

14 Promoting intergroup trust among adolescents and young adults

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Intergroup trust might be broadly defined as a positive expectation about the intentions and behavior, and thus trust, of an outgroup towards the ingroup (Lewicki, McAllister, and Bies, 1998). According to Rotenberg and colleagues' framework of interpersonal trust (e.g., Rotenberg, 1991; Rotenberg and Morgan, 1995; Rotenberg, Fox, Green, Ruderman, Slater, Stevens, and Carlo, 2005), trust consists of three important components: reliability, emotionality, and honesty. In an intergroup context, *reliability* refers to whether promises made by the outgroup are fulfilled; *emotionality* refers to whether the outgroup refrains from causing emotional harm to the ingroup; and *honesty* refers to whether the outgroup is perceived as telling the truth, and behaving in a benign rather than in a malicious or manipulative way towards the ingroup.

Trust is crucial if society is to function effectively, because the formation and maintenance of interpersonal relationships is dependent on our ability to trust one another (e.g., Rotenberg, 1991; Rotter, 1980). Our ability to trust others has diverse psychological consequences, particularly among children. According to attachment theory, the quality of a child's relationship with their caregivers can affect their beliefs about whether others are trustworthy and, subsequently, their ability to have successful relationships (Bridges, 2003). Similarly, it is important for children that they are able to trust their peers, and know that they will be honest, reliable, and benevolent (Bernath and Feshbach, 1995). Children who tend to believe that others are trustworthy tend themselves to be more honest (Wright and Kirmani, 1977), higher in social competence and status (Buzzelli, 1988), better in terms of academic achievements

(Wentzel, 1991), and to experience lower levels of depression (Lester and Gatto, 1990) and loneliness (Rotenberg, Fox, Green, Ruderman, Slater, Stevens, and Carlo, 2005).

Rotenberg and Cerda (1992) found that children have a tendency to show a “same-race pattern of trust” (p. 622). That is, they believe that people of the same race are more likely to keep promises or tell the truth, and less likely to behave in a malicious or manipulative way towards them than are members of other racial groups. This ingroup-favoring trust bias helps to ensure the survival of the group because, by ensuring positive relationships between group members, the group remains cohesive. It is, however, imperative that we understand the factors that can help to increase intergroup trust, because research suggests that it may be an important aspect of harmonious intergroup relations. Consequences of trust include enhanced cooperation, information-sharing, improved communication, and problem-solving, all of which are likely to contribute towards successful relations between members of different groups (Hayashi, Ostrom, Walker, and Yamagishi, 1999). Intergroup trust is also recognized as a necessary part of reconciliation strategies which aim to improve community relations in the aftermath of intergroup conflicts. This is because it allows individuals to accept the risk of being vulnerable and to make conciliatory initiatives to the other party, with some degree of assurance that they will not be exploited (Blackstock, 2001; Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, and Hodson, 2002).

Despite its apparent benefits, however, intergroup trust is difficult to instigate. Rothbart and Park (1986) have found that many trustworthy behaviors must be demonstrated before a person is considered “trustworthy,” while just one untrustworthy act can deem a person “untrustworthy.” Accordingly, in societies characterized by severe intergroup conflict, distrust stemming from intergroup conflict lingers long after the violence itself has stopped (Webb and Worchel, 1986). In sum, the issue of how to create and maintain a relationship of mutual trust and cooperation, in order to ensure harmonious intergroup relations, is one of the major challenges faced by societies, especially post-conflict societies, today.

In this chapter, we outline our program of research which investigates intergroup trust among adolescents and young adults attending high school and university. We focus on this age group for three reasons. First, social development experts suggest that during adolescence and early adulthood, young people go through a process of identity formation, whereby they explore the meaning and implications of their various group memberships (Phinney, 1989, 1993;

Phinney and Chavira, 1992). During this process, their attitudes towards the ingroup and the outgroup are thought to be ambivalent and in a state of flux. Thus, intergroup perceptions may be relatively malleable during adolescence and early adulthood, and processes that generate intergroup trust may be particularly effective (Cairns, Leung, Buchanan, and Cairns, 1995).

Second, the adolescents and young adults who participated in our research were all in full-time education, either at high school or university. Pupils spend on average 15,000 hours in schools (Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston, and Smith, 1979) and, if they go on to university, continue to spend considerable time in educational and extracurricular activities with their peers. This provides the ideal opportunity to consider the potential impact of positive social interactions with members of other groups on perceptions of intergroup trust, although it is important to acknowledge that, even outside of the educational arena, opportunities for cooperative intergroup contact can arise in the workplace and local communities.

Third, despite these potential advantages, there has been relatively little research investigating intergroup trust among children. One notable exception to this is a study conducted by Rotenberg and Cerda (1992) with Native American and European American children, with a mean age of 10 years, who were attending either ethnically heterogeneous or homogeneous schools. Participants were shown a photo of a child who was identified as being either Native or European American, and were then presented with a series of scenarios in order to assess how trustworthy this individual was. It emerged that participants from both ethnic groups had lower trust expectancies of an outgroup member than an ingroup member, expecting outgroup members to be less likely to be able to keep a promise or a secret, and more likely to behave in a malevolent way. However, intergroup bias on trust was less evident in heterogeneous than in homogenous schools, suggesting that having the opportunity to interact with outgroup members may increase perceptions of trust. Thus, this study provides some indirect evidence that intergroup contact can moderate the intergroup bias in trust, although it should be noted that it did not directly assess intergroup contact (only the opportunity for trust, provided by a heterogeneous school); nor did it consider other potential predictors, or outcomes, of intergroup trust for intergroup relations. This represents a gap in the literature which we will now address.

