Advances in Intergroup Contact

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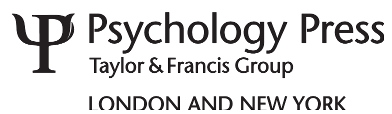

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Epilogue and future directions

Gordon Hodson, Miles Hewstone, and Hermann Swart

The notion that intergroup contact can reduce prejudice is an appealing prospect, one that enjoys considerable support in meta-analytic reviews of both intergroup contact generally (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and cross-group friendships specifically (Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011). As the contributions in the present volume attest, our understanding of the contact phenomenon has grown substantially in recent years. The field has moved beyond merely demonstrating that contact "works," to exploring how (i.e., the processes by which) it works, in addition to mapping its boundary conditions. More recently, research has moved on from the basic principles involved in direct, face-to-face contact, to propose that more indirect forms of contact can also be effective. During this interval the field has taken advantage of statistical procedures that clarify underlying processes to address our most pressing questions. As noted by Hodson and Hewstone (this volume), this valuable information comes at a critical time in human history, as we experience unprecedented intergroup contact and migration while we deplete our finite resources at an escalating rate, irrevocably changing the planet and biosphere in ways that undoubtedly will put increased pressure on social relations and increase friction between groups. In this final chapter we review the central themes uncovered in this volume, and assess how far the research and theorizing has come, before discussing present unknowns and future directions for research.

Advances in intergroup contact: key themes in this volume

Each of the contributions to this book sheds light on unique aspects of intergroup contact. Yet throughout the book several key themes repeatedly emerged, providing fresh insights into the topics considered "essential" by the world's leading contact researchers. Our reflections should not to be considered exhaustive or all-inclusive, but rather reflect highlights of emerging conceptualizing in the contact field.

Theme 1: Intergroup anxiety and threat

Intergroup anxiety, the psychological experience of concern, worry, and embarrassment at the prospect of interacting with an outgroup, was initially proposed by

Stephan and Stephan (1985) as a proximal predictor of prejudice, explaining the effects of group contact (among other factors). Over the years this work developed into the Integrated Threat Theory of Prejudice (e.g., Stephan & Stephan, 2000), with the latest version emphasizing that intergroup contact can impact perceived threats to the individual and the ingroup (both realistic/material and symbolic in nature), which in turn influence group-relevant responses (e.g., prejudice, discrimination) (Stephan, Renfro, & Davis, 2008). In short, whereas negative contact can increase intergroup anxiety and subsequently prejudice, positive contact can decrease tensions and improve intergroup attitudes.

With intergroup anxiety playing such a critical role in predicting prejudice generally, what have we learned about the relation between contact, on the one hand, and intergroup anxiety and threat perceptions, on the other? Early research on this question reached a consensus that contact generally reduced prejudice by reducing intergroup anxiety. For instance, increased and more positive contact was found to predict prejudice and increased perceived variability among outgroup members (making "them" seem less homogeneous), an effect explained by decreased intergroup anxiety (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Several contributors to this book, however, have emphasized the negative potential of contact on anxiety. Vorauer (this volume) concentrates on how intergroup contact between group representatives can be fraught with concerns over self-evaluation, most notably concerns that "they" think that "I" am prejudiced. As such, she argues, contact settings are rife with tension, meaning that problems often bubble just beneath the surface. Vorauer discusses our fears of being transparent to others, and how in particular the perception that the outgroup regards one's ingroup as prejudiced (called "meta-stereotypes") discourages intergroup contact from taking place. Indeed, experimental evidence confirms that this type of perception is among the most damaging to contact intentions (see MacInnis & Hodson, in press). As Voraeur demonstrates, concerns with being evaluated by an outgroup interaction partner are mentally draining. This generates not only an aversive state but can interfere with one's ability to notice that contact is actually running smoothly when it does. She concludes by pointing out the cyclical nature of contact relations: contact introduces evaluation concerns, particularly with regard to being seen as prejudiced, which in turn deter contact.

Others have highlighted related anxiety-relevant problems. For instance, West and Dovidio (this volume) have presented compelling evidence that, in interracial dyadic interactions over time, personal anxieties can impact contact relations, but so can the effect of one's partner's anxieties on one's own anxiety. Put simply, anxiety is contagious, which is exacerbated by the fact that humans are particularly adept at registering the awkwardness of interactions with representatives of other groups. Presumably such heightened sensitivities serve us well in our day-to-day lives, such as when navigating threatening contact with those intending to harm us personally, but can clearly lead to the deterioration of intergroup relations, even when interactants are relatively willing to engage in contact. Aboud and Spears Brown (this volume) echo similar concerns in their review of the contact literature among children. These authors note not only the strong potential for negative

contact (exacerbated through bullying, etc.), but that children are particularly attuned to the nonverbal behaviours and implicit (i.e., indirect, or unconscious) intergroup attitudes expressed by ingroup authority figures (e.g., parents, teachers). As such, intergroup anxieties can be passed not only from outgroup member to the self (as West and Dovidio, this volume, demonstrate), but also between ingroup members (at a critical stage of attitude development).

Despite these sizeable anxiety-relevant obstacles, other contributors have underscored the power of contact to reduce bias. Davies, Wright, Aron, and Comeau (this volume) dig deeply into the benefits of cross-group friendships in forging positive intergroup attitudes, as discussed in more detail shortly. They note how others (e.g., Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Tropp, 2008) have adapted their "fast friends procedure," a methodology for developing intimacy in lab-settings, to examine repeated exposure to an outgroup member over time. Such research has revealed that although interactants find contact settings anxiety-provoking and threatening, such feelings dissipate over the course of friendship development. The literature reviewed by Davies and colleagues speaks clearly to the power of cross-group friendship in overcoming anxieties that can otherwise be evoked in contact settings.

In this vein, Hodson, Costello, and MacInnis (this volume) review recent evidence demonstrating that although highly prejudiced persons (e.g., authoritarians) dislike and avoid outgroups (e.g., homosexuals), viewing them as threatening, both contact and cross-group friendships predict less prejudice toward the outgroup as a whole (e.g., homosexuals) through the process of rendering the outgroup less threatening and thus less anxiety-relevant (e.g., Hodson, Harry, & Mitchell, 2009). Contact clearly has the potential to reduce threat reactions to outgroups, even among those normally predisposed to outgroup negativity, particularly (but not only) when such contact is positive or framed in terms of friendships. Crisp and Turner (this volume) push the boundaries of basic contact effects even further. As their review illustrates, simply imagining positive contact with an outgroup is sufficient to reduce intergroup anxiety, which has a knock-on effect that lowers prejudice against the group in question. Overall, the contributions of this volume consider the fluid relation between anxiety and contact: although intergroup contact can be fraught with awkwardness and unease, frequently deterring further contact, interactions with outgroup members by-and-large reduce our anxieties and apprehensions about "the other." Put simply, positive intergroup contact encounters have the power to undo our suspicions and hesitancy about interacting with other groups.

Theme 2: Empathy and perspective-taking

Generally speaking, prejudice researchers are quite optimistic about the power of empathy and perspective-taking in the reduction of prejudice and related biases (see Batson et al., 1997, 2002; Finlay & Stephan, 2000; Galinksy & Moskowitz, 2000). That is, forming an emotional connection with an outgroup member, and/or experiencing the world from their point of view, goes a long way to boosting

positive attitudes toward the group as a whole. For instance, having heterosexual students experience some of the situational pressures and discrimination faced by homosexuals in a mental simulation significantly increased empathy for homosexuals and decreased homophobia (see Hodson, Choma, & Costello, 2009). To what extent, however, does *contact* with outgroups induce empathy and perspective-taking in a manner that can similarly improve intergroup attitudes?

Recently, researchers have afforded these processes a prominent position in their theoretical models. In the contact literature, empathy and perspective-taking are frequently considered precursors to intimacy and overlap with the outgroup other (e.g., Aberson & Haag, 2007; Kenworthy, Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2005; Tausch & Hewstone, 2010). Yet West and Dovidio (this volume) have highlighted an important caveat: our tendency to be emotionally attuned to contact partners, particularly with respect to anxiety, can lead to a feedback loop escalating anxiety between partners. But it is important to note that our emotional interconnectedness can also enhance our inclination to engage in empathy and perspective-taking with "others" in the social context. As noted by Hodson and colleagues (this volume), contact has the ability to elevate empathy even in the most unlikely of places, and among the most unlikely of persons. That is, in a prison context interracial contact has improved racial attitudes among socially dominant inmates (i.e., those endorsing hierarchies and dominance between groups), an effect largely explained by increased empathy for the outgroup. This suggests that socially dominant people are not merely "enjoying" the contact situation because of the exploitation and dominance potential it presents, but that contact actually builds intimacy (a point elaborated by Davies et al., this volume, and Lolliot et al., this volume).

