

LUDWIG-MAXIMILIANS-UNIVERSITÄT MÜNCHEN

Fakultät für Sprache und Literaturwissenschaften
Department für Anglistik und Amerikanistik
Lehrstuhl für
Didaktik der englischen Sprache und Literatur

**Overcoming Prejudice in
Intercultural Encounters**
*The ‘Global Peace Path’ Project as a
Vehicle of Reducing Prejudice*

Schriftliche Hausarbeit für die Zulassung
zum Ersten Staatsexamen
für das Lehramt an Gymnasien im Frühjahr 2021

vorgelegt von Matea Marić

im Oktober 2020

im Fach Didaktik der englischen Sprache und Literatur

bei

Dr. Petra Rauschert

CONTENTS

Tables.....	I
Figures.....	I
Abstract.....	II
1 Introduction.....	1
2 Theoretical Background.....	3
2.1 Stereotypes and Prejudice.....	3
2.2 Warmth and Competence – Fundamental Dimensions of Social Perception.....	5
2.2.1 <i>Stereotype Content Model</i>	7
2.2.2 <i>Empirical Evidence of the Stereotype Content Model</i>	9
2.3 Reducing Prejudice and Improving Intergroup Relations.....	11
2.3.1 <i>Contact Hypothesis</i>	11
2.3.2 <i>Realistic Conflict Theory</i>	15
3 Method.....	17
3.1 Research Context.....	17
3.2 Participants.....	17
3.3 Survey.....	18
3.4 Design and Procedure.....	19
4 Results.....	23
4.1 Intergroup Contact and Prejudice.....	23
4.1.1 <i>Main Analysis</i>	23
4.1.2 <i>Additional Analyses</i>	24
4.2 Differences in Stereotype Content.....	27
5 Discussion.....	30
6 Summary.....	35
References.....	36

TABLES

Table 1	<i>Overview of the SCM's hypotheses</i>	<i>9</i>
Table 2	<i>Pre- and post-test changes on warmth and competence perceptions.....</i>	<i>23</i>
Table 3	<i>Pre- and post-test item changes on warmth and competence perceptions... </i>	<i>25</i>
Table 4	<i>Changes on stereotype content</i>	<i>27</i>

FIGURES

Figure 1	<i>Change of warmth stereotypes across MMPs</i>	<i>24</i>
Figure 2	<i>Change of competence stereotypes across MMPs.....</i>	<i>24</i>
Figure 3	<i>Subjective Perception of opinion change</i>	<i>27</i>
Figure 4	<i>Pre-test results on stereotype content of students and refugees.....</i>	<i>28</i>
Figure 5	<i>Post-test results on stereotype content of students and refugees.....</i>	<i>28</i>

ABSTRACT

The arrival of unprecedented numbers of migrants and refugees in 2015 has diversified the European landscape to an exceptional degree. At the same time, concerns regarding the growing cultural diversity polarized the public and political discourse, not rarely provoking prejudiced responses to the current dynamics. History has witnessed the deleterious effects of prejudice and thereby emphasizes the need for proactive intervention bridging the differences. In the context of the *Global Peace Path*, a collaborative project between students and refugees at LMU Munich, this study investigated the effects of intergroup contact on prejudice and explored stereotype content differences between the subgroups. A pre- and post-test survey was used to measure prejudiced perceptions of students ($N=21$) and refugees ($N=11$) on the dimensions of warmth and competence. The analysis revealed differences in stereotype content between the subgroups and showed positive effects of intercultural contact on reducing prejudice. Changes in warmth stereotypes were found to be statistically significant indicating that perceptions of warmth increased after the project. Although changes in competence stereotypes were statistically non-significant, trends point to a positive development. This study illustrates the relevance of intercultural projects for prejudice reduction and outlines key considerations for future cooperative projects in the educational context.

1 INTRODUCTION

In an age of growing globalization and migration, contact between people from various cultural backgrounds has increased substantially. Cultural diversity, however, is not a mere side effect of global connections but an integral characteristic of present-day societies. Given the variety of values, norms and belief systems shaping social reality, intercultural encounters do not rarely unfold along stereotypical lines (Thomas 2006: 15f.). Although stereotypes play an important role in cognitive processing, their power to go beyond the banal and reach scales of prejudice and discrimination has manifested itself unmistakably in history: the Holocaust, genocides in Cambodia and Ruanda as well as campaigns of “ethnic cleansing” in former Yugoslavia clearly illustrate the detrimental ramifications of prejudiced attitudes and actions (Spears & Tausch 2014: 508). It is thus of paramount importance to raise critical awareness of this phenomenon and promote projects which reduce prejudice and improve intercultural relations.

Beginning shortly after World War II, social psychology has devoted considerable attention to the nature of prejudice (Pettigrew 1998: 66). Further extended in the 1950s, during the racial conflicts in the U.S. (Spears & Tausch 2014: 508), the scientific engagement developed into a particular research field, later to become known as intergroup relations. The study of the ways in which people in groups think, feel about and behave towards other groups (Hogg & Gaffney 2018: 1) generated important insights into prejudice. More importantly, however, it provided a fertile ground on which interventions reducing prejudice and possible conflicts could be designed (Spears & Tausch 2014: 547). In this context, Gordon Allport, a leading social psychologist and pioneer in the field of intergroup relations, has made a major contribution to the research on prejudice reduction. In his seminal book *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954), Allport theorized on the complexity of the phenomenon and introduced his widely known “contact hypothesis”. By outlining certain essential conditions, Allport suggests that contact represents a crucial means to reduce prejudice and promote harmonious intergroup relations (Spears & Tausch 2014: 548f.).

Allport’s (1954) hypothesis had a significant impact on social psychology and stimulated much empirical research revolving around the prejudice-reducing potential of contact situations (Kessler & Fritsche 2018: 173). A large number of empirical studies have acknowledged the relevance of contact across a variety of contexts. Intergroup situations supporting Allport’s hypothesis range from racially desegregated housing

projects (Deutsch & Collins 1951), interethnic relations in school settings (Stephan & Stephan 1984) and immigrant societies (Pettigrew 1997). Research on intergroup contact, however, is not only limited to intercultural relations but also goes beyond ethnic categories. Strong empirical evidence has been derived from studies on attitudes towards homosexuals (Herek & Capitano 1996), disabled persons (Anderson 1995) and victims of AIDS (Werth & Lord 1992), clearly demonstrating the positive effect of contact in heterogeneous contexts.

Despite the wide variety of studies worldwide, little empirical research has been devoted to recent intercultural dynamics in Germany. Beginning in 2015, the refugee wave has added to the diversity of the already multicultural German society. Challenges which large migration waves pose to the social climate of such a country emphasize the necessity of projects improving interethnic relations. The *Global Peace Path*, an intercultural service-learning project carried out at the Department of Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) of the University of Munich (LMU), demonstrates a creative endeavor to foster social understanding and dialogue between culturally different groups. On two occasions, LMU students and refugees collaborated and wrote poems on the topic of peace. In this context, attitudes of both groups towards the other were studied. The aim of the study presented in this thesis was to explore stereotype content of different subgroups and the potential of such intercultural encounters in reducing prejudice.

In order to explore the possibilities and limits of intercultural projects for prejudice reduction, this thesis will first set the theoretical framework. After defining concepts relevant to this study, two basic dimensions of social perception will be introduced and related to forms of prejudice. The second theoretical part will be devoted to the ways in which prejudice can be reduced. For this purpose, Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis and empirical findings will be presented. Particular light will be shed on Muzafer Sherif's summer camp study (1954) which will provide insight into the dynamics of prejudice and conditions under which these can be reduced. Building on these foundations, the study of this thesis will be presented. First, methodological considerations will be introduced. Second, the results of the study will be described. Finally, the findings of the study will be discussed and important implications for the educational context considered.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

When investigating the role that intercultural encounters play in the reduction of prejudice, it is first necessary to consider components that influence the perception of and impression about other persons. Stereotypes and prejudice form an important part of social perception and therefore require a closer look.

2.1 Stereotypes and Prejudice

In present-day societies, people of different cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds come in contact with one another and may develop diverse images of other social groups, which can further lead to the development of stereotypes (Kessler & Fritsche 2018: 157). Phrases such as “All Italians love espresso” (Fischer et al. 2018: 116) or “All Germans are orderly” (Kessler & Fritsche 2018: 157) indicate the human tendency to generalize a group of people by ascribing certain positive, neutral or negative features to all members of this group (Fischer et al. 2018: 116). It is obvious, however, that certain Italians may dislike espresso or that some Germans seem to be chaotic. In generalizing a group of people, stereotypes tend to neglect possible differences between its members and thus offer a simplified view of reality. Yet it is precisely the function of simplification that explains their powerful presence (Fischer et al. 2018: 116).

Given the complex nature of the social world, human beings seek means to organize their environment and systematize perception. To this end, the human mind categorizes persons into certain groups with specific characteristics and thereby reduces the complexity of information. This simplification of reality allows for faster social orientation. By enabling the mind to describe, interpret, and predict the behavior and attitudes of group members more efficiently, stereotypes minimize cognitive processing efforts. Especially in situations of higher cognitive load, where people have few resources at their disposal, stereotypes generate thoughts about other groups and thus facilitate subjective interpretation and information processing (Fischer et al. 2018: 116).

While stereotypes primarily operate as cognitive categorizations, prejudice involves negative attitudes towards other persons with an inherently affective dimension (Fischer et al. 2018: 116ff.). Prejudice comprises both evaluations and feelings about other people solely on their membership to a certain group. However, it is the negative emotional element that marks prejudice decisively (Fischer et al. 2018: 116). In his

foundational *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954), Allport emphasizes the weight of the emotional component and describes prejudice as “an antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group” (Allport 1954: 9). Following this traditional definition, prejudice includes cognitive evaluation processes and, more importantly, feelings of antipathy that lend the generalizations a distinctively negative color. A prejudiced person, for example, does not only think that all lovers of classical music are boring but also rejects them by assuming a pejorative attitude (Fischer et al. 2018: 118). Negative judgments can be directed towards an entire group or an individual member of this group. While prejudice implies a negative valence, stereotypes may reveal neutral or positive connotations as well. If, however, these prejudiced thoughts, feelings, and attitudes manifest themselves in aggressive actions against other groups, prejudice translates into discrimination. The head of a company, for instance, may consider women less competent and employ a male candidate despite equal qualifications. It is thus solely based on one’s group membership that individuals or a group as a whole can be subject to another’s stereotypical thinking, prejudiced feelings, or even discriminating behavior (Fischer et al. 2018: 118).

Based on the foregoing, stereotypes can be defined as cognitive schemata about social groups (e.g. Germans, Psychologists). The concepts of prejudice and discrimination build on this notion by further adding an affective and behavioral quality respectively. Alongside schemata for persons (father, mother, friend), roles (bus driver, police officer, teacher) or social situations (restaurant, school) (Kessler & Fritsche 2018: 39), stereotypes fulfill an adaptive role in cognitive processing: as mental schemata, they reduce the complexity of information and allow for faster social orientation (Fischer et al. 2018: 116).