In this chapter, we examine the predictors of intergroup trust, focusing primarily on the role of positive contact between members of different groups. We also consider some of the consequences of intergroup trust,

and the mechanisms that explain these benefits of trust for intergroup relations. We begin by summarizing research to date on intergroup contact and explaining why it might be an important predictor of trust. We then discuss our work on intergroup trust in three different intergroup contexts: sectarianism in Northern Ireland, race relations in South Africa, and ethnic relations in the UK.

Intergroup contact

Intergroup contact has long been considered a powerful means of improving intergroup relations (Dovidio, Gaertner, and Kawakami, 2003). The contact hypothesis maintains that positive interactions between members of different groups can reduce intergroup prejudice and hostility (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). Decades of research have demonstrated that intergroup contact can improve intergroup attitudes in many different contexts – for example, between the young and the elderly, host communities and immigrants, straight and gay people, people of different races and nationalities, and towards people with illnesses such as AIDS (e.g., Allport, 1954; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). Studies show not only that positive contact generates more positive attitudes towards outgroups (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006), but also that it increases perceptions of outgroup variability (Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, and Voci, 2004) and promotes forgiveness for past wrongdoings (Tam, Hewstone, Cairns, Tausch, Maio, and Kenworthy, 2007).

Cross-group friendship is a particularly effective form of contact, because it implies contact that is not only of a high quality, but also intimate and long-term (e.g., Turner, Hewstone, and Voci, 2007; Turner, Hewstone, Voci, Vonofakou, and Christ, 2007). Pettigrew (1997) found, in a cross-European study, that having friends in minority groups was a considerably stronger predictor of reduced prejudice than having neighbor or co-worker contact. Subsequent studies, conducted in a range of intergroup contexts, have supported these findings (e.g., Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, and Voci, 2004; Turner, Hewstone, and Voci, 2007; Turner, Hewstone, Voci, and Vonofakou, 2008). Unfortunately, in highly segregated sectarian areas it may be difficult to establish and maintain face-to-face contact. One solution to this dilemma is to utilize intergroup contact in an indirect manner.

According to Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, and Ropp's (1997) extended contact hypothesis, the benefits associated with cross-group friendship might also stem from vicarious experiences of friendship – the knowledge that ingroup members have friends in the outgroup. A

number of studies support this premise. Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, and Ropp (1997) showed that the more ingroup members White respondents knew who had outgroup friends, the less prejudice they displayed. This relationship has been replicated among Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland (Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, and Voci, 2004) and South Asians and Whites in the UK (Turner, Hewstone, and Voci, 2007, Turner, Hewstone, Voci, and Paolini, and Christ, 2007). It has also been developed as an effective intervention with school children, generating more positive attitudes towards refugees (Cameron, Rutland, Brown, and Douch, 2006), disabled children (Cameron and Rutland, 2006), and preventing worsening of attitudes to foreigners (Liebkind and McAlister, 1999). Extended contact is advantageous because one is only observing an ingroup–outgroup interaction, rather than participating in it directly, so it does not evoke the kind of “intergroup anxiety” (Stephan and Stephan, 1985) that often arises during actual contact – that is, anxiety specifically about interacting with members of an outgroup. On a practical level, extended contact may reduce prejudice on a broader scale, as an individual may not need to *know personally* an outgroup member in order to benefit from the positive effects of contact. In fact, the essence of extended contact is that the potential benefits of a single, cross-group friendship are shared across many people.

There is reason to believe that both direct and extended intergroup contact may help to develop intergroup trust in contexts characterized by intergroup conflict. Segregation is thought to play an important role in sustaining conflict between groups by fostering mutual ignorance, suspicion, and distrust (Gallagher, 1995). The promotion of direct intergroup contact and desegregation should therefore help establish the trust which may, in turn, promote more positive intergroup behaviors. Research has also demonstrated that multiple positive encounters are required for the development of trust (Rothbart and Park, 1986; Worchel, Cooper, and Goethals, 1991). One might therefore expect that regular, positive intergroup contact that has no negative consequences for either party will help to build confidence among group members, and help to perpetuate the belief that the other group means no harm. Extended contact may also play an important role in establishing outgroup trust, because sharing a network of interpersonal relations with others can increase trust. Individuals may therefore trust others if they know (or believe) that they are directly or indirectly connected to each other through mutual friendships or connections (Maddux and Brewer, 2005). Indeed, there is evidence that a stranger is more likely to be trusted if it is believed that they are a member of one’s social network (Yamagishi and Yamagishi, 1994).

We now summarize some of the results of our recent research on intergroup trust, beginning in Northern Ireland, and moving on, first, to South Africa, and then to ethnic relations in the UK. In each case, we focus on the fundamental role of intergroup contact in building intergroup trust.

Intergroup trust in Northern Ireland

In Northern Ireland, approximately 44 percent of the population is Catholic, and many of them believe that the North of Ireland should leave the United Kingdom and become part of the Republic of Ireland. Around 53 percent are Protestant, and most want to remain a part of the United Kingdom (Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency). In the late 1960s, the Catholic community in Northern Ireland initiated a civil rights campaign to establish equality with Protestants in employment, education, housing, and voting rights. This sparked sectarian violence, and since then over 3,700 people have been killed and over 35,000 injured as a result of ethno-political violence. Moreover, more than half of the Northern Irish population knows someone who was injured or killed in the Troubles (Smyth and Hamilton, 2003).

