.35$ for the ingroup and 40.16 for the outgroup), $F(1, 25) = 76.93$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .76$, than when outgroup information was not included ($M_s = 58.86$ for the ingroup and 48.01 for the outgroup), $F(1, 21) = 17.89$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .46$ (see Figure 1). These results, overall, conform to our predictions.

We performed additional simple effects analyses to test more directly the hypothesized effects of identity threat. Consistent with the hypothesized effect of identity threat, outgroup evaluations were significantly less

favorable when the outgroup endorsed common identity while the ingroup did not ($M = 40.16$) than when both groups claimed common identity ($M = 48.01$), $F(1, 90) = 4.65$, $p < .036$, $\eta^2 = .09$, and when neither group expressed common identity ($M = 61.09$), $F(1, 90) = 34.61$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .42$.

Willingness to engage in contact. The 2 (ingroup categorization) \times 2 (outgroup categorization) ANOVA for willingness for contact demonstrated a main effect for ingroup categorization, $F(1, 90) = 184.38$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .67$. Participants had greater willingness to engage in positive intergroup contact when they read that members of the ingroup categorized the groups than when they did not receive such information ($M_s = 5.48$ vs. 3.59). There was no main effect for outgroup categorization, $p = .099$, $\eta^2 = .03$. The Ingroup Categorization \times Outgroup Categorization interaction was also obtained, $F(1, 90) = 34.23$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .28$.

In support of our predictions, simple effects analysis revealed that when participants read that ingroup members asserted common identity, they had greater willingness to engage in contact with the outgroup when they learned that outgroup members also categorized the groups than when there was no such information presented about the outgroup ($M_s = 5.74$ vs. 5.18), $F(1, 90) = 8.58$, $p < .005$, $\eta^2 = .14$. When there was no information about the ingroup categorizing the groups, participants had less willingness to engage in contact with the outgroup when outgroup members asserted superordinate identity than when this information was not presented ($M_s = 3.13$ vs. 4.14), $F(1, 90) = 28.19$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .38$. Also, as with evaluations of the outgroup, participants were less willing to engage in contact when there was no information about the ingroup endorsing common identity while the outgroup endorsed a common identity than when both groups endorsed a common identity ($M_s = 3.13$ vs. 5.74), $F(1, 90) = 201.32$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .81$.

Discussion

Theoretically, Study 1 extends previous research on the common ingroup identity model by demonstrating the important impact on group relations of perceptions of how *others* think about one's group. In general, the results are consistent with our hypotheses that the influence of learning that others categorize one's own group and another group within a superordinate identity is critically moderated by whether these others are ingroup or outgroup members. Specifically, consistent with previous research on social influences in prejudice that have demonstrated the impact of learning of other ingroup members' attitudes toward another group on participants' expressions of prejudice (e.g., Blanchard

et al., 1994), we found that learning that other ingroup members were inclusive in their representations of the groups produced stronger common group representations among participants, lower levels of evaluative intergroup bias, and greater willingness to engage in contact with members of the other group in the future.

In addition, as predicted, in Study 1 we found that the effects of learning that outgroup members categorized the groups within a superordinate identity were not as straightforward as those of learning that ingroup members saw the groups within a superordinate identity. There was no main effect for the outgroup categorization independent variable; instead, the impact of outgroup categorization depended on whether ingroup members also categorized the groups within a superordinate identity. In particular, when participants read that ingroup members categorized the groups inclusively as students, they exhibited less intergroup bias and were more supportive of positive contact when outgroup members also endorsed common identity than when there was no such information presented about the outgroup. In contrast, when there was no information about the ingroup categorizing the groups, participants had *greater* intergroup bias and were less interested in contact when they learned that outgroup members expressed common identity than when this information was not presented.