Contact, therefore, can improve intergroup relations through enhancing empathy and perspective-taking (see Lolliot et al., this volume, and discussion of Theme 6 below). However, the prejudice field has cooled somewhat in its initial enthusiasm for outgroup empathy as a means to improve intergroup attitudes. Some have suggested that we are often too detached from outgroups, meaning that outgroup empathy can be difficult to induce (for review, see Cikara, Bruneau, & Saxe, 2011). There is evidence of such cooling among some of the contact researchers in this book. For instance, Aboud and Spears Brown (this volume) point out that, among young children, the ability to adopt the perspective of others and develop empathy are linked to (often limited) cognitive skills. As such, we cannot expect success in the early stages of cognitive development, and we must be ready and willing to train children to compensate for such deficits. The authors argue that empathy on its own is often insufficient. Rather, children require specific and concrete examples of discrimination faced by outgroups if contact settings are to set the stage for positive attitude development. In many ways, however, this message itself is encouraging – with appropriate incentive and training, contact settings can become powerful conduits for harnessing empathy at critical developmental stages when biases are forming. Encouragingly, concrete intergroup interaction skills can be effectively communicated by role models represented in children's literature (Cameron, Rutland, Brown, & Douch, 2006).

Perhaps some of strongest caution is expressed by Vorauer (this volume). Somewhat counter-intuitively, her research suggests that people may experience negative outcomes when engaging in attempts to empathize with an outgroup interaction partner. This problem, she argues, centers around our evaluative concerns in intergroup contexts, where we worry that outgroup members see us personally as prejudiced. As Vorauer notes, "One of the very first things that individuals are apt to see when they try to look through the eyes of an outgroup member who is an interaction partner is *themselves*" (italics in original). The result, she argues, is behavior disruption, which can interfere with the positive flow of the interaction, or allow interactants to misread the signals given off during interactions. Paradoxically, empathy and perspective-taking inducements can worsen intergroup attitudes among those initially lower in prejudice, shifting them from their normally positive orientation toward negativity as a direct result of evaluation concerns during the interaction. Such findings provide a clear warning that contact settings differentially impact interactants as a function of individual differences, meaning that broad-strokes approaches risk missing the nuances necessary for ensuring positive contact outcomes.

Theme 3: Contact norms

Social psychologists have long recognized the importance of group norms (e.g., Asch, 1956; Sherif, 1935), particularly in forming and sustaining prejudice (e.g., Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Pettigrew, 1958). It is not surprising, therefore, that contact researchers have become increasingly interested in contact norms, particularly with regard to having ingroup friends with outgroup friends, where norms of acceptance are both implicitly and explicitly communicated (Pettigrew, Christ, Wagner, & Stellmacher, 2007; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). As highly social creatures with the means to control and shape our peers, norms may prove to be *the* critical factor in explaining prejudice reduction as a function of contact.

Being so valuable and influential, norms can of course be impediments to contact and reduced prejudice when negative. Aboud and Spears Brown (this volume) note that children typically *believe* that their ingroup peers would disapprove of outgroup contact and friendships, despite the fact that outgroup friendships are often of high calibre. The authors suggest that much of this resistance represents *pluralistic ignorance*, whereby children assume that outgroup contact would be seen more negatively by ingroup members than is actually the case. This is consistent with evidence of pluralistic ignorance among adults, whereby adults generally assume that outgroups are disinterested in and distrust contact, which has the negative consequence of reducing the desire for contact in the social perceiver (Shelton & Richeson, 2005). Aboud and Spears Brown point out a worrying extension of this basic finding – children actually *prefer* ingroup members who visibly exclude the outgroup. It is not difficult to see how group-level and personal prejudice emerge from proclivities to engage with the ingroup over the outgroup, such that prejudice-prone persons, when left to their own devices, move in "tight circles"

(see Hodson, in press). Encouragingly, the authors point out that children turn to their authorities (e.g., parents, teachers) to support category-based preferences and behavior, meaning that positive role-modeling is not only possible but critical. Vorauer's (this volume) research echoes this message. As she demonstrates, explicitly dictated norms of anti-racism and color-blindness can backfire in adults (see also Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). Consistent with her focus on self-evaluation concerns, presentation of such norms evokes high demands on self-control, which can be disruptive to positive contact goals and behaviors.

Fortunately, in their critical chapter Davies and colleagues (this volume) bring to the fore the positive influence of *contact norms*. As the authors note, in keeping with Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), when we identify strongly with our ingroups we self-stereotype. As a consequence we come to see the self as relatively interchangeable with other ingroup members, resulting in the strong activation and influence of group-level norms on the group member. With intergroup contact making group identities salient, therefore, ingroup norms will become particularly powerful. Davies and colleagues stress how norms predict whether contact will occur or not, but also moderate (i.e., qualify) whether contact will generate positive outcomes. This latter point harkens back to Allport's (1954) emphasis on institutional support for positive contact, a point supported in the literature (e.g., Hodson, 2008). But Davies et al. also stress the important mediational role of norms in contact settings. That is, contact can *change* norms, which can in turn decrease prejudice. Intriguingly, the authors also argue that contact can change perceptions of outgroup norms too. This idea is consistent with the notion that contact can weaken pluralistic ignorance about the outgroup, an idea with exciting potential that clearly warrants further attention.

Finally, there is reason to believe that, although prejudiced people generally form tight networks of closely-related others who share their negative orientations toward the outgroup and/or intergroup contact (Altemeyer, 1994, 1996; Hodson, in press; Poteat & Spanierman, 2010; Poteat, Espelage, & Green, 2007), they can nonetheless exhibit decreased prejudice to the extent that they perceive that higher-level authorities encourage positive contact. As discussed by Hodson and colleagues (this volume), White prison inmates scoring high in social dominance orientation (and thus endorsing group hierarchies) nonetheless expressed more favorable attitudes toward Black inmates when perceiving the social milieu of the prison as pro-contact (see Hodson, 2008, Study 1). Such findings highlight the powerful influence of contact norms, even among prejudice-prone individuals, in high-conflict contexts. As these authors note, manipulation of such norms provides fertile ground for researchers wishing to alter perceived support for contact among one's ingroup and institutional authorities.

Theme 4: Cross-group friendships

Since Pettigrew's (1998) reformulation of the original Contact Hypothesis, the field has become particularly drawn to the power of cross-group friendships as a powerful conduit for maximizing contact effects on attitudes. As many scholars

have noted, friendship encapsulates many of the hallmarks of positive contact, with interactants often being of relatively equal status within the friendship, bearing similar friendship goals, and the relationship characterized by intimacy and trust. Friendships with outgroup members not only lower anxiety but improve intergroup attitudes, with lasting effects that include seeking out *additional* outgroup contact (e.g., Page-Gould et al., 2008). It is no surprise that the contributors to the present volume have drawn such sharp focus on both direct cross-group friendships (i.e., being friends with an outgroup member) and so-called indirect cross-group friendships or extended contact (i.e., having an ingroup friend with an outgroup friendship).

Davies and colleagues (this volume) make cross-group friendships a central focus of their chapter. Not only do friendships communicate positive norms about intergroup contact and friendship (see earlier discussion), but friendships bring about a sense of intimacy that is critical to positive intergroup relations. As the authors note, close contact of this nature brings about trust and self-disclosure, constructs that are currently emerging as important factors in ameliorating prejudice (e.g., Dhont & Van Hiel, 2011; Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns, 2009; Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2007). In perhaps their most critical and novel contribution, Davies and colleagues explore *self-expansion*, the notion that "others", including outgroup members, can become integral to one's sense of self. Their notion of "inclusion of other in the self" has proven critical in understanding the pull of intimate intergroup connections. At its core this position proposes that we view the self positively; when others become integrated into our sense of self we extend positivity toward not only that other person, but this effect generalizes to the outgroup as a whole. Such a notion might seem unlikely to lay people or those personally involved in intractable conflict, yet the research record bears support for this idea. It is also worth recalling that during some of the twentieth century's most appalling moments, such as the Holocaust, there were still instances of helping hands being extended to outgroup members (see Oliner & Oliner, 1988). The human potential for empathy and caring should not be underestimated, even in protracted conflict zones.

West and Dovidio (this volume) examine how intimate relationships develop in less intractable, more day-to-day contexts – namely the relationships between different-race university roommates. As the authors note, such contexts are fruitful for researchers, because roommates are largely randomly assigned, are of relatively equal status on campus, and are able to equally access most campus resources. As their review reveals, cross-group friendships are difficult to forge in these contexts, often hampered by concerns with not appearing prejudiced and avoiding the appearance of anxiety. Despite these efforts, a cross-race partner may accurately read the signals of high anxiety. Even when attempting not to appear prejudiced, therefore, our partners are often not convinced, sensing instead our anxieties. Clearly, intergroup friendships can sometimes pose difficulties. As noted by Aboud and Spears Brown (this volume), cross-group relationships are significantly less stable than ingroup relationships, despite being high in quality. But we see evidence of considerable promise. West and Dovidio note that people

who enter a relationship with an inclusive mindset (seeing similarities rather than differences between people) are better able to overcome any difficulties encountered in the course of the friendships, managing to sustain these intimate bridging relationships for longer. Such findings are encouraging, given the ease with which such inclusive mindsets can be manipulated (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; see also Costello & Hodson, 2010).

Particularly impressive are the findings that cross-group friendships can even be forged among highly prejudiced people and in extreme conflict settings. As reviewed by Hodson and colleagues (this volume), prejudice-prone persons exhibit significantly less outgroup bias as a linear function of the number of direct and indirect friendships with the outgroup. In keeping with Davies et al. (this volume), friendship operates on prejudice-prone persons by expanding the sense of self-other overlap (i.e., intimacy). Protracted conflict appears not to be a necessary barrier to positive intergroup relations and attitudes. Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger, and Niens (2006) have found that those with deep personal losses (i.e., deaths as the result of intergroup conflict) were particularly likely to benefit from cross-group friendships, resulting in less outgroup prejudice. Together such findings indicate that contact and friendship can work well, often better, among those most in need of contact's benefits and perhaps least expected to benefit (see also Hodson, 2011).

