

Tesis doctoral

**Aplicación del BIAS Map a población adolescente: Estudios
correlacionales y experimentales desde la perspectiva de autóctonos**

Application of the BIAS Map to adolescent population: Correlational and
experimental studies considering natives' perspective

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RESUMEN

La convivencia de grupos étnicos es un proceso complejo para la población en general, pero especialmente durante etapas evolutivas tempranas como la adolescencia. Sin embargo, este importante periodo de transición del ciclo vital de una persona también presenta características que ofrecen una oportunidad para evitar el desarrollo de actitudes intergrupales prejuiciosas y promover relaciones interétnicas positivas. Por ello, la promoción y el mantenimiento de relaciones intergrupales positivas durante la adolescencia, así como la prevención y la evitación de situaciones intergrupales conflictivas es una necesidad fundamental (Rutland y Killen, 2015).

Para responder ante esta necesidad, un primer paso, es examinar las actitudes de los adolescentes autóctonos acerca de diferentes grupos étnicos presentes en su entorno, así como su relación con otras variables psicosociales relevantes para la mejora de las relaciones intergrupales. En este sentido, esta tesis se propone como objetivo general evaluar qué creen, qué sienten y qué intenciones de conducta tienen los adolescentes españoles hacia dos grupos de inmigrantes relevantes en España, los ecuatorianos, un grupo valorado, y los marroquíes, un grupo devaluado, así como examinar la relación entre la valencia del contacto intergrupal con estos tres componentes actitudinales.

El contenido de la tesis se estructura en tres capítulos. El primero constituye la introducción, y recoge la revisión de los principales modelos y perspectivas teóricas en los que se fundamenta el trabajo empírico realizado. Concretamente, tras la breve contextualización general, se presentan algunas de las principales teorías evolutivas explicativas de las actitudes prejuiciosas. A continuación, se describen los trabajos más significativos que avalan las premisas de los modelos centrales de la presente tesis, el Behavior from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes Map (BIAS Map; Cuddy, Fiske y Glick, 2007; 2008) y la versión extendida de su precursor, el modelo del contenido de

los estereotipos (MCE; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick y Xu, 2002; Leach, Ellemers y Barreto, 2007), así como los escasos estudios realizados con niños y adolescentes en los que se contemplan. Finalmente, la última parte del capítulo se centra en el contacto intergrupales. Concretamente, se presenta literatura relevante que aborda: la relación entre contacto intergrupales y los principales componentes del MCE y del BIAS Map, el efecto del contacto intergrupales sobre las actitudes intergrupales en etapas evolutivas tempranas y, por último, el efecto de la valencia del contacto intergrupales y su proceso de generalización.

El segundo capítulo contiene el trabajo empírico, formado por tres estudios (uno correlacional y dos experimentales con dos experimentos cada uno) que pretenden dar respuesta a cuatro objetivos específicos desarrollados a partir del objetivo principal.

En el primer estudio se aplicaron el MCE y el BIAS Map. Su aplicación permitió verificar la idoneidad del modelo tridimensional para medir el contenido de los estereotipos de los adolescentes hacia grupos étnicos minoritarios (Objetivo específico 1), así como comprobar los postulados del BIAS Map considerando la perspectiva tridimensional del MCE (Objetivo específico 2).

Los resultados obtenidos mostraron que los adolescentes realizaron evaluaciones diferentes atendiendo al origen étnico de los grupos inmigrantes evaluados. Los adolescentes consideraban a los inmigrantes ecuatorianos más morales y sociables que a los inmigrantes marroquíes. Asimismo, se confirmó, en ambos grupos, el mejor ajuste del modelo tridimensional del contenido de los estereotipos que de su versión original de dos dimensiones. Respecto al papel mediador de las emociones en la relación entre los estereotipos y las intenciones de conducta, las premisas del BIAS Map fueron corroboradas parcialmente solo para las emociones univalentes. Finalmente, los hallazgos de este primer estudio demostraron que la moralidad tenía un papel más

diagnóstico frente a sociabilidad y competencia en los procesos examinados. De las tres dimensiones estereotípicas, solo la moralidad se relacionó consistentemente en ambos grupos con las intenciones de ayuda y daño de los adolescentes a través de admiración y desprecio, respectivamente.

Una vez examinada la percepción de los adolescentes autóctonos acerca de los inmigrantes ecuatorianos y marroquíes, los dos siguientes estudios se centraron en comprender y analizar experimentalmente el efecto de la valencia del contacto intergrupal imaginado (positivo y negativo) sobre los componentes del MCE y del BIAS Map (contenido de los estereotipos, emociones e intenciones de conducta).

En el Estudio 2 se examinó el efecto de la valencia del contacto intergrupal sobre los componentes del MCE y del BIAS Map (Objetivo específico 3). En particular, se esperaba que el contacto positivo mejorara las evaluaciones de los participantes acerca de los estereotipos, las emociones y las intenciones de conducta hacia los grupos evaluados, y que el contacto negativo las empeorara. Asimismo, se hipotetizó un mayor efecto del contacto negativo para el grupo devaluado. Dado que estudios longitudinales recientes (Wölfer, Schmid, Hewstone y Zalk, 2016) han demostrado que el efecto del contacto intergrupal sobre las actitudes intergrupales sigue diferentes procesos desde la adolescencia hasta la edad adulta temprana, las hipótesis planteadas se han puesto a prueba mediante dos experimentos realizados con adolescentes (Estudio 2.1) y con adultos jóvenes (Estudio 2.2).

En conjunto, los resultados del Estudio 2 mostraron que sólo el contacto negativo influyó las evaluaciones de los participantes pero este efecto dependía del grupo inmigrante evaluado y de la edad de los participantes. Así, el efecto del contacto negativo se encontró sólo cuando los adolescentes (pero no los jóvenes adultos) se

imaginaban la interacción negativa y posteriormente evaluaban al grupo marroquí, el grupo devaluado.

