

## When Metaperceptions are Affected by Intergroup Processes

Elena Méndez\*<sup>1</sup>, Ángel Gómez<sup>1</sup> y Linda R. Tropp<sup>2</sup>

*Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, España*

### ABSTRACT

The present study examines how metaperceptions can be affected by intergroup processes. Our main goal was to investigate how our expectations for how others see us are affected by the valence of the perception we believe outgroup members have of our group and the extent to which we perceive ourselves to be prototypical members of our group. 800 psychology students indicated how they thought outgroup members perceived their ingroup (metaperception of ingroup) and their self-reported level of prototypicality, in order to test the effects of these variables on how participants expected to be perceived by outgroup members (metaperception of self), their feelings of intergroup anxiety, their interest in contact with the outgroup, and the extent to which they believed outgroup members were interested in contact with them. Participants' metaperceptions were predicted by beliefs about outgroup members' perceptions of their groups, and particularly for those who considered themselves to be prototypical members of their ingroup. Generally, while participants low in prototypicality were not strongly affected by the valence of ingroup metaperceptions, participants high in prototypicality reported more negative metaperceptions about the self, greater intergroup anxiety, less interest in contact with the outgroup, and less perceived interest in contact by the outgroup when ingroup metaperceptions were negative as compared to positive.

*Key words:* Metaperceptions, Prototypicality, Intergroup processes.

### RESUMEN

Este estudio examina cómo pueden resultar afectadas las metapercepciones por los procesos intergrupo. El objetivo principal era investigar cómo nuestras expectativas sobre la forma en que nos ven los demás, son afectadas por la valencia de la percepción de nuestro grupo que creemos tienen los miembros del exogrupo y del grado en el que nos percibimos a nosotros mismos como miembros prototípicos del grupo. 800 estudiantes de psicología indicaron cómo creían que percibían a su grupo (metapercepción del endogrupo) miembros del exogrupo. Informaron también de su nivel de prototipicidad. Se trataba de contrastar los efectos de estas variables sobre la forma en que los participantes esperaban que los percibiesen los miembros del exogrupo (metapercepción del yo), así como sobre sus sentimientos de ansiedad intergrupala, su interés en contactar con el exogrupo y el grado en que creían que los miembros del exogrupo estaban interesados en contactar con ellos. Las creencias de los participantes sobre cómo percibían al propio grupo los miembros del exogrupo, especialmente en el caso de los participantes que se consideraban prototípicos de su grupo, servían para pronosticar sus metapercepciones. En general, cuando las metapercepciones eran más negativas que positi-

\*Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to the first author: Departamento de Psicología Social y Organizacional, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, C/Juan del Rosal 10, 28040 Madrid, España. E-mail: emendez@bec.uned.es. This research and the preparation of this manuscript were supported by Research Fund SEJ2004-01537/PSIC granted by Science and Education Ministry of Spain to Ángel Gómez.

vas, los participantes bajos en prototipicidad apenas se veían afectados por la valencia de las metapercepciones, mientras que los participantes altos en prototipicidad informaban de más metapercepciones negativas de su yo y mostraban mayor ansiedad intergrupal y un menor interés en contactar con el exogrupo, a la vez que percibían menos interés por parte del exogrupo en contactar con ellos.

*Palabras clave:* metapercepción del grupo, metapercepción del yo, prototipicidad, procesos intergrupo,

The present research concerns expectations for how one will be viewed by others (i.e., metaperceptions) are affected by psychological processes that link individuals with a group. Specifically, we investigate whether our expectations for how others see us are a function of the valence of the perception we believe outgroup members have of our group (i.e., metaperception of the ingroup) and the extent to which we perceive ourselves to be prototypical members of our group. In the present study, we focus on how members of a high status group (Spanish Nationals) expect to be perceived by a low status group (immigrants). We argue that the valence of ingroup metaperceptions will have a greater impact on metaperceptions of the self for those individuals who consider themselves to be prototypical members of their group, as compared to the effects for those who do not consider themselves to be prototypical. Additionally, we expect similar patterns of effects on participants' reports of intergroup anxiety, interest in intergroup contact, and beliefs about the extent to which outgroup members are interested in contact with them.

Metaperceptions generally refer to people's beliefs about the impressions that other people have concerning themselves (Kenny & DePaulo, 1993; Vorauer & Claude, 1998; Vorauer & Miller, 1997; Vorauer & Ross, 1993). Although there is increasing interest in understanding how metaperceptions are affected by intergroup processes (Gómez, 2002; Gómez & Rodríguez Bailón, 2000; Klein & Azzi, 2001; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998), we agree with Frey and Tropp (2006) that empirical studies of these processes have been limited and more work in this area is needed (see also, Gordijn, 2002). To date, most research on metaperceptions has studied the interpersonal context, where people form impressions about what others think of them as individuals, without considering the role of their group membership (see, Frey & Tropp, 2006). We seek to contribute to this growing and promising literature on metaperceptions by searching for mechanisms that might help to explain how metaperceptions are affected by intergroup processes.