These findings are consistent with other research on identity threat. In particular, groups are generally suspicious of the motives of other groups (Jetten et al., 2002) and protective of the integrity of their groups' boundaries (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In addition, recategorization in terms of larger, more inclusive groups is particularly likely to arouse needs for differentiation that are better satisfied by identification with distinctive smaller groups (Brewer, 1991). Consequently, emphasizing ingroup-outgroup similarity, overlapping boundaries between the groups (Jetten, Spears, & Postmes, 2004), or a shared identity between the groups (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000) can exacerbate intergroup bias by arousing motives for differentiation and threats to one's collective identity. In Study 1, the statements about shared identity by outgroup members in the absence of reciprocal statements by ingroup members may be particularly threatening to group identity because common categorization implies similarity that challenges the positive distinctiveness of one's group and redefines intergroup boundaries.

Our results further show that when ingroup members categorized the groups inclusively as students, learning that outgroup members saw the groups within a common identity did not produce the negative effects associated with identity threat. Instead, perhaps because the orientations are perceived as reciprocal and cooperative (Brown & Hewstone, 2005), when ingroup members expressed common identity, participants

responded significantly more *positively* when they learned that outgroup members also saw the groups within a common identity than when they did not receive this information. Thus, the present work extends research on the common ingroup identity model by demonstrating that the way in which the ingroup conceives of their relations to other groups critically determines reactions to the expressions of identity by outgroup members.

The measurement of identity threat, as conceptualized within social identity theory, has proven difficult to assess directly through self-reports (Hutchison, Jetten, Christian, & Haycraft, 2006; Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005). Instead, a common strategy for examining this process has been to examine factors, such as relative group status (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005), hypothesized to affect identity threat. To examine the hypothesized role of identity threat in reactions to expressions of shared identity by outgroup members, Study 2 systematically varied whether the ingroup was portrayed as higher or lower in status than the outgroup.

STUDY 2

As outlined earlier, social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) posits that people derive their personal sense of worth and esteem from their groups, and they are thus fundamentally motivated to promote the status of their group relative to other groups. This basic premise of the theory suggests that the motivations of high-status groups and low-status groups are different. As González and Brown (2006) have proposed, members of high-status groups are motivated to *protect* their collective identity, whereas members of low-status groups are motivated to *enhance* the collective identity of their group. Specifically, González and Brown argued that because members of high-status groups are motivated to maintain positive intergroup distinctiveness, “they try to *evade* association with low status groups, or they resist recategorization, particularly if group boundaries seem permeable . . . producing greater ingroup bias” (p. 756). In contrast, for members of low-status groups, “recategorization may evoke *identity enhancement motives* (social mobility). . . . These individuals may embrace a common group identity, because sharing an identity with high status group members enhances their collective self-esteem” (p. 756; see also Ellemers, 1993). Study 2 pursued the implications of González and Brown’s argument in the context of learning that members of one’s ingroup or an outgroup categorized the groups within a superordinate identity. However,

whereas González and Brown focused on the role of personal representations of the groups, our research investigated the effects of other people’s representations.

Study 2 employed a paradigm similar to that of Study 1. High school students learned through a newspaper article that students from their own school (the ingroup) or from another local school (an outgroup) viewed students from the two schools within a superordinate identity—they were all “students.” Thus, in this study we examined whether one group or the other asserted common identity, and not conditions in which neither group or both groups endorsed common identity. The relative status of the two schools was also varied by providing information about the prestige and resources of the schools. The participants’ school was described as higher or as lower in status than the other school. The same measures of group evaluations and willingness to engage in contact between the groups that were used in Study 1 were incorporated into Study 2.

Study 2 tested three predictions. First, based on the results of Study 1 as well as on previous research concerning social influence and intergroup orientations (Blanchard et al., 1994; Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 1985; Stangor et al., 2001a, 2001b), we predicted that participants would have more positive orientations toward the outgroup when ingroup members categorized the groups within a superordinate identity than when outgroup members did. Thus, we anticipated a Source of Categorization (ingroup or outgroup) \times Ingroup/Outgroup Ratings interaction for evaluations and a main effect for source of categorization for willingness for contact.

Second, on the basis of the logic and findings of González and Brown (2006), we hypothesized that responses to common categorization would be more positive (i.e., lower levels of intergroup evaluative bias and greater willingness for contact) when the outgroup was higher in status than the ingroup (because this would enhance status) than when the outgroup was lower in status (because this would diminish status). A Group Status \times Ingroup/Outgroup Ratings interaction for evaluations and a main effect for group status for willingness for contact would offer support for this prediction.