In recent years, the Northern Irish peace process has met with great success. Militant sectarian groups have disarmed; stable democratic self-government has been established; and there are now high levels of equality between Catholics and Protestants. But despite this progress, religious polarization continues to be so strong that many central features of social life (e.g., areas of residence, schools, shops, political parties, sports, cultural activities, places of worship, first and last names) can be identified as being either Catholic or Protestant (Nelson, Dickson, and Hargie, 2003). Society also remains fundamentally segregated between Catholics and Protestants. It is estimated that 35 to 40 percent of Northern Irish residents live in completely segregated communities (Whyte, 1986). Moreover, there is evidence of self-segregation when it comes to friendships: 55 percent of Protestants and 75 percent of Catholics report that "all or most" of their friends are of the same religion as them. There is also segregation in the educational system, in which 94 percent of children attend a Catholic or a Protestant, rather than a mixed, school (NICIE, 2008). This segregation allows prejudice and stereotypes to flourish (Whyte, 1986).

Many Northern Irish politicians and policy documents have emphasized the importance of introducing cross-community contact in order to establishing mutual trust and generate more positive intergroup relations. In April 2003, for example, the British and Irish governments

issued a joint declaration regarding the Northern Irish situation: "A key impediment to completing the evolution to [a stable society] in Northern Ireland is that both major traditions have lacked confidence and trust in each other. The two Governments ... recognise the importance of building trust and improving community relations, tackling sectarianism and addressing segregation, including initiatives to facilitate and encourage integrated education and mixed housing" (Joint Declaration by the British and Irish Governments, 2003; see also Foley and Robinson, 2004; Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Paolini, McLernon, Crisp, and Niens, 2005; Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger, and Niens, 2006; Hewstone, Cairns, Kenworthy, Hughes, Tausch, Voci, von Hecker, Tam, and Pinder, 2008; Mitchell, 1999). Yet there has been a lack of conceptual analysis and empirical research on the subject. Our research addressed this issue by investigating the predictors and consequences of intergroup trust in young people in Northern Ireland. Our initial studies were cross-sectional surveys, which we analyzed using structural equation modelling (SEM) to compare various models of the patterns of association between the variables measured. Although we cannot demonstrate causality with these analyses, we did test a number of alternative models in each case, and the models presented were in each case the best-fitting model of a number of alternatives.

We first conducted two cross-sectional surveys among young Catholics and Protestants who had recently left their almost exclusively segregated secondary schools for desegregated universities (Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, and Cairns, 2009). Participants were asked about their frequency of high-quality contact with the other community. They also reported the extent to which respondents intended to behave in positive ways towards the outgroup (for example, spending time with them, finding out more about them, and talking to them) or in negative ways (for example, opposing them, confronting them, or avoiding them). Finally, to assess trust, participants were also asked to indicate their agreement, on a seven-point scale, with the following statements regarding the other community: "I can trust them when they say they are sorry," "I can trust them when they say they want peace," "I trust the other community not to take all the jobs if they had the chance," "I can't trust them because they want revenge for things we have done to them," "I can't trust politicians from the other community to act fairly in the interests of everyone," "I can't trust politicians from the other community when it comes to the issue of policing," and "I can't trust politicians from the other community when it comes to the issue of education" (with the last four items reverse-coded). SEM analyses showed that intergroup trust was a powerful mediator of the relationship between intergroup contact and

behavioral tendencies. People who had higher levels of contact with the other community tended to trust the outgroup more. Furthermore, people who were more trusting of the other community were inclined to behave in more positive and less negative ways towards them.

We conducted a second study to replicate these findings with a larger sample, and to address an additional question: Does trust operate in the same way as outgroup attitude in improving intergroup behaviors, or is trust in fact a better predictor of behavior? As noted earlier, trust can be seen as a more demanding gauge of intergroup relations than positive evaluation, because it represents a potential risk to the ingroup in a way that holding positive outgroup attitudes does not. Trust may also be viewed as an emotion (Brewer and Alexander, 2002), and according to intergroup emotions theory, emotions are better predictors of behaviors than are attitudes (Mackie, Devos, and Smith, 2000). We therefore hypothesized that outgroup trust would explain more variance in behavioral tendencies than would outgroup attitudes. We also investigated extended contact as a predictor of intergroup trust.

Catholic and Protestant students (mean age 20 years) from three universities in Northern Ireland completed a questionnaire which assessed direct intergroup contact (frequency and quality of contact at primary school, secondary school, while living at home, and at university), extended contact (how many people in their community have friends in the outgroup), intergroup trust, and positive and negative action tendencies. Outgroup attitude was assessed by asking participants to indicate, on seven-point semantic differential scales, how negative-positive, warm-cold, negative-positive, friendly-hostile, generous-selfish, insensitive-sensitive, and insincere-sincere they thought outgroup members were. SEM analyses showed that respondents who had higher levels of direct and extended contact with the outgroup tended to trust the outgroup more and have more positive attitudes towards them. In turn, trust and attitudes were associated with more positive and less negative behaviors towards the outgroup (see Figure 14.1). Finally, we compared intergroup trust and outgroup attitudes as mediators of the effects of contact on behavioral tendencies towards the outgroup. These analyses revealed that while outgroup trust mediated the effects of direct and extended contact on both positive and negative behavioral tendencies, outgroup attitude only marginally mediated the effects of intergroup contact on behavioral tendencies, and failed to mediate the effects of extended contact on positive or negative behavioral tendencies. Together, these studies suggest that intergroup trust is an important component of conflict resolution and peace-building among young people in Northern Ireland, and may be even more important than reducing prejudiced attitudes.