People may be aware that others have perceptions of their groups (see, Klein & Azzi, 2001; Vorauer *et al.*, 1998), but understanding the processes involved is quite distinct as it involves our ability to see and adopt the other's perspective (Gómez, 2002). Although people often like to believe that others see them as they see themselves (e.g., Swann, 1983, 1990; Swann, Renfrow, & Guinn, 2002; see also, Gómez, Morales, Huici, Gavia & Jiménez, 2007), they may be less likely to do so when the source of the metaperception is less familiar to them (see Malloy, Albright, Kenny, & Agatstein, 1997; Robbins & Krueger, 2005).

In cases where people are being perceived by members of other groups, the salience of group membership should lead people to anticipate different kinds of metaperceptions than they would expect in interpersonal contexts (Frey & Tropp, 2006). In particular, research from the social identity perspective suggests that when group memberships are salient, people accentuate differences between members of their own group and others groups (see Hogg, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Under these circumstances, people are not only aware that they belong to different groups, but they are also likely to be conscious of the fact that members of other groups are aware of, and thinking about them in terms of, their group membership (see Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Frey & Tropp, 2006; Vorauer *et al.*, 1998). As such, group membership salience should guide people to think about themselves as group members, and to consider how they are being perceived by others in relation to their group membership. Furthermore, to the extent that group membership is salient, people's expectations for how others perceive their groups should inform their expectations for how others will perceive them as individuals.

Although the concept of group-based metaperceptions appeared before the 1990s (see, Stening & Everett, 1984; Yamamoto, Davis, & McEachron-Hirsch, 1983), recent work on intergroup metaperceptions defines them as shared beliefs held by members of one group regarding how they are perceived by members of another group (see Frey & Tropp, 2006; Gómez, 2002; Vorauer *et al.*, 1998). Research suggests that people generally assume negativity on the part of outgroup members (Kramer & Messick, 1998; Kramer & Wei, 1999), that outgroup members will have a negative image of them (Krueger, 1996), and that outgroup members will perceive them according to the negative stereotypes of their ingroup (Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy, 2000; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001; Vorauer *et al.*, 1998). Correspondingly, our first prediction is that people who believe outgroup members hold negative views about their ingroup (i.e., ingroup metaperceptions) will be more likely to believe that outgroup members hold more negative views of them as individuals (i.e., metaperceptions of self).

In line with the contentions of Frey and Tropp (2006), we also predict that the effects of ingroup metaperceptions on how individuals expect to be perceived by outgroup members will be stronger for those participants who consider themselves to be prototypical of their ingroup. Prototypicality refers to the position of an individual group member in relation to the rest of the members of one's ingroup (Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997) and perceptions of prototypicality can vary substantially across individuals and contexts (Jetten, Spears, and Manstead, 1997). According to Jetten *et al* (1997), group members who see themselves as prototypical should also be more easily influenced by variables that pertain to their groups.

Within the context of intergroup metaperception, Frey and Tropp (2006) contend that "the extent to which people expect outgroup members to perceive them in terms of their group's negative stereotypes is also likely to depend on the degree to which they see those negative stereotypical characteristics of their groups as applicable to themselves" (p. 272). As one example, they point to findings from Vorauer and colleagues (see Vorauer *et al.*, 1998; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001), showing that White Canadian

participants low in prejudice did not expect to be viewed by Aboriginal Canadians according the negative stereotype of their group, while highly prejudiced White Canadian participants did expect to be perceived negatively. Frey and Tropp (2006) suggest that the low-prejudice participants may not have expected to be viewed in terms of the negative stereotype of White Canadians because they did not see themselves as prototypical members of that group, while high-prejudice participants were more likely to see themselves as prototypical. However, these patterns have yet to be tested directly in empirical research.

To this end, in the present study, we test whether participants who consider themselves to be prototypical of their ingroup (i.e., high in prototypicality) would be more personally and negatively affected by metaperceptions of the ingroup than participants who do not consider themselves to be prototypical group members (i.e., low in prototypicality). Specifically, we predict that metaperceptions of the ingroup should more strongly predict metaperceptions of the self for individuals high in prototypicality than for those low in prototypicality.

More broadly, we also expect that the tendency for prototypicality to enhance how individuals are affected by ingroup metaperceptions will extend to other domains, such as individuals' feelings and expectations about future contact with the outgroup.

Some recent work suggests that expectations of being seen stereotypically and negatively lead people to experience greater anxiety about possible interactions with the outgroup (Blair, Park, & Bachelor, 2003; Quiles, Rodríguez, Navas, Rodríguez, Betancort, & Coello, 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Tropp, 2003). Recent findings suggest that anxiety might even mediate the relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice reduction (Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci, 2004; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Voci & Hewstone, 2003), such that contact would produce positive intergroup outcomes to the extent that anxiety is reduced. Increases in intergroup anxiety may also lead people to want to avoid future interactions with outgroup members, due to concerns about being evaluated negatively by outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Moreover, anxiety has been shown to increase when people expect to be viewed as typical members of their group (Wilder, 1984); in turn, feeling anxious can lead people to rely more heavily on stereotypic beliefs in responding to outgroup members (Wilder, 1993).