Given their high relevance for social processing, stereotypes also have a significant impact on human perception, thinking and memory. Their inherent cognitive representations not only influence the way of thinking about other persons but also shape our social reality to a considerable extent (Kessler & Fritsche 2018: 39). Apart from structuring the social world, stereotypes also form the basis for judgments of social groups. By providing limited but essential information, stereotypes operate as decision-making tools for appropriate reactions in intergroup contexts (Asbrock 2008: 43). In the past few decades, a number of studies (Asch 1946; Rosenberg et al. 1968; Wojciszke 1994, 2005; Wojciszke & Klusek 1996; Wojciszke, Bazinska & Jaworski 1998; Abele &

Wojciszke 2007; Fiske et al. 2002) has identified two fundamental dimensions along which people differentiate each other: warmth and competence. The high power of the dimensions of warmth and competence for social cognition has been supported by vast empirical evidence and will thus be considered in detail in the following section.

2.2 Warmth and Competence – Fundamental Dimensions of Social Perception

The primacy of warmth and competence in social cognition reflects evolutionary ideas. On encountering conspecifics, social animals must instantly detect the intentions of the other, be they good or ill, and subsequently assess their ability to realize those intentions (Fiske et al. 2007: 77). Similarly, these dimensions of perception can be found in the human world. Before reacting in a given social situation, human beings evaluate a person's warmth and competence for better orientation. While the warmth dimension encompasses traits referring to perceived intent, trustworthiness and sociability, the competence dimension includes traits concerning the ability to realize those intentions such as capability, intelligence and assertiveness of the other group (Fiske 2018: 67). A vast amount of research has been conducted in this field showing how crucial the dimensions of warmth and competence are to social perception. Experimental studies in social psychology laboratories, public opinion polls and cross-cultural comparisons provide empirical evidence for the centrality of these dimensions (Fiske et al. 2007: 78).

By the middle of the 20th century, research has recognized, though under different labels, the key role of warmth and competence for social judgements (Cuddy et al. 2008: 63, 71). One of the first studies to provide evidence for the primacy of warmth and competence is Solomon Asch's experiment on forming impressions (1946). In this study, university students were given two identical lists of competence-related adjectives describing a fictional person (e.g. determined, practical, industrious, intelligent, skillful) which differed in one single word only, namely 'warm' and 'cold' (Fiske et al. 2007: 78). The experimental variation resulted in distinct impression formation: students exposed to the list containing 'warm' subsequently described the competent person as wise. In contrast, students with the list including the trait 'cold' characterized the competent person as sly (Cuddy et al. 2008: 71). Asch's (1946) early findings indicated the primacy of warmth and competence in social cognition and stimulated further research in the following years (Fiske et al. 2007: 78; Cuddy et al. 2008: 72).

Along similar lines, Rosenberg, Nelson and Vivekananthan (1968) asked students to sort 64 traits into categories that were likely to be identified in an individual person. Based on multidimensional scaling analyses, Rosenberg and his colleagues (1968) detected two main dimensions: *social desirability* (warm, good-natured, honest vs. cold, unsociable, dishonest) and *intellectual desirability* (intelligent, industrious vs. unintelligent, naïve). Rosenberg et al.'s (1968) work represented another step towards delineating the fundamental dimensions of person perception.

A considerable amount of research concerning the parameters of social perception has been carried out by Wojciszke and colleagues (Wojciszke 1994, 2005; Wojciszke & Klusek 1996; Wojciszke, Bazinska & Jaworski 1998; Abele & Wojciszke 2007). Building on the foundations of Rosenberg et al. (1968), Wojciszke and colleagues suggested *morality* and *competence* as fundamental dimensions underlying the evaluation of individual and social behavior. Wojciszke's dimension of morality encompasses traits such as *fair*, *generous*, *helpful* and *honest*, which overlap with warmth traits outlined above (Fiske et al. 2007: 77). In a complex content analysis, Wojciszke (1994) examined more than 1000 personal descriptions of past events containing evaluations of the persons' own and others' behavior. The systematic study showed that 75% of the descriptions included references to morality and competence. Interestingly, evaluations of others revealed more morality traits than competence-related terms. Self-evaluations, by contrast, drew more on traits of competence than morality (Wojciszke 1994: 222).

In a study on political perception in Poland, Wojciszke and Klusek (1996) elaborated further on the prominence of morality and competence in social cognition. A public survey asked 1050 Polish respondents to indicate their approval of the president and relate 14 traits to him. Wojciszke and Klusek (1996) found that the evaluations of the president revolved around traits of morality, competence and likability, with morality representing the strongest and likability the weakest predictor of the approval. When asked about general qualities lacking in Polish politicians, respondents most frequently used moral and competence-related terms (Wojciszke & Klusek 1996: 319).

These results not only confirm the relevance of morality and competence but point to another important aspect. In line with presumptions of previous research (Asch 1946; Wojciszke 1994), Wojciszke and Klusek's (1996) findings suggest that judgments of morality (warmth) have a stronger influence on social perception than competence. The reason for the significance of warmth judgements is related to evolutionary aspects. In encounters with others, judging a person's intentions as good or ill is more substantial for

the question of survival than considering the person's capacity to pursue those intentions. Moreover, warmth evaluations govern approach-avoidance tendencies in a person. Due to their high informative value for affective and behavioral responses, judgments of warmth precede evaluations of competence (Fiske et al. 2007: 77f.).

Synthesizing much of this research, Fiske and her colleagues Cuddy, Glick and Xu (2002) attempted to systematize stereotypes along the dimensions of warmth and competence. Based on extensive empirical research, Fiske and her team proposed the Stereotype Content Model (SCM), which seeks to organize the content of stereotypes and differentiate between forms of prejudice. The SCM, its depth and systematics have made valuable contributions to stereotype research and thus deserve to be considered in more detail.

2.2.1 Stereotype Content Model

Constructed upon four fundamental hypotheses, the SCM asserts that stereotypes can be organized in a systematic way. By integrating work from Allport (1954), Asch (1946) and Wojciszke (2005), the SCM introduces an approach that is not only limited to national and ethnic groups but also applicable to all groups in general (Asbrock 2008: 48).

The first hypothesis of the model refers to the centrality of warmth and competence in social perception. As the previous section has shown, social situations require fast orientation. In such contexts, judgments of others' warmth and competence provide rapid information. First, warmth aspects such as morality, trustworthiness and sincerity give insight into the intentions of a person. Second, competence-related elements such as skill, intelligence and confidence shape impressions about the person's ability to enact those intentions (Cuddy et al. 2008: 63). The various combinations that emerge from these judgments may yield different forms of group stereotypes (Cuddy et al. 2008: 68).

In view of the different warmth-by-competence combinations, the SCM further posits that mixed evaluations may render stereotypes ambivalent. In contrast to past research (Allport 1954) associating prejudice with univalent negative attitudes (Eckes 2002: 99), the SCM argues that stereotypes may simultaneously reveal a positive evaluation on one dimension and a negative evaluation on the other (Cuddy et al. 2008: 68). Many groups, for example, are viewed as cold/ competent or warm/ incompetent. Yet other groups may be characterized by means of univalent stereotypes, namely as warm/ competent or cold/ incompetent (Asbrock 2008: 49).

Furthermore, the SCM argues that warmth and competence judgments originate in perceptions of competition and status. In other words, perception of status differences and the degree of competition between groups determine stereotype content (Cuddy et al. 2008: 69). Status indicators such as education and wealth involve perceptions of abilities and therefore influence judgments on the competence dimension. Warmth judgments, by contrast, rely on perceptions of competition. If the intentions of others are compatible with one's own, the group is likely to be viewed as warm. In case of incompatibility, the other group is considered as cold (Asbrock 2008: 49f.). The predictive power of these social structural variables has been corroborated empirically as well (e.g. Caprariello et al. 2009; Fiske et al. 1999, 2002; Herrmann 2003; Kervyn et al. 2015; Russell & Fiske 2008).

Finally, the model hypothesizes that perceived social structure (competition, status) may generate four distinct stereotype categories which in turn elicit specific emotional responses: pride, pity, contempt and envy (Asbrock 2008: 50). Univalent stereotypes, for instance, reflect purely positive or negative judgments on both dimensions. When groups are judged as warm and competent, then positive emotions such as admiration and pride can arise. These emotional responses are commonly found in relation to ingroups or close allies. The combination of low warmth and low competence, by contrast, provokes disgust, contempt and anger which mark the 'contemptuous prejudice'. Welfare recipients as well as poor people are typically associated with this category (Spears & Tausch 2014: 546). While univalent stereotypes are based on high or low ratings on both dimensions, ambivalent stereotypes include mixed ratings. Groups seen as warm but incompetent receive 'paternalistic prejudice' and attract both positive and negative emotions. Older people or disabled persons, for example, may evoke sympathy, compassion and pity which, at first glance, seem to be positive emotions. A closer look, however, shows that these emotions bear a negative undertone since such groups are disrespected for their perceived incompetence (Cuddy et al. 2008: 76f.). A similarly ambivalent structure of prejudice is found in the 'envious prejudice'. Groups judged as competent but cold elicit envious respect for their perceived competence but dislike for the perceived lack of warmth. Anti-Asian American prejudice represents a suitable example for this type of prejudice (Cuddy et al. 2008: 77f.).

The following table summarizes the hypotheses of the SCM and provides examples of groups for each type of prejudice.

Table 1 Overview of the SCM's hypotheses

		Competence	
		Low	High
Warmth	High	Paternalistic prejudice Low status, not competitive Pity, sympathy (e.g., elderly people, disabled people, housewives)	Admiration High status, not competitive Pride, admiration (e.g., in-group, close allies)
	Low	Contemptuous prejudice Low status, competitive Contempt, disgust, anger, resentment (e.g., welfare recipients, poor people)	Envious prejudice High status, competitive Envy, jealousy (e.g., Asians, Jews, rich people, feminists)

Note: Table adapted from Fiske et al. (2002).

2.2.2 Empirical Evidence of the Stereotype Content Model

The SCM's hypotheses have been confirmed by much empirical research (Asbrock 2008: 51). More than 30 studies with students and non-students in 17 different countries (Cuddy et al. 2007, 2009; Eckes 2002; Fiske et al. 1999, 2002) revealed the predicted categorization of different group stereotypes along the dimensions of warmth and competence. Individualistic (e.g., USA, Western Europe) as well as collectivist cultures (e.g., Asia) reflected the same clusters of prototypical groups: poor people, for example, were predominantly judged as cold and incompetent whereas rich people were perceived as cold and competent and elderly persons as warm and incompetent (Asbrock 2008: 51; Fiske et al. 2007: 80).

Despite such strong empirical evidence, stereotypes may also vary depending on the socio-cultural context (Froehlich & Schulte 2019: 2). Possible variables influencing stereotypization are the group's composition within a society, intergroup relations as well as cultural and economic factors (Cuddy et al. 2009; Durante et al. 2013). With regard to immigrants, stereotypes tend to be rather negative with combinations of low warmth and low competence (Lee & Fiske 2006). Nonetheless, not all immigrant groups are characterized by univalent stereotypes (Lee & Fiske 2006; Bye et al. 2014; Lopez et al. 2014). Many immigrant groups may be perceived as high on one dimension and low on the other, resulting in ambivalent stereotypes (Froehlich & Schulte 2019: 2).