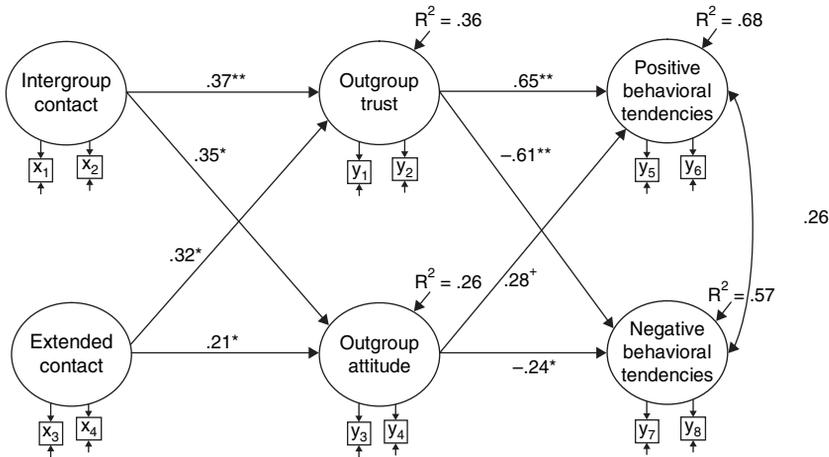


Figure 14.1 Structural equation model of direct and extended intergroup contact, outgroup attitude, outgroup trust, and positive and negative behavioral tendencies. Data from Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, and Cairns (2009, Study 2).

Notes: $*p < .05$; $**p < .01$; $***p < .001$

We next conducted two surveys among Catholic and Protestant university students, with the aim of identifying whether cross-group friendship predicts two important components of reconciliation in Northern Ireland: intergroup forgiveness and trust (Myers, Hewstone, and Cairns, in preparation). Intergroup trust was measured by asking participants three questions, to which they responded on seven-point scales: “Do you think most people from the other community would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?”; “Would you say that most of the time people from the other community try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?”; and “Generally speaking, would you say that most people from the other community can be trusted, or that you can’t be too careful?” (adapted from Brehm and Rahn’s [1997], measure). We also considered an additional potential predictor of forgiveness and trust: ingroup identification. According to social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1986), the extent to which individuals identify with their ingroup will affect how they react to group-based phenomena. In Northern Ireland, identification with one’s ethno-religious community (Catholic or Protestant) has been found to be an important factor in maintaining negative attitudes and is related to ingroup favoritism and outgroup discrimination (Gallagher, 1989; Hewstone, Cairns, Kenworthy, Hughes, Tausch, Voci, von Hecker, Tam,

and Pinder, 2008; Trew and Benson, 1996). Individuals with high group identification are therefore more likely to withhold prosocial affects, like intergroup forgiveness and trust, from the outgroup (Myers, Hewstone, and Cairns, 2009).

The research also considered three potential mediators of the relationship between cross-group friendship, group identification, and both outcomes: collective guilt, empathy, and perspective-taking. *Collective guilt* is experienced when the ingroup is seen as deviating from accepted moral norms (Wohl, Branscombe, and Klar, 2006). In Western societies, these norms include social justice, equality, democratic principles and concern for others' well-being (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, and Manstead, 1998). Collective guilt can be experienced for events that the individual self was not personally involved in when one's ingroup deviates from these humanitarian values. Research has established that once people become aware of their wrongdoing, positive compensations, such as affirmative action and reparations, as well as other forms of prosocial behavior, are common (Iyer, Leach, and Pedersen, 2004; Manzi and González, 2007; Wohl, Branscombe, and Klar, 2006).

There is increasing evidence that empathy plays a key role in improving intergroup relations. Empathy has both a cognitive and an affective component (Galinsky and Moskowitz, 2000; Stephan and Finlay, 1999). The cognitive element of empathy, *perspective-taking*, refers to actively taking the perspective of the other person or group: that is, "putting oneself in another's shoes," whereas *empathic affect*, the affective component of empathy, consists of compassion-related emotions that arise from a feeling of concern for another. Perspective-taking may reduce prejudice because it allows people to view themselves as less different from and more connected to members of the outgroup, and because it improves understanding of the outgroup and thus makes them seem less threatening and "alien." Perspective-taking also allows an individual to anticipate other people's behavior and reactions, which encourages smoother and more rewarding relations (Davis, 1983).

We conducted a cross-sectional survey in which we measured cross-group friendship and ingroup identification as predictors; collective guilt and perspective-taking as mediators; and intergroup forgiveness and trust as outcomes. SEM analyses showed that the more people identified with their community, the less they were able to take the perspective of the other community, and, in turn, the less they were inclined to forgive or trust the outgroup. Cross-group friendship, on the other hand, predicted outgroup trust, a relationship that was partially mediated by perspective-taking. Participants with friends in the other community were better able to take the perspective of the other community, which, in

turn, was associated with higher levels of intergroup trust. The relationship between friendship and forgiveness was mediated by collective guilt and perspective-taking. People with friends in the other community had higher levels of collective guilt and greater perspective-taking, which, in turn, were both associated with higher levels of outgroup forgiveness.

In a subsequent study, we developed our model further by including a measure of the affective component of empathy, empathic affect, in a questionnaire again completed by Catholic and Protestant undergraduate students. Empathic affect is brought about by perceptions of attachment (kinship, friendship, similarity, familiarity; Batson and Shaw, 1991). Since cross-group friendship involves attachment, it is likely to elicit the affective element of empathy. In turn, empathy has been shown to reduce prejudice towards outgroups (Stephan and Finlay, 1999). In order to measure empathic affect, Batson, Polycarpou, Harmon-Jones, Imhoff, Mitchener, Bednar, Klein, and Highberger's (1997) measure of emotional empathy was adapted for cross-community relations in Northern Ireland. Respondents were asked how often, when encountering or interacting with members of the other community, they had felt compassionate, sympathetic, soft-hearted, tender, warm, and moved.