Theme 5: Differential group status

From the early days of contact research, theorists recognized the importance of group status, advocating that contact between interaction partners should ideally be founded on a relatively equal status basis (e.g., Allport, 1954). As lamented by several experts (Cook, 1979; Stephan, 2008), this condition is rarely met in reality, presumably explaining much of why contact can sometimes fail. Recently the focus on group status has largely concerned the differential strength of contact effects as a function of group status: belonging to the dominant and advantaged (majority) group or the disadvantaged (minority) group. Meta-analytic evidence reveals that contact improves intergroup attitudes more effectively among majority than minority groups (although it is effective in each), and that the optimal conditions facilitating contact (see Hodson & Hewstone, this volume) are more influential among members of majority than minority groups (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Recent research reveals another set of interesting findings: among the minority group, contact can improve attitudes toward the majority group, but counter-productively make the minority group less likely to enact social change (e.g., Dixon, Durrheim, Tredoux, Tropp, Clack, & Eaton, 2010). A better understanding of this paradox is needed to understand the effects of contact among minorities.

The authors in the present volume seek answers to a new set of status-relevant questions. Vorauer (this volume) notes that whether we consider the outgroup an important source of information in answering our self-evaluation concerns varies systematically as a function of group status. In particular she suggests that

low-status groups look to high-status groups as valid sources of information, but only when the structural features of the intergroup context indicate that the power differential is relatively legitimate (and generally stable). However, Vorauer suggests that majority groups may turn to minority groups (as victims) as sources of "morality," particularly if the former is concerned that its actions have harmed the latter. In fact, consistent with majorities (vs. minorities) being more influenced by contact, Vorauer demonstrates that majorities also hold meta-stereotypes (perceptions that the outgroup considers the ingroup prejudiced) that are particularly malleable and unstable. It may be no coincidence that both intergroup attitudes and meta-stereotypes among majority members are more affected by contact than is the case for minority members.

Future research can further explore the association between these variables to provide insights into mediating processes. For instance, is contact particularly effective among the dominant group *because* contact changes their meta-stereotypes? In support of this intuition, recent evidence suggests that meta-stereotypes may be more important in predicting contact outcomes than even personal attitudes toward the outgroup (Finchilescu, 2010; MacInnis & Hodson, in press). At present very little evidence directly links contact effects with meta-stereotyping, making this topic ripe for future research. In a recent investigation of post-Apartheid intergroup contact, Tredoux and Finchilescu (2010) found that meta-stereotypes mediated (i.e., explained) the effects between increased contact and decreased affective prejudice, but not between contact and measures of social distance. The authors issue a call for additional research on meta-stereotyping in contact settings, a point that resonates with us.

Saguy, Tropp, and Hawi (this volume) center their discussion directly on power differentials between groups in contact. In keeping with our psychological emphasis on contact, the authors argue that minorities and majorities face and interpret different realities in the contact setting, including differences in how the status quo is interpreted and reacted to. In line with contemporary approaches of intergroup relations (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), Saguy and colleagues argue that majority groups have a vested interest in maintaining their advantage over the minority group. In a novel twist for the contact literature, these researchers have explored the *content* of intergroup interactions. They find that, in general, majorities tend to minimize group differences and favor discussion of common identity and fate, in an effort to circumvent social change. In experimental tests, Saguy et al. (this volume) manipulated the stability present in the system, introducing factors that challenge the status quo. With this instability minorities bring forward the topic of their disadvantage and unfair treatment, attempting to effect social change. The advances proposed in this chapter are novel and informative because the actual content of intergroup interactions has historically been largely ignored by psychologists. Recognizing not only that contact differentially influences attitudes for high and low status groups, but that a contact setting will be approached, interpreted, and managed differentially by groups differing in power, again highlights the highly psychological nature of intergroup contact (Hodson & Hewstone, this volume).

Theme 6: Attitude generalization

One of the most important issues concerning intergroup contact deals with attitude generalization. Pettigrew (1998) specified three types of generalization of improved attitudes via contact: (a) from an outgroup individual to the outgroup as a whole; (b) from the contact group to an uninvolved group; and (c) across situations (e.g., from workplace to recreational setting). In their meta-analysis, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006, Table 2) found evidence supporting all three types of generalization, leaving little doubt that contact with an outgroup representative leads to a host of positive intergroup outcomes (for an in-depth review, see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011).

In this book, several authors have reached beyond whether generalization occurs to address *why* it occurs. Davies and colleagues (this volume) focus largely on generalization from one's contact partner to the outgroup as a collective. They provide compelling evidence that *intimacy* plays a key role. As discussed previously, these authors argue that contact heightens the sense of overlap between self and other, which draws in a host of related processes relevant to prejudice reduction, including increased trust and self-disclosure. In other words, we come to like the outgroup through a myriad of processes that also characterize intragroup relations, namely warmth and connectedness. The rationale is that objects associated with the self are viewed positively (Beggan, 1992), which is also the case with our ingroups (Smith & Henry, 1996). From the work of Davies and collaborators, we argue that associating the self with the outgroup engages similar processes that draw others into the sphere of self and imbue "the other" with the kind of positivity generally reserved for the ingroup.

Lolliot and colleagues (this volume), in contrast, tackle the type of generalization whereby contact with one group generalizes to positive attitudes toward an uninvolved outgroup, the so-called *secondary transfer effect* (Pettigrew, 2009; Tausch et al., 2010). Lolliot and colleagues consider the evidence for various processes involved in secondary transfer effects, including attitude generalization, deprovincialization, and empathy (see Pettigrew, 1997). With regard to deprovincialization there has been little research to date, and results have been mixed. Thus this chapter is especially useful, showing that contact with an outgroup makes one less inward focused and less ethnocentric. This, in turn, may make people more disposed to positive contact with and favorable evaluations toward uninvolved outgroups. For instance, experiencing increased contact with homosexuals might make a heterosexual man more favorable toward other minority groups, such as immigrants. Recent evidence suggests that contact does lead to deprovincialization (Verkuyten, Thijs, & Bekhuis, 2010). Needed at this point, we argue, are studies that control for dispositional levels of openness to experience, a construct with a negative effect on prejudice (Flynn, 2005; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008), even above and beyond contact (e.g., Jackson & Poulsen, 2005). At present this area of research looks very promising, particularly in light of findings that multicultural experiences generally generate greater creativity and openness (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008).

Lolliot and colleagues (this volume) propose a bold new direction for the role of empathy in contact settings. Specifically, the authors suggest that the empathy process might be critical in understanding why contact with one outgroup can generalize to attitudes toward another, unrelated outgroup. On the one hand they suggest that empathy can improve attitudes toward the contact group (as the above review suggests), where the empathy-to-attitude effect toward the first group generalizes (or extends to) the secondary outgroup (see Figure 4.2, this volume). Intriguingly, they also propose that empathy might play an even more central role, with contact boosting empathy toward the contact group, *which itself spreads to empathy toward the secondary group*, with positive knock-on effects regarding attitudes (see Figure 4.3, this volume). Put simply, outgroup empathy might promote positive attitudes that then generalize, or outgroup empathy might promote empathy toward other outgroups, which then promotes positive attitudes. These ideas are in the early stages, but they already provide rich theoretical ground for further elaborating the importance of empathy in contact settings.

Several other chapters in the present volume also touch on the issue of contact-based attitude generalization. For instance, Vorauer (this volume) reviews new evidence that those low in prejudice might not generalize from their immediate contact experience. Low-prejudice individuals are more likely to interact with an outgroup member, for example, but this experience may not generalize to the group as a whole. High-prejudice individuals, in contrast, apply what they learn from contact with an outgroup representative to the outgroup generally (of course, this would create a negative effect if the prior contact were negative). Vorauer interprets this finding as being consistent with low-prejudice individuals treating others as individuals rather than group members. We find these results very much in keeping with the considerable literature demonstrating that group categories must be salient for contact effects on attitudes to emerge (see, e.g., Van Oudenhoven, Groenewoud, & Hewstone, 1996; for a comprehensive review, see Brown & Hewstone, 2005). Group membership categories are presumably more salient for those with negative contact dispositions (e.g., authoritarians) than for more egalitarian individuals; this suggestion warrants further examination. If established, it may explain why contact works well among prejudice-prone individuals (see Hodson et al., this volume), placing generalization processes at the very heart of the contact phenomenon.

Theme 7: Individual differences

A theme that has remained largely absent from the discussion of contact effects until recently is the role of individual differences. Hodson and colleagues (this volume) review this literature and consider why individual differences have been relatively neglected as relevant to the contact question. Most importantly, these authors review recent advances in the field, demonstrating that early pessimism about contact among prejudiced persons may have been largely unwarranted. As their review demonstrates, increased and more positive contact among prejudice-prone persons is generally associated with less prejudicial expressions of bias.