.Concretamente, al imaginar una experiencia negativa con una persona de origen marroquí, los adolescentes manifestaban emociones negativas hacia este grupo, lo que a su vez generaba intenciones de conducta de daño pasivo (p.e., ignorar, excluir). Curiosamente, la valencia del contacto no afectó al contenido de los estereotipos mantenidos hacia los grupos inmigrantes evaluados.

En este sentido, en el Estudio 3 se profundizó en la relación existente entre la valencia del contacto y las tres dimensiones del contenido de los estereotipos en población adolescente, y se examinó el papel moderador de la tipicidad percibida en el proceso de generalización del efecto de la valencia del contacto (Objetivo específico 4). En concreto, se esperaba que el contacto positivo mejorara los estereotipos de los adolescentes sobre los grupos evaluados y que el contacto negativo las empeorara. Además, se esperaba que el efecto de la valencia de contacto sobre el contenido de estereotipos fuese moderado por la tipicidad percibida y el origen étnico del compañero de interacción.

Los hallazgos de los dos experimentos realizados confirmaron el papel moderador de la tipicidad percibida y del origen étnico en la relación entre la valencia del contacto imaginado y las dimensiones estereotípicas de moralidad y sociabilidad. De este modo, se encontró que la tipicidad percibida sólo afectaba al patrón de resultados cuando el contacto se producía con miembros del grupo marroquí (el grupo devaluado), no del ecuatoriano. Cuando el compañero de interacción se percibía como muy típico, a los marroquíes se les consideraba más morales y sociables después de un contacto imaginado positivo que después de uno negativo. En cambio, cuando el compañero de

interacción se percibía como atípico, a los marroquíes se les consideraba más morales y sociables después de una interacción imaginada negativa que después de una positiva.

Asimismo, los resultados indicaron que el contacto positivo no mejoró las percepciones estereotípicas, pero el negativo sí las empeoró. Concretamente, una única experiencia negativa imaginada con un miembro prototípico del grupo marroquí empeoraba la evaluación de los adolescentes autóctonos acerca de la sociabilidad percibida del grupo en su totalidad.

Finalmente, en el tercer y último capítulo se discuten las aportaciones teóricas de los estudios realizados, sus implicaciones prácticas y sus limitaciones, así como algunas recomendaciones para futuros trabajos.

En conjunto, los estudios de esta tesis han demostrado la utilidad del MCE y el BIAS Map para medir las actitudes intergrupales de los adolescentes hacia distintos grupos, así como el papel clave del origen étnico en este proceso. También se ha analizado la relación entre la valencia del contacto y los componentes del MCE y del BIAS Map y se ha puesto de manifiesto la fácil generalización de los efectos del contacto negativo sobre las creencias, las emociones y las conductas intergrupales de los adolescentes hacia grupos devaluados. Específicamente, se ha confirmado el efecto de asimetría negativa de la valencia del contacto (mayor efecto del contacto negativo), el proceso mediante el que el contacto negativo influye en las intenciones de conducta negativa de los adolescentes a través de las emociones negativas, así como el papel clave de la tipicidad percibida y del origen étnico en el proceso de generalización del efecto del contacto negativo sobre las dimensiones estereotípicas.

En consecuencia, las intervenciones orientadas a la mejora de las relaciones intergrupales entre adolescentes autóctonos e inmigrantes deberían tener en cuenta la demostrada especificidad del prejuicio y atender a las particularidades de los distintos

grupos inmigrantes, además de incluir acciones de prevención, seguimiento y reducción de interacciones intergrupales negativas entre adolescentes autóctonos y miembros de grupos étnicos devaluados.

ABSTRACT

The coexistence of ethnic groups is a complex process for the general population, but especially during early developmental stages such as adolescence. However, this important period of transition of a person's life cycle also presents features which provide an opportunity to avoid the development of prejudiced intergroup attitudes and to promote positive interethnic relations. Therefore, the promotion and maintenance of positive intergroup relationships during adolescence, as well as the prevention and avoidance of conflictual intergroup situations is a fundamental need (Rutland & Killen, 2015).

To respond to this need, a first step is to examine the attitudes of native adolescents about different ethnic groups present in their environment, as well as their relationship with other psychosocial variables relevant for the improvement of intergroup relationships. In this sense, this dissertation aims to evaluate what Spanish adolescents believe and feel, and what behavioural intentions do they have toward two relevant groups of immigrants in Spain, Ecuadorians, a valued group, and Moroccans, a devalued group, as well as to examine the relationship between intergroup contact valence and these three attitudinal components.

The content of the thesis is structured in three chapters. The first one is the introduction and includes a review of the main models and theoretical perspectives on which the empirical work was based on. Specifically, after a brief general contextualization, some of the main theories regarding prejudiced attitudes formation and development are presented. Next, we present the most significant works that support the premises of the central models of the present thesis, the Behavior from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes Map (BIAS Map; Cuddy et al., 2007; 2008) and the extended version of its precursor, the stereotype content model (SCM; Fiske, et al.,

2002; Leach, et al., 2007). The few studies developed within this framework with children and adolescents are also described. Finally, the last part of the chapter focuses on intergroup contact. Specifically, we address relevant literature on the relationship between intergroup contact and the main components of the MCE and BIAS Map, the effect of intergroup contact on intergroup attitudes in early evolutionary stages and, the effect of intergroup contact valence and its generalization process.

The second chapter contains the empirical work which includes three studies (one correlational and two experimental with two experiments each) that try to answer to four specific objectives developed from the main aim of the dissertation.