Third, we predicted that the threat of claimed common identity by outgroup members, in particular, would be stronger when the outgroup was lower in status. This stronger effect in response to expressions of common identity by outgroup than ingroup members as a function of group status would be represented by a Source of Categorization \times Group Status \times Ingroup/Outgroup Ratings interaction for evaluations and a Source of Categorization \times Group Status interaction for willingness for contact.

Method

Participants and design. Ninety-one high school students (44 female and 47 male; M age = 16.04, SD = 1.19) participated in the present study as a voluntary exercise as part of their psychology classes. Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (source of superordinate categorization: ingroup members categorize outgroup members within a superordinate category vs. outgroup members categorize ingroup members within a superordinate category) \times 2 (group status: outgroup higher status than the ingroup vs. outgroup lower status than the ingroup) experimental design.

Procedure. Similar to Study 1, participants learned that the study focused on the opinions that high school students from different schools had of their teachers. Participants individually read a newspaper article that referred to a study conducted by the university and the Spanish Ministry of Education about this topic.

The manipulation of source of categorization, ingroup or outgroup, was similar to that used in Study 1. The newspaper article, which described the opinions of students at different schools toward their teachers, reported that students from the participants' own school (ingroup categorizes condition) or from another school in the area (outgroup categorizes condition) stated that "students at both schools belong to the same group: All of them are students." No mention was made of specific responses by students at the other school.

The main difference from Study 1 was that the newspaper article began by providing descriptions of the two schools in which the interviews occurred. Specifically, the article presented information about characteristics of each high school (e.g., the quality of their teachers, professional future as students at the university) to make salient that the status of the ingroup was higher or lower than that of the outgroup. The article reported that the Spanish Ministry of Education "recognized that the [ingroup or outgroup] high school has a better library, better athletic and laboratory facilities... better teachers, etc." than the other school. The article further indicated that these qualities of the school are important because they result in better future employment and educational opportunities for students.

Study 2 included the same measures used in Study 1: perceived credibility of the newspaper article (Cronbach's α = .82), perceived status differences between the groups (Cronbach's α = .84), cognitive representations of the groups, outgroup and ingroup evaluations (Cronbach's α s = .79 and .74, respectively), and willingness for contact with the outgroup (Cronbach's α = .81).

Results

The preliminary analyses in Study 2 again involved ratings of the credibility of the newspaper article and the perceived status of the outgroup. In this study, however, perceived status was a check on the status manipulation and thus was expected to vary as a function of that independent variable. A 2 (source of categorization: ingroup vs. outgroup members) \times 2 (group status: outgroup has higher status than the ingroup vs. outgroup has lower status than the ingroup) ANOVA produced no significant effects (grand M = 3.56, ps > .15) for the credibility of the article. Participants saw the newspaper article as comparably credible across conditions.

The manipulation of perceived status was successful: The 2 \times 2 ANOVA on the perceived status of the outgroup demonstrated only the expected main effect for status, $F(1, 87) = 25.03$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .22$. As intended, the outgroup was perceived to be higher in status in the condition stating the outgroup has higher status than in the condition stating the outgroup has lower status (M s = 3.88 vs. 2.77).

Analogous to Study 1, we also analyzed the dichotomous measure of group representation (one group vs. other representations) as a function of our manipulations (group status and source of categorization). The only significant effect was for source of categorization, $\chi^2(1, N = 91) = 87.07$, $p < .001$. All 42 participants in the conditions in which ingroup members portrayed the groups with a superordinate identity reported one-group representations. In contrast, 48 of the 49 who read that members of the other group were the source of that statement did not report one-group representations. When participants learned that outgroup members categorized the groups within a superordinate category, 41 (83.6%) chose a two-group representation, 7 (14.3%) chose a separate-individuals representation, and 1 (2.0%) chose a one-group representation.

Evaluations of ingroup and outgroup members. A 2 (source of categorization) \times 2 (group status) \times 2 (ingroup/outgroup ratings) mixed-model ANOVA was performed on group evaluations. The means for outgroup and ingroup evaluations for each of the four cells in the Group Categorization \times Group Status design are presented in Table 1.