In Germany, only few studies have been published on the universality of the SCM. Eckes (2002) explored 41 different social groups which capture the heterogeneous character of society regarding gender, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, geography and socioeconomic status. His work revealed that immigrants were stereotyped as cold and incompetent while Turks, representing the largest immigrant group in Germany, were perceived as moderately warm and competent (Eckes 2002: 109; Froehlich & Schulte: 3). Similarly, Asbrock (2010) tested the hypotheses of the SCM in Western Germany with a broad variety of social groups, including three immigrant groups (i.e., Asians, Turks, foreigners). The study showed that Turks and foreigners were perceived as moderately warm and competent while Asians were considered as warm and competent (Asbrock 2010).

A recent article on prejudice differences published by Fiske (2017) relates to such variations in stereotype content. According to Fiske (2017), perceptions of other groups, especially those regarding racial, ethnic and religious groups, may be bound to a specific context and thus vary across cultures. The influence of socio-cultural factors on stereotype differences has also been attested by Froehlich and Schulte (2019). Departing from a wide selection of immigrant groups living in Germany, Froehlich and Schulte (2019) presented evidence that members of the receiving society hold qualitatively different stereotypes towards immigrants. Groups who arrived only recently and from conflict-ridden areas (e.g., The Balkans, Northern Africa) were judged most negatively (moderate warmth, low competence). Germans as well as immigrants from China, by contrast, were evaluated as moderately warm and highly competent (Froehlich & Schulte 2019).

Research on stereotypes about refugee subgroups also highlights the significance of socio-cultural aspects for stereotypization. In the German context, Kotzur et al. (2019) investigated stereotypes towards 11 refugee groups, among them Syrian, Muslim and Balkan refugees. It has been shown that the subgroups were stereotyped along the dimensions of warmth and competence but differentiated by flight motive, regional origin or religious affiliation. War refugees, for example, were rated significantly high on the warmth dimension whereas economic refugees received low-warmth ratings. The exact opposite was found for the competence dimension. While economic refugees were stereotyped as highly competent, war refugees were judged to have low competence (Kotzur et al. 2019: 1353). With respect to regional origin, Kotzur et al. (2019) showed that refugees from Middle Eastern countries were perceived as warmer and more competent than refugees coming from Africa. Although the influence of religious

affiliation on stereotypes has not been established sufficiently, findings suggest that Muslim refugees tend to be considered as cold but competent (Kotzur et al. 2019: 1354).

The presented review of literature is by no means exhaustive or comprehensive. It rather contributes to a deeper understanding of the parameters governing social perception and the various forms stereotypes and prejudice may assume in heterogeneous contexts. Stereotypes and prejudice represent an undeniable part of diverse societies and may not only affect intergroup relations but also pose barriers to social inclusion as well. Given the discriminatory potential of prejudiced attitudes, it is critical at this point to consider how such attitudes can be altered. The following section will thus outline approaches to prejudice reduction and ways of improving intergroup attitudes.

2.3 Reducing Prejudice and Improving Intergroup Relations

When dealing with the question as to how prejudice can be reduced, it almost seems inevitable to build on the ideas proposed by Gordon W. Allport (1954) and Muzafer Sherif (1954). Although Allport and Sherif addressed this question at around the same time, the scholars developed distinct approaches and greatly contributed to research on intergroup contact. Their observations generated widespread scholarly interest over the past decades and continue to do so even today. Given the far-reaching impact of their considerations, the following sections will be devoted to the work of Allport (1954) and Sherif (1954).

2.3.1 Contact Hypothesis

In view of the tense race relations in the United States marking the 1930s and 1940s, Allport dedicated much of his efforts to the question of prejudice reduction. In his groundbreaking book *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954), Allport argues that direct, face-to-face contact between members of different groups is one of the most effective methods to reduce prejudice (Spears & Tausch 2014: 548). Although Allport was not the first to propose this idea (e.g., Williams 1947), he contributed one of the most elaborate descriptions of possible effects of contact (Spears & Tausch 2014: 548).

Allport's primary research focus was to explain that simply gathering people from different groups does not reduce tensions (Spears & Tausch 2014: 548). Spontaneous contact situations may, according to Allport, even reinforce unfavorable feelings and prejudiced attitudes (Allport 1954: 269). With reference to opinion polls conducted in different parts of Chicago, Allport argues that attitudes of White Americans had grown

even more hostile the closer they lived to a black residential district (Allport 1954: 268ff.). Hence sheer proximity to another group does not necessarily lead to improved intergroup relations.

To contrast this effect, Allport pointed to a number of studies indicating positive outcomes of intergroup contact (Spears & Tausch 2014: 548). One example is the prominent field experiment conducted by Deutsch and Collins (1951). By comparing racially segregated housing projects with racially desegregated ones, Deutsch and Collins revealed interesting findings. White women living in desegregated housing areas appeared to show higher appreciation for their black neighbors and were less likely to stereotype them negatively than women living in segregated areas (Spears & Tausch 2014: 548). Given these findings, Allport argued that contact situations need to be framed by four necessary conditions under which prejudice can be reduced effectively:

- a) *Equal status*: Intergroup situations should not exhibit hierarchical relationship structures but ensure that members of both groups perceive equal status *within* a given situation (Allport 1954: 281). Allport observed that contact between groups of high and low status frequently occurs in frames that reinforce status hierarchies. This is likely to be the case in situations where minority groups assume low-status roles, strengthening prejudiced perception. It is thus important to establish equal-status situations which bear the potential to weaken existing negative prejudice against the minority group (Spears & Tausch 2014: 549). The condition of status equality has presumably been given in Deutsch and Collin's (1951) interracial housing experiment where both black and white families shared roughly the same economic background. Further research indicates the relevance of equal status prior to (Brewer & Kramer 1985) and during (Cohen & Lotan 1995) the contact situation.
- b) *Common Goals*: Negative attitudes between groups can be moved into a positive direction by means of shared goals (Allport 1954: 281). In order to achieve the desired goal, both groups need to rely on each other and invest efforts into the task (Spears & Tausch 2014: 549). Chu and Griffey (1985) investigated interracial athletic teams who worked interdependently to achieve a common goal and thereby confirmed the relevance of this condition for prejudice reduction.
- c) *Intergroup Cooperation*: Effective reduction of negative stereotypes requires cooperative interaction between groups in non-competitive settings (Allport 1954: 281). Members of different groups who work together towards a desired goal maintain closer contact, may learn from each other and even develop cross-group

friendships (Slavin & Cooper 1999: 648; Spears & Tausch 2014: 549). The “jigsaw technique”, a learning method specifically designed by Aronson in 1971 and geared towards reducing racial prejudice in integrated schools, provides strong evidence for this condition. After dividing classrooms into mixed groups, each member of the group first works on a smaller task and subsequently contributes its findings to the group’s final result (Spears & Tausch 2014: 550f.). Aronson and Patnoe (1997) found that cooperative learning techniques increase mutual sympathy between groups and effectively reduce overall prejudice in racially mixed classrooms. Further laboratory experiments support these findings (e.g., Brown & Abrams 1986; Ryen & Kahn 1975). Nonetheless, research also shows that the same level of task competence needs to be guaranteed (Cohen 1984; Slavin 1978) and that cooperative undertakings produce positive outcomes (Worchel, Andreoli & Folger 1977).

- d) *Institutional support*: Institutional contexts promoting a prosocial climate represent another necessary condition for positive intergroup contact (Allport 1954: 281). Norms of acceptance fostered by laws or authorities such as schools, universities or the workplace influence contact situations positively (Spears & Tausch 2014: 549). The high impact of social norms on attitudes and behavior has been widely recognized in social psychology (e.g. Terry & Hogg 1996). Social norms not only influence attitudes of people but also their willingness to interact with members of other groups (Spears & Tausch 2014: 549). Landis et al.’s (1984) training for desegregation in the military reveals the significance of institutional support for prejudice reduction among soldiers.

Allport’s (1954) contact hypothesis resonated widely in the public as well as in the scholarly sphere. His ideas, for example, influenced the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court’s decision (*Brown v. Board of Education*) to declare racial desegregation in schools unconstitutional (Spears & Tausch 2014: 550). Moreover, a large number of studies provide evidence for the benefits of intergroup contact. Stephan & Stephan (1984) noted that contact created opportunities for Anglo students to learn more about Mexican culture and in this way contributed to more positive attitudes towards their Mexican class fellows. Ignorance, by contrast, strengthened prejudiced thinking (Stephan & Stephan 1984: 238). Pettigrew’s (1997) study of immigrant societies provides further support. According to Pettigrew, contact and friendships with immigrants, in particular, do not only change

attitudes towards immigrants positively but also increase support for more tolerant immigration policies (Pettigrew 1997: 177ff.).

Positive contact effects on attitude change have also been reported for non-ethnic intergroup relations. Heterosexuals interacting with homosexuals, for example, indicate more positive attitudes towards homosexuals than those without interpersonal relations (Herek & Capitanio 1996). Similarly, contact in social integration programs improves attitudes of persons without disabilities towards those with disabilities (Anderson 1995). Further evidence for positive attitude change has been gathered in the university setting regarding persons with AIDS (Werth & Lord 1992). After encountering persons with AIDS in the course, students changed their view of what defines a “typical” member of this group and tended to express more positive beliefs about them.

The studies presented can give only a glimpse of how much research has been inspired by Allport’s (1954) contact hypothesis. Although it is obvious why the key conditions are necessary for successful contact, fulfilling all of them in different contexts of real life seems nearly impossible (Spears & Tausch 2014: 550). A comprehensive and highly influential meta-analysis conducted by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) addressed this very question of necessary conditions and combined the results of more than 500 studies on intergroup contact.

Pettigrew and Tropp’s (2006) meta-analysis revealed a strong negative correlation between contact and prejudice. In other words, most studies indicate that intergroup contact generally reduces intergroup prejudice. Moreover, the researchers observed that only some of the studies met all of Allport’s criteria whereas others fulfilled only selected ones or none at all. This has led Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) to question how crucial Allport’s contact conditions are. Interestingly, the analysis showed the negative correlation between contact and prejudice regardless of whether the conditions were met or not. Yet studies exhibiting the contact conditions revealed stronger effects. Given these findings, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) concluded that Allport’s conditions are facilitating rather than essential for positive contact (Spears & Tausch 2014: 551).

On the whole, Allport’s detailed account of contact conditions has enriched social psychology research to a great extent. Early efforts to understand intergroup dynamics also owe much to the work of Muzafer Sherif (1954). Sherif studied the phenomenon of prejudice from a rather collective perspective and subsumed his explanations in the Realistic Conflict Theory (1966). His theoretical conceptions are grounded in a series of experiments conducted in the 1950s, which were to become one of the most famous

studies in social psychology: The Robbers Cave experiment (1954). These field experiments provide valuable insights into the emergence and reduction of prejudice and will therefore be described in detail in the last section of this chapter.

2.3.2 *Realistic Conflict Theory*

The Realistic Conflict Theory departs from the premise that prejudice emerges from real conflicts of interest between groups competing for desirable but scarce resources such as wealth, status or prestige (Spears & Tausch 2014: 526). Sherif et al. (1961) vividly demonstrated this idea in the Robbers Cave field experiment (1954). In this experiment, 22 boys around 12 years of age participated in a summer camp in Robbers Cave State Park, Oklahoma. The participants came from comparable backgrounds and had never met before, decreasing potential effects of individual personality aspects or preexisting friendships or conflicts (Brewer & Gaertner 2001: 453; Spears & Tausch 2014: 526).