In many cases contact effects are even stronger among prejudiced (than non-prejudiced) persons, suggesting that contact effects may have historically been underestimated by collapsing across individual differences (see Hodson et al., this volume). Regardless of whether contact is more effective among low- or high-prejudice persons, the central point is that contact is generally effective among those most in need of intervention. As noted by Hodson (2011, p. 155), "contact works well, if not best, among those higher on prejudice-prone individual-difference variables. Failure to find contact benefits among such individuals is the exception, not the norm." Contact, it appears, is not simply effective among those naturally predisposed toward friendly relations with the outgroup.

A remaining issue, however, concerns bringing prejudice-prone people to the contact setting. Left to their own devices, such people tend to avoid the outgroup. Crisp and Turner (this volume) present a novel idea that encourages mental simulations of contact. The authors do not envision imagined contact as a substitute for actual contact, but rather suggest that imagined contact is ideal for preparing the way, reducing anxiety in advance of face-to-face contact. As they report, imagined contact reduces prejudice through many of the same mechanisms as actual contact, including anxiety reduction and stereotyping. Importantly, imagined contact also boosts willingness for future contact. Although the potential for implementation among highly prejudiced persons, particularly in field settings, is presently untested, this method shows considerable promise for reducing prejudice among dispositionally contact-averse persons.

Aboud and Spears Brown (this volume) present evidence that contact with one's *ingroup* peers might be an effective prejudice-reduction strategy among children. As noted by the authors, by the age of approximately 4 years some children exhibit lower prejudice whereas others continue to develop prejudice, setting the early path for individual differences in prejudice expression. However, the authors observe that pairing highly-prejudiced children with low-prejudice peers for conversations about outgroups leads to a reduction of prejudice among the former. These findings are consistent with recent evidence that, among young adolescents, contact with ingroup members reduces outgroup prejudice through perceptions of positive ingroup norms about the outgroup, and through reducing anxiety (De Tezanos-Pinto, Bratt, & Brown, 2010).

Such strategies that encourage positive role models and contact norms seem better suited to dealing with contact among prejudiced persons than do explicit instructions to avoid being prejudiced. Both Vorauer (this volume) and West and Dovidio (this volume) have eloquently demonstrated that attempts to control biases from fear of evaluation by one's partner can backfire and increase bias. Vorauer's research suggests instead that perspective-taking is beneficial among highly-prejudiced people in contact settings (consistent with other recent findings, e.g., Hodson, Choma et al., 2009; see Hodson et al., this volume). West and Dovidio highlight another mechanism: those who tend, dispositionally, to see the similarities rather than differences between groups of people are better able to ensure that contact relations do not deteriorate over time. Combined with the observations of Aboud and Spears Brown (this volume), this suggests that

interventions emphasizing the importance of inclusivity in early developmental stages may play an important role in buffering negative effects of contact in adulthood.

Theme 8: Methodological and statistical innovations

One theme that will be especially useful to those interested in conducting research on intergroup contact concerns the methodological and statistical innovations reported in this volume. In terms of pure methodology, Davies and colleagues discuss the success that they and others (e.g., Page-Gould et al., 2008) have experienced with their so-called "Fast Friends Procedure." This technique allows researchers to examine the early stages of friendship formation immediately and in real time in the lab. This obviously facilitates experimental control over the situation, and allows observations to be collected immediately. In their particular adaptation, Page-Gould and colleagues successfully used the Fast Friends Procedure across repeated sessions, while collecting physiological measures of anxiety and arousal. This novel investigation provides some of the first insights into the negative effects of arousal that may be present early in friendship development that then deteriorate over repeated contact experiences. Such methodologies show considerable promise for export to classroom and work settings alike. This line of thinking is in keeping with Aboud and Spears Brown's (this volume) recommendation that children be taught practical skills and be given practice in navigating smooth intergroup interactions. Of particular value, these authors recommend that children's contact-relevant interventions be concrete and direct in order to enhance the likelihood of success in light of their developmental cognitive constraints. Combining these strategies, providing young children with "fast friends" opportunities and skill-based training and guidance at a young age represents a promising angle for future research.

In their chapter, West and Dovidio (this volume) provide new insights into intimate contact as it unfolds over time. Specifically, the authors employ relatively new methods of examining data from two interaction partners that consider the effects of each partner on the other (i.e., APIM; Actor-Partner Interdependence Model). The statistical procedures available for analyzing data, and the computing power to make them more powerful and more widely available, have truly revolutionized the contemporary contact field. Such methods not only provide the answers we seek but shape the questions we ask. Another methodological innovation discussed by West and Dovidio concerns the clever use of "delayed" electronic communication, such as what happens when audio tracks become delayed when discussants interact often across great distances. With our social lives becoming increasingly electronic and virtual, and with business and political leaders relying increasingly on new modes of communication (e.g., Skype), such methods are extremely relevant to communication and interaction in the "real world." But even more importantly, these methods allow researchers to examine key *contact* questions in the modern world. As the authors note, even slight and imperceptible delays in audio signals on video-based communications can convey the sense that

contact is not running smoothly, increasing anxiety in the self and perceived anxiety in one's partner (which feed off each other). These effects emerged even in studies where participants spoke the same mother tongue; one can easily imagine the detriment of degraded digital contact when one participant has to speak a non-preferred language or the participants have markedly different contact goals.

In discussing methodological advances in contact research, Christ and Wagner (this volume) provide an up-to-date synthesis of modern research methods available. Early in their discussion, they demonstrate how modern methodological approaches (e.g., self- and peer-rated contact); (see Hewstone, Judd, & Sharp, 2011) have clarified the validity of self-reported contact effects, an issue that has dogged the field for decades. Support for self-reported contact measures has recently been corroborated in an independent study (see Dhont, Van Hiel, De Bolle, & Roets, 2012). Christ and Wagner also discuss important methods to limit self-selection, and how to use an interactant's choice in engaging in contact to the researcher's advantage. Following this advice the field can appropriately answer questions about selection effects, instead of considering selection effects as inherent problems per se. They also review and promote the advantages of the latest longitudinal analyses of contact, which have been long overdue and are overwhelmingly supporting for contact theory. Consider, for example, recent findings by Swart, Hewstone, Christ, and Voci (2011). Across three time waves, the authors measured contact variables, multiple proposed mediators, and multiple contact outcome variables. Swart and colleagues establish the clearest evidence of the temporal layout of cross-group friendship effects, in a South African context. They found that intergroup contact at Time 1 predicts lower anxiety and increased empathy at Time 2, which predicts outcomes such as more positive outgroup attitudes, reduced negative action tendencies, and greater perceived outgroup variability at Time 3 (all controlling for influence of variables at earlier waves). Still needed at this point, we argue, are studies utilizing experimental manipulations and control at Time 1, with the effects studied at multiple time-points later (e.g., Van Laar, Levin, Sinclair, & Sidanius, 2005).

One of Christ and Wager's (this volume) most critical distinctions concerns the *level* of contact's effect. Whereas most social psychologists study contact effects at the level of the individual (e.g., friendship, anxiety), there are many group-level and even societal-level factors that can now be incorporated in our models and analyses. The need for such integration has been stressed most fervently by Thomas Pettigrew and his colleagues (e.g., Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). This particular point has become very salient and important to social psychologists after Forbes (2004) argued and demonstrated that, although contact and prejudice are negatively correlated at the level of the individual, at the group level these constructs can be positively correlated. Thus, although individuals experiencing more contact with an ethnic outgroup might come to positively evaluate those members, neighborhoods or nations with relatively higher (vs. lower) contact often exhibit more prejudice toward the outgroup in question. As noted by Christ and Wagner, this can occur because effects at different levels of an analysis can be relatively independent from one another, be they micro-level (personality,

physiology), meso-level (situational), or macro-level (nation-state). They advocate following Pettigrew's advice: analyze the effects of different levels *simultaneously*. Such methods were clearly beyond our reach decades ago but recent advances in software and statistical sophistication have opened up exciting new avenues for research. In this light, we completely agree with Pettigrew and Tropp's (2011, p. 212) sentiment that ". . . multi-level approaches are complex, but the 'real world' *is* complex" (emphasis in original). With statistical methods now available (see Christ & Wagner's summary), the onus truly is on the field to grasp this complexity with both hands. Of course, this will necessitate elaborations of our modelling of contact theory, but the field is clearly up to this challenge and cannot afford to bypass these exciting methodological advances.

Theme 9: Alternatives to direct contact

Actual or direct contact between group members has been the historical and empirical focus of contact researchers, and for good reason. The ultimate question, after all, concerns whether contact with members of other groups reduces prejudice. Our most comprehensive analyses have dealt at length with this particular question (see the meta-analysis by Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Even a casual perusal of this volume quickly reveals the degree to which researchers have made considerable gains in examining alternatives to direct contact of a general nature. Most notably, the contact literature has now more thoroughly researched the study of contact *and friendship*, including the effects of one's friend's friend, negating the need for personal contact altogether. Indeed, many of the contributors to this volume have explored both direct cross-group friendships (i.e., having an outgroup friend) and indirect or extended cross-group friendships (i.e., having an ingroup friend with an outgroup friend), delivering many promising results (Aboud & Spears Brown; Davies et al.; Hodson et al.; Lolliot et al.; but see challenges presented by West & Dovidio, all this volume). The benefits of cross-group friendships are now well-supported meta-analytically (Davies et al., 2011).