In the first study, the MCE and the BIAS Map were applied. Its application allowed to test the suitability of the three-dimensional model as a measure of adolescents' stereotype content towards minority ethnic groups (Specific Objective 1), as well as to verify the postulates of the BIAS Map considering the three-dimensional perspective of the MCE (Specific Objective 2).

The results showed that adolescents performed different assessments contingent on the ethnic origin of the immigrant groups evaluated. Adolescents considered Ecuadorian immigrants more moral and sociable than Moroccan immigrants. Also, the better fit of the three-dimensional model of the SCM compared to its original two-dimensional version was confirmed in both groups. Regarding the mediating role of the emotions in the relationship between stereotypes and behavioral intentions, the premises of the BIAS Map were partially corroborated only for univalent emotions. Finally, the findings of this first study showed that morality had a more diagnostic role than sociability and competence in the processes examined. Of the three stereotypical dimensions, only morality was consistently related in both groups to adolescents' intentions to help and harm through admiration and contempt, respectively.

Once examined native adolescents' perceptions of Ecuadorian and Moroccan immigrants, the following two studies focused on understanding and experimentally analyzing the effect of the valence of imagined intergroup contact (positive and negative) on the SCM and BIAS Map components (stereotype content, emotions and behavioural intentions).

In Study 2, the effect of the valence of intergroup contact on the components of the SCM and the BIAS Map was examined (Specific Objective 3). In particular, positive contact was expected to improve participants' assessments of stereotypes, emotions, and behavioural intentions toward the groups evaluated, whereas negative contact was expected to worsen them. Also, a greater effect of negative contact for the devalued group was hypothesized. Since recent longitudinal studies (Wölfer, et al., 2016) have shown that the effect of intergroup contact on intergroup attitudes follows different processes from adolescence to early adulthood, the hypotheses raised have been tested with two experiments performed with adolescents (Study 2.1) and with young adults (Study 2.2).

Altogether, the results of Study 2 showed that only negative contact influenced participant evaluations, but this effect depended on the immigrant group evaluated and the age of the participants. This way, the effect of negative contact was found only when adolescents (but not young adults) imagined the negative interaction and subsequently evaluated the Moroccan group, the devalued group. Specifically, when adolescents imagined a negative experience with a person of Moroccan origin, they expressed negative emotions toward this group, which in turn generated passive harm behavioural intentions (e.g., ignoring, excluding). Interestingly, the contact valence did not affect the stereotype content of the two immigrant groups evaluated.

In this sense, Study 3 pursued to deepen our understanding of the relationship between the contact valence and the three dimensions of stereotype content in an adolescent sample and to examine the moderating role of the perceived typicality in the generalization process of the effect of contact valence (Specific Objective 4). Specifically, positive contact was expected to improve adolescents' stereotypes about the groups evaluated, whereas negative contact was expected to worsen them. Also, the effect of contact valence on stereotype content was expected to be moderated by the perceived typicality and the ethnic origin of the interaction partner.

The findings of the two experiments confirmed the moderator role of perceived typicality and ethnic origin in the relationship between the valence of imagined contact and the stereotypical dimensions of morality and sociability. This way, it was found that the perceived typicality only influenced the pattern of results when contact occurred with members of the Moroccan group (the devalued group), but not of the Ecuadorians. When the interaction partner was perceived as very typical, Moroccans were considered as more moral and sociable after a positive imagined contact than after a negative one. In contrast, when the interaction partner was perceived as atypical, Moroccans were considered as more moral and sociable after a negative imagined interaction than after a positive one. The results further revealed that positive contact did not improve stereotypical perceptions, but negative contact did worsen them. Specifically, only for the Moroccan group, it was found that a single imagined negative experience with a prototypical member of this group worsened the evaluation of native adolescents about the perceived sociability of the Moroccan group as a whole.

Finally, the third and last chapter of the thesis discusses the theoretical contributions of the studies conducted, their practical implications and limitations, and provides some recommendations for future works.

Taken together, the studies of this dissertation have proved the usefulness of the SCM and the BIAS Map for the evaluation of adolescents' intergroup attitudes toward different groups, as well as the key role of ethnicity in this process. The relationship between contact valence and the components of the SCM and BIAS Map has also been analysed and the easy generalization of the effects of negative contact on adolescents' beliefs, emotions, and intergroup behaviours toward groups has been highlighted. Specifically, the effect of negative asymmetry of contact valence (the stronger effect of negative contact), the process by which negative contact influences adolescents' negative behavioural intentions through negative emotions and the key role of perceived typicality and ethnic origin in the generalization process of the effect of negative contact on stereotypical dimensions was confirmed.

Consequently, interventions aimed at improving intergroup relations between native adolescents and immigrants should take into account the proven specificity of prejudice and address the particularities of the different immigrant groups. In addition, these programs should include actions to prevent, monitor and reduce negative intergroup interactions between native adolescents and members of devalued ethnic groups.

CAPÍTULO I. INTRODUCCIÓN/ CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Contextualización

La migración es un fenómeno inherente al ser humano. Sus comienzos se remontan aproximadamente 70000 años atrás y se caracteriza por el desplazamiento de personas o grupos desde su lugar de origen a otro.

En la actualidad, a nivel mundial más de 272 millones de personas residen en un país diferente al que nacieron. Europa es la segunda zona con mayor densidad de población migrante (inmigrantes y emigrantes) (UNDESA, 2019a). Estas cifras revelan que, en las sociedades modernas, los movimientos migratorios y la diversidad cultural constituyen la norma más que la excepción. Según informes internacionales de opinión pública, en general, la inmigración y la multiculturalidad se perciben positivamente como una fuente de enriquecimiento cultural (*Transatlantic Trends*, 2014). Sin embargo, esta visión positiva coexiste, a nivel mundial y europeo, con la percepción de la inmigración como una amenaza en distintos ámbitos sociales (p.e., economía nacional, seguridad), así como con actitudes negativas hacia los inmigrantes y la inmigración. Los datos revelan que, a nivel europeo, el 52% de los encuestados desearía que el número de inmigrantes en su país disminuyera (Esipova, Ray, Pugliese, Tsabutashvili, Laczko y Rango, 2015). Asimismo, los europeos perciben que la inmigración incrementa la tasa de delincuencia y tiene un impacto negativo sobre la empleabilidad y la economía nacional (Dennison y Dražanová, 2018).