Pulling these themes together with respect to the present research, we predict that participants who consider themselves to be prototypical members of their ingroup should report more anxiety about intergroup contact than those who do not consider themselves to be prototypical group members. We also predict similar trends for participants' interest in contact with outgroup members, and their perceptions of outgroup members' interest in contact with them. Specifically, participants who perceive themselves to be more prototypical of their ingroup are expected to report less interest in intergroup contact, and to perceive less interest on the part of outgroup members, as compared to those who perceive themselves to be less prototypical. Finally, we expect that the higher the level of prototypicality, the more the valence of metaperceptions of the ingroup should affect participants' own levels of anxiety and interest in intergroup contact.

In sum, the present research focuses on how two phenomena that link individuals with their groups, metaperceptions of their ingroups and perceptions of prototypicality, affect their expectations for how they personally will be viewed by outgroup members, and how they feel about contact with outgroup members. Our general prediction is that when group membership is salient, participants who consider themselves to be prototypical members of their group will report more negative metaperceptions regarding how they are viewed by the outgroup, greater levels of intergroup anxiety, and less interest in contact with outgroup members. In addition, highly prototypical participants are expected to be more personally affected by metaperceptions of their ingroup by the outgroup relative to participants low in prototypicality.

The present study was conducted in Spain, where intergroup conflicts between Spaniards and immigrants grow every day and the presence of immigrants as outgroup members is extremely common. Indeed, between 2000 and 2006, 80% of the “new Madrilenians” were immigrants, and over 14% of the regular population in Madrid in 2006 now consists of immigrants. Moreover, in January 2006, there were approximately 3.884.000 legal immigrants in Spain, and predictions of the INE (National Institute for Statistics) estimate that by 2050, 25% of the population will be immigrants (in 2006, there is 8.5% of the total population). These data are particularly relevant to the present research, as greater intergroup conflict enhances the tendency for people to think about themselves and others in terms of their group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

## METHOD

### *Participants*

Eight hundred undergraduate participants (671 women, 129 men, mean age 31.24,  $SD=7.58$ ) completed for a web-based survey in exchange for partial course credit in their Psychology class<sup>2</sup>.

### *Procedure and Measures*

Participants were informed that the study concerned evaluations that Spaniards had of immigrants and how they thought immigrants viewed Spaniards. The experimenter never identified a specific group of immigrants to avoid possible effect of stereotypes associated with a specific outgroup (see Gómez & Huici, 1999). After reading a paragraph of instructions, participants completed several scales.

*Prototypicality.* In a single item, participants rated the extent to which they perceived themselves as typical Spaniards when interacting with immigrants. We then divided participants by the mean into two groups: low prototypical ( $M= 1.97$ ) and high prototypical ( $M= 3.20$ ),  $t(798)= -40.50$ ,  $p < .001$ .

*Metaperceptions.* Participants also completed two measures of metaperceptions: one five-item measure concerning how they believed immigrants perceived Spaniards as a group (metaperception of ingroup) and a separate five-item measure concerning how they believed immigrants perceived them individually as a Spaniard (metaperception

of self as group member). Specifically, using items adapted from Vorauer *et al* (1998), participants rated the extent to which they believed immigrants perceived Spaniards (or themselves as a Spaniard) as *intolerant, racist, prejudiced, equalitarian* and *supportive*. Each item was scored on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely). The last two items were reverse-coded, so that higher scores would correspond with more negative metaperceptions. Scores on each five-item measure were then averaged to create a scale for metaperceptions of ingroup ( $\alpha = .81$ ) and metaperceptions of self as group member ( $\alpha = .85$ ).

To prepare for data analysis, we then divided participants into two groups based on the valence of the metaperception of their ingroup: those who believed that immigrants had a negative view of their group ( $M = 4.96$ ) and those who believed that immigrants had a positive view of their group ( $M = 3.38$ ),  $t(798) = 36.93$ ,  $p < .001$ .

*Intergroup Anxiety.* Intergroup anxiety was evaluated through the eight-item scale developed by Stephan, Diaz-Loving and Duran (2000) adapted by Eller and Abrams (2004). Participants rated the extent to which they feel anxiety-related emotions when interacting with immigrants (*comfortable, threatened, confident, anxious, at ease, awkward, apprehensive, and trusting*). Participants were scored on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely). Positively worded items were then reverse-coded so that higher scores would correspond with greater anxiety, and scores on the eight items were then averaged ( $\alpha = .88$ ).

*Interest in contact.* We adapted two measures from Tropp and Bianchi (2006) to evaluate participants' interest in contact with the outgroup, and the *perceived interest* of outgroup members in contact with them.

In an eight-item scale, participants indicated their interest in interacting with members of the outgroup (e.g., "I think it would be easy for me to relate to most immigrants", "I would be interested in interacting with most immigrants"). Responses to these items were scored in a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very interested). Scores on the eight items were then averaged ( $\alpha = .88$ ).