Reflecting modern social lives, several contributors have also focused on the effects of social media, literature, and television (e.g., Aboud & Spears Brown, this volume). According to the US Department of Labor, in 2010 Americans over the age of 15 averaged almost 3 hours of television per day, making it the top leisure activity (American Time Use Survey Summary, 2011). American TV-viewing tracker Nielsen puts this value closer to 5 hours per day, with Americans spending more time viewing TV than ever in their history (Gandossy, 2009). With social media and internet activity on the climb, multimedia will become more (not less) important in our social lives. The potential for prejudice reduction is clear, not only allowing consumers to learn about the outgroup and contemplate them in non-threatening ways, but to become accustomed to different mannerisms, customs, and beliefs (i.e., deprovincialization). A recent year-long field study utilizing radio programming in Rwanda confirmed this potential. Paluck (2009) exposed some communities to storylines concerning the day-to-day lives of two fictitious groups. Relative to a health-discussion control, those exposed to

intergroup relevant radio-plays increased endorsement of pro-social norms (e.g., empathy). Unfortunately the effects on their personal beliefs were less malleable.

In many ways, therefore, it appears that contact need not be direct and face-to-face, so long as the experience captures key principles of contact theory. Crisp and Turner (this volume) have pursued this idea and investigated the impact of encouraging participants simply to imagine positive contact, allowing participants to learn to relax and see outgroups in more individuated ways. Hodson and colleagues (this volume) also discuss how group contact-relevant mental simulations can effectively increase empathy and reduce prejudice, with participants using the opportunity to play out "interactions" and reactions in safe contexts. In many ways, these forms of indirect contact share features with extended contact (i.e., having an ingroup friend with an outgroup friend). In each, personal outgroup contact is not needed. Rather, the understanding that contact *can* unfold without tension or conflict is made evident. As recommended by Aboud and Spears Brown (this volume), building skills and knowledge are central for laying down tracks for positive intergroup contact. Finally, in describing how contact with one group generalizes positive attitudes toward a non-contact group, Lolliot and colleagues (this volume) similarly expose the psychological nature of contact, such that personal contact with a specific outgroup is not absolutely essential for contact-effects to operate.

Theme 10: Contact is no panacea

To be clear, this book reveals a consensus that contact is not a panacea for prejudice. Although this point has been made previously (e.g., Hewstone, 2003), some have suggested that contact researchers are overly optimistic, accusing contact researchers of considering contact under idealized contexts (e.g., Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). Replies to such concerns have been elaborated elsewhere (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011, Chapter 11) and do not represent our focus. Rather, we wish to reiterate the position of the field generally: intergroup contact can be a very high-tension activity, fraught with suspicion, mistrust, and anxiety, with tremendous potential to worsen intergroup relations. By no means do we suggest that contact is comfortable, simple, or easy to control. Like most of human psychology, intergroup contact represents an extremely complex experience. This volume highlights many of the factors that can derail positive contact effects.

For instance, Vorauer's chapter (this volume) focuses on how contact generates self-evaluative concerns, with a host of negative outcomes for contact interactions. As she illustrates, contact attempts can "backfire" given failures to notice that contact is actually going well or that the outgroup holds positive beliefs about one's ingroup. Attempts to take the perspective and/or empathize with the outgroup can divert a critical eye to the self, which increases tensions. Even attempts to suppress biases or follow norms of color-blindness can increase prejudice by invoking a prevention focus on errors (rather than an approach focus on success). West and Dovidio (this volume) clearly back up Vorauer's argument: contact is difficult, strained, and fragile, disrupted even by

relatively imperceptible factors associated with the contact partner or communication means. As noted by Hodson and colleagues (this volume), these types of concerns have troubled contact researchers right from the start, making them a cautious bunch, not idealistic cheerleaders.

For good reason, concerns persist. Aboud and Spears Brown (this volume) reflect considerably on how contact can easily be characterized as negative in nature (for a contrasting analysis, see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011, Chapter 12). In particular the authors report how children can notice intergroup bullying yet stand on the side-lines, failing to intervene. It is worth noting, however, that failing to intervene need not necessarily indicate support for exclusion but rather fear of personal exclusion and other social ramifications. Indeed, Aboud and Spears Brown offer promise even in the context of bullying: negative contact provides children with concrete and salient examples of the damaging effects of exclusion, which can itself subsequently form the basis of interventions. That is, because children are hyper-aware of social exclusion and sensitive to its effects, teaching them the mindset and skills to challenge negative contact can provide a solid foundation of prejudice interventions.

Pettigrew's "problems": how far has the field come?

In 1998, Pettigrew published a highly-cited and influential review of the contact literature. Without doubt, his paper did more than simply summarize the field – it exposed several "holes" in our understanding about contact. The contact field arguably approached these problems as challenges, consistent with the marked surge of interest in contact over the last decade (see Hodson & Hewstone, Figure 1.1, this volume). What advances have been made in addressing Pettigrew's Problems?

Causal sequence (does contact affect prejudice or vice-versa)?

Pettigrew's (1998) first problem concerned whether contact reduces prejudice or whether prejudiced people simply avoid contact. This is indeed an important question, one that speaks to the heart of the contact hypothesis. He proposed three specific solutions to this question. First, examine contact settings where interactants have little choice about whether they have contact with the outgroup. Meta-analytic analyses demonstrate reliable contact effects in no-choice conditions that are significantly stronger than under high-choice contexts (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, Table 2). As noted by Christ and Wagner (this volume), "If the causal sequence is from prejudice to intergroup contact, meaning that prejudiced individuals avoid intergroup contact, one would expect no correlation between intergroup contact and prejudice in no-choice situations where the contact is forced by the situation." Recent evidence of interracial contact in extreme no-choice settings – prisons – reveals contact-prejudice associations that are approximately twice the magnitude of the meta-analytic average (see Hodson, 2008), clearly inconsistent with simple selection bias as an explanation of contact effects.

Pettigrew's (1998) second proposed solution was to examine cross-sectional data using sophisticated procedures that control for the influence of one variable on the other. Pettigrew (1997) himself used such procedures to establish stronger (negative) links between cross-group friendships and prejudice than the reverse path. Similar procedures have also proven useful in clarifying causal links between parental prejudice and child prejudice (see Rodriguez-Garcia & Wagner, 2009). In their chapter, Christ and Wagner (this volume) outline a range of sophisticated techniques for controlling the influence of variables on each other, some that involve matching on relevant covariates. Overall, the results of these new methods continue to confirm contact theory.

Pettigrew's (1998) third proposed solution was clearly his preferred one: longitudinal research, measuring contact and attitudes at multiple time-points. If contact genuinely causes reductions in prejudice and not simply the reverse, then cross-lagged (and more sophisticated) analyses ought to be capable of assessing the validity of contact's proposed effects. This question has been assessed now multiple times, in multiple contexts, examining a variety of outgroup types. Overall, the majority of longitudinal studies support the prediction that, with appropriate statistical controls in place, Time 1 contact predicts more favorable outgroup attitudes at Time 2 (e.g., Brown, Eller, Leeds, & Stace, 2007; Dhont et al., 2012; Van Laar et al., 2005; Vezzali, Giovannini, & Capozza, 2010). Several additional studies support a bidirectional relationship (Anderssen, 2002; Binder et al., 2009; Eller & Abrams, 2003, 2004; Levin, Van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003; Swart et al., 2011). At present, a solid accumulation of evidence has accrued, testifying to the power of contact effects to reduce prejudice over time, consistent with the underlying causal direction central to contact theory. The frequently obtained bidirectional relation between contact and prejudice fits with a dynamic understanding of contact and attitudes. In the real world, positive contact fuels positive attitudes, which encourage more contact (and, unfortunately, negative contact fuels negative attitudes, which discourages additional contact). Future researchers are encouraged to integrate these longitudinal findings into process-change models that also incorporate personality and ideology (to examine potential change in these variables, but, more likely, the moderating influence of person-factors on contact effects over time).

Specification of independent variables

Pettigrew's (1998) second concern involved the often lamented "laundry list" of conditions accrued by early researchers, which grew so quickly as to, by some accounts, render contact an impractical intervention. In his words, "this growing list of limiting conditions threatens to remove all interest from the [contact] hypothesis" (p. 69). Whether or not this long list deterred researchers at some point, researchers were not put off indefinitely, returning to contact research with great fervour (see Hodson & Hewstone, Figure 1.1, this volume). Intriguingly, Pettigrew cleverly intuited that many of the supposed conditions thought to be essential precursors for prejudice reduction were in fact *mediators* of contact effects,

not moderators. With the benefit of hindsight we can judge the critical nature of his insight. For instance, whereas researchers may have once considered outgroup trust a precondition for contact effects to work, recent work corroborates trust as a mediating (or explaining) variable (e.g., Dhont & Van Hiel, 2011; Tam et al., 2009). That is, rather than trust being a precondition of contact, contact increases trust in the outgroup, which subsequently reduces prejudice. Finally, Pettigrew (1998, p. 70) also suggested that the field evidenced confusion over the specification of predictors because "writers often confuse *facilitating* with *essential* conditions" (italics in original). In a major advance for the field, the comprehensive meta-analysis by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) substantially addressed this issue: contact under the so-called "optimal" conditions resulted in significantly stronger contact-prejudice effects ($r = -.29$), but contact was effective even in contexts not characterized by optimal contact ($r = -.20$). Contact, therefore, is facilitated by factors such as institutional support and cooperation, but these conditions are not essential, testifying to the power inherent in the contact concept.