Esta imagen ambivalente acerca de la inmigración y los inmigrantes se replica fielmente en España. Aunque se identifica el enriquecimiento cultural como principal aspecto positivo de la inmigración, el 61.1% de los encuestados considera que el número de inmigrantes en España es elevado o excesivo y que, en general, los inmigrantes reciben más de la sociedad de acogida (p.e., ayudas escolares, servicios sanitarios) de lo que aportan (55.5%). Además, la inmigración se asocia con la

delincuencia (15.2%), con problemas de integración (14.7%), competitividad en el mercado laboral (11.9%) y disminución del sueldo de los españoles (69.6%) (Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas; CIS, 2017).

Por tanto, la inmigración afecta a distintas facetas de la realidad social. El contacto continuado entre autóctonos e inmigrantes genera en ocasiones actitudes intergrupales prejuiciosas que repercuten negativamente en el desarrollo y mantenimiento de relaciones intergrupales armoniosas, así como en el bienestar y la calidad de vida de autóctonos e inmigrantes.

Estos efectos ocurren tanto en población general, como en segmentos específicos de población especialmente vulnerables, como los menores de edad (niños y adolescentes).

Según datos recientes, el 14% del total de inmigrantes a nivel mundial tiene menos de 20 años. Proceden principalmente de África subsahariana (27%), América Latina y Caribe, África del Norte y Asia Occidental (aproximadamente 22% por cada origen; UNDESA, 2019a). En España, del total de la población con edades comprendidas entre 15 y 19 años, un 12.7% son adolescentes inmigrantes (UNDESA, 2019b).

La adolescencia es una de las etapas de transición más importantes del desarrollo vital de una persona. En esta etapa, la diversidad cultural presente en los contextos de desarrollo de los jóvenes puede suponer un importante reto, tanto para los adolescentes autóctonos, como para los adolescentes inmigrantes, con consecuencias negativas para sus relaciones interpersonales e intergrupales. Por ejemplo, Díaz-Aguado, Martínez-Arias y Martín-Babarro (2013) encontraron que tanto los agresores como las víctimas de violencia escolar mencionaban el origen étnico y el color de piel como posibles motivos de dicha violencia.

No obstante, dada sus características, esta etapa evolutiva también representa una oportunidad para reducir las actitudes prejuiciosas antes de quedar arraigadas en la adultez (García, Navas, Cuadrado y Molero, 2003; Navas, García, Molero y Cuadrado, 2002; Rutland y Killen, 2015). Un primer paso en este sentido es averiguar cómo perciben los adolescentes autóctonos a los distintos grupos inmigrantes presentes en su contexto. Para ello, la presente tesis se propone evaluar qué creen, qué sienten y qué intenciones de conducta tienen los adolescentes españoles hacia distintos grupos de inmigrantes en España. Asimismo, se examinará la relación entre la valencia del contacto intergrupar con dichas creencias, emociones e intenciones de conducta.

Las actitudes intergrupales en la infancia y la adolescencia

Los primeros trabajos sobre el desarrollo y la manifestación del prejuicio y las actitudes intergrupales durante la infancia y la adolescencia pusieron de manifiesto que el origen étnico y el género son las categorías sociales más salientes en las fases tempranas de desarrollo (p.e., Clark y Clark, 1940; Goodman, 1952; Katz, 1982, 1983). Con solo tres años, los niños² son capaces de distinguir y clasificar a los individuos según etnia y género, así como autocategorizarse en un grupo y mostrar favoritismo endogrupal (esto último a partir de los 4 años). A medida que avanzan en edad, la manifestación del sesgo endogrupal va acompañada de una evaluación negativa del exogrupo que alcanzaría su máximo nivel a los 7-8 años (Aboud, 1988; Raabe y Belmann, 2011). A partir de esta edad, la evaluación negativa de los exogrupos disminuye. Con la entrada en la adolescencia, tanto la evaluación del endogrupo como la del exogrupo se moderan, es decir, ni el endogrupo se percibe tan positivamente, ni el exogrupo tan negativamente como ocurría en etapas evolutivas anteriores (Raabe y Belmann, 2011).

² Para facilitar la lectura del presente documento, en su elaboración se ha utilizado en ocasiones el masculino, como género no marcado, para referirse tanto al femenino como al masculino.

Distintas perspectivas teóricas complementarias han intentado explicar cuáles son los factores que contribuyen y afectan al desarrollo y mantenimiento de las actitudes intergrupales durante la infancia y la adolescencia.

Según la teoría sociocognitiva (Aboud, 1988, 2008), la manifestación de sesgo endogrupal y prejuicio exogrupal en los niños está determinado por su nivel de egocentrismo y su procesamiento afectivo-perceptual, y que el cambio en las actitudes intergrupales, que surge aproximadamente a partir de los 7 años, se debe al desarrollo de nuevas habilidades sociocognitivas (p.e., aparición del pensamiento operacional, habilidad de reconocer cualidades abstractas e internas de las personas; mayor habilidad para integrar información inconsistente, toma de perspectiva, mayor sensibilidad a normas grupales).