In the first phase of the experiment, the boys were assigned to two different groups and stayed in separate parts of the camp without knowing about the other group's existence (Gaertner et al. 2000: 98). The main purpose of the first phase was to establish a sense of solidarity, loyalty and identity within the groups: the boys went camping and canoeing in the camp area and played games together. By the end of the first week, the group members had developed real friendships and team spirit. By choosing names for their groups (the 'Eagles' and the 'Rattlers'), which they stenciled on shirts and flags, the boys formed strong group identities (Brewer & Gaertner 2001: 453; Stroebe et al. 2014:2).

In the second phase, the 'Eagles' and the 'Rattlers' were informed that there was another group at the campsite (Gaertner et al. 2000: 98). The staff of the camp organized tournaments of competitive games such as touch football or tug of war and awarded the winning team with a cup and other prizes. Although the games started in the spirit of fair play, the group relations soon grew tense and even assumed a tone of hostility (Stroebe et al. 2014: 2). The emerging dynamics astounded the researchers commenting that

Soon, members of each group began to call their rivals "stinkers", "sneaks" and "cheats". [...]. Near the end of this stage, the members of each group found the group and its members so distasteful that they expressed strong preferences to have no further contact with them at all."

(Sherif 1967: 82)

The competitions thus produced a conflict over limited goods and provoked aversion towards the other group. Observing the growing antagonism, Sherif and his colleagues

terminated the second part of the experiment and proceeded to the third phase (Stroebe et al. 2014: 3; Gaertner et al. 2000: 98f.).

During the third week of the experiment, the staff introduced non-competitive activities such as eating or watching movies together to increase contact between the groups (Flanagan et al. 2018: 48). Mere contact activities, however, were not powerful enough to reduce the intergroup frictions. Only after the staff presented tasks with common superordinate goals, the group hostilities decreased (Brewer & Gaertner 2001: 453). The boys, for instance, fixed a damaged water supply and started a broken-down truck together (Spears & Tausch 2014: 526). These cooperative tasks encouraged the boys to combine their efforts and work together towards mutually beneficial goals. As a result of this cooperation, the initially conflictual dynamics decreased and turned into intergroup harmony (Gaertner et al. 2000: 99).

The experiment vividly demonstrated three principles which bear important implications for intergroup relations in general. First, group labels and activities have the potential to strengthen group identities. Second, competition for limited resources may lead to situations of negative interdependence. In such situations, goal attainment is obstructed by members of the other group, causing a real conflict of interest. This condition not only breeds hostilities and prejudice against members of the other group, it also reinforces solidarity with and favoritism towards members of one's own group (Spears & Tausch 2014: 526f.). Third, realistic conflicts cannot be solved by merely spending time together. Rather, it is crucial to define common superordinate goals, which require cooperative work and thus enhance the quality of intergroup relations.

Taken together, Allport's contact conditions as well as Sherif's findings offer valuable insight into effective reduction of prejudice. Along with the dimensions of social perception, these principles contribute to a deeper understanding of prejudice, its elements and ways of reducing it. This theoretical framework serves as an important basis for the study presented in this thesis. The study has been conducted in the context of an intercultural encounter between students and refugees. Based on previously reported findings regarding intergroup contact, it was hypothesized that (1) the *Global Peace Path* project would reduce prejudice among the participants. Given the heterogeneous backgrounds of the participants, it was further hypothesized that (2) warmth and competence assessments of the social groups would differ between the students and refugees.

3 METHOD

Departing from the fundamental dimensions of warmth and competence, this study examined differences in stereotype content as well as the effect of intercultural contact on intergroup attitudes based on quantitative data analysis.

3.1 Research Context

All data of the study were collected at the University of Munich (LMU) in the context of the *Global Peace Path*, a project launched in spring 2018 by Dr. Petra Rauschert and Claudia Mustroph, both lecturers in the Department of TEFL at LMU. The project aimed at fostering social understanding and dialogue between cultures while using the foreign language in a meaningful way. Although the *Global Peace Path* started as a local initiative, the project has been carried on to different parts of the world including India and Fiji.

Within the frame of this project, LMU students and refugees from Karlsfeld and Munich met each other at two full-day workshops in April and May 2018. During these encounters, the project participants collaboratively wrote poems on the topic of peace and translated them into three languages. These poems were then printed on signs and permanently erected alongside the lake of Karlsfeld. At the grand opening of the *Global Peace Path*, the participants were given the opportunity to present their poems to a wide audience and spend the rest of the evening together in a convivial atmosphere.

3.2 Participants

The initial sample of this study consisted of 39 participants (22 LMU students and 17 refugees). Seven participants were excluded from the study due to incomplete surveys, unmatchable self-generated identification codes or absence during the second workshop. The final sample thus included 32 participants in total (17 females and 15 males), 21 of whom were LMU students and 11 refugees.

The LMU students engaging in the project were attending a TEFL seminar, among which 11 teacher training students and 10 Masters students of English Studies took part in the study. The participating refugees came from housing areas for asylum seekers in Munich and Karlsfeld. Both subgroups are highly heterogeneous with respect to ethnic

background. Of the 21 LMU students, 11 persons are of German origin whereas the remaining ten come from various countries such as the United States, Chile, China, Hong Kong, Japan, Nigeria, Serbia and Russia. The refugee subgroup comprises eight participants from Near and Middle Eastern countries including Somalia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Syria, as well as three participants from West African countries (Mali, Sierra Leone and Senegal). Participants ranged in age from 17 to 45, with a mean age of 23.73, and were proficient in either German, English or both languages. The project participants did not receive any kind of reward or punishment for their participation but decided voluntarily to take part in the study.

3.3 Survey

Using pre- and post-test surveys, stereotype content and the effect of the contact situation on prejudiced attitudes was measured. The survey instrument consisted of two scales, each reflecting one dimension of social perception. The warmth scale contains six items whereas the competence scale comprises two items. Initially, the scales had an equal number of items. The competence scale, however, included certain items that implied hierarchical structures between the subgroups and might have caused unfavorable sentiments among the project participants. For this reason, the items were removed before the beginning of the study. The final pen-and paper survey thus consisted of 8 items. The instrument guaranteed anonymous data collection and evaluation by means of a personal code the participants generated themselves. Participants specified their level of agreement to the items on a five-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5).

Both the pre-test and post-test consisted of the same items, which were randomized in order. The surveys differed only in two aspects. The pre-test version additionally collected sociodemographic information on gender, age, education and nationality. The post-test version, by contrast, did not collect such data but included one additional question. This question asked whether the participants' opinion about the other group had changed positively, negatively or not at all. In order to guarantee full understanding of the survey's items, the survey was provided in German and English.

Based on the principles of the *Stereotype Content Model*, the survey measured the variables of warmth and competence. Warmth was operationalized as perceptions of sociability, trustworthiness and kindness of the other group. Competence was measured by perceptions of ability and intelligence of the other group. Warmth and competence

ratings were used to measure the degree of prejudice between the subgroups. A group's warmth was evaluated with items such as "friendly", "good-natured", "reserved" and "trustworthy" whereas competence was evaluated using the items "capable" and "smart". From the single-items on the dimensions mean scores were calculated. Low mean scores on the dimensions indicate a low level of prejudice; high mean scores point to high levels of prejudice on the dimensions. To measure differences in stereotype content, the mean values of warmth and competence were used, inverted and illustrated in scatter plots.

For reliability analysis, Cronbach's alpha was calculated to assess the internal consistency, a measure of inter-item correlation, for both subscales. At the first measurement point, the internal consistency of the subscale warmth is good, with Cronbach's alpha = .82. The subscale competence reveals an acceptable internal consistency with Cronbach's alpha = .74. At the second measurement point, Cronbach's alpha decreased for both subscales. While the correlations of warmth items are questionable ($\alpha = .67$), the item correlations in the competence dimension are rather unsatisfactory ($\alpha = .51$). Possible reasons for this decrease might be the small number of items or lower motivation by the time the post-test was conducted (end of the second workshop). These values of internal consistency are in line with those found in similar studies (Partridge 2016).

3.4 Design and Procedure

The design of this study was quasi-experimental and included measurements before and after the contact situation. Pre-test measurements were obtained immediately prior to the first workshop while post-test measurements were obtained two weeks later, after the second workshop. This design was employed to examine the effect of the independent measure, the contact between students and refugees, on intergroup attitudes representing the dependent variable. The participants of both subgroups completed the survey in the workshop room using pen and paper. After approximately 15 minutes, the participants handed in the surveys.

The pre-test was conducted at the beginning of the first workshop before the groups became acquainted with each other. Upon completing the survey, the participants were briefly introduced to the day's program and then played the game "Red Socks". The game not only brought movement to the workshop but also playfully rearranged the

existing circle sitting. As a result, the circle arrangement was mixed with members of both subgroups sitting next to a yet unacquainted person.

During the first workshop called “Meet & Write”, professional poets first gave the participants a German and English briefing into writing poetry and then provided small poetry exercises to warm up the participants. Coffee breaks between the workshop phases allowed for contact between the groups. In the second part of the first workshop, the workshop leaders explained the superordinate goal of the project: by forming multilingual teams, the participants were invited to collaboratively write poems about peace which would all be printed on signposts and permanently erected alongside the Karlsfelder See.

The teams consisted of three to four members coming from both subgroups. Since no language of communication was prescribed, the teams decided independently on the language used. Most groups chose German or English for communication. The multicultural teams were free to work in different rooms and could request help from professional poets. This working phase yielded a wide variety of different poems. During the lunch break, members of both subgroups mingled together while eating pizza.

Since the teams progressed at different paces, another working phase followed after the break. Moreover, the participants engaged in pantomime games which created an agreeable and playful atmosphere. Finally, the workshop leaders thanked the participants for their commitment and provided further information on the program of the second workshop.

The second workshop was held two weeks later under the motto “Meet & Mediate” and aimed at editing the drafts and translating the poems from the original language into two additional ones. The participants arrived in the workshop room on the date agreed and led casual conversations with other participants even before the official start. After a warm welcome by the workshop leaders, the participants listened to a short talk on editing poems by another professional writer, who assisted the groups during the ensuing working phase.

After returning to their original multilingual teams, the participants added lyrical finesse to their poems and subsequently produced versions in three languages: English, German and the native languages of the international team members. Apart from poems in German, English and French, the workshop participants also wrote poems in Arabic, Chinese, Dari, Russian and Urdu. Similar to the first meeting, the participants spent time together during lunch and coffee breaks and played group games. The second workshop ended with the participants cheerfully singing together the “Peace Song”, a song written

by a workshop participant from the refugee subgroup. At the end of the second workshop, the participants completed the post-test and took their leave.

The results of the workshops were presented at the grand opening of the *Global Peace Path* one month later. In the presence of LMU teachers, community representatives, the mayor of Karlsfeld, family and friends, the participants read several of their poems and sang the “Peace Song” together. Walking along the lake of Karlsfeld, the participants had the opportunity to delve into the different visions of peace. The opening event ended with a picnic where participants and other attendees could enjoy light food and refreshments while engaging in conversations in a pleasant atmosphere. By unleashing balloons with peace messages into the sky, the participants celebrated their joint achievement.