SEM analyses showed that identification was associated with lower levels of intergroup forgiveness and trust – relationships that were fully mediated by perspective-taking. Specifically, those who highly identified with their own community were less able to take the perspective of the outgroup, which, in turn, was associated with lower levels of forgiveness and trust. Cross-group friendship was positively associated with forgiveness via two mediating processes: perspective-taking and collective guilt. The more friends in the other community that participants had, the more they took the perspective of the other group, and the more they experienced collective guilt. In turn, perspective-taking and guilt were associated with higher levels of intergroup forgiveness. Cross-group friendship was also positively associated with intergroup trust, this time via both aspects of empathy: empathic affect and perspective-taking. Specifically, people with cross-group friendship experienced more empathic affect and were also better able to take the perspective of the other community, which, in turn, predicted greater levels of intergroup trust.

Finally, we conducted a study to examine Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant students' implicit associations not only with the group labels *Catholics* and *Protestants*, but also with Catholic and Protestant militant sectarian groups (Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns, Marinett, Geddes, and Parkinson, 2008). We did this because focus groups we conducted with people from both sides of the Northern Ireland conflict had revealed that, when considering whether to forgive or trust the other

community, not surprisingly, people often bring to mind the actions of extremist sectarian groups associated with that community (McLernon, Cairns, and Hewstone, 2002).

Implicit measures differ from explicit, self-report measures in that they reflect thoughts and feelings that operate outside of conscious awareness (Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz, 1998). They reveal unintentional bias, of which those who consider themselves unprejudiced may be largely unaware (Dovidio, Kawakami, and Gaertner, 2002). Implicit measures of attitudes have been shown to predict spontaneous nonverbal behaviors, while explicit measures of attitude predict more deliberative and controlled behaviors towards outgroups (Chen and Bargh, 1997; Dovidio, Kawakami, and Gaertner, 2002). Both are therefore important for investigation in Northern Ireland. Moreover, even though explicit conscious attitudes may become increasingly positive towards outgroup members over time, implicit attitudes may not – especially in areas with residual tensions from the conflict.

We examined Catholic and Protestant students' scores on implicit bias measures, and considered associations between implicit bias, forgiveness, distrust, and behavioral tendencies towards outgroup members. We used the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGee, and Schwartz, 1998), a widely used implicit measure of bias, to measure the degree to which people automatically associated images of Catholic and Protestant extremist sectarian groups (e.g., the Irish Republican Army [IRA], the Ulster Volunteer Force [UVF], and the Ulster Freedom Fighters [UFF]) with positive and negative words (e.g., rainbow or ugly). Participants' response times, recorded by a computer, provided the measure of implicit group evaluation. We compared the "extremist sectarian" IAT scores with results of a standard Catholic-Protestant IAT, which measured the degree to which people associated Catholic names (e.g., Patrick, Maire) and Protestant names (e.g., Robert, Jane) with positive and negative words. To assess explicit prejudice, Catholic and Protestant student participants were asked to rate the degree to which they felt "cold" or "warm" towards Catholics and Protestants, on a "feeling thermometer" scale of 0° to 100° (see Haddock, Zanna, and Esses, 1993). Both Catholics and Protestants clearly displayed relative ingroup-outgroup bias on both implicit and explicit levels; but on both measures Catholics showed greater bias than did Protestants.

Brewer (1999) pointed out that a positive attitude towards the ingroup does not necessarily imply a negative one towards the outgroup. Ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation are, in principle, orthogonal concepts, and indeed are often found to be uncorrelated in empirical research. However, because the IAT does not allow for separation of

these concepts (Catholic-Good is always linked to Protestant-Bad in the IAT), we used the go/no-go association task (GNAT; Nosek and Banaji, 2001), and had the same respondents complete this additional implicit measure to investigate separately implicit ingroup favoritism (Catholic-Good versus Protestant-Good) and outgroup derogation (Catholic-Bad versus Protestant-Bad). For the GNAT, participants were instructed to respond quickly to items that fell into one of the categories (e.g., “Catholic name” or “Good”) by pressing the space bar, but to ignore any item that did not fit either category. Results showed that both Catholics and Protestants displayed ingroup favoritism *and* outgroup derogation on the implicit level.

Further analyses revealed that implicit associations with extremist sectarian groups in particular (as opposed to the outgroup in general) were related to intergroup outcomes, in terms of trust, forgiveness, and behavioral tendencies. The extremist group IAT predicted several intergroup measures that the Catholic-Protestant IAT did not. Negative associations with the outgroup *extremists* were associated with decreased forgiveness towards the other community ($r = -.24$, $N = 56$, $p = .07$) and increased distrust towards them ($r = .33$, $p < .02$). Interestingly, while negative associations with outgroup extremists were strongly related to *aggressive* behavioral tendencies towards the other community ($r = .42$, $p = .001$) (e.g., argue with them, confront them), they were only marginally related to avoidant behavioral tendencies ($r = .22$, $p = .10$) (e.g., avoid them, keep them at a distance). Negative associations with the *outgroup in general* were not associated with these three variables ($r = -.17$, $r = -.04$, $r = .08$, respectively, all *n.s.*), nor were the GNAT measures of ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation towards the *outgroup in general*. We therefore concluded that implicit associations with the extremist groups from the other community are distinct markers of intergroup distrust, aggressive behavioral tendencies, and a lack of forgiveness. These findings highlight the importance of developing interventions in Northern Ireland that focus on reducing fears and negative feelings about extremist groups specifically, rather than only the outgroup in general, and of targeting implicit as well as explicit biases.