Como alternativa a la teoría sociocognitiva, desde la teoría evolutiva de la identidad social (Nesdale, Griffiths, Durkin y Maass, 2007; Nesdale, Maass, Durkin y Griffiths, 2005) se enfatiza el papel del desarrollo de la identificación grupal en las actitudes intergrupales de los niños. Esta teoría distingue cuatro etapas para explicar el desarrollo y la evolución de las actitudes intergrupales. Antes de los 2-3 años (fase 1) los niños no identifican las claves que les permiten inferir la pertenencia grupal. A partir de esta edad adquieren la capacidad para detectar este tipo de información y percibirse a sí mismos como miembros de su endogrupo (fase 2). A partir de los 4 años aproximadamente (fase 3), los niños se centran en y muestran preferencia por su grupo frente a otros grupos. En la cuarta fase (a partir de los 7 años) el centro de atención de los niños se desvía hacia el exogrupo, lo que propicia la aparición y manifestación de prejuicio. Sin embargo, este efecto no ocurre de forma automática, sino que dependerá de la intensidad de la identificación del niño con su endogrupo y del grado en el que el endogrupo mantiene una actitud prejuiciosa hacia el exogrupo.

Además del incremento en la identificación grupal, con la edad los niños tienen una mejor comprensión de la relación existente entre las dinámicas intragrupal (evaluación de los miembros de su endogrupo) e intergrupales (los grupos como un todo) (Abrams y Rutland, 2008). En este sentido, los estudios realizados en el marco de la teoría evolutiva de las dinámicas grupales subjetivas (Abrams y Rutland, 2008) ponen de manifiesto que tanto niños como adolescentes prefieren a aquellas personas que no amenazan las normas socio-convencionales centrales de su grupo, independientemente de su pertenencia al endogrupo o al exogrupo (Rutland, Hitti, Mulvey, Abrams y Killen, 2015).

Respecto a la trayectoria evolutiva de las actitudes prejuiciosas, los resultados del metaanálisis llevado a cabo por Raabe y Bellmann (2011) evidencian que los principales cambios en el desarrollo y la manifestación del prejuicio ocurren durante la infancia. Concretamente, el desarrollo del prejuicio sigue una trayectoria en forma de U invertida. El prejuicio explícito aumenta en la infancia temprana (entre 2 y 4 años de edad) y empieza a disminuir al comienzo de la infancia tardía (entre 8 y 10 años de edad). Durante la adolescencia, no se han encontrado cambios evolutivos sistemáticos en el desarrollo y la manifestación del prejuicio. Esto podría indicar que la manifestación explícita de actitudes prejuiciosas durante esta etapa depende en mayor medida del contexto en los que los adolescentes se desarrollan (Raabe y Bellmann, 2011).

En esta línea, algunas perspectivas recientes (p.e., Barrett, 2007; Bigler y Lieben, 2007; Rutland, Killen y Abrams, 2010) apuestan por una visión integradora que explica el desarrollo y la manifestación de las actitudes prejuiciosas en niños y adolescentes como resultado de la confluencia de factores cognitivos (individuales) y socio-contextuales. Por ejemplo, la teoría societal-social-cognitiva-motivacional

(SSCMT; Barrett, 2007) propone que las actitudes intergrupales de los niños y los adolescentes, es decir, su forma de entender e interpretar las relaciones entre su grupo y los otros grupos salientes de su entorno, están influenciadas por las características contextuales, geográficas, históricas, económicas y políticas del “nicho societal” en el que se desarrollan. El efecto de estos factores, a su vez, dependerá de su nivel de procesamiento cognitivo, afectivo y motivacional (p.e., identificación con su grupo nacional o étnico) que dirigirá sus procesos atencionales y perceptuales.

La entrada en la adolescencia se caracteriza por mayor complejidad cognitiva, así como por una mejor comprensión del funcionamiento de la sociedad. Durante esta etapa, las relaciones interpersonales adquieren mayor importancia (Brown y Larson, 2009). Asimismo, tienen una mayor comprensión acerca del funcionamiento de los grupos y dan mayor importancia a las normas grupales y lealtad hacia el grupo (Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier y Ferrell, 2009). Dada la complejidad del proceso, así como la diversidad de factores que influyen en el establecimiento y mantenimiento de las relaciones intergrupales en la adolescencia, es importante realizar estudios que permitan conocer las actitudes intergrupales en esta etapa.

En resumen, la literatura existente pone de manifiesto que a medida que se avanza en edad, en la configuración de las actitudes intergrupales prejuiciosas de los niños adquiere cada vez más importancia la influencia de variables contextuales y/o relacionadas con las dinámicas intergrupales. Sin embargo, aunque se contempla la influencia del contexto, estas líneas de investigación a menudo abordan el prejuicio desde una perspectiva tradicional univalente negativa, no evalúan los tres componentes actitudinales conjuntamente (cognitivo, afectivo y conductual) y tampoco toman en consideración la especificidad de las actitudes prejuiciosas respecto al exogrupo objeto de evaluación.

Actuales desarrollos teóricos y empíricos, como el modelo del contenido de los estereotipos (MCE; Fiske, et al., 2002; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy y Glick, 1999) y el mapa de conductas a partir de estereotipos y emociones intergrupales (BIAS Map; Cuddy, et al., 2007; 2008), considerados en la presente tesis, defienden la necesidad de contemplar el proceso de percepción social y las actitudes intergrupales prejuiciosas atendiendo su especificidad (p.e., origen étnico) y a su relación con las características del entorno social (p.e., estructura social).