Overall, participants evaluated the ingroup more favorably than the outgroup (M s = 60.77 vs. 51.91), $F(1, 87) = 29.95$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .26$. A Source of Categorization \times Ingroup/Outgroup Ratings interaction was also found, $F(1, 87) = 4.73$, $p < .032$, $\eta^2 = .05$. As in Study 1, there was generally less intergroup bias when the ingroup asserted common identity (M s = 61.38 for

TABLE 1: Study 2: The Effects of Learning That Ingroup or Outgroup Members See Students Within the Two Schools Within a Superordinate Category and Group Status on Outgroup Evaluations, Ingroup Evaluations, and Willingness to Engage in Contact

	Outgroup Evaluations		Ingroup Evaluations		Willingness for Contact	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Superordinate Category × Ingroup						
Ingroup higher status than outgroup	49.72	13.08	62.48	9.44	4.48	0.79
Ingroup lower status than outgroup	62.66	12.85	60.12	16.97	5.60	0.51
Superordinate Category × Outgroup						
Ingroup higher status than outgroup	46.86	11.58	65.95	12.40	3.18	1.24
Ingroup lower status than outgroup	49.15	11.85	55.86	10.02	4.79	0.71

the ingroup and 54.16 for the outgroup), $F(1, 41) = 5.64, p < .022, \eta^2 = .12$, than when the outgroup did ($M_s = 59.75$ for the ingroup and 48.18 for the outgroup), $F(1, 48) = 39.74, p < .001, \eta^2 = .45$. Moreover, conceptually replicating the key finding from Study 1, evaluations of the outgroup were significantly less favorable when the assertion of common identity was attributed to outgroup than to ingroup members ($M_s = 48.18$ vs. 54.16), $F(1, 87) = 8.66, p < .004, \eta^2 = .09$.

In addition, this analysis yielded a Group Status × Ingroup/Outgroup Ratings interaction, $F(1, 87) = 17.54, p < .001, \eta^2 = .17$. In accord with predictions based on group enhancement or protection, simple effects tests showed no significant intergroup evaluative bias when the ingroup was lower in status than the outgroup ($M_s = 57.41$ for the ingroup and 54.07 for the outgroup), $F(1, 43) = 2.18, p = .147, \eta^2 = .05$. There was, however, significant bias when the ingroup was higher in status than the outgroup ($M_s = 63.41$ for the ingroup and 48.01 for the outgroup), $F(1, 46) = 45.40, p < .001, \eta^2 = .50$. The three-way Group Status × Source of Categorization × Ingroup/Outgroup Ratings interaction did not approach significance ($F < 1, \eta^2 = .01$).

Willingness to engage in contact. The Group Status × Source of Categorization analysis of participants' willingness to engage in contact demonstrated the predicted main effect for source of categorization, $F(1, 87) = 33.01, p < .001, \eta^2 = .28$, and a main effect for group status, $F(1, 87) = 54.56, p < .001, \eta^2 = .39$, but not a significant Source of Categorization × Group Status interaction, $p = .18, \eta^2 = .02$. Students displayed greater willingness for contact when ingroup members categorized the groups within the superordinate identity of students than when outgroup members did ($M_s = 5.04$ vs. 3.99). Also, they were less willing to engage in contact when the ingroup was higher in status rather than lower in status ($M_s = 3.84$ vs. 5.20).

Discussion

Study 2 replicated key findings from Study 1, affirming the role of ingroup social influence in intergroup

orientations even when group status was manipulated. Specifically, Study 2 revealed that learning that ingroup members asserted common group identity, compared to outgroup members, produced more inclusive personal representations of the groups, lower levels of evaluative intergroup bias, and greater willingness for future contact with the outgroup. These results add empirically to the evidence of the importance of common identity for reducing bias between groups (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000).