Using a parallel measure for perceived outgroup interest in contact, participants indicated in a scale of six items the extent to which they believed that outgroup members would be interested in having contact with them (e.g. "I think most Latinos would feel anxious about interacting with me", recoded; "I think most Latinos would feel comfortable about interacting with me"). Scores on the six items were then averaged ( $\alpha = .90$ )<sup>3</sup>. Following completion of these measures, participants were thanked and debriefed.

## RESULTS

Our research seeks to test how participants are personally affected by the perceptions they believe outgroup members have of their group, and by the extent to which they consider themselves to be prototypical group members. To examine these issues, a series of 2 (low vs. high prototypical) x 2 (negative vs. positive metaperception of ingroup) ANOVAs were conducted to predict metaperceptions of self as group member, anxiety, interest in contact with the outgroup and the perceived interest in contact by the outgroup.

The 2x2 ANOVA for *metaperception of self as group member* yielded a main effect of metaperception of ingroup,  $F(1,796)= 53.92, p < .001$ . Participants who believed that immigrants held a negative image of their group also tended to think that immigrants had a negative image of them ( $M= 3.15$ ), as compared to those who believed that immigrants had a positive view of their group ( $M= 2.2$ ),  $t(798)= 6.98, p < .001$ . This analysis also indicated a main effect of prototypicality,  $F(1,796)= 15.91, p < .001$ . Participants were also more likely to believe that immigrants viewed them negatively when they considered themselves to be highly prototypical of their group as compared to low in prototypicality,  $M_s= 3.03$  vs.  $2.74, t(798)= -4.14, p < .001$ .

However, these main effects were qualified by a significant 2-way interaction,  $F(1,796)= 9.07, p < .01$ . Figure 1 shows that among participants who believed that outgroup members held a negative view of their group, those high in prototypicality were more likely to believe that outgroup members viewed them negatively ( $M= 3.41$ ) than those low in prototypicality ( $M= 2.90$ ),  $t(408)= -4.63, p < .001$ . At the same time, among participants who believed that outgroup members held a positive view of their group, those high and low in prototypicality did not significantly differ in how they expected to be perceived by the outgroup ( $M= 2.63$  and  $2.58$ , respectively),  $t(388)= -.76, p = .44$ .

The 2x2 ANOVA for *intergroup anxiety* showed a significant main effect for metaperception of ingroup,  $F(1,796)= 10.65, p < .001$ , such that those who believed that immigrants held negative views of Spaniards tended to report more anxiety ( $M= 2.79$ ) than those who believed that immigrants held positive views of Spaniards ( $M= 2.57$ ).

This analysis also showed a main effect of prototypicality,  $F(1,796)= 64.27, p < .001$ . In line with our predictions, participants who considered themselves to be highly prototypical of their group reported greater levels of anxiety than those who considered themselves to be less prototypical,  $M_s= 3.04$  vs.  $2.50, t(798)= -8.12, p < .001$ . Additionally, a significant two-way interaction was produced,  $F(1,796)= 5.93, p < .05$ . Figure 2 shows

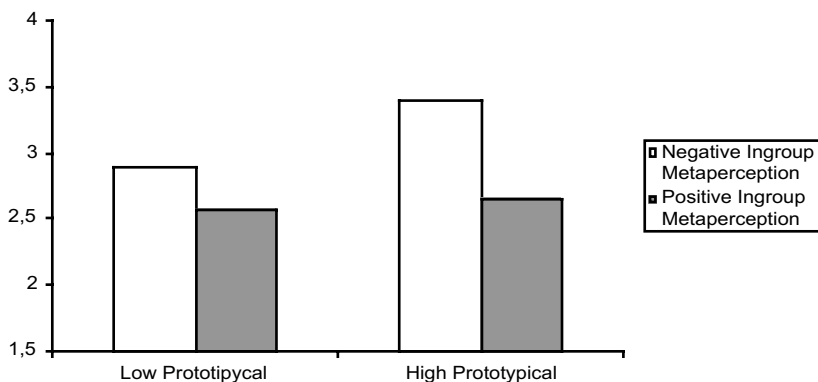


Figure 1. Effects of Prototypicality and Valence of the Metaperception of Ingroup on Metaperception of Self as Group Member.

that among participants who considered themselves to be low in prototypicality, there were no significant differences in anxiety between participants who believed that the metaperception of their ingroup was negative or positive,  $M_s = 2.53$  vs.  $2.47$ ,  $t(462) = .75$ ,  $p = .45$ . However, participants who considered themselves to be high in prototypicality reported feeling more anxious when the ingroup metaperception was negative as compared to positive,  $M_s = 3.22$  vs.  $2.85$ ,  $t(334) = 3.6$ ,  $p < .001$ .