Perspectivas actuales en el estudio del prejuicio: El modelo del contenido de los estereotipos y el mapa de conductas a partir de estereotipos y emociones intergrupales

Las perspectivas tradicionales de estudio de las actitudes intergrupales consideran el prejuicio como una actitud generalizada eminentemente negativa hacia un grupo y sus integrantes (Allport, 1954; Ashmore, 1970). Aunque este tipo de definiciones ha sido ampliamente aceptado, proporciona un punto de vista parcial acerca de este fenómeno. Los modelos actuales del prejuicio (p.e., Cotrell y Neurberg, 2005; Cuddy et al., 2007, 2008; Stephan, Ybarra y Rios Morrison, 2009, 2016; Ward y Masgoret, 2006) han superado esta visión reduccionista y univalente del prejuicio y proporcionan un marco de estudio que permite atender la complejidad de este fenómeno (Cuadrado, 2019).

El BIAS Map (Cuddy et al., 2007; 2008) y su precursor, el MCE (Fiske et al., 2002), son dos de los modelos más relevantes en el estudio de las actitudes y relaciones intergrupales en la actualidad.

El MCE identifica la calidez y la competencia como dos dimensiones ortogonales, básicas y universales que subyacen a la percepción social de las personas y a sus actitudes hacia los demás. Para los autores del modelo la evaluación de estas dos

dimensiones resulta fundamental desde un punto de vista funcional, ya que permite atender a “cuestiones básicas para sobrevivir y desarrollarse en el mundo social” (p. 63). Así, la calidez, evaluada en términos de sinceridad, afecto o amigabilidad, permite inferir si las intenciones de los otros son beneficiosas o dañinas para nosotros y/o nuestro endogrupo. Por otra parte, la competencia se refiere a la inteligencia, competencia o habilidad, e informa sobre la capacidad de los demás para cumplir sus intenciones y alcanzar sus objetivos (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002).

Ahora bien, las evaluaciones de calidez y competencia no se originan en el vacío, de forma aislada, dado que las relaciones intergrupales ocurren y están inmersas en un contexto social caracterizado por una estructura jerárquica y recursos limitados (Cuddy et al., 2008). En esta línea, el MCE propone que las características socio-estructurales del contexto social en el que los grupos conviven determinarán las evaluaciones intergrupales de calidez y competencia. Por una parte, el estatus social percibido del exogrupo se asociará con la competencia percibida. Concretamente, los grupos de alto estatus se considerarán competentes, mientras que si su estatus es bajo se evaluarán como incompetentes. Por otra parte, las relaciones de interdependencia entre los grupos (competición vs. cooperación intergrupales) determinarán la calidez percibida; los grupos competitivos se percibirán fríos, mientras que los grupos no competitivos se percibirán cálidos.

Aunque tanto la calidez como la competencia son dimensiones centrales de la percepción social, la literatura ha puesto de manifiesto que la calidez tiene un rol primario en este proceso. Desde un punto de vista adaptativo, determinar las intenciones de los demás y, por tanto, detectar posibles amenazas por parte del exogrupo resulta más importante que conocer su capacidad para llevar a cabo dichas intenciones.

Algunos autores han demostrado que la calidez está formada por dos subdimensiones conceptualmente diferentes: sociabilidad y moralidad (Leach, et al., 2007; ver también Abele, Hauke, Peters, Louvet, Szymkov y Duan, 2016). La moralidad se refiere al grado en el que la conducta de la persona o grupo que se evalúa se percibe apropiada, y engloba rasgos como ser sincero, de fiar u honesto. La sociabilidad se refiere a la cooperación y formación de conexiones con los demás, e incluye características como ser agradable, amigable o cálido (Leach et al., 2007). Los estudios llevados a cabo considerando esta distinción han puesto de manifiesto que moralidad desempeña un rol más diagnóstico que sociabilidad y competencia en la evaluación tanto del endogrupo (Leach et al., 2007) como del exogrupo (López-Rodríguez, Cuadrado y Navas, 2013), así como en distintas fases del proceso de percepción social (Brambilla, Rusconi, Sacchi y Cherubini, 2011; Brambilla, Sacchi, Pagliaro y Ellemers, 2013; Brambilla, Sacchi, Rusconi, Cherubini e Yzerbyt, 2012; Pagliaro, Brambilla, Sacchi, D'Angelo y Ellemers, 2013). Otros estudios (Brambilla et al., 2011; López-Rodríguez et al., 2013) han demostrado, además, que el modelo tridimensional –competencia, moralidad y sociabilidad– es más adecuado que el modelo bidimensional –competencia y calidez– para captar la complejidad de las evaluaciones intergrupales.

En esta línea, López-Rodríguez et al. (2013), aplicando una versión extendida del MCE para medir las evaluaciones de una muestra de españoles adultos sobre inmigrantes marroquíes, rumanos o ecuatorianos, encontraron que la moralidad tenía un importante papel diagnóstico en dicha evaluación. Los grupos inmigrantes eran valorados de forma significativamente diferente en esta dimensión, mientras que en las otras dimensiones algunos grupos eran valorados igual.

Considerando estos hallazgos, el primer objetivo específico de la presente tesis es comprobar la adecuación del modelo tridimensional del contenido de los estereotipos frente al modelo bidimensional en el marco de las relaciones interétnicas en la adolescencia.

Otra de las aportaciones principales del MCE es que cada combinación de alta vs. baja calidez y alta vs. baja competencia genera una emoción específica. En concreto, los grupos percibidos cálidos y competentes inspiran admiración, mientras que los grupos evaluados como fríos e incompetentes generan desprecio. Los grupos percibidos cálidos e incompetentes generan compasión, mientras que los grupos evaluados como fríos y competentes generan envidia.

En resumen, el MCE propone una relación lineal entre las variables socio-estructurales, el contenido de los estereotipos asignado a los exogrupos a partir de estas variables y las emociones resultantes de la combinación de la evaluación recibida por los grupos en estas dos dimensiones.