In summary, many of Pettigrew's (1998) initial concerns with independent variable specification have been largely resolved. We have a clearer sense of which variables are essential to the contact effect and which are mere facilitators. In addition, many variables previously conceptualized as moderators (i.e., variables that qualify effects) are now considered mediating variables that explain *why* contact works (rather than under which conditions). In addition, several novel and critical moderators emerged during this interval. For one, contact works best (and often only) when group membership salience is relatively high (for a review, see Brown & Hewstone, 2005). In other words, contact with an outgroup member produces positive attitudes toward the outgroup as a whole, but only when one's interaction partner is psychologically construed *as* a member of the outgroup (and not merely an individual). This again speaks to the importance of generalization – for positive effects to spread from one's interaction partner to the whole outgroup, their group membership must be evident and prominent. At its core, the interaction needs to be an *intergroup* interaction, not an interpersonal one, for contact effects to be realized. As elaborated below, contact effects are also moderated by group status, working best among members of the dominant majority group rather than the disadvantaged group (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005; for insights into dynamics, see Saguy and colleagues, this volume).

Lack of mediating (explaining) mechanisms

Over the long history of contact research scholars have demonstrated a host of benefits of contact, not only in terms of explicit attitudes toward the outgroup, but also a variety of other beneficial outcomes, including improvements in implicit (i.e., relatively inaccessible) attitudes, attitude strength, outgroup forgiveness, and generalization across individuals and groups (for a non-exhaustive summary, see Table 11.1). At this point in history there is little remaining doubt that intergroup contact has wide-ranging positive effects. But what about the essential psychological question – *why* does contact exert positive effects on intergroup attitudes?

Table 11.1 Examples of the broad range of beneficial outcomes achieved by direct, extended, and imagined contact

Citation	*Target group*	*Outcomes*						
		Explicit outgroup attitudes	*Attitude strength*	*Implicit associations*	*Physiological reactions to outgroup members*	*Outgroup trust*	*Outgroup forgiveness*	*Attitude generalization*
Direct contact (quantity)								
Blascovich et al. (2001), Experiment 3	African-Americans				✓			
Dhont et al. (2011), Studies 1–4	Immigrants	✓						
Page-Gould et al. (2010)	White- & African Americans				✓			
Tausch et al. (2010), Study 1	Greeks & Turks/Greek & Turkish Cypriots	✓						✓
Tausch et al. (2010), Study 2	Catholics & Protestants/racial minorities	✓						✓
Tausch et al. (2010), Study 4	Catholics & Protestants/racial minorities	✓						✓
Van Laar et al. (2005)	Latino & White-Asian, & African-American	✓						✓
Walker et al. (2008)	Blacks				✓			
Direct contact (quality)								
Mähönen et al. (2011)	Immigrants	✓		✓				
Tausch et al. (2007), Study 2	Catholics & Protestants	✓				✓		

Table 11.1 Continued

Citation	*Target group*	*Outcomes*						
		Explicit outgroup attitudes	*Attitude strength*	*Implicit associations*	*Physiological reactions to outgroup members*	*Outgroup trust*	*Outgroup forgiveness*	*Attitude generalization*
Direct contact (quantity and quality)								
Aberson & Haag (2007)	African-Americans	✓		✓				
Pettigrew (2009)	Foreigners/Muslims, Homeless, & homosexual men and women	✓						✓
Prestwich et al. (2008)	Asian	✓		✓				
Tam et al. (2006)	Elderly	✓		✓				
Direct contact (quantity × Quality Index)								
Cehajic et al. (2008)	Serbs					✓	✓	
Tam et al. (2007)	Catholics & Protestants	✓					✓	
Direct contact (cross-group friendships)								
Christ et al. (2010), Study 1	Foreigners	✓	✓					
Christ et al. (2010), Study 2	Catholics & Protestants		✓					
González et al. (2008)	Muslims	✓						
Hewstone et al. (2006)	Catholics & Protestants	✓				✓	✓	
Page-Gould et al. (2008)	Latinos & White-Americans	✓			✓			

Pettigrew (1997)	Western European outgroups/multiple non-Western European outgroups	✓						✓
Tausch et al. (2010), Study 3	White- & African-American/Hispanics, Vietnamese, & Indians	✓						✓
Turner et al. (2007b), Study 1	Asian	✓		✓				
Turner et al. (2007b), Study 4	Asian	✓				✓		
Vonofakou et al. (2007)	Homosexuals	✓	✓					
Extended contact								
Cameron & Rutland (2006)	Disabled	✓						
Cameron et al. (2007), Study 1	Disabled	✓						
Cameron et al. (2007), Study 2	Refugees	✓						
Christ et al. (2010), Study 2	Catholics & Protestants		✓					
Dhont et al. (2011), Study 2	immigrants	✓						
Eller et al. (2011)	British	✓						
Liebkind & McAlister (1999)	immigrants	✓						
Tausch et al. (2011)	Catholics & Protestants					✓		

Table 11.1 Continued

Citation	*Target group*	*Outcomes*						
		Explicit outgroup attitudes	*Attitude strength*	*Implicit associations*	*Physiological reactions to outgroup members*	*Outgroup trust*	*Outgroup forgiveness*	*Attitude generalization*
Imagined contact								
Harwood et al. (2011)	Immigrants							✓
Stathi et al. (2011)	British Muslims							✓
Turner & Crisp (2010), Study 1	Elderly			✓				
Turner & Crisp (2010), Study 2	Muslims			✓				
Turner et al. (2007a), Experiment 1	Elderly	✓						

Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell (2001); Cameron & Rutland (2006); Cameron, Rutland, & Brown (2007); Cehajic, Brown, & Castano (2008); Christ, Hewstone, Tausch, Wagner, Voci, Hughes, & Cairns (2010); Dhont, Roets, & Van Hiel (2011); Eller, Abrams, & Zimmermann (2011); González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe (2008); Harwood, Paolini, Joyce, Rubin, & Arroyo (2011); Liebkind & McAlister (1999); Mähönen, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Liebkind (2011); Moaz & McCauley (2011); Page-Gould, Mendes, & Major (2010); Tam, Hewstone, Cairns, Tausch, Maio, & Kenworthy (2007); Tam, Hewstone, Harwood Voci, & Kenworthy (2006); Tausch, Hewstone, Schmid, Hughes, & Cairns (2011); Turner & Crisp (2010); Vonofakou, Hewstone, & Voci (2007); Walker, Silvert, Hewstone, & Nobre (2008).

Note: Some of the outcomes provided here have also been shown to be mediators of the contact-prejudice relationship (e.g., Trust; see Dhont & Van Hiel, 2011; Moaz & McCauley, 2011).

At the time of writing, Pettigrew (1998) understandably lamented our lack of understanding concerning the reasons that contact reduces prejudice. Although intergroup anxiety was theoretically proposed (Stephan & Stephan, 1985), the field had not fully proposed and tested mediating mechanisms in the 1980s. The state of affairs has improved dramatically. In Table 11.2 we have compiled a lengthy, but non-exhaustive, list of recent contact studies considering direct, extended (indirect), and imagined contact effects as a function of their empirically supported mediating mechanisms. In particular, various types of contact have exerted beneficial effects on intergroup attitudes (and a variety of other outcome measures) through reducing intergroup anxiety, reducing perceptions of threat, and reducing concerns with rejection. But contact does not simply eliminate negative states and perceptions. Critically, contact augments positive emotions and encourages participants to reach out to others. In particular, contact effectively lowers prejudice by increasing empathy and perspective-taking, self-disclosure, and a sense of intimacy (overlap) with others. Contact also works because it encourages positive behaviors toward the outgroup, increases knowledge of the outgroup, promotes positive contact norms, and heightens trust in the outgroup. Other recent studies (not included in the table for simplicity) reveal that contact improves intergroup attitudes through the reduction of stereotyping (Gaunt, 2011; Vezzali & Giovannini, 2011). It is small wonder that contact has proven such a consistent and effective attenuator of negative outgroup biases. Intergroup contact operates on many levels, decreasing negativity while promoting positivity, and operating on emotional, cognitive, and behavioral factors. Few other means of reducing prejudice show such deep and diverse effects.

In answer to the question *how far have we come*, the answer is abundantly clear. The field now has solid evidence that contact benefits intergroup relations, with considerable insights into boundary conditions, and even more with regard to why contact works. Contact has clearly moved from being a mere "hypothesis" to being a full-fledged theory with clear predictions and implications (Hewstone, 2009; Hewstone & Swart, 2011).

Generalization of effects question

The fourth "problem" Pettigrew (1998) listed was not so much a problem as an unanswered question: how do contact-based attitude effects generalize across situations, from individual to group, and across groups? This issue remains somewhat unresolved, although researchers are making serious inroads (see Lolliot et al., this volume; Tausch et al., 2010). Considerable comfort can be drawn from the fact that generalization effects from contact are reliable (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, Table 2). What is clear, however, is that the field has focused overwhelmingly on generalization from the individual to the group as a whole, relatively neglecting generalization across situations or to other groups. Recent progress on generalization to other groups (or *secondary transfer*) is promising (e.g., Pettigrew, 2009; Tausch et al., 2010; see also Lolliot et al., this volume), but contact generalization across situations remains a pressing issue for the field.