The detailed account of the project procedure illustrates that the contact situation between LMU students and refugees revealed many of the characteristics Allport and Sherif had already suggested. Supported by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, the *Global Peace Path* represents a cooperative project between the University of Munich, the Helpers-Circle Asylum Karlsfeld and refugees. The project was initiated by university staff who guided the participants through both workshops while encouraging mutual exchange of ideas at the same time. It is noteworthy that the staff actively avoided subgroup designations and instead promoted social mingling by means of games. During the workshops, the staff not only welcomed the participants warmly but also supported them in their work and approached everyone in an open, appreciative and respectful manner. By setting a normative frame of acceptance and mutual respect, the staff substantially contributed to an overall positive social climate. The support of the staff thus provided a convenient ground on which cooperation among workshop participants could unfold.

Moreover, the *Global Peace Path* project defined a common superordinate goal promoting intergroup cooperation and positive interdependence. The project was not competitive but required cooperation between the members of the subgroups: in order to create the Peace Path alongside Karlsfelder See, the participants collaboratively wrote poems in different languages which all together constituted important parts of the path. Within the multilingual teams, the members shared equal status and added their own ideas and language skills to the text production process. In this context, all team members benefited from each other in several respects. The creative process involved joint brainstorming, pooling of translation skills and creativity as well as an exchange of

visions regarding peace. Given the high degree of positive interdependence, the lines between the subgroups blurred while intercultural contact and cooperation increased.

From a purely qualitative viewpoint, this intercultural encounter fulfilled optimal conditions and seems to have strengthened the workshop group's cohesion through increased contact between the subgroups. Yet the question remains as to whether this intergroup situation truly led to prejudice reduction. It is the purpose of the following section to shed light on the empirical results of the survey study.

4 RESULTS

The software program used to analyze the data was *Statistical Package for Social Sciences* (IBM ® - SPSS ® V. 26.0.0.0). This section will first present results from analyses on the effect of intergroup contact on prejudice. In a second step, findings on stereotype content differences will be depicted. In order to test the hypotheses posited above, analyses of variance (ANOVA) with repeated measures were conducted. For all following analyses, the significance level was set to 5%.

4.1 Intergroup Contact and Prejudice

4.1.1 Main Analysis

The first hypothesis examined whether the intergroup contact situation reduced prejudice among the participants. To assess the change in attitudes from the first to the second measurement point (*MMP*), mean values and standard deviations for stereotypes on warmth and competence were calculated (see Table 2). Lower mean values indicate lower prejudice on the warmth/ competence dimension; higher mean values indicate higher prejudice on the warmth/ competence dimension. The descriptive measures serve as a basis for the significance testing.

Table 2 *Pre- and post-test changes on warmth and competence perceptions*

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>MMP</i>	Students		Refugees		All Participants	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Warmth	MMP 1	2.350	.120	2.633	.166	2.492	.102
	MMP 2	1.896**	.097	2.483**	.134	2.189*	.083
Competence	MMP 1	2.159	.553	2.361	.881	2.230	.680
	MMP 2	1.814**	.420	2.542**	1.177	2.071	.836

* Mean difference between MMPs is significant at the .05 level

** Mean difference between subgroups is significant at the .05 level

At the first measurement point (pre-test), the average scores of warmth and competence stereotypes were moderate for all participants (see Table 2). At the second measurement point (post-test), however, the average scores of warmth and competence stereotypes decreased to a moderately low level. According to one-way repeated-measures ANOVA, there was a significant difference in warmth stereotypes for all participants across time

($F(1,30)=7.927, p=.009$). Competence stereotypes, by contrast, were not significantly different before and after the project ($F(1,30)=.199, p=.659$). These findings suggest that prejudice of the participants decreased to a certain extent after the contact situation.

Pre- and post-analyses of differences in prejudice between subgroups yielded interesting results. The analysis revealed a significant difference in warmth stereotypes between the subgroups ($F(1,30)=8.173, p=.008$). A closer look at the mean values from both measurement points revealed a greater decrease in warmth stereotypes for students than for refugees (see Figure 1). In terms of competence stereotypes, the subgroups differed significantly ($F(1,30)=6.365, p=.017$). Descriptive analysis showed that competence stereotypes among students decreased from a moderate to a moderately low level (see Table 2). In contrast, competence stereotypes among refugees increased slightly from a moderately low to a moderate level (see Figure 2).

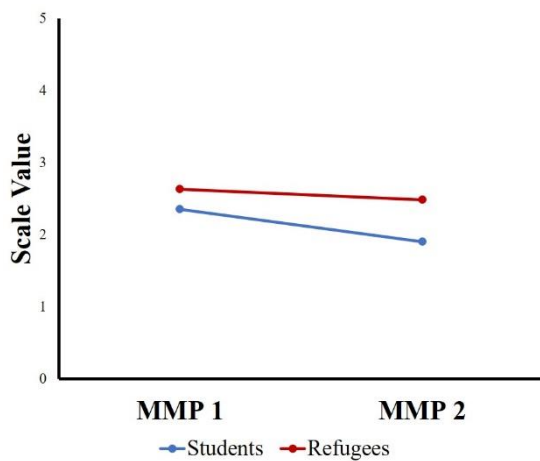


Figure 1 Change of warmth stereotypes across MMPs

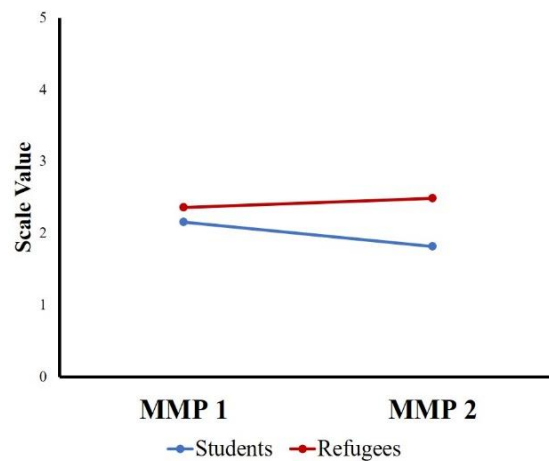


Figure 2 Change of competence stereotypes across MMPs

4.1.2 Additional Analyses

Further analyses were conducted to examine the participant responses to individual test items. Table 3 provides separate mean values and standard deviations for both subgroups as well as values for all participants.

Table 3 Pre- and post-test item changes on warmth and competence perceptions

	Item	MMP	Students		Refugees		All participants	
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Warmth	***Most refugees/ Germans tend to be friendly and good-natured.	MMP 1	2.500	.216	1.727	.305	2.114	.187
		MMP 2	1.364	.132	1.455	.186	1.409*	.114
	Most refugees/ Germans are reserved.	MMP 1	2.682	.217	2.400	.322	2.541	.194
		MMP 2	2.500	.219	3.300	.325	2.900	.196
	Most refugees/ Germans are insincere.	MMP 1	2.429	.215	2.583	.284	2.506	.178
		MMP 2	2.333	.278	2.167	.368	2.250	.231
	Most refugees/ Germans prefer socializing with other refugees/Germans.	MMP 1	3.429	.286	2.750	.379	3.089	.237
		MMP 2	2.476	.248	3.667	.328	3.071	.205
	The values and beliefs of my culture/ Germans regarding social relations are NOT compatible with the beliefs and values of most Germans/ my culture.	MMP 1	2.619	.275	3.636	.379	3.128	.234
		MMP 2	2.238	.212	2.364	.293	2.301*	.181
***I am able to trust refugees/ Germans.	MMP 1	2.286	.267	2.364	.369	2.325	.227	
	MMP 2	2.095	.211	2.273	.291	2.184	.180	
Competence	***Most refugees/ Germans are capable.	MMP 1	1.682	.181	2.182	.256	1.932	.157
		MMP 2	1.318**	.175	2.273**	.248	1.795	.152
	*** Most refugees/ Germans are smart.	MMP 1	1.909	.213	2.700	.316	2.305	.190
		MMP 2	1.500**	.187	2.800**	.277	2.150	.167

* Mean difference between MMPs is significant at the .05 level

** Mean difference between subgroups is significant at the .05 level

*** Items were inverted prior to analysis

One-way repeated-measures ANOVA showed significant differences in friendliness perception across time ($F(1,30)=12.981, p=.001$). No significant differences between the subgroups were found. Similarly, significant differences across time were detected with respect to perceptions of value compatibility ($F(1,30)=9.380, p=.005$). No significant differences between the subgroups were detected. Descriptive information on friendliness and value compatibility reflect lower mean values for all participants on both items. These findings suggest that both subgroups perceived the other group as friendlier and more compatible with their own values after the contact situation.

Descriptive measures of perceptions of reservedness and sociability revealed contradicting findings. For all participants, the average score of perceptions of reservedness was slightly higher after the contact situation than before; the average score

of perceptions of sociability remained relatively stable over time (see Table 3). The differences in the participants' perceptions of reservedness and sociability were found to be statistically non-significant. A closer look at descriptive statistics for perceptions of the other group's reservedness showed that students' perceptions of the other group's reservedness tended to decrease whereas refugees' perceptions of the other's reservedness increased by nearly one point (see Table 3). The same tendencies regarding group differences were detected for perceptions of sociability (see Table 3). However, significance testing indicated that the group differences in perceptions of reservedness and sociability were not statistically significant. Taken together, descriptive measures suggest that students perceive the other group as less reserved and more sociable while refugees perceive the other group as more reserved and less sociable. Nonetheless, these findings were not found to be statistically significant and thus need to be treated with caution.

According to one-way repeated-measures ANOVA, there were no significant differences in the perceptions of insincerity and trustworthiness between the subgroups. For all participants, average scores of insincerity perceptions decreased slightly over time (see Table 3). Regarding lack of trust, all participants tended to have lower average scores after the contact situation (see Table 3). Although descriptive measures indicate that all participants perceive the other group as more sincere and trustworthy after the contact situation, these values need to be interpreted with caution. Significance testing revealed no significant differences in perceptions of insincerity and trustworthiness between the measurement points.

A final one-way ANOVA with repeated measures included individual items regarding competence. The analysis pointed to significant differences in perception between the subgroups (capability: $F(1,30)= 8.479, p=.007$; smartness: $F(1,30)=12.915, p=.001$). As for perceptions referring to lack of capability, the average score of students decreased by nearly half a point whereas the average scores of refugees increased, albeit only minimally (see Table 3). With regard to lack of smartness, the perceptions between the subgroups differed in a similar pattern. While average scores of students decreased, refugees revealed a slightly higher average score on this item (see Table 3). This descriptive information suggests that students perceived the other group as more capable and smarter after the contact situation; refugees, by contrast, perceived the other group as slightly less capable and smart after the project (see Table 3).