Supporting our general predictions, the ANOVA for *participant interest in intergroup contact* showed a significant main effect of ingroup metaperception,  $F(1,796) = -3.44$ ,  $p < .001$ , such that participants who believed that the outgroup held a negative view of their group reported less interest in contact ( $M = 4.58$ ) than those who believed the outgroup held a positive view of their group ( $M = 4.83$ ),  $t(798) = -3.44$ ,  $p < .001$ . This analysis also yielded a main effect of prototypicality  $F(1,796) = 47.41$ ,  $p < .001$  indicating less interest in contact among participants who considered themselves to be highly prototypical of their group ( $M = 4.48$ ), as compared to those who considered themselves to be less prototypical ( $M = 4.94$ ),  $t(798) = 6.97$ ,  $p < .001$ . A significant two-way interaction was also produced,  $F(1,796) = 8.30$ ,  $p < .01$ . As Figure 3 shows, the valence of ingroup metaperceptions did not produce differences in interest among participants low in prototypicality,  $M_s = 4.91$  vs.  $4.97$ ,  $t(462) = -.74$ ,  $p = .46$ . However, participants high in prototypicality reported less interest in contact with the outgroup when they believed the metaperception of their ingroup was negative as compared to when the metaperception of their ingroup was positive,  $M_s = 4.70$  vs.  $4.26$ ,  $t(334) = -4.33$ ,  $p < .001$ .

Paralleling findings obtained for participants' interest in contact, the  $2 \times 2$  ANOVA showed a significant main effect of ingroup metaperception,  $F(1,796) = 14.35$ ,  $p < .001$ . Participants who believed that outgroup members held a negative view of their group were less likely to think that outgroup members were interested in contact with them ( $M = 4.77$ ) than participants who believed that outgroup members had a positive view of their group ( $M = 5.03$ ),  $t(798) = -3.52$ ,  $p < .001$ . This analysis also yielded a main effect of prototypicality  $F(1,796) = 23.15$ ,  $p < .001$  indicating less perceived interest in

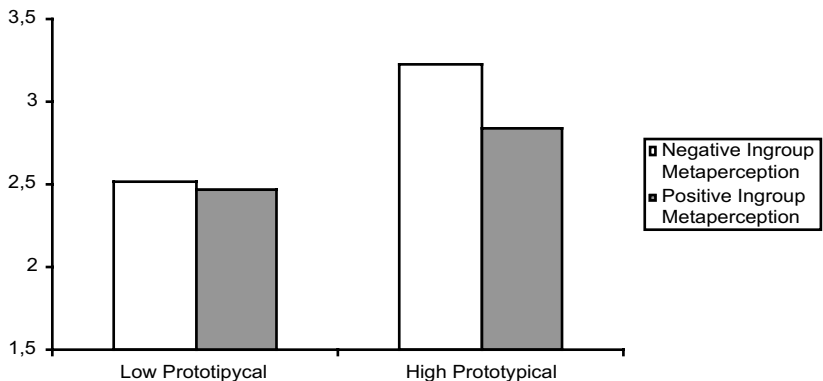


Figure 2. Effects of Prototypicality and Valence of the Metaperception of Ingroup on Intergroup Anxiety.



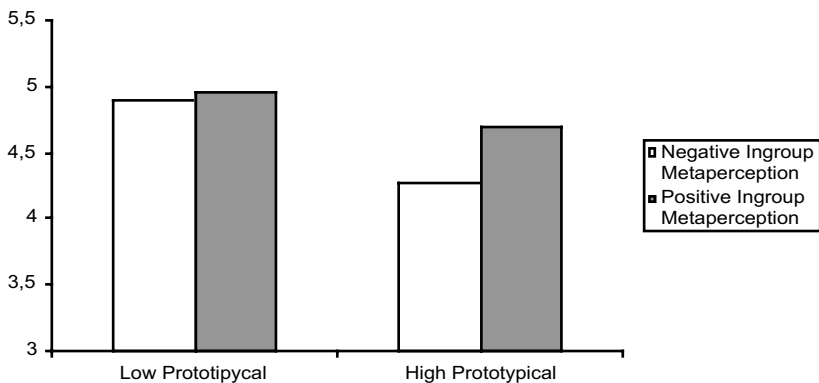


Figure 3. Effects of Prototypicality and Valence of the Ingroup Metaperception on Interest in Contact

contact from outgroup members among participants who considered themselves to be prototypical of their ingroup ( $M = 4.74$ ), as compared to those who perceived themselves to be low in prototypicality ( $M = 5.06$ ),  $t(798) = 4.94$ ,  $p < .001$ . Additionally, the ANOVA yielded a significant two-way interaction,  $F(1,796) = 5.98$ ,  $p < .01$ . Figure 4 shows that the valence of the ingroup metaperception did not produce differences in perceived outgroup interest among participants low in prototypicality,  $M_s = 5.02$  vs.  $5.11$ ,  $t(462) = -1.09$ ,  $p = .27$ . However, participants who were high in prototypicality reported less interest in contact with the outgroup when they believed the metaperception of their group was negative as compared to positive,  $M_s = 4.95$  vs.  $4.53$ ,  $t(334) = -3.91$ ,  $p < .001$ .