Our final set of findings on intergroup trust in Northern Ireland come from a large sample of young people aged 16–19 years, who completed the 2003 Young Life & Times Survey (The Northern Ireland Life & Times Survey is a long-running, well-established and well-reputed annual “barometer” of social attitudes in Northern Ireland; see www.ark.ac.uk/ylt/). We conducted secondary analyses on this publicly available data set, which includes a number of measures relevant to our exploration of intergroup trust. The original sample was 902, which reduced to 762 when

participants who did not identify as being either Catholic or Protestant were excluded (the sample was further reduced, and varied across measures, due to missing data and “don’t know” responses). First, we classified respondents according to whether they lived in “mainly ingroup” ($N=460$), “mainly outgroup” ($N=41$), or “mixed” ($N=212$) residential areas (for all respondents who indicated their religious background and area composition). Next, we recorded how many of their “close friends” come from “the other main religious community.” Finally, we used two measures from the survey which pertained to different types of trust. These were items in which they gave their level of agreement to the statements that (1) “Most people who live in this area trust one another,” and (2) “Would you say that you trust: (i) most of the people in your area, (ii) many, (iii) a few, (iv) you do not trust, or (v) don’t know.”

Looking first at the mean level of responses, respondents living in areas containing “mainly ingroup members” had, as would be expected, less contact with outgroup friends than respondents living in either “mixed” or “mainly outgroup” areas. Moreover, we found that respondents living in “mainly outgroup” areas showed lower agreement that most people living in their area trusted one another, than did respondents living in either “mainly ingroup” or “mixed” areas. Additionally, there were no reliable differences between areas in the extent to which respondents said that they personally would trust people in their area. Finally, we computed correlations between the number of reported outgroup friends (the most intimate measure of contact) and the two measures of trust (agreement that most people living in their area trusted one another, and the extent to which respondents said that they personally would trust people in their area) in each of the three types of area. There was one especially interesting result. For those young people living in an area dominated by the outgroup, for whom one might expect daily life to contain numerous challenges, there was a highly significant positive correlation between cross-group friends, and agreement that the area was a friendly place to live in.

Summarizing this body of research on trust in young people in Northern Ireland, we have collected extensive evidence of a strong positive association between both direct and indirect intergroup contact and outgroup trust, and between trust and action tendencies towards the ethno-religious outgroup. Young people who identify more strongly with their group, however, are less able to take the perspective of outgroup members, and, in turn, are less trusting of the other group. Nonetheless, cross-group friendships may be an especially valuable resource for promoting prosocial orientations, including empathy, perspective-taking, trust, and forgiveness. Finally, we found that implicit associations with

extremist groups were especially strong markers of outgroup distrust, and that respondents' cross-group friendships were associated with their feeling of safety in their neighborhoods, even when they lived in an area where their own group was in a small minority.

Intergroup trust in South Africa

Whereas the situation in Northern Ireland is a classic, dichotomous conflict between ingroup and outgroup, the setting in South Africa is more complex in some ways. South Africa is arguably one of the most multicultural countries in the world (Vora and Vora, 2004). The South African population is comprised of Black South Africans (who make up the majority of the population), White South Africans, Colored South Africans (people of mixed racial heritage), and Indian South Africans (who are predominantly of East Indian descent). South Africa's tumultuous history of intergroup relations is characterized by conflict and distrust. This can be traced back to the arrival of the first Dutch settlers in 1652. They bartered for cattle with the local inhabitants, but what started out as a cordial relationship soon became hostile as the expanding colony encroached upon land used by the locals as grazing land, leading to disputes and open conflict (Thompson, 2001). Poor relations continued over the subsequent decades. In the 1920s, White Afrikaners perceived a threat, or *swart gevaar* (Black peril), posed to the cultural and economic future of White South Africans by continued contact and intermixing with non-White South Africans. This fear, which was manipulated by the Nationalist media at the time into full-blown distrust (even paranoia), was the driving force behind apartheid (Lubbe, 1991), the iniquitous policy to keep members of different racial groups separate from one another.

Apartheid came into being in 1948, under the predominately Afrikaans National Party, and was a grand exercise in racial segregation, which attempted to reduce intergroup contact between Whites and non-Whites to the bare minimum (Lemon, 1987). A host of laws criminalized intimate intergroup contact and drastically restricted social intergroup contact (discouraging specifically the establishment of cross-group friendships). Moreover, apartheid was maintained through warnings from members of the government of the negative consequences that were to be expected from intergroup contact (Kuper, Watts, and Davies, 1958). Accordingly, White South Africans acquired expectations regarding non-White South Africans that were negative in nature, and characterized by prejudice and distrust (e.g., Nieuwoudt and Plug, 1983). On the other side, Black, Colored (the term used in South Africa to describe mixed-race

individuals with some sub-Saharan ancestry), and Indian South Africans had undergone almost three hundred of years of exploitation by White South Africans, including 40 years of systematic oppression under apartheid, resulting in very low levels of intergroup trust.

When apartheid came to an end in 1994, the new President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, embraced the idea of a “rainbow nation,” to be characterized by cooperation, sharing, and charity between the different groups, where groups would not feel threatened by one another and would be able to trust one another (Broodryk, 2002; Tutu, 1999). However, a number of indicators suggest that distrust remains among all sections of South African society. As many as 66 percent of South Africans believe outgroup members are untrustworthy (e.g., Gibson, 2004; Mattes, Chikwanha, and Magezi, 2005; Slabbert, 2001), and that outgroup members are more prejudiced than ingroup members (Roefs, 2005).

One explanation for this continued distrust may be a lack of meaningful contact between different groups. There continues to exist large-scale residential segregation in South African towns, which, in turn, translates into racially homogeneous schools, churches, and community groups (Chisholm and Nkomo, 2005). Concomitant with this residential segregation, a national survey found that 15.5 percent of Indians, 32.0 percent of Coloreds, and 37.7 percent of Whites reported having no Black friends, while 56.4 percent of Blacks reported having no White friends. Furthermore, roughly 25 percent of Whites, Indians, and Coloreds found it hard to imagine ever being friends with a Black person, while 50 percent of Black respondents found it hard to imagine ever being friends with a White person (Gibson, 2004).