El BIAS Map completa el esquema propuesto por el MCE incorporando el aspecto conativo. De este modo, considerando la valencia (facilitación/daño) y la intensidad (activo/pasivo) del comportamiento, se definen cuatro tipos de tendencias: facilitación activa, daño activo, facilitación pasiva y daño pasivo. La facilitación activa se refiere a comportamientos de ayuda, mientras que la pasiva se relaciona con comportamientos de colaboración. El daño activo supone el ataque directo, mientras que el daño pasivo implica evitación o indiferencia (Cuddy et al., 2007).

Cuddy et al. (2007) confirmaron que tanto el contenido estereotípico como las emociones predicen las tendencias comportamentales, pero la capacidad predictiva de las emociones sobre la conducta es mayor que la de las cogniciones (Talaska, Fiske y Chaiken, 2008). Así, la calidez, por su papel diagnóstico en la percepción social, predice

los comportamientos activos, mientras que la competencia predice los pasivos. En cuanto a la relación de las emociones con las intenciones de conducta, se encontró que cada emoción predecía un patrón específico de comportamiento. La admiración predice comportamientos de facilitación activa y pasiva. El desprecio genera daño activo y pasivo. La envidia elicitó facilitación pasiva y daño activo. La compasión provoca facilitación activa y daño pasivo.

Además, las emociones no solo tienen una mayor capacidad predictiva, sino que median el efecto de los estereotipos sobre el comportamiento. Admiración y compasión median el efecto de calidez sobre facilitación activa. Desprecio media el efecto de calidez sobre daño activo. Admiración media el efecto de competencia sobre facilitación pasiva. Compasión media el efecto de competencia sobre daño pasivo. Envidia no actúa como mediador entre los estereotipos y las tendencias comportamentales.

Por tanto, el BIAS Map y el MCE consideran estereotipos y emociones con valencias positivas y negativas, así como tendencias comportamentales activas y pasivas, de facilitación y de daño, lo que permite investigar modelos de prejuicio ambivalente, no considerados tradicionalmente en la investigación. Resumidamente, sus principales premisas son las siguientes:

- (1) el prejuicio depende del contexto en el que tienen lugar las relaciones intergrupales y del grupo evaluado, siendo ambivalente y específico;
- (2) los tres componentes del prejuicio –cognitivo, afectivo y conativo– operan en sincronía;
- (3) las emociones median los efectos de las cogniciones sobre el comportamiento (Cuddy et al., 2008, pp. 68-69).

Si bien se han llevado a cabo numerosos estudios aplicando estos modelos en diferentes países y con distintos grupos sociales (Bye y Herrebrøden, 2018; Bye,

Herrebrøden, Hjetland, Røyset y Westby, 2014; Cuddy et al., 2008, 2009; Grigoryev, Fiske y Batkhina, 2019; ver Fiske, 2015, 2018, para una breve revisión), los realizados específicamente con inmigrantes son escasos. Es el caso de la investigación realizada por Lee y Fiske (2006) en EE. UU., en la que se confirmó que el estereotipo genérico asignado a los inmigrantes, bajos en calidez y competencia, cambiaba al aportar información acerca de su origen étnico. Así, distintos grupos étnicos recibían diferentes valoraciones en las dos dimensiones de contenido estereotípico. Por ejemplo, a los inmigrantes mexicanos e italianos se les atribuía más calidez que competencia, mientras que los inmigrantes de origen asiático se percibían con altos niveles de competencia, pero con bajos niveles de calidez. Como hemos señalado, en el estudio de López-Rodríguez et al. (2013) se confirmó los supuestos del MCE aplicando por primera vez en España la versión tridimensional del MCE para estudiar las evaluaciones de una muestra de población adulta sobre tres grupos inmigrantes. Asimismo, también en el contexto español, Cuadrado, López-Rodríguez y Navas (2016) confirmaron las predicciones del MCE en las evaluaciones entre miembros de grupos minoritarios (ecuatorianos, marroquíes y rumanos). En ambos estudios se halló que el colectivo mejor evaluado, tanto por los autóctonos como por los otros grupos inmigrantes, era el de inmigrantes ecuatorianos, y el peor evaluado el de inmigrantes marroquíes. Además, tanto los ecuatorianos como los marroquíes recibían evaluaciones ambivalentes. Mientras los ecuatorianos son percibidos como sociables, pero con puntuaciones más bajas en moralidad y competencia, los marroquíes son percibidos como competentes pero con niveles bajos de moralidad y sociabilidad.

Tomando como punto de partida y comparación los resultados obtenidos en estas investigaciones, la presente tesis comprobará la idoneidad de los modelos para el estudio de las relaciones interculturales en la adolescencia. Para ello, el segundo

objetivo específico planteado es aplicar el MCE y el BIAS Map a población adolescente y comprobar sus supuestos considerando la perspectiva tridimensional del MCE.

MCE y BIAS Map: estudios con niños y adolescentes

Los trabajos llevados a cabo con el MCE y el BIAS Map se han realizado principalmente con población adulta. Sin embargo, recientemente algunos autores han dirigido su atención hacia el estudio del contenido de los estereotipos en fases tempranas del desarrollo evolutivo.

En esta línea, Roussos y Dunham (2016) examinaron la evolución del contenido de los estereotipos considerando dos grupos de edad: niños de 5-6 años y de 9-10 años. Los niños evaluaron la calidez y la competencia de dos grupos incluidos en cada uno de los cuatro cuadrantes resultantes de la combinación de las dos dimensiones de contenido estereotípico identificadas en el MCE (p.e., americanos para el cuadrante cálido y competente, científicos para el cuadrante fríos y competentes, personas mayores como grupo cálido e incompetente, pobres como grupo frío e incompetente). Los resultados indican que los niños detectan y utilizan claves de ambas dimensiones cuando evalúan a otros grupos, sin embargo, mientras que en los adultos la percepción de competencia es independiente de la de calidez (no correlacionan), en los niños las dos dimensiones están significativamente correlacionadas. Además, aunque las evaluaciones de los niños acerca de la competencia de los exogrupos fueron similares a las de los adultos, para los niños esta información determinó la calidez percibida de los grupos evaluados. Sin embargo, no ocurrió lo mismo con la calidez, es decir, la percepción de calidez no predijo la competencia percibida.