## DISCUSSION

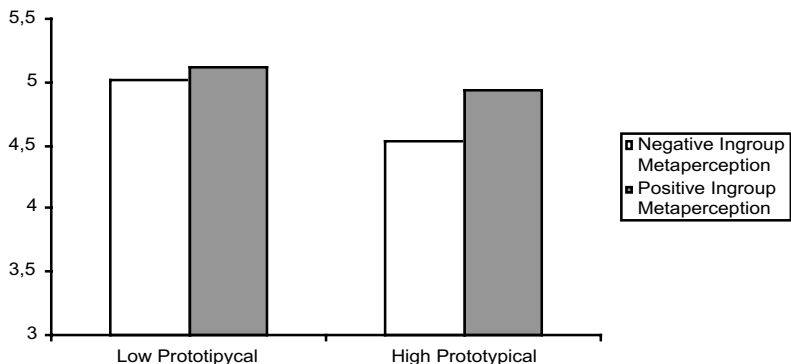


Figure 4. Effects of Prototypicality and Valence of the Ingroup Metaperception on Perceived Outgroup Interest in Contact

Results of the present paper encourage researchers interested in improving intergroup relations to consider the role that metaperceptions can play in relations between groups. The present research shows that predictions regarding outgroup members' views of oneself are a function of both the views outgroup members are believed to hold about one's ingroup and the degree to which people believe they are prototypical members of their own groups. In particular, participants who considered themselves to be more prototypical of their ingroup were generally more influenced by outgroup members' perceptions and by the metaperceptions they believe the outgroup holds regarding their group. By contrast, people who considered themselves to be less prototypical of their group tended to be less affected by these metaperceptual processes.

Specifically, as predicted, people who perceive a negative metaperception of their ingroup have more negative expectations regarding how they personally will be viewed by outgroup members than those who perceive a positive metaperception of their ingroup. This result is particularly relevant to other work suggesting that people usually expect outgroup members to have a negative image not only of them as individuals (i.e., Kramer & Messick, 1998; Krueger, 1996), but also of their group (i.e. Gómez, 2002; Vorauer *et al.*, 1998). More precisely, however, and in line with our second prediction, those individuals who considered themselves to be prototypical group members were more affected the valence of the ingroup metaperception than low prototypical individuals. Expectations for how one would be viewed were more negative when the ingroup metastereotype was also negative as compared to positive, and this difference was greater among highly prototypical group members than among those low in prototypicality, complementing the views of Frey and Tropp (2006). As such, it could be that those who consider themselves to be prototypical would also be more likely to apply to themselves the negative stereotype that immigrants assign to Spaniards, while those low in prototypicality would be less likely to consider themselves negatively in terms of these characteristics<sup>4</sup>.

Importantly, our research also shows that metaperceptions and assessments of prototypicality are likely to affect the feelings and experiences that individual group members have with an outgroup when they anticipate being perceived as group members. As predicted, people who consider themselves as more prototypical of their group reported more anxiety than those low in prototypicality (see Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996). At the same time, our study also demonstrates that negative metaperceptions of the ingroup correspond with greater intergroup anxiety, but particularly for highly prototypical group members. Parallel results were found for participants' interest contact with the outgroup and the perceived interest in contact from the outgroup. Highly prototypical group members showed less interest in contact, and perceived less interest in contact by the outgroup when metaperceptions of the ingroup were negative, yet the valence of ingroup metaperceptions did not produce significant effect for those low in prototypicality.

Considering the role that metaperceptions can play in intergroup relations helps us to move toward a more "social" Social Psychology" (Taylor & Brown, 1979; see also, Graumann, 1979; Otten, 2002; Stroebe, 1979; Tajfel, 1972). As Otten (2002) has noted, research about metaperceptions acknowledges the mutuality of the perceptual

process in intergroup relationships, such that it is necessary take into account the perspectives of both targets and perceivers, and not only the perspectives of people on one side of the interaction (see, Devine *et al.*, 1996).

This research has been conducted in a period of time where immigration continues to grow and contact between immigrants and nationals becomes more common by the day. This analysis also leads us to consider that metaperceptions are not fixed in time (Gómez, 2002), and that they play important roles in many intergroup relationships. Indeed, after September 11th, March 11th and July 7th, the images that Muslim have about how non-Muslims see Muslims as a group, and themselves as individual Muslims, continue to change. More work is therefore needed to examine the dynamic nature of intergroup relations that is revealed by analysis of metaperceptions between groups.

In part, findings reported in the present paper should encourage researchers to investigate whether metaperceptions are comparably affected by intergroup processes among members of different status groups. Recent work by Tropp and colleagues shows that members of minority and majority status groups may have different expectations for intergroup contact, and different perceptions of their intergroup relationships (see, Tropp & Bianchi, 2006; Tropp, in press). These differences might also involve how members of low-status groups form intergroup metaperceptions.

Additionally, it is important to note that, in the present research, we assessed metaperceptions of “ingroup” (i.e., how individuals think outgroup members perceive the ingroup as a whole) and metaperceptions of “self as group member” (i.e., how individuals think outgroup members perceive them as members of their group). More research is needed to consider whether these metaperceptions would differ from individuals’ expectations for how they will be perceived by outgroup members when they are not explicitly asked to think of themselves as group members (i.e., metaperceptions of “self as individual”). By asking about how they expect to be perceived by the outgroup, and thereby making group membership salient, patterns of responses concerning metaperceptions of “self as group member” and metaperceptions of “self as individual” are likely to be similar. Nonetheless, it is still possible that these different wordings would produce distinct patterns of responses, depending on levels of prototypicality and how individuals perceive themselves in relation to their groups.