The results in Study 2 for our manipulation of relative group status also yielded results conforming to the theoretical rationale of the roles of status enhancement and status protection outlined by González and Brown (2006). Supportive of previous research (Bettencourt, Charlton, Dorr, & Hume, 2001), groups showed greater bias in evaluations and less interest in intergroup contact when their group was higher, rather than lower, in status relative to the other group. However, inconsistent with our prediction that responses to outgroup members claiming common identity would be particularly threatening when the outgroup was lower in status, we did not obtain evidence of statistical interactions involving source of categorization and group status for either group evaluations or willingness for future contact.

Although our manipulation of group status was strong enough to replicate the general effects of status on intergroup bias (see Bettencourt et al., 2001), it is likely that the nature of our intergroup distinction, different schools in the same district, was not sufficiently potent to arouse the intensity or type of identity threat that could moderate differences in reactions to outgroup or ingroup members claiming common identity. There is little direct conflict or even competition between high schools in Madrid. Moreover, our stimuli, which avoided specific mention of the name of the other school, limited even a direct sense of school rivalry. Thus, future work might further explore the potential moderating role of group status in identity threat in more consequential intergroup contexts in which group identities are more meaningful or group relations are more conflictual.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Whereas previous research on the common ingroup identity model has focused on the role of *personally* experiencing a sense of common identity with others, the present set of studies reveals the importance of considering the role of *other people* in identifying common group identity between members of different groups. Previous work in the study of prejudice (see Crandall & Stangor, 2005) has demonstrated how exposure to consensus information about others' attitudes (Stangor et al., 2001a, 2001b; Wittenbrink & Henly, 1996), direct modeling of attitudes (e.g., Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 1985), and observation of reactions to others' expressions of bias (Blanchard et al., 1994) all shape personal expressions of prejudice by making normative standards salient. We found that social influence can operate less directly by making common group representations normatively salient. Although beyond the scope of the present studies, to the extent that making group standards salient is the key mechanism of social influence, these effects would likely be even more pronounced when the endorsement of common categorization comes from ingroup members perceived to be more prototypical of the group (Abrams et al., 2003).

Moreover, the present research emphasizes the critical importance of the source of assertion of common group identity, that is, whether the endorsement originates from ingroup or outgroup members. When the same expressions of common identity are attributed to outgroup rather than ingroup members, people respond more negatively, unless members of one's own group also endorse the superordinate connection (Study 1). The effect for the source of categorization (ingroup or outgroup members) occurred even when relative group status was manipulated (Study 2).

Although our findings are generally consistent with the hypotheses that guided the current work, we note two issues for further exploration. One limitation of the present research is that even though our results associated with outgroup expressions of common identity are consistent with our theoretical rationale based on work on identity threat, we do not have direct evidence of the operation of identity threat processes in our studies. Because it is difficult to assess identity threat with self-reports, future research could use psychophysiological measures relating to identity threat (see Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005) to help illuminate more fully the underlying mechanisms involved. Alternatively, additional work could offer more evidence implicating the process of identity threat by varying levels of group identification experimentally (e.g., Pickett, Silver, & Brewer, 2002) or investigating the potential moderating effects of individual differences in level of group identification (e.g., Crisp et al., 2006).

For instance, Crisp et al. (2006) found that level of identification with the ingroup was a critical moderator of how people responded to a manipulation of common ingroup identity on members of two groups. In particular, in one condition Crisp et al. made the superordinate identity of students at different universities salient in terms of representing students at "traditional universities" as opposed to those at "free universities." They found that, compared to a baseline control condition, this intervention produced positive responses toward students at the other school for students weakly identified with their own school but generated greater differentiation and more negative reactions, presumably because of identity threat, among students strongly identified with their university.

Within the context of our paradigm, level of identification would be expected to moderate responses to manipulations of both ingroup categorization and outgroup categorization. Specifically, because people who are more highly identified with their group adhere more strongly to intragroup norms and see themselves more interchangeably with members of their group (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), the effects of learning that ingroup members categorize an outgroup within a superordinate identity would be expected to produce more positive reactions among those more highly identified with the ingroup. Moreover, to the extent that identity threat is an underlying process contributing to our previous results, we would expect that although participants would generally respond negatively to the information that outgroup members categorize the groups within a common identity, this negative effect would be greater among people with a stronger ingroup identity (see Crisp et al., 2006).