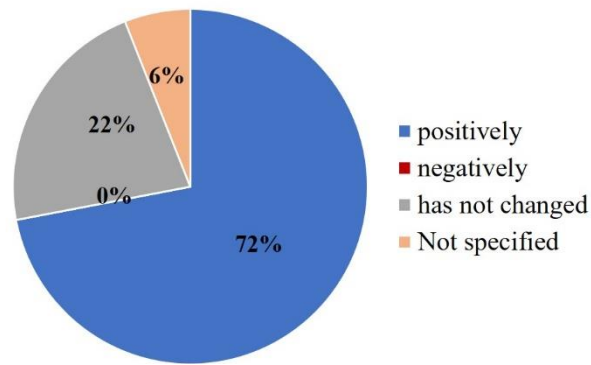


Figure 3 *Subjective perception of opinion change*

In addition to these items, the post-test survey asked the students and refugees to indicate whether their opinion about the other has changed positively, negatively or not at all after the project. Figure 3 shows the subjective evaluations of all participants.

Of all the participants who completed the survey, 23 participants (72%) reported that their opinion about the other has changed positively after the project. Seven participants (22%) indicated that their opinion about the other has not changed. Two participants (6%) did not respond to this item. None of the participants reported a negative change of opinion after the contact situation.

4.2 Differences in Stereotype Content

The second hypothesis examined whether the warmth and competence assessments of the social groups would differ between students and refugees. To measure differences in stereotype content, the mean values of warmth and competence were used, inverted and illustrated in scatter plots. Higher mean values indicate higher warmth/competence perceptions, and lower mean values indicate lower warmth/competence perceptions. Table 4 summarizes warmth and competence means for each subgroup. The column “students” contains information on the stereotype content of the student subgroup; the column “refugees” contains information on the stereotype content of the refugee subgroup.

Table 4 *Changes on stereotype content*

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>MMP</i>	Stereotypes of students		Stereotypes of refugees	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Warmth	MMP 1	2.367	.166	2.650	.120
	MMP 2	2.517	.134	3.104	.097
Competence	MMP 1	2.639	.881	2.841	.553
	MMP 2	2.458	1.177	3.186	.420

For both measurement points, means of warmth and competence perceptions for the subgroups were arranged in a two-dimensional graph with four quadrants. The results are depicted in Figure 5 and Figure 6.

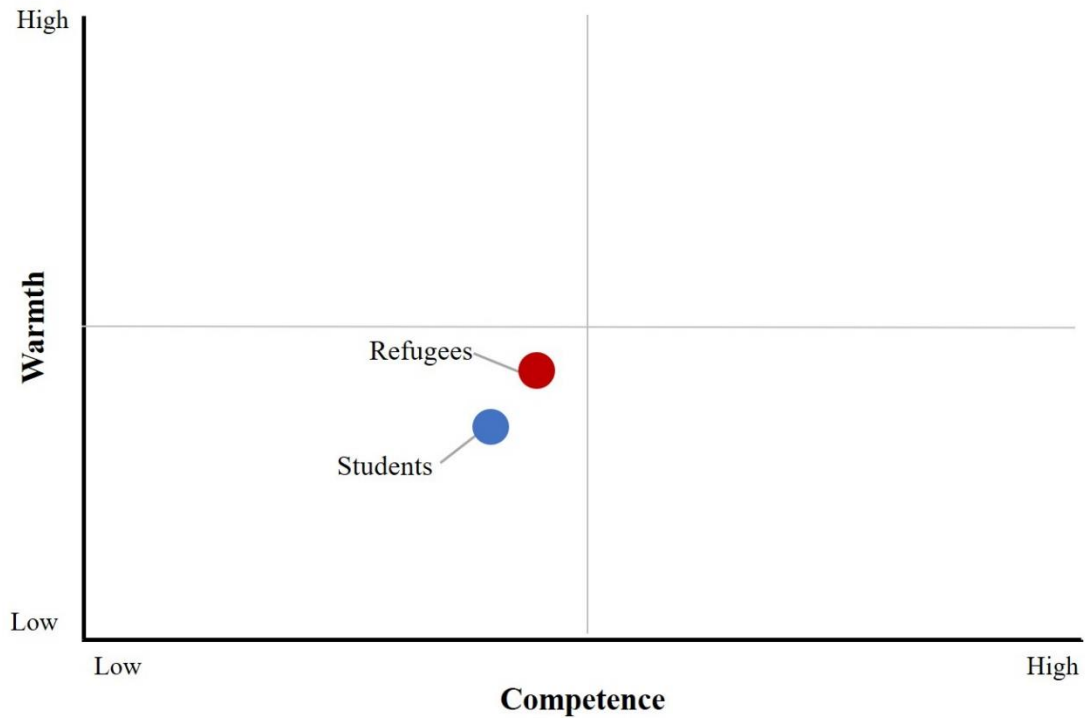


Figure 4 *Pre-test results on stereotype content of students and refugees*

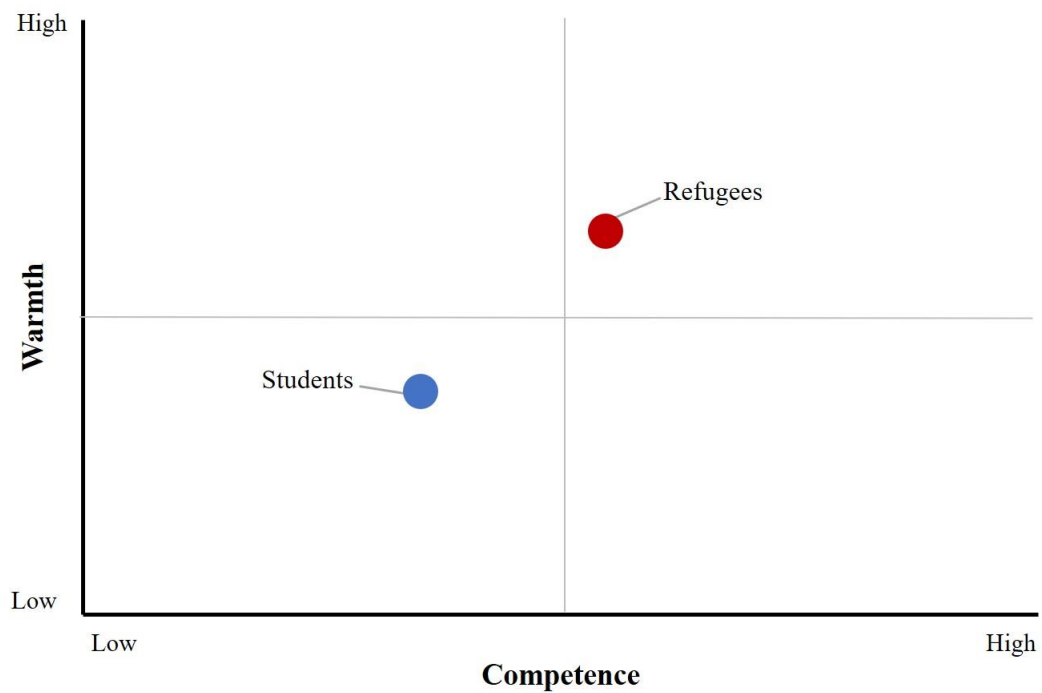


Figure 5 *Post-test results on stereotype content of students and refugees*

Figure 5 illustrates the stereotype content of both subgroups at the first measurement point. As illustrated by Figure 5, refugees received moderately low warmth and moderately low competence ratings from students. Students received slightly lower ratings on both dimensions from refugees. Relatively seen, both subgroups fall into a univalent quadrant with low warmth and low competence assessments. In terms of the SCM, refugees as well as students seem to receive contemptuous prejudice from their raters; feelings of anger and resentment may accompany this type of prejudice.

The analysis of data from the second measurement point produced a slightly different dimensional arrangement. After the contact situation, refugees received higher warmth and competence ratings from students. This change placed the refugees into the admiration quadrant. Students, by contrast, received slightly lower competence ratings but were perceived slightly warmer than before the contact situation. Their quadrant position did not change. Students thus still seem to receive contemptuous prejudice from refugees.

5 DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to investigate the effect of intercultural encounters on prejudice and stereotype content differences between two subgroups. In accordance with our expectations and existing literature, the *Global Peace Path* project has contributed to a positive change of prejudiced attitudes on the dimensions of warmth and competence. In particular, warmth perceptions of all participants improved after the contact situation. This development was found to be statistically significant. Contrary to our predictions and available literature, changes in perceptions of competence were not statistically significant. However, descriptive data indicate a positive trend with respect to the competence dimension. Moreover, subjective perceptions of opinion change revealed positive findings. These results corroborate previous meta-analytical findings which indicate that intergroup contact typically reduces intergroup prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006).

A closer look at traits of warmth revealed significant differences in perceptions of friendliness and value compatibility after the contact situation. More specifically, the participants were found to perceive each other as friendlier and more compatible with their value system. These positive developments may be related to three important conditions this intercultural encounter was framed by, namely institutional support, cooperation and common superordinate goals.

Research has already stressed the importance of institutional support in prejudice reduction (Allport 1954; Landis et al. 1984; Morrison & Herlihy 1992; Parker 1968). During the *Global Peace Path* project, workshop leaders as well as professional poets intentionally promoted a casual atmosphere to make bonding easier for students and refugees. By approaching all participants with respect and appreciation, the workshop leaders contributed to a friendly social climate which could have also been conducive to positive interactions within the groups.

Moreover, the intercultural project involved cooperation and common superordinate goals which, according to Allport (1954) and Sherif (1954), play an important role in prejudice reduction. The *Global Peace Path* project connected students and refugees to jointly write multilingual poems on the topic of peace. This condition might have influenced the intergroup relations in two important aspects. First, the achievement of the common goal required the workshop participants to rely on each other and combine their language skills and creative ideas. A large number of studies (Aronson

& Patnoe 1997; Desforjes et al. 1991; Gaertner et al. 2000; Johnson et al. 1984; Schofield 1989; Slavin 1983; Slavin & Madden 1979) indicates that such cooperative interactions promote mutual sympathy and more positive evaluations of others while simultaneously weakening perceptions of group boundaries. Second, the topic of peace represents an issue which is meaningful and relevant to all cultures. Both students and refugees could connect to this topic and contribute their ideas to the working process. The insight that the other has similar views on peace might have created an experience of togetherness and thereby lessened previously existing prejudice. These explanations comply well with other research which emphasizes the importance of cooperation and common superordinate goals for prejudice reduction (Banker & Gaertner 1998; Brewer & Miller 1984; Chu & Griffey 1985; Gaertner et al. 1994, 2000; Miracle 1981; Patchen 1982; Sherif 1966; Slavin 1983).

The study did not show statistically significant changes in perceptions of reservedness and trustworthiness, which may be related to the question of equal status. Many researchers have pointed to the significance of equal status before the contact situation (Brewer & Kramer 1985; Jackman & Crane 1986; Pettigrew 1998). Although students and refugees had the opportunity to make equal contributions *within* the groups, status differences *outside* the group settings may have had a mediating effect on perceptions of reservedness and trustworthiness. While the majority of students lives in stable and secure conditions, refugees are faced with numerous uncertainties related to their housing conditions, financial situation and residence status. Apart from these factors, experiences of escape, separation and possible traumas might have affected the refugees' self-perception and perception of others. These differences might explain why impressions of reservedness and trustworthiness have not changed.