Ahora bien, aunque los resultados muestran que para los niños las dos dimensiones no son independientes, también hay indicios de que el proceso de evaluación se modifica con la edad. Así, a diferencia de los niños de menor edad (5-6

años), los niños mayores (9-10 años) realizan evaluaciones de los exogrupos muy similares a las de los adultos en las dos dimensiones, lo que sugiere que la calidez se empieza evaluar como una dimensión independiente a la de competencia después de los 10 años.

Estos resultados fueron hallados previamente por diversos autores al analizar el contenido de los estereotipos asignado a distintos grupos por parte de niños y adolescentes. Así, Durante, Fasolo, Mari y Mazzola (2014), al examinar el prejuicio hacia personas con obesidad en niños de 6 a 11 años, encontraron que los niños realizaban evaluaciones ambivalentes tanto de las personas delgadas (más competentes que cálidas) como de las personas con sobrepeso (más cálidas que competentes) comparables a las evaluaciones de los adultos.

Del mismo modo, Vauclair, Rodrigues, Marques, Esteves, Cunha y Gerardo (2018), en su estudio sobre edadismo con niños de 6 a 10 años y adolescentes de 11 a 15 años, hallaron que los estereotipos ambivalentes sobre las personas mayores aparecían en la infancia temprana y se mantenían en la adolescencia y la adultez. Sus resultados también revelaron que las evaluaciones de los niños sobre la competencia con que percibían a personas mayores no se modificaban con la edad, mientras que los niños menores percibían más cálidas a las personas mayores que los adolescentes. Estos estudios examinan el contenido de los estereotipos considerando la perspectiva bidimensional del MCE (Fiske et al., 2002). Hasta donde sabemos, sólo se han llevado a cabo tres estudios con adolescentes en los que se considere el modelo tridimensional del contenido de los estereotipos. Dos de ellos (Crocetti, Moscatelli, Kaniušonytė, Branje, Žukauskienė y Rubini, 2018; Crocetti, Moscatelli, Kaniušonytė, Meeus, Žukauskienė y Rubini, 2019) examinan cómo se perciben a sí mismos los adolescentes en las tres dimensiones. Estos autores encontraron que la moralidad autopercebida de los

adolescentes era más importante que la sociabilidad y la competencia autopercebidas para establecer relaciones significativas con otras personas en diversos contextos (Crocetti et al., 2018). Cuanto más morales se autopercebían los adolescentes, mayor era la calidad con la que evaluaban sus relaciones familiares, de amistad y del entorno escolar. Desde un punto de vista evolutivo, se constató que el nivel de moralidad y competencia autopercebida de los adolescentes se mantiene estable en el tiempo, mientras que el nivel de sociabilidad autopercebida disminuye con la edad (Crocetti et al., 2019).

A nivel intergrupar, Cuadrado y López-Turrillo (2014) aplicaron el modelo tridimensional del contenido de los estereotipos para examinar la percepción de una muestra de adolescentes acerca de diferentes subtipos de mujer (sexy, ama de casa y profesional). Sus resultados revelaron que cada subtipo de mujer se percibía de forma ambivalente (p.e., los adolescentes evaluaban a las amas de casa como menos competentes que morales y sociables y experimentaban compasión hacia ellas).

En resumen, el reducido número de estudios llevados a cabo con niños y adolescentes considerando las tres dimensiones básicas de percepción social revela su importante papel en el desarrollo de las relaciones interpersonales e intergrupales de los jóvenes. Asimismo, desde la perspectiva intergrupar, se pone de manifiesto que la percepción de los jóvenes acerca de distintos exogrupos es similar a la de los adultos.

Examinar la percepción de los adolescentes acerca de los distintos grupos inmigrantes presentes en su entorno social aplicando el MCE y el BIAS Map permitiría analizar sistemáticamente una amplia gama de factores que caracterizan e inciden en la naturaleza de sus relaciones interétnicas. Este conocimiento podría constituir, por tanto, el punto de partida para la mejora de dichas relaciones a través de acciones orientadas a

mejorar las actitudes intergrupales de los adolescentes antes de quedar firmemente arraigadas en la adultez (Rutland y Killen, 2015).

BIAS Map y contacto intergruparal

Tal y como hemos mencionado, la diversidad cultural puede tener consecuencias tanto negativas como positivas (Buchmann, Ramos y Hewstone, 2020). Por ello, es importante que los estudios realizados aporten el conocimiento necesario para enfrentar los retos, pero también para aprovechar las oportunidades presentes en los contextos multiculturales de cara a la mejora de las relaciones intergrupales. En este sentido, la diversidad cultural propicia el contacto intergruparal y las interacciones entre miembros de distintos grupos que conviven en un mismo contexto social (Buchmann et al., 2020).

Casi 70 años de investigación avalan la eficacia del contacto intergruparal en la mejora de las actitudes intergrupales. A través de distintos metaanálisis (Lerner y Wagner, 2015; Pettigrew y Tropp, 2006, 2008) se ha confirmado los efectos beneficiosos del contacto intergruparal positivo sobre la reducción del prejuicio considerando numerosas medidas, así como diversos exogrupos y contextos de estudio. Por ejemplo, se ha encontrado que el contacto intergruparal puede disminuir la ansiedad intergruparal, las emociones negativas y la percepción de amenaza individual y colectiva, así como incrementar la empatía y toma de perspectiva, la confianza intergruparal, el perdón, las emociones positivas y la percepción de variabilidad del exogrupo (Hewstone y