#### NOTES

1. Vorauer and colleagues use the term “meta-stereotypes” to refer to the shared belief that an ingroup has regarding how they are perceived by an outgroup. For the purposes of the present research, we refer to this concept as “metaperception of the ingroup” to be able to compare more easily the patterns of effects for beliefs about outgroup members’ perceptions of the ingroup (i.e., metaperception of ingroup) and beliefs about outgroup members’ perceptions of individual group members (i.e., metaperception of self).
2. The high mean age is due to participants belong to the Spanish National Distance Learning University.
3. We should note that Tropp and Bianchi asked participants about their interest in contact with the outgroup (as we did in our study) and the outgroup’s interest in contact with their ingroup. In the present study, we modified the second measure to assess participants’ beliefs about the extent to which outgroup members were interested in interacting with them as individuals.
4. In fact, the self-perceptions were also measured using the same items used to assess metaperceptions of self and ingroup ( $\alpha = .78$ ). Results show that participants who consider themselves to be prototypical group members reported a more negative image of themselves on the five dimensions (as intolerant, racist, prejudiced, non equalitarian and non supportive) than those low in prototypicality,  $M_s = 2.66$  vs.  $2.31$ ,  $t(798) = -5.98$ ,  $p < .001$ .

## REFERENCES

- Blair IV, Park B & Bachelor J (2003). Understanding intergroup anxiety: Are some people more anxious than others? *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 6, 151-169.
- Branscombe NR, Ellemers N, Spears R & Doosje B (1999). The context and content of social identity threats. In N Ellemers, R Spears & B Doosje (Eds.), *Social Identity: Context, commitment, content* (pp. 35-58). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Devine PG, Evett SR & Vasquez-Suson KA (1996). Exploring the interpersonal dynamics of intergroup contact. In R Sorrentino & ET Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation and cognition. Vol. 3: The interpersonal context* (pp. 423-464). New York: Guilford Press.
- Eller A & Abrams D (2004). Come together: longitudinal comparisons of Pettigrew's reformulated intergroup contact model and the Common Ingroup Identity Model in Anglo-French and Mexican-American contexts. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 34, 229-256.
- Frey FE & Tropp LR (2006). Being seen as individuals versus as group members: Extending research on metaperception to intergroup contexts. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 10, 265-280.
- Gómez A (2002). If my group stereotypes others, others stereotype my group... and we kKnow. Concept, research lines and future perspectives of meta-stereotypes. *Revista de Psicología Social*, 17, 253-282.
- Gómez A & Huici C (1999). Orientación política y racismo sutil y manifiesto: relaciones con la discriminación. *Revista de Psicología Social*, 14, 159-180.
- Gómez A, Morales JF, Huici C, Gaviria C & Jiménez J (2007) When the world understands me... And my group. From self-verification to verification of one's group identity. *International Journal of Psychology and Psychological Therapy*, 7, 213-236.
- Gómez A & Rodríguez Bailón R (2000). Efectos de la semejanza en valores y el contenido del meta-estereotipo sobre el cambio de estereotipos grupales. In D Caballero, MT Méndez & J Pastor (Eds.). *La mirada psicociológica. Grupos, procesos, lenguajes y culturas* (pp. 794-799). Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.
- Gordijn EH (2002). Meta-stereotypes and meta-prejudice: Some suggestions for future research. *Revista de Psicología Social*, 17, 283-286.
- Graumann, CS (1979). The shyness of the psychologist in interaction: A schism and its history. *Zeitschrift für Sozialpsychologie*, 10, 284-304.
- Hogg MA (2001). A social identity theory of leadership. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 5, 184-200.
- Jetten J, Spears R & Manstead AS (1997). Distinctiveness threat and prototypicality: Combined effects on intergroup discrimination and collective self-esteem. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 27, 635-657.
- Kenny DA & DePaulo BM (1993). Do People Know How Others View Them? An Empirical and Theoretical Account. *Psychological Bulletin*, 114, 145-161.
- Klein O & Azzi AE (2001). The strategic confirmation of meta-stereotypes: How group members attempt to tailor an out-group's representation of themselves. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 40, 279-293.
- Kramer RM & Messick DM (1998). Getting by with a little help from our enemies: Collective paranoia and its role in intergroup relations. In C Sedikides & J Schopler (Eds.), *Intergroup Cognition*