A possible way to improve intergroup trust in the future is to create contact situations that allow cross-group friendships to develop. The power of cross-group friendships to reduce prejudice has been widely recognized in research (Ellison & Powers 1994; Pettigrew 1997a, 1997b; Pettigrew & Meertens 1995; Powers & Ellison 1995). Pettigrew (1998: 76) argues that contact situations which provide the opportunity to become friends with one another involve processes of self-disclosure and closer interactions. For cross-group friendships to develop, it is important to grant enough time. Thus, increasing the frequency of contact situations with friendship potential may be a conducive factor to improve trust in intergroup contexts.

In terms of competence perceptions, it was expected that evaluations would become more positive after the contact situation. This hypothesis was partially supported. The study revealed statistically significant group differences with students rating the other as more competent and refugees rating the other as slightly less competent after the contact situation. Possible explanations for these results could be equal status issues outlined above or several limitations of this study. First, the sample size was critically small ($N=32$). Second, the sample sizes were unequal ($N_{students} = 21$; $N_{refugees} = 11$). Third, removing the items on the competence scale led to a small number of items, which could possibly be less effective in precisely discriminating differences between pre- and post-test perceptions. Despite these limitations, data on competence perceptions imply a positive trend. In line with previous findings reported in the literature (Asch 1946; Wojciszke 1994; Wojciszke & Klusek 1996), this study points to the primacy of warmth judgments in social perception. It may thus be concluded that the *Global Peace Path* project has contributed to more favorable attitudes between the groups.

The second hypothesis examined stereotype content differences between the subgroups. In accordance with this prediction, differences in stereotype content were detected after the contact situation. Pre-test findings revealed similar stereotype content of the groups. Before the contact situation, students as well as refugees received contemptuous prejudice involving low ratings on both dimensions. However, data showed a different pattern of stereotypization after the project. While students were still stereotyped in the same manner, refugees received evaluations that indicate admiration from their raters. Literature points to the relevance of considering the different socio-cultural backgrounds of subgroups, which may have an effect on diverging stereotypical perceptions (Kotzur et al. 2019)

Results concerning stereotypes of refugee subgroups tie in well with previous findings. Pre-test data of this study lend support to findings by Kotzur et al. (2019), who showed that Germans perceived refugees as lacking warmth and competence. Post-test results of this study are similar to Partridge's (2016) findings which indicate that Canadians viewed Syrian refugees positively. It would be an interesting research question for future studies to examine the perception differences between Germans and Canadians. Possible reasons for the positive effects on the stereotype change in this study could be related to the demographical characteristics of the study participants. The participants were university students who can generally be viewed as rather tolerant, open-minded and multi-cultural. In addition to this, the positive intergroup experiences students

gathered during the project may also have been responsible for changes in stereotype content.

Interestingly, findings on stereotype content of the student subgroup do not reflect noticeable changes. Students received relatively low ratings on both dimensions before and after the project. This may be due to a variety of reasons. As described above, the uncertain existential conditions refugees live in may affect their perceptions of others and contribute to a lack of trust and reservedness. Moreover, the limited number of meeting opportunities may not have been enough to move the stereotype content of students toward a more positive direction. It is also plausible that the limitations mentioned above could have influenced the results obtained. Nonetheless, these findings complement previous research. The study has not only provided insights into the stereotype content of different subgroups, but, more importantly, it has also shown that these perceptions can be altered through intercultural encounters between the groups.

Taken together, the present study highlights the relevance of intergroup contact for prejudice reduction and offers new insights into stereotype content differences between groups. The results of this study bear important implications for the educational context as well. As one of the most influential agents of socialization, schools can impress social norms and values upon young people. Their potential to shape the consciousness of individuals positively lends schools a great role in promoting intercultural understanding. Not only do schools provide a fertile ground for discussions on inclusion, multiculturalism and tolerance, they also offer a frame in which students can be sensitized to more delicate topics such as stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination. Given the heterogeneous character of today's societies, it seems even more important that schools create contact situations under optimal conditions.

It has been shown in this study that cooperative activities have positive effects on interactions between people from different backgrounds. Cooperative group activities range from "jigsaw" teaching methods to more complex collaborative undertakings such as cooking communities, drama groups or projects similar to the *Global Peace Path*. Such forms of cooperation provide culturally heterogeneous groups with the opportunity to learn from each other, interact more closely and develop cross-group friendships. An important factor to be considered is the introduction of a common superordinate goal. In pursuit of such a goal, group members have to combine their efforts and skills and may thereby form stronger bonds. Furthermore, contact situations should be institutionally supported. In other words, social and institutional authorities are asked to actively

promote norms of respect, tolerance and appreciation of cultural diversity. Such institutional frames can help shape social interactions between different groups as well. Although deeply rooted social inequalities are difficult to compensate for, intergroup projects should offer activities that allow people from different backgrounds to contribute ideas, skills and efforts in the same way. Discussion topics such as peace, freedom or equality as well as other activities that are meaningful to a wide variety of people can be a valuable starting point for improving intergroup relations. Framing future intercultural encounters with these conditions may contribute to a reduction of prejudice and social exclusion while simultaneously strengthening dynamics of cohesion and integration in diverse societies.

However, there are several limitations to the study. As this was a quasi-experimental study with no control group, definitive causal inferences cannot be made. Future studies should include a control group and guarantee that the sample sizes of the groups are equal and larger. In this way, the effects of such encounters on prejudice could be determined with more precision. Another possible source of nonstatistical changes is the small number of items on the competence scale. The exclusion of items prior to the study was due to reasons of cultural sensitivity but may have affected the valid measurement of competence perceptions. Future studies should therefore increase the number of competence items and aim at an equal number of items on both scales. Although the surveys were provided in German and English, it cannot be ruled out that members of the refugee subgroup may have had language problems during their completion. Lastly, the findings of this study cannot be generalized as the student subgroup is not representative of the general population in Germany. Future research should thus explore the perceptions of various subgroups, especially those of minority groups, to gain a more comprehensive picture of intergroup prejudice.

6 SUMMARY

In times of explosive political rhetoric and splitting discourse on migration and other topics, prejudice reduction is an issue of fundamental importance. Considering the relevance of the topic, this research investigated the effect of the *Global Peace Path*, an intercultural project between LMU students and refugees in Germany, on prejudiced attitudes. The results of this study provide evidence for the positive effect of intergroup contact on reducing prejudice between the subgroups. It was shown that the contact situation within the *Global Peace Path* project led to statistically significant changes in warmth stereotypes, meaning that the perceptions of warmth increased after intergroup contact. Even though the change of competence stereotypes has not been statistically significant, trends point to a positive direction.

Moreover, patterns of stereotypization differ between the groups on both the pre- and post-test. Generally speaking, students were perceived as lacking warmth and competence before and after the contact situation. However, a closer examination of post-test results revealed a relatively positive change on the warmth dimension, which suggests that refugees perceived students as warmer after the project. A more noticeable change between the pre- and post-test results was found in the students' perception of refugees. In the pre-test phase, refugees were rated low on both dimensions. Results from the post-test phase confirm the importance of intergroup contact in showing that refugees were perceived as warmer and more competent after the encounter. These findings represent a valuable step towards a deeper understanding and positive change of intercultural dynamics in Germany, with hope that future cooperative projects will keep developing with a similar aim.

REFERENCES

- Abele, Andrea E. & Bogdan Wojciszke (2007): "Agency and Communion From the Perspective of Self Versus Others". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93 (5), 751–763.
- Allport, Gordon W. (1954): *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.
- Anderson, Lynn S. (1995): *Outdoor Adventure Recreation and Social Integration: A Social-psychological Perspective*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Aronson, Elliot & Shelly Patnoe (1997): *The Jigsaw Classroom: Building Cooperation in the Classroom*. New York: Longman.
- Asbrock, Frank (2008): *Die Systematik diskriminierenden Verhaltens gegenüber unterschiedlichen gesellschaftlichen Gruppen*. Bielefeld: Bielefeld University.
- Asbrock, Frank (2010): "Stereotypes of Social Groups in Germany in Terms of Warmth and Competence". *Social Psychology*, 41(2), 76–81.
- Asch, Solomon E. (1946): "Forming Impressions of Personality". *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 41, 258–290.
- Banker, Brenda S. & Samuel L. Gaertner (1998): "Achieving Stepfamily Harmony: An Intergroup-Relations Approach". *Journal of Family Psychology*, 12(3), 310–325.
- Brewer, Marilynn B. & Samuel L. Gaertner (2001): "Toward Reduction of Prejudice: Intergroup Contact and Social Categorization". *Blackwell Handbook of Social Psychology: Intergroup Processes*. Eds. Rupert Brown & Samuel L. Gaertner. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 451–472.
- Brewer, Marilynn B. & Roderick M. Kramer (1985): "The Psychology of Intergroup Attitudes and Behavior". *Annual Review of Psychology*, 36, 219–243.

- Brown, Rupert & Dominic Abrams (1986): "The Effects of Intergroup Similarity and Goal Interdependence on Intergroup Attitudes and Task Performance". *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 22(1), 78–92.
- Bye, Hege H., Henrik Herrebrøden, Gunnhild J. Hjetland, Guro Ø. Røyset & Li L. Westby (2014): "Stereotypes of Norwegian Social Groups". *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 55(5), 469–476.
- Caprariello, Peter, Amy J. Cuddy & Susan T. Fiske (2009): "Social Structure Shapes Cultural Stereotypes and Emotions: A Causal Test of the Stereotype Content Model". *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 12(2), 147–155.
- Chu, Donald & David Griffey (1985): "The Contact Theory of Racial Integration: The Case of Sport". *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 2(4), 323–333.
- Cohen, Elizabeth G. (1984): "The Desegregated School: Problems of Status, Power, and Interethnic Climate". *Groups in Contact: The Psychology of Desegregation*. Eds. Norman S. Miller & Marilynn B. Brewer. New York: Academic Press, 77–96.
- Cohen, Elizabeth G. & Rachel A. Lotan (1995): "Producing Equal-Status Interaction in the Heterogeneous Classroom". *American Educational Research Journal*, 32, 99–120.
- Cuddy, Amy J., Susan T. Fiske & Peter Glick (2007): "The BIAS Map: Behaviors from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92(4), 631–648.
- Cuddy, Amy J., Susan T. Fiske & Peter Glick (2008): "Warmth and Competence as Universal Dimensions of Social Perception: The Stereotype Content Model and the BIAS Map". *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. Volume 40. Ed. Mark P. Zanna. New York: Elsevier Academic Press, 61–149.
- Cuddy, Amy J., Susan T. Fiske, Virginia S.Y. Kwan, Peter Glick, Stéphanie Demoulin, Jacques-Philippe Leyens et al. (2009): "Stereotype Content Model Across Cultures: Towards Universal Similarities and Some Differences". *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 48(1), 1–33.