Table 11.2 Examples of the most common positive and negative mediators of direct, extended, and imagined contact effects

Citation	*Target group*	*Outcome measure*	*Negative mediators reduced via contact*			*Positive mediators augmented via contact*							
			Intergroup anxiety	*Threat*	*Cognitions of rejection*	*Empathy*	*Self disclosure*	*Self–other overlap*	*Behavior change*	*Outgroup knowledge*	*In-/ outgroup positive contact norms*	*Outgroup trust*
					Direct contact (quantity)							
Dhont et al. (2011), Study 4	Immigrants	Modern racism	✓									
Dhont et al. (2011), Study 5	Immigrants	Modern racism	✓									
		Blatant racism	✓									
		Behavioral tendencies	✓									
Eller & Abrams (2004), Study 2	Mexicans	Outgroup evaluation								✓		
		Social distance								✓		
Hodson, Harry et al. (2009)	Homosexuals	Outgroup attitudes		✓				✓				
Hutchison & Rosenthal (2010), Study 1	Muslims	Outgroup attitudes	✓									
		Perceived outgroup variability	✓									
		Behavioral intentions	✓									

Islam & Hewstone (1993)	Hindus & Muslims	Outgroup attitudes	✓									
		Perceived variability	✓									
Moaz & McCauley (2011)	Palestinians	Support for violating general principles of human rights										✓
Pagotto et al. (2010)	Immigrants	Outgroup attitudes	✓			✓						
		Crime estimation	✓			✓						
Prestwich et al. (2008)	Asians	Implicit attitudes	✓									
Stephan & Stephan (1984)	Mexican-Americans	Outgroup attitudes								✓		
Direct contact (quality)												
Aberson & Gaffney (2008)	African-Americans	Implicit attitudes		✓								
		Explicit attitudes	✓									
Eller et al. (2011)	British	Outgroup evaluation	✓									
Harwood et al. (2005), Study 2	Elderly	Outgroup attitude	✓			✓						
		Perceived variability					✓					
Hodson, Harry et al. (2009)	Homosexuals	Outgroup attitudes		✓				✓				

Table 11.2 Continued

Citation	Target group	Outcome measure	Negative mediators reduced via contact			Positive mediators augmented via contact						
			Intergroup anxiety	*Threat*	*Cognitions of rejection*	*Empathy*	*Self disclosure*	*Self–other overlap*	*Behavior change*	*Outgroup knowledge*	*In-/outgroup positive contact norms*	*Outgroup trust*
Islam & Hewstone (1993)	Hindus & Muslims	Outgroup attitudes	✓									
		Perceived variability	✓									
Mähönen et al. (2011)	Immigrants	Explicit attitudes	✓									
		Implicit attitudes	✓									
Prestwich et al. (2008)	Asians	Explicit attitudes	✓									
Tausch et al. (2007), Study 1	Catholics & Protestants	Outgroup attitudes	✓	✓								
Tausch et al. (2007), Study 2	Catholics & Protestants	Outgroup trust	✓	✓								
		Perceived variability					✓					
Viki et al. (2006)	Police	Willingness to cooperate									✓	
Direct contact (quantity and quality)												
Aberson & Haag (2007)	African-Americans	Intergroup anxiety				✓						

Eller & Abrams (2004), Study 1	French nationals	Outgroup evaluation					✓	✓	
		Social distance					✓	✓	
Hodson (2008), Study 2	Black inmates	Ingroup bias		✓					
Tam et al. (2006)	Elderly	Interpersonal anxiety			✓				
		Interpersonal empathy			✓				
Direct contact (quantity × quality index)									
Stathi & Crisp (2010), Study 1	Foreigners and Britons	Outgroup evaluation				✓			
Tam et al. (2009), Study 1	Catholics & Protestants	Positive behavioral action tendencies							✓
		Negative behavioral action tendencies							✓
Tam et al. (2009), Study 2	Catholics & Protestants	Positive behavioral action tendencies							✓
Voci & Hewstone (2003)	Immigrants	Outgroup attitudes	✓						
		Subtle prejudice	✓						
		Outgroup attitudes	✓						

Table 11.2 Continued

Citation	*Target group*	*Outcome measure*	*Negative mediators reduced via contact*			*Positive mediators augmented via contact*						
			Intergroup anxiety	*Threat*	*Cognitions of rejection*	*Empathy*	*Self disclosure*	*Self–other overlap*	*Behavior change*	*Outgroup knowledge*	*In- / outgroup positive contact norms*	*Outgroup trust*
Direct contact (cross-group friendships)												
Barlow et al. (2009)	Australian Aborigines	Old-fashioned racism	✓									
		Issue avoidance	✓		✓							
		Active avoidance	✓		✓							
Binder et al. (2009)	European outgroups	Social distance	✓									
De Tezanos-Pinto et al. (2010)	Ethnic minorities	Outgroup attitudes	✓									
Eller & Abrams (2004), Study 2	Mexicans	Social distance							✓			
Feddes et al. (2009)	Turks & Germans	Outgroup evaluation									✓	
Hodson, Harry et al. (2009)	Homosexuals	Outgroup attitudes		✓				✓				
Swart et al. (2010),	White & Colored	Outgroup attitudes	✓			✓						

Study 2	South Africans	Action tendencies	✓	✓				
		Perceived variability	✓	✓				
Swart et al. (2011)	White South Africans	Perceived variability	✓					
		Outgroup attitudes		✓				
		Action tendencies		✓				
Turner et al. (2007b), Study 1	Asians	Outgroup attitudes	✓		✓			
Turner et al. (2007b), Study 2	Asians & White British	Outgroup attitudes	✓					
Direct contact (cross-group friendships)								
Turner et al. (2007), Study 4	Asians	Empathy			✓			
		Perceived importance of contact			✓			
		Intergroup trust			✓			
		Outgroup attitudes		✓				✓
Turner et al. (2008)	Asians	Outgroup attitudes				✓		
Extended contact								
Cameron et al. (2006)	Refugees	Outgroup attitudes				✓		
Cameron et al. (2011)	Indian-English	Explicit attitudes					✓	
De Tezanos-Pinto et al. (2010)	Ethnic minorities	Outgroup attitudes	✓				✓	

Table 11.2 Continued

Citation	*Target group*	*Outcome measure*	*Negative mediators reduced via contact*		*Positive mediators augmented via contact*							
			Intergroup anxiety	*Threat*	*Cognitions of rejection*	*Empathy*	*Self disclosure*	*Self–other overlap*	*Behavior change*	*Outgroup knowledge*	*In- / outgroup positive contact norms*	*Outgroup trust*
Dhont & Van Hiel (2011)	Immigrants	Outgroup attitudes		✓								✓
Gómez et al. (2011)	Spaniards & immigrants	Outgroup attitudes	✓					✓			✓	
Hodson, Harry et al. (2009)	Homosexuals	Outgroup attitudes		✓								
Hutchison & Rosenthal (2010), Study 2	Muslims	Outgroup attitudes	✓									
		Perceived outgroup variability	✓									
		Behavioral intensions	✓									
Extended contact												
Mazziotta et al. (2011), Experiment 1 & 2	Chinese	Outgroup attitudes	✓									
		Willingness to engage in intergroup contact	✓									
Paolini et al. (2004), Study 1	Catholics & Protestants	Prejudice	✓				✓					
		Perceived variability	✓									

Tam et al. (2009), Study 2	Catholics & Protestants	Positive behavioral action tendencies					✓
Turner et al. (2007b), Study 2	Asians & White British	Outgroup attitudes	✓	✓			
Turner et al. (2007b), Study 3	Asians	Outgroup attitudes	✓	✓			
Turner et al. (2008)	Asians	Outgroup attitudes	✓		✓	✓	
Imagined contact							
Husnu & Crisp (2010), Experiment 2	Muslims	Outgroup attitudes	✓				
Turner et al. (2007a), Experiment 3	Homosexuals	Outgroup attitudes	✓				
West et al. (2011), Experiments 3 & 4	People with schizophrenia	Outgroup attitudes	✓				

Barlow, Louis, & Hewstone (2009); Binder, Zagefka, Brown, Funke, Kessler, Mummendey, Maquil, Demoulin, & Leyens (2009); Cameron, Rutland, Brouwn, & Douch (2006); Cameron, Rutland, Hossain, & Petley (2011); De Tezanos-Pinto, Bratt, & Brown (2010); Dhont, Roets, & Van Hiel (2011); Eller, Abrams, & Zimmerman (2011); Feddes, Noack, & Rutland (2009); Gómez, Tropp, & Fernández (2011); Harwood, Hewstone, Paolini, & Voci (2005); Hodson, Choma & Costello (2009); Hodson, Harry, & Mitchell (2009); Hutchison & Rosenthal (2010); Mahonen, Jsinskaja-Lahti, & Liebkind (2011); Mazziotta, Mummendey, & Wright (2011); Pagotto, Voci, & Maculan (2010); Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci (2004); Prestwich, Kenworthy, Wilson, & Kwan-Tat (2008); Swart, Hewstone, Christ, & Voci (2010); Swart, Hewstone, Christ, & Voci (2011); Tam, Hewstone, Harwood, Voci, & Kenworthy (2006); Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns (2009); Tausch, Tam, Hewstone, & Kenworthy (2007); Turner, Crisp, & Lambert (2007a); Turner, Hewstone, & Voci (2007b) Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou (2008); Viki, Culmer, Eller, & Abrams (2006); West, Holmes, & Hewstone (2011).