In order to investigate whether intergroup contact might help to generate intergroup trust in South Africa, Swart and Hewstone (in preparation) conducted a survey with White (mean age 16.83 years) and Colored (mean age 16.93 years) senior high school students in South Africa. Participants completed measures of cross-group friendship, intergroup anxiety, and intergroup trust, and we used SEM to analyze the structural relationships between these variables. The SEM showed that there was a significant path between cross-group friendship and intergroup trust: the more cross-group friends that White and Colored participants had, the more they trusted the outgroup. Further analyses showed that this relationship was partially mediated by intergroup anxiety: participants with outgroup friends were less anxious at the prospect of interacting with outgroup members, which in turn was associated with greater trust of the outgroup. We concluded that it is important to encourage interventions that focus on bringing South Africans together in contact settings

that have an atmosphere that is conducive to the establishment of social bonds, as this will facilitate both the reduction of intergroup anxiety and the development of trust.

Intergroup trust between South Asians and Whites in the UK

Finally, we consider intergroup trust in the context of relations between the South Asian and White communities in the UK. South Asians form the largest ethnic minority in the UK (Census, 2001), yet relations between the two communities have not always been harmonious, and in recent times, ethnic tensions appear to have increased. In 2000–2001, police recorded 25,100 incidences of racially aggravated harassment, common assault and wounding in England and Wales. The number of racial attacks reported to the police, however, may be only a fraction of the actual attacks that take place. According to the British Crime Survey (2001), those at greatest risk of racial attacks are Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (4.2 percent), followed by Indians (3.6 percent), and Black people (2.2 percent). By comparison, a tiny 0.3 percent of White people are victims of racially aggravated crimes. The animosity between the Asian and White communities has economic, social, and political antecedents. However, racial tensions may have been exacerbated and maintained by high levels of segregation between the two groups. A number of government reports blamed poor race relations on a lack of social cohesion between different ethnic groups (e.g., Cantle, 2001; Ouseley, 2001). Indeed, a survey undertaken by YouGov (2004) indicated the extent of the divide nationally – what the Cantle Report referred to as living “parallel lives” – revealing that 90 percent of White people have no, or hardly any, non-White friends.

Across three studies, one with primary school children (aged 7–11 years), and two with secondary school children (aged 11–16 years), we found that children who had experienced more cross-group friendships with the other community had more positive attitudes towards that community, a relationship that was mediated by self-disclosure (Turner, Hewstone, and Voci, 2007). Specifically, the more cross-group friendships children had, the more likely they were to have disclosed information of a personal nature to an outgroup member. In turn, the more children had self-disclosed, the more positive their attitudes were to the outgroup in general. We conducted a fourth study to investigate why self-disclosure seemed to be such an important predictor of reduced prejudice, and we expected that intergroup trust might be one factor that played an important role.

Kerr, Stattin, and Trost (1999) proposed that trust develops over time, as a result of experiences that show that a person's behavior is predictable and dependable. The more we learn about someone through their disclosures, the more certain we are that we can predict their future behavior in critical, integrity-testing situations. Accordingly, Kerr and colleagues found that children's self-disclosure to their parents predicted parental trust. Clearly, we are unlikely to disclose personal information to another person in the first place if we suspect that it may be misused. Self-disclosure is, however, a positively reinforcing process as a relationship develops (Altman and Taylor, 1973). Thus, as two acquaintances get to know one another and realize that the information they disclose is safe with the recipient, the intimacy of their self-disclosures and their trust in one another should increase. Trust should, in turn, lead to more positive attitudes; Petty and Mirels (1981) argued that self-disclosure implies a trust and confidence in the recipient, and that people trust and like those who trust them.

We also identified two further mechanisms through which self-disclosure during cross-group friendships might reduce prejudice. Specifically, we expected that self-disclosure might generate empathy (Stephan and Finlay, 1999) and increase the perception that contact is personally important for broadening one's horizons (Van Dick, Wagner, Pettigrew, Christ, Wolf, Petzel, Smith, Castro, and Jackson, 2004).

In order to test these potential mediators of the relationship between outgroup self-disclosure and outgroup attitudes, we conducted a survey among White undergraduate students, regarding their experiences with and attitudes towards South Asians. We found that self-disclosure mediated the relationship between cross-group friendship and trust, empathy, perceived importance of contact, and outgroup attitudes. We then looked at the relationship between self-disclosure and outgroup attitude. We found that intergroup trust, empathy, perceived importance of contact, and outgroup attitude fully mediated this relationship (see Figure 14.2). That is, the more people had experienced disclosure with outgroup members, the more they trusted and empathized with the outgroup, and perceived contact to be important. In turn, trust, empathy, and importance of contact predicted more positive outgroup attitudes. These findings suggest that intergroup trust plays an important role in predicting the positive consequences of self-disclosure during cross-group friendships.