Recent research on group identification, however, also suggests the potential of insights gained from the present research for reducing intergroup bias and conflict. In particular, Stone and Crisp (2007) considered the additional role of level of identification with a superordinate group in intergroup relations. In a series of studies, these authors showed that higher levels of subgroup identification (e.g., British) related to more negative intergroup orientations, but higher levels of superordinate group identity (e.g., European) related to more positive intergroup relations. The threat-bias relationship is thus mitigated when superordinate group identification is high. With respect to our work, learning that fellow members endorse a superordinate group would have the effect of increasing superordinate group identification, which provides an additional route, beyond direct social influence, for improving orientations toward others who originally were seen only as outgroup members.

A second limitation of the present set of studies, which we acknowledged earlier, involves the nature of the

intergroup relations we investigated—high school affiliations without intense rivalries. Although this intergroup distinction was sufficient to elicit some degree of intergroup bias and avoidance in our studies, we caution that responses to expressions of common identity may be different in more consequential intergroup contexts. Our findings may not readily generalize to conditions of intense conflict or even less virulent forms of realistic group competition in which group identities are regarded as oppositional and common identity is thus difficult to conceive or achieve (Kelman, 1999). For instance, in the United States, the racial and ethnic identities among members of traditionally disadvantaged groups are sometimes seen as inconsistent with an “American” superordinate national identity (Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997). Under conditions of conflict or perceptions of oppositional identity, the effects of ingroup social influence for producing common group identity may be weaker, negative reactions to outgroup members asserting common identity may be stronger, and the effects of status may be mitigated because lower status groups, such as disadvantaged racial or ethnic groups, may be unwilling to give up a sense of unique identity and culture to assimilate into a single common identity (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kafati, 2000). Nevertheless, although we recognize the importance of testing the boundary conditions of our effects, particularly in these directions, we believe that the current findings revealing that people can respond negatively to overtures of common connection by outgroup members represent a useful conceptual and practical contribution to understanding the dynamics of intergroup relations.

Practically, our findings suggest the importance of considering the source of an introduction of common identity in attempts to reduce intergroup bias. Perceived endorsement of the superordinate identity by ingroup members may be critical for the success of such an intervention. In the present research, ingroup endorsement of a common identity, by itself or in combination with a similar sentiment expressed by the outgroup, produced inclusive representations and positive orientations toward the outgroup. In the absence of ingroup endorsement, because it can threaten a group’s positive distinctiveness, expressions of superordinate categorization by outgroup members appear to exacerbate ingroup bias. These findings also shed light on why attempts to introduce a common identity by a third party (e.g., the intervention of an experimenter not identified as part of the ingroup) can sometimes increase intergroup tensions and prejudice (e.g., Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). Thus, our finding of the importance of ingroup statements of commonality might inform interventions to help overcome negative reactions (e.g., suspiciousness; Jetten et al.,

2002) associated with identity threat in naturalistic settings, such as in corporate mergers (Jetten et al., 2002). In terms of the potential for increasing bias and intergroup conflict, future research might also incorporate conditions in which ingroup or outgroup members, or both, endorse a “different groups” representation. Because people are generally vigilant and wary in their interactions with outgroup members (Jetten et al., 2002), the impact of such a statement by an outgroup member may be as influential as the assertion of different group identities by an ingroup member.

Finally, the current research offers additional perspectives on how intergroup contact can effectively improve intergroup relations. In particular, our findings may shed light on previous research on the “extended contact” effect, which has revealed that simply learning that one’s friends are friends with outgroup members can significantly reduce bias toward the outgroup (Wright et al., 1997). Our results show that simply learning that other, unnamed members of the ingroup (who are not necessarily personal friends) consider members of the outgroup within a superordinate identity is sufficient to alter one’s evaluations of the outgroup. Because people share a strong sense of “we-ness” with friends (Aron et al., 2004), learning that ingroup members are friends with members of the outgroup may similarly operate by creating more inclusive conceptions of the groups. Although several mechanisms may underlie the extended contact effect, our findings suggest that observing friends having positive relations with outgroup members may occur through the internalization of this modeled behavior in the form of a personal sense of shared identity with outgroup members.