In closing, the generalization question may very well prove to be the next big challenge in the contact literature. The field can now be confident that contact reduces prejudice and that the effects generalize. Yet, we have made more progress in our understanding of contact mediators than of the generalization processes involved. We still need to sharpen our focus in order to understand exactly why each type of generalization occurs, and their boundary conditions.

Outstanding issues and future directions

One promising avenue for future research concerns the distinction between contact effects on attitudes (i.e., liking an outgroup) and contact effects on policy support (i.e., favoring changes in laws or society that enhance the outgroup's position or access to rights and resources). The well-known paper by Jackman and Crane (1986) demonstrated that among White Americans, contact with Blacks was associated with more positive attitudes but not with support for policies (e.g., employment legislation) that would improve their lot in life. This interpretation has, perhaps appropriately, ushered caution among scholars (e.g., Dixon et al., 2005; Wright & Lubensky, 2008). The Jackman and Crane study has been very influential, and it certainly makes a fair point about the distinction between evaluations and reparations or policy change. However, a reanalysis of their findings demonstrates that Whites with close ties to Blacks actually do endorse public policies favoring Blacks relative to those without such ties (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011, p. 171). In keeping with this reanalysis, recent research among White South Africans reveals that in addition to improving attitudes toward Blacks, contact predicted policy support in multiple forms for Blacks (those dealing with compensatory measures and those granting preferential treatment; see Dixon, Durrheim, Tredoux, Tropp, Clack, Eaton, & Quayle, 2010). Given the wide-ranging effects of contact generally (see Tables 11.1 and 11.2), it is not surprising that contact effects benefit both evaluations and attitudes toward group treatment. Moreover, although potentially distinct constructs, policy support is considered by some theorists *as* a measure of racial attitudes. For instance, the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981), widely considered a measure of anti-Black prejudice, taps whether Blacks are given unfair advantages and influence while griping unduly. Note also that support for immigrants (as people) and immigration (as a policy) can be highly correlated (e.g., $r = .80$; Esses, Hodson, & Dovidio, 2003). In light of these considerations, it is understandable that outgroup evaluations and outgroup-relevant policy support can each be impacted by contact. Clearly this domain is a fertile ground for contact researchers.

Despite the recent advances in intergroup contact theory, the field would benefit from taking stock of what we still do not know or understand sufficiently. As mentioned previously, methodological and statistical advances have made it possible to examine the effects of contact at multiple levels, including the personal, group, neighborhood, and country (Christ & Wagner, this volume; Pettigrew, 2008). It is incumbent upon the field to utilize these methods in ways that facilitate the integration of psychological, sociological, and political models.

Many of the advances in intergroup contact have borne fruit from considering contact longitudinally. This, perhaps more than any other procedure, including experimental, has proven the strongest and most critical test of contact theory in the real world. These longitudinal tests have strengthened (not weakened) the case for contact. Future researchers are encouraged to follow up samples over prolonged periods rather than short periods. Several recent papers serve as excellent examples. Van Laar and colleagues (2005), for instance, randomly assigned participants to interracial contact partners, ruling out selection effects and many potential confounds, and subsequently followed contact effects over time. Future research can follow this procedure of random assignment followed by a longitudinal observation, going beyond random assignment to contact by additionally manipulating features of the contact situation (e.g., status; skills-training). Another example of modern progress is presented by Swart and colleagues (2011), where measures of cross-group friendship, anxiety, empathy, and prejudice were measured at multiple waves in a large sample. This approach not only allows examination of change in constructs (controlling statistically for competing predictors at different waves), but allows for the consideration of multiple mediators simultaneously to parse out which effects are unique to specific mediators of contact. Such strong interest in these cross-group friendships opens up opportunities to study changes in interpersonal closeness and empathy over time in conjunction with attitudes toward the group as a whole. Another fruitful avenue would be to examine even deeper and more intimate relationships, characterized through cross-ethnic dating or marriage.

With increased focus on longitudinal contact effects, the field can also address critical questions about *change* in contextual factors, such as alterations in the demographic make-up of neighborhoods, as when homosexuals or immigrants "move into" an area or host members drift out to the suburbs. These are effects we might try to simulate in our labs, but we also need to study these effects in neighborhoods, where the issues and implications impact group and personal life. Likewise, we can better focus on key transition points, such as moving from high school to university, or between university and work. At present many of our approaches wash over these critical influences, treating such variance as noise in the system that often weakens our effect sizes. We also encourage workers in the field to increasingly push contact research from the hallowed halls of academia to examine contact more in real world contexts. We are particularly impressed by the efforts of Dixon and colleagues to map *behavior*, such as changes in cafeteria seating choices or staking out places on beaches, research which involves observing and tracking behavioral changes systematically and unobtrusively (e.g., Clack, Dixon, & Tredoux, 2005; Dixon & Durrheim, 2003). In discussions with our colleagues we realize that the field pines for a return to the basic social psychology of the sort we love to teach in our classes – conducted by some of the pioneers of this field (Deutsch & Collins, 1951; Harding & Hogrefe, 1952; Minard, 1952; Wilner, Walkley, & Cook, 1952) – where real life intergroup processes, as experienced at work or in housing estates, transpired and was systematically observed. Our recent progress has uncovered much about mediating and moderating processes,

which to some extent necessitated bringing contact back to the lab or other tightly controlled settings. With our present understanding now much improved, we can be encouraged to return to the field armed with this knowledge. The challenge, of course, will be to maintain the rigour of modern practice and an emphasis on inner processes (i.e., mediators) while balancing needs for realism.

Finally, a point raised by Aboud and Spears Brown (this volume) merits additional attention. As the authors note, limited cognitive abilities contribute to prejudice in children, so contact interventions need to teach children the *skills* for positive contact. With regard to the first component (ability), the implications for contact interventions have become increasingly clear. Intergroup contact, relative to ingroup contact, is mentally demanding and draining (Richeson & Shelton, 2003). This mental exertion explanation might account for why some people avoid contact and why contact can sometimes worsen over time. In keeping with this suggestion, recent research suggests that lower ability for abstract reasoning predicts heightened prejudice toward homosexuals through increased right-wing authoritarianism and decreased contact with homosexuals (Hodson & Busseri, 2012). Thus, adults with lower cognitive ability avoid contact, and this lower contact is associated with more prejudice. Cognitive ability, therefore, may pose a serious constraint or boundary imposed on contact interventions. However, with reference to Aboud and Spears Brown's second component, teaching skills for successful group interaction could make such encounters less mentally taxing in addition to less anxiety-provoking. The Fast Friends Procedure discussed by Davies et al. (this volume) provides a baseline framework for prompting and guiding interactants through the early stages of initial contact. Future research can explore the benefits of new contact interventions that provide the structure designed to keep the course of contact running smoothly, capitalizing on positive contact opportunities, and making successes salient. Low-threat versions of skill learning could be easily incorporated, for instance, into imagined contact paradigms (Crisp & Turner, this volume).

Concluding remarks

As is evident from this book, the field is employing a broader range of measures than was common decades ago (see Tables 11.1 and 11.2), a trend we hope to see continue. In addition to standard explicit (self-reported) measures, the field needs more implicit measures, physiological and neurological measures, and behavioral measures and outcomes, measured as unobtrusively as possible. The next stage of our model-building will undoubtedly incorporate many of the themes stressed throughout this volume, including individual differences, multiple-level effects, and the larger political and historical context framing contact. These models will need to incorporate many of the well-established *moderating effects*, such as contact improving attitudes: (a) more strongly when group memberships are salient (Brown & Hewstone, 2005); (b) well (if not better) among prejudice-prone persons (Hodson and colleagues, this volume; Hodson, 2011); (c) more strongly for majority (vs. minority) groups (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005); and (d) more

effectively through affective than cognitive or knowledge-based mechanisms (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). In terms of *mediating effects*, future models will likely continue to emphasize intergroup anxiety and empathy (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008), but also more recently established mediators, such as trust and self-disclosure (see Table 11.2). With the addition of so many factors, contact theory runs the risk of becoming "too complex" once again, and thereby discouraging future researchers, and possibly policymakers too. We do not share this concern however. These recommendations are solidly grounded in the empirical record, meaning that more complex models are warranted and not mere expressions of scholars with active imaginations. Besides, contact researchers have shown an uncanny propensity to rise to existing challenges with considerable tenacity. At the end of the day, the stakes are simply too high not to model contact effects based on the empirical record, which necessitates a certain degree of complexity.

As noted in the Introduction to this book (Hodson & Hewstone, this volume), humanity is facing new challenges that will test us as never before. The world is becoming increasingly populated and increasingly migratory at the same time that finite essential resources are either plundered (e.g., oil) or polluted (e.g., water). The confluence of these trends will push the pressure points between groups. Full appreciation of the advances in intergroup contact has never been so imperative, but also never so possible. To the extent that wars are indeed fought in the "minds of men [sic]", we remain optimistic. As a species we have tremendous capacity not only for insight and flexibility, but for compassion and adaptation. Intergroup contact will undoubtedly have a prominent role in shaping the twenty-first century, not only among academics and educators, but also among policymakers.

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