and *Intergroup Behavior* (pp. 233-255). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Kramer RM & Wei J (1999). Social uncertainty and the problem of trust in social groups: The social self in doubt. In T Tyler, RM Kramer & OP John (Eds.), *The Psychology of the Social Self* (pp. 145-168). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Krueger J (1996). Personal beliefs and cultural stereotypes about racial characteristics. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71, 536-548.
- Malloy TE, Albright L, Kenny DA & Agatstein F (1997). Interpersonal perception and metaperception in nonoverlapping social groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72, 390-398.
- Otten S (2002). Towards a more social psychology: The case of meta-stereotype. *Revista de Psicología Social*, 17, 287-291.
- Paolini S, Hewstone M, Cairns E & Voci A (2004). Effects of direct and indirect cross-group friendships on judgments of Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland: The mediating role of an anxiety-reduction mechanism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30, 770-786
- Pettigrew TF & Tropp LR (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 751-783
- Quiles MN, Rodríguez A, Navas M, Rodríguez R, Betancor V & Coello E (2006). Variables moderadoras y mediadoras de la relación percepción de diferencias-ansiedad intergrupala. *Psicothema*, 18, 105-111.
- Robbins JM & Krueger JI (2005). Social projection to ingroups and outgroups: A review and meta-analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 9, 32-47.
- Sigelman L & Tuch SA (1997). Metastereotypes: Black perceptions of Whites' stereotypes of Blacks. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61, 87-101
- Spears R, Doosje B & Ellemers N (1997). Self-stereotyping in the face of threats to group status and distinctiveness: The role of group identification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 538-553.
- Stening BW & Everett JE (1984). Response styles in a cross-cultural managerial study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 122, 151-156.
- Stephan WG, Diaz-Loving R & Duran A (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31, 240-249.
- Stephan WG & Stephan CW (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Social Issues*, 41, 157-175.
- Stroebe W (1979). The level of social psychological analysis: A plea for a more social psychology. In LH Strickland (Ed.). *Soviet and Western perspectives in social psychology* (pp. 93-107). Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Swann WB Jr. (1983). Self-verification: Bringing social reality into harmony with the self. In J Suls y AG Greenwald (Eds.). *Psychological Perspectives on the Self*, Vol. 2 (pp. 33-66). Hillsdale: New Jersey: Erlbaum.
- Swann WB Jr. (1990). To be adored or to be known: The interplay of self-enhancement and self-verification. In RM Sorrentino & ET Higgins (Eds.) *Foundations of Social Behavior*, Vol. 2 (pp. 408-448). New York: Guilford.
- Swann WB Jr., Rentfrow PJ & Guinn JS (2002). Self-verification: The Search for Coherence. In MR Leary & JP Tangney (Eds.), *Handbook of Self and Identity* (pp. 367-383). New York: Guilford.
- Tajfel H (1972). Some developments in European social psychology. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 2, 307-321.
- Tajfel H & Turner JC (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In WG Austin & S Worchel

- (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Monterey, Ca: Brooks-Cole.
- Tajfel H & Turner JC (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S Worchel & WG Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Taylor DM & Brown RJ (1979). Towards a more social social psychology. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 18, 173-179.
- Tropp LR (2003). The psychological impact of prejudice: Implications for intergroup contact. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 6, 131–149.
- Tropp LR (in press). Perceived discrimination and interracial contact: Predicting interracial closeness among Black and White Americans. *Social Psychology Quarterly*.
- Tropp LR & Bianchi RA (2006). Valuing diversity and interest in intergroup Contact. *Journal of Social Issues*, 62, 533-551.
- Turner JC, Hogg MA, Oakes PJ, Reicher SD & Wetherell MS (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Cambridge, Ma: Basil Blackwell, Inc.
- Voci A & Hewstone M (2003). Intergroup contact and prejudice towards immigrants in Italy: The mediational role of anxiety and the moderational role of group salience. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 6, 37-54.
- Vorauer JD & Claude S (1998). Perceived versus actual transparency of goals in negotiation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 24, 371-385.
- Vorauer, J. D., Hunter, A. J., Main, K. J., & Roy, S. A. (2000). Meta-stereotype activation: Evidence from indirect measures for specific evaluative concerns experienced by members of dominant groups in cross-group interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78, 690-707.
- Vorauer, J. D., & Kumhyr, S. M. (2001). Is this about you are me? Self- versus other-directed judgments and feelings in response to cross-group interaction. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27, 706-719.
- Vorauer, J. D., Main, K. J., & O'Connell, G. B. (1998). How Do Individuals Expect to Be Viewed by Members of Lower Status Groups? Content and Implications of Meta-Stereotypes. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 75, 917-937.
- Vorauer JD & Miller DT (1997). Failure to recognize the effect of implicit social influence on the presentation of self. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, 81-295.
- Vorauer JD & Ross M (1999). Self-awareness and feeling transparent: Failing to suppress one's self. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 35, 415-440.
- Wilder DA (1984). Perceptions of belief homogeneity and similarity following social categorization. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 23, 323-333.
- Wilder DA (1993). The role of anxiety in facilitating stereotypic judgments of out- group behavior. In DM Mackie & DL Hamilton (Eds.) *Affect, Cognition, and Stereotyping: Interactive Processes in Group Perception* (pp. 87-109). San Diego, Ca: Academic Press.
- Yamamoto K, Davis OL & McEachron-Hirsch G (1983). International perceptions across the sea: Patterns in Japanese young adults. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 7, 69-78.

Received, November 18, 2006  
Final Acceptance April 3, 2007