In conclusion, the present research reinforces the importance of group representations for intergroup relations (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) but also expands the scope of previous research on the common ingroup identity model by acknowledging the critical role of the source of expressions of common identity—whether the initiative is attributed to ingroup or outgroup members. This work thus emphasizes the critical value of understanding the *relational* aspect of intergroup relations, specifically, perceptions of how members of the outgroup view their connection to the ingroup—the other side of we.

NOTE

1. Following the recommendations of Keppel and Wickens (2004, p. 519), simple effect tests involving a within-subject factor was tested against an error term representing the interaction of that contrast with the “subject” random independent variable (i.e., the error term based on the subset of participants who were included in the statistical test); simple effects tests involving only between-subjects factors were tested using the pooled within-groups error term.

REFERENCES

- Abrams, D., Rutland, A., & Cameron, L. (2003). The development of subjective group dynamics: Children's judgments of normative and deviant in-group and out-group individuals. *Child Development, 74*, 1840-1856.
- Allport, G. W. (1979). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books. (Original work published 1954)
- Aron, A., McLaughlin-Volpe, T., Mashek, D., Lewandowski, G., Wright, S. C., & Aron, E. N. (2004). Including others in the self. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European review of social psychology* (Vol. 15, pp. 101-132). New York: Psychology Press.
- Bettencourt, B. A., Charlton, K., Dorr, N., & Hume, D. L. (2001). Status differences and in-group bias: A meta-analytic examination of the effects of status stability, status legitimacy, and group permeability. *Psychological Bulletin, 127*, 520-542.
- Blanchard, F. A., Crandall, C. S., Brigham, J. C., & Vaughn, L. A. (1994). Condemning and condoning racism: A social context approach to interracial settings. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 79*, 993-997.
- Brewer, M. B. (1991). On the social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 17*, 475-482.
- Brown, R., & Hewstone, M. (2005). An integrative theory of intergroup contact. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 37, pp. 255-343). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Brown, R. J., & Wade, G. (1987). Superordinate goals and intergroup behavior: The effect of role ambiguity and status on intergroup attitudes and task performance. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 17*, 131-142.
- Crandall, C. C., & Stangor, C. (2005). Conformity and prejudice. In J. F. Dovidio, P. Glick, & L. A. Rudman (Eds.), *On the nature of prejudice: 50 years after Allport* (pp. 295-309). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Crisp, R. J., Walsh, J., & Hewstone, M. (2006). Crossed categorization in common ingroup contexts. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 32*, 1204-1218.
- Deschamps, J. C., & Brown, R. (1983). Superordinate goals and intergroup conflict. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 22*, 189-195.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Kafati, G. (2000). Group identity and intergroup relations: The common in-group identity model. In S. R. Thye, E. J. Lawler, M. W. Macy, & H. A. Walker (Eds.), *Advances in group processes* (Vol. 17, pp. 1-34). Stamford, CT: JAI Press.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Validzic, A., Matoka, K., Johnson, B., & Frazier, S. (1997). Extending the benefits of re-categorization: Evaluations, self-disclosure and helping. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 33*, 401-420.
- Ellemers, N. (1993). The influence of socio-structural variables on identity management strategies. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European review of social psychology* (Vol. 4, pp. 27-57). Chichester, UK: Wiley.
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). *Reducing intergroup bias: The common ingroup identity model*. Philadelphia: Psychology Press.
- Gómez, A. (2002). If my group stereotype others, others stereotype my group . . . and we know. Concept, research lines and future perspectives of meta-stereotypes. *Revista de Psicología Social, 17*, 253-282.
- González, R., & Brown, R. (2006). Dual identities in intergroup contact: Group status and size moderate the generalization of positive attitude change. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 42*, 753-767.
- Greenberg, J., & Pyszczynski, T. (1985). The effects of an overheard ethnic slur on evaluations of the target: How to spread a social disease. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 21*, 61-72.
- Hornsey, M. J., & Hogg, M. A. (2000). Subgroup relations: A comparison of mutual intergroup differentiation and common ingroup identity models of prejudice reduction. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 26*, 242-256.