Conclusions

Our research has shown that intergroup trust is an important component of intergroup relations among young people in three very different social contexts: relations between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland,

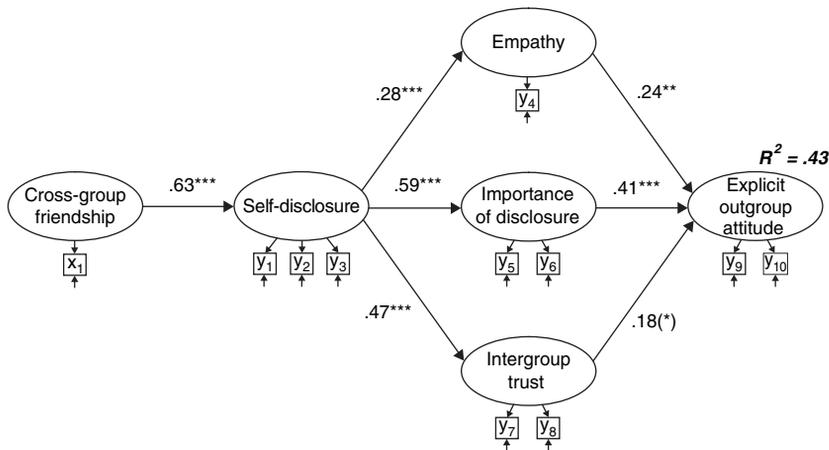


Figure 14.2 Structural equation model of the relationship between cross-group friendship and outgroup attitude, showing mediation via self-disclosure, importance of self-disclosure, intergroup trust and empathy. Data from Turner, Hewstone, and Voci (2007, Study 4).
 Notes: $*p < .05$; $**p < .01$; $***p < .001$

between different ethnic groups in South Africa, and between South Asians and Whites in the UK. In the aftermath of intergroup conflict, and in contexts where levels of intergroup segregation are high, suspicion and distrust tend to be high, and contribute towards negative intergroup relations. By identifying some of the factors that predict intergroup trust, however, we can suggest some strategies for alleviating problematic intergroup relations. Below, we summarize the predictors and mediators of intergroup trust, and make some recommendations for policy and practice.

Predictors of intergroup trust

We have found that three different types of intergroup contact promote intergroup trust: the amount of high-quality contact that participants have experienced (Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, and Cairns, 2009), the number of cross-group friends that participants have (Myers, Hewstone, and Cairns, in preparation; Swart and Hewstone, in preparation; Turner, Hewstone, and Voci, 2007), and extended contact – the number of ingroup members participants know who have outgroup friends (Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, and Cairns, 2009). The impact of direct forms of intergroup contact emphasizes the importance of introducing contact schemes as a key part of the conflict-resolution process, bringing

members of opposing groups together in order to alleviate distrust. If members of different groups are given the opportunity to learn and socialize together in educational settings and beyond, this may provide the greatest likelihood of generating intergroup trust.

Unfortunately, in post-conflict settings there are often high levels of educational segregation (Chisholm and Nkomo, 2005; NICIE, 2008). It is therefore important that policymakers and educators are made aware of the benefits of increasing educational integration. An additional strategy might be to introduce interventions based on extended contact in schools. Such interventions – which involve reading stories about cross-group friendships or sharing information with peers about one’s experiences of cross-group friendship – have already been shown to have benefits for intergroup relations, and we now have reason to believe that they will generate intergroup trust too (Cameron and Rutland, 2006; Cameron, Rutland, Brown, and Douch, 2006; Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, and Cairns, 2009).

Negative implicit associations held about extremist groups (Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns, Marinetti, Geddes, and Parkinson, 2008) and ingroup identification (Myers, Hewstone, and Cairns, in preparation) were associated with higher levels of distrust. Given that memories of the terror wrought by extremist groups are prominent, and ingroup identification is high in conflict and post-conflict settings, this is problematic. Intergroup contact may, however, provide a potential solution. Positive experiences with outgroup members may “dilute” negative implicit associations held regarding extremist groups. Intergroup contact has also been shown to promote identification with superordinate or “common ingroup” identities, as people realize they share more in common with the outgroup than they previously thought (e.g., Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000). However, it is important to ensure that group members do not feel forced to give up group identities that are important to them, as this can lead to a reactive increase in prejudice (e.g., Crisp, Stone, and Hall, 2006). Encouraging people to hold a “dual identity,” whereby they maintain their original group membership but share an additional group membership with the outgroup, can help to circumvent this problem (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000).

Mediating mechanisms

We have found that intergroup trust is a powerful mediator of the relationship between direct and extended contact on the one hand, and positive and negative behavioral tendencies towards the outgroup on the other. Intergroup attitudes, on the other hand, played a weaker mediating role

(Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, and Cairns, 2009). These findings highlight the importance of developing interventions that target intergroup trust, rather than just focusing on improving general positive feelings towards the outgroup, if we are to bring about positive changes in the ways groups treat one another.

Finally, we have also uncovered several mechanisms that underlie the relationship between intergroup contact and intergroup trust. The relationship between cross-group friendship and intergroup trust is mediated by an increase in empathic affect and perspective-taking (Myers, Hewstone, and Cairns, in preparation), and self-disclosure (Turner, Hewstone, and Voci, 2007), and a decrease in intergroup anxiety (Swart and Hewstone, in preparation). These findings highlight the importance of developing interventions in schools and universities. Particularly important are programs involving intergroup contact, which generate cross-group empathy and perspective-taking, reduce discomfort at the prospect of interacting with the outgroup, and provide opportunities for close relationships to develop between members of different groups, whereby they feel able to share their thoughts and feelings with one another.

Caveat and future directions

Notwithstanding the achievements of our research program to date – including multiple replications within and between intergroup contexts – a caveat is in order, and it highlights the need for future research. All of our research to date has been cross-sectional, thus preventing us from drawing confident causal inferences, a concern that is typically raised in the context of intergroup contact research (Pettigrew, 1998). The model we have presented in each case is the best model, which has been found superior to theoretically plausible alternatives. This allows us to draw tentative conclusions that the set of relationships between contact, mediators, and trust is, in fact, in line with the causal direction proposed in this paper. Nonetheless, future research must include both experimental and longitudinal designs, which will allow for more confident assessments of the direction of causality, and indeed we have already carried out such research on intergroup contact (although not yet with trust as an outcome), and are currently undertaking new studies that will help to address these lacunae.

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