- Desforges, Donna M., Charles G. Lord, Shawna L. Ramsey, Julie A. Mason, Marilyn D. Van Leeuwen et al. (1991): "Effects of Structured Cooperative Contact on Changing Negative Attitudes Toward Stigmatized Social Groups". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60(4), 531–544.
- Deutsch, Morton & Mary E. Collins (1951): *Interracial Housing: A psychological Evaluation of a Social Experiment*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Durante, Federica, Susan T. Fiske, Nicolas Kervyn, Amy J. Cuddy, Adebowale D. Akande, Bolanle E. Adetoun et al. (2013): "Nations' Income Inequality Predicts Ambivalence in Stereotype Content: How Societies Mind the Gap". *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 52(4), 726–746.
- Eckes, Thomas (2002): "Paternalistic and Envious Gender Stereotypes: Testing Predictions from the Stereotype Content Model". *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 47(3-4), 99–114.
- Ellison, Christopher G. & Daniel A. Powers (1994): „The Contact Hypothesis and Racial Attitudes Among Black Americans". *Social Science Quarterly*, 75(2), 385–400.
- Fischer, Peter, Kathrin Jander & Joachim Krueger (2018): *Sozialpsychologie für Bachelor*. Berlin: Springer.
- Fiske, Susan T. (2017): "Prejudices in Cultural Contexts: Shared Stereotypes (Gender Age) Versus Variable Stereotypes (Race, Ethnicity, Religion)". *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 12(5), 791–799.
- Fiske, Susan T. (2018): "Stereotype Content: Warmth and Competence Endure". *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 27 (2), 67–73.
- Fiske, Susan T., Amy J. Cuddy, Peter Glick & Jun Xu (2002): "A Model of (Often Mixed) Stereotype Content: Competence and Warmth Respectively Follow From Perceived Status and Competition". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(6), 878–902.

- Fiske, Susan T., Amy J. Cuddy & Peter Glick (2007): “Universal Dimensions of Social Cognition: Warmth and Competence”. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 11(2), 77–83.
- Fiske, Susan T., Jun Xu, Amy J. Cuddy, & Peter Glick (1999): “(Dis)respecting versus (Dis)liking: Status and Interdependence Predict Ambivalent Stereotypes of Competence and Warmth”. *Journal of Social Issues* 55, 473–491.
- Flanagan, Cara, Matt Jarvis, Rob Liddle, Julia Russell & Mandy Wood (2018): *AQA Psychology for A Level Year 1 & AS: Student Book*. Charlton Kings: Illuminate Publishing.
- Froehlich, Laura & Isabel Schulte (2019): “Warmth and Competence Stereotypes about Immigrant Groups in Germany”. *PloS ONE*, 14(9), 1–17.
- Gaertner, Samuel L., John F. Dovidio, Brenda S. Banker, Missy Houlette, Kelly M. Johnson & Elizabeth McGlynn (2000): “Reducing Intergroup Conflict: From Superordinate Goals to Decategorization, Recategorization, and Mutual Differentiation”. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 4(1), 98–114.
- Gaertner, Samuel L., Mary C. Rust, John F. Dovidio, Betty A. Bachmann & Phyllis A. Anastasio (1994): “The Contact Hypothesis: The Role of a Common Ingroup Identity on Reducing Intergroup Bias”. *Small Group Research*, 25(2), 224–249.
- Herek, Gregory M. & John P. Capitanio (1996): “‘Some of My Best Friends’: Intergroup Contact, Concealable Stigma, and Heterosexuals’ Attitudes Towards Gay Men and Lesbians”. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 22, 412–424.
- Herrmann, Richard K. (2003): “Image Theory and Strategic Interaction in International Relations”. *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. Eds. David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy & Robert Jervis. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 285–314.
- Hogg, Michael A. & Amber M. Gaffney (2018): “Group Processes and Intergroup Relations”. *Steven’s Handbook of Experimental Psychology and Cognitive Neuroscience. Volume IV: Developmental and Social Psychology*. Ed. John T. Wixted. New York: Wiley, 1–34.

- Jackman, Mary R. & Marie Crane (1986): “‘Some of My Best Friends are Black...’: Interracial Friendship and Whites’ Racial Attitudes”. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 50(4), 459–486.
- Johnson, David W., Roger T. Johnson & Geoffrey Maruyama (1984): “Goal Interdependence and Interpersonal-personal Attraction in Heterogeneous Classrooms: A Meta-Analysis. *Groups in Contact: The Psychology of Desegregation*. Eds. Norman Miller & Marilynn B. Brewer. Orlando: Academic Press, 187–212.
- Kervyn, Nicolas, Susan T. Fiske & Vincent Yzerbyt (2015): “Forecasting the Primary Dimension of Social Perception: Symbolic and Realistic Threats Together Predict Warmth in the Stereotype Content Model”. *Social Psychology*, 46(1), 36–45.
- Kessler, Thomas & Immo Fritsche (2018): *Sozialpsychologie*. Wiesbaden: Springer.
- Kotzur, Patrick F., Marie-Therese Friehs, Frank Asbrock & Maarten H. W. van Zalk (2019): “Stereotype Content of Refugee Subgroups in Germany”. *European Journal of Social Psychology* (49)7, 1344–1358.
- Landis, Dan, Richard O. Hope & Harry R. Day (1984): “Training for Desegregation in the Military”. *Groups in Contact: The Psychology of Desegregation*. Eds. Norman S. Miller & Marilynn B. Brewer. London: Academic Press, 257–278.
- Lee, Tiane L. & Susan T. Fiske (2006): “Not an Outgroup, Not Yet an Ingroup: Immigrants in the Stereotype Content Model”. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30(6), 751–768.
- Lopez-Rodriguez, Lucia, Marisol Navas, Isabel Cuadrado, Dawna Coutant & Stephen Worchel (2014): “The Majority’s Perceptions about Adaptation to the Host Society of Different Immigrant Groups: The Distinct Role of Warmth and Threat”. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 40, 34–48.
- Miller, Norman & Marilynn B. Brewer (1984): *Groups in Contact: The Psychology of Desegregation*. Orlando: Academic Press.

- Miracle, Andrew W. (1981): "Factors Affecting Interracial Cooperation: A Case Study of a High School Football Team". *Human Organization*, 40, 150–154.
- Morrison, Elizabeth W. & Joyce M. Herlihy (1992): "Becoming the Best Place to Work: Managing Diversity at American Express Travel Related Services". *Diversity in the Workplace*. Ed. Susan E. Jackson. New York: Guilford, 203–226.
- Parker, James H. (1968): "The Interaction of Negroes and Whites in an Integrated Church Setting". *Social Forces*, 46(3), 359–366.
- Partridge, Erica J. (2016): "Exploring Predictors of Canadian Attitudes Toward Syrian Refugees and How They Should be Helped". *Undergraduate Honors Theses*, 32, 1–26.
- Patchen, Martin (1982): *Black-White Contact in Schools: Its Social and Academic Effects*. Lafayette: Purdue University Press.
- Pettigrew, Thomas F. (1997a): "Generalized Intergroup Contact Effects on Prejudice". *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 173–185.
- Pettigrew, Thomas F. (1997b): "The Affective Component of Prejudice: Empirical Support for the New View". *Racial Attitudes in the 1990s: Continuity and Change*. Eds. Steven A. Tuch & Jack K. Martin
- Pettigrew, Thomas F. (1998): "Intergroup Contact Theory". *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49(1), 65–85.
- Pettigrew, Thomas F. & Roelant W. Meertens (1995): "Subtle and Blatant Prejudice in Western Europe". *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 25(1), 57–75.
- Pettigrew, Thomas F. & Linda R. Tropp (2006): "A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751–783.
- Powers, Daniel A. & Christopher G. Ellison (1995): "Interracial Contact and Black Racial Attitudes: The contact Hypothesis and Selectivity Bias". *Social Forces*, 74(1), 205–226.

- Rosenberg, Seymour, Carnot Nelson & P. S. Vivekananthan (1968): "A Multidimensional Approach to the Structure of Personality Impressions". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 9(4), 283–294.
- Ryen, Allen H. & Arnold Kahn (1975): "Effects of Intergroup Orientation on Group Attitudes and Proxemic Behavior". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 31(2), 302–310.
- Russell, Ann Marie T. & Susan T. Fiske (2008): "It's All Relative: Competition and Status Drive Interpersonal Perception". *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 38(7), 1193–1201.
- Schofield Janet W. (1989): *Black and White in School: Trust, Tension, or Tolerance?* New York: Teachers College Press.
- Sherif, Muzafer (1954): *Experimental Study of Positive and Negative Intergroup Attitudes Between Experimentally Produced Groups: Robbers Cave Study*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Sherif, Muzafer (1966): *In Common Predicament. Social Psychology of Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Sherif, Muzafer (1967): *Group Conflict and Co-operation: Their Social Psychology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Sherif, Muzafer, O. J. Harvey, B. Jack White, William R. Hood & Carolyn W. Sherif (1961): *Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation. The Robbers Cave Experiment*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Slavin, Robert E. (1978): "Student Teams and Achievement Divisions". *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, 12, 39–49.
- Slavin, Robert E. (1983): *Cooperative Learning*. New York: Longman.
- Slavin, Robert E. & Robert Cooper (1999): "Improving Intergroup Relations: Lessons Learned from Cooperative Learning Programs". *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(4), 647–663.

- Slavin, Robert E. & Nancy A. Madden (1979): "Social Practices that Improve Race Relations" *American Educational Research Journal*, 16(2), 169–180.
- Spears, Russell & Nicole Tausch (2014): "Vorurteile und Intergruppenbeziehungen". *Sozialpsychologie*. Eds. Klaus Jonas, Wolfgang Stroebe & Miles Hewstone. Berlin & Heidelberg: Springer, 507–564.
- Stephan, Walter G. & Cookie W. Stephan (1984): "The Role of Ignorance in Intergroup Relations". *Groups in Contact: The Psychology of Desegregation*. Eds. Norman Miller & Marilyn B. Brewer . Orlando: Academic Press, 229–225.
- Stroebe, Wolfgang, Miles Hewstone & Klaus Jonas (2014): "Einführung in die Sozialpsychologie". *Sozialpsychologie*. Eds. Klaus Jonas, Wolfgang Stroebe & Miles Hewstone. Berlin & Heidelberg: Springer, 1–28.
- Terry, Deborah J. & Michael A. Hogg (1996): "Group Norms and the Attitude-Behavior Relationship: A Role for Group Identification". *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 22(8), 776–793.
- Thomas, Alexander (2006): "Die Bedeutung von Vorurteil und Stereotyp im interkulturellen Handeln." *Interculture Journal: Online Zeitschrift für interkulturelle Studien*, 5 (2), 3–20.
- Werth, James L. & Charles G. Lord (1992): "Previous Conceptions of the Typical Group Member and the Contact Hypothesis". *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 13, 351–369.
- Williams, Robin M. Jr. (1947): "The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions: A Survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Group Relations". *Social Science Research Council Bulletin*, 57, 153.
- Wojciszke, Bogdan (1994): "Multiple Meanings of Behavior: Construing Actions in Terms of Competence or Morality". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67 (2), 222–232.
- Wojciszke, Bogdan (2005): "Morality and Competence in Person- and Self-perception". *European Review of Social Psychology*, 16, 155–188.

-
- Wojciszke, Bogdan, Roza Bazinska & Marcin Jaworski (1998): "On the Dominance of Moral Categories in Impression Formation". *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 24(12), 1251–1263.
- Wojciszke, Bogdan & Bozena Klusek (1996): "Moral and Competence-related Traits in Political Perception". *Polish Psychological Bulletin*, 27 (4), 319–324.
- Worchel, Stephen, Virginia A. Andreoli & Robert Folger (1977): "Intergroup Cooperation and Intergroup Attraction: The Effect of Previous Interaction and Outcome of Combined Effort". *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 13(2), 131–140.