- Hutchison, P., Jetten, J., Christian, J., & Haycraft, E. (2006). Protecting threatened identity: Sticking with one's group by emphasizing ingroup heterogeneity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 32*, 1620-1632.
- Jetten, J., Duck, J., & Terry, D. J. (2002). Being attuned to intergroup differences in mergers: The role of aligned leaders for low-status groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*, 1194-1201.
- Jetten, J., Spears, R., & Manstead, A. S. R. (1997). Strength of identification and intergroup differentiation: The influence of group norms. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 27*, 603-609.
- Jetten, J., Spears, R., & Postmes, T. (2004). Intergroup distinctiveness and differentiation: A meta-analytic integration. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 86*, 862-879.
- Kelman, H. C. (1999). The interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian national identities: The role of the other in existential conflicts. *Journal of Social Issues, 55*, 581-600.
- Keppel, G., & Wickens, T. D. (2004). *Design and analysis: A researcher's handbook* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Kirkland, S. L., Greenberg, J., & Pyszczynski, T. (1987). Further evidence of the deleterious effects of overheard derogatory ethnic labels: Derogation beyond the target. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 2*, 216-227.
- Mackie, D. M., Worth, L. T., & Asuncion, A. G. (1990). The processing of persuasive in-group messages. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58*, 812-822.
- Méndez, E., Gómez, A., & Tropp, L. (2007). The role of prototypicality and meta-stereotypes for intergroup relations. *International Journal of Psychology and Psychological Therapy, 7*, 237-250.
- Mummendey, A., Klink, A., & Brown, R. (2001). Nationalism and patriotism: National identification and out-group rejection. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 40*, 159-171.
- Nier, J. A., Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Banker, B. S., & Ward, C. M. (2001). Changing interracial evaluations and behavior: The effects of a common group identity. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 4*, 299-316.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1958). Personality and sociocultural factors in intergroup attitudes: A cross-national comparison. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 2*, 29-42.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology, 49*, 65-85.
- Pickett, C. L., Silver, M. D., & Brewer, M. B. (2002). The impact of assimilation and differentiation needs on perceived group importance and judgments of ingroup size. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*, 546-558.
- Scheepers, D., & Ellemers, N. (2005). When the pressure is up: The assessment of threats to social identity in low and high status groups. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 41*, 192-200.
- Sechrist, G., & Stangor, C. (2001). Perceived consensus influences intergroup behavior and stereotype accessibility. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 80*, 645-654.
- Sherif, M., Harvey, O. J., White, B. J., Hood, W. R., & Sherif, C. W. (1961). *Intergroup cooperation and competition: The Robbers Cave experiment*. Norman, OK: University Book Exchange.
- Sidanius, J., Feshbach, S., Levin, S., & Pratto, F. (1997). The interface between ethnic and national attachment: Ethnic pluralism or ethnic dominance? *Public Opinion Quarterly, 61*, 102-133.
- Stangor, C., Sechrist, G. B., & Jost, J. T. (2001a). Changing racial beliefs by providing consensus information. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27*, 484-495.
- Stangor, C., Sechrist, G. B., & Jost, J. T. (2001b). Social influence and intergroup beliefs: The role of perceived social consensus. In J. P. Forgas & K. D. Williams (Eds.), *Social influence* (pp. 235-252). Philadelphia: Psychology Press.
- Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination: The Claremont Symposium on Applied Social Psychology* (pp. 23-45). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Stone, C. H., & Crisp, R. J. (2007). Superordinate and subgroup identification as predictors of intergroup evaluation in common ingroup contexts. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 10*, 493-513.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-48). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.
- Vorauer, J. D., Main, K. J., & O'Connell, G. B. (1998). How do individuals expect to be viewed by members of lower status groups? Content and implications of meta-stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75, 917-937.
- Wittenbrink, B., & Henly, J. R. (1996). Creating social reality: Informational social influence and the content of stereotypic beliefs. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 22, 598-610.
- Wright, S. C., Aron, A., McLaughlin-Volpe, T., & Ropp, S. A. (1997). The extended contact effect: Knowledge of cross-group friendships and prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, 73-90.

Received September 10, 2007

Revision accepted June 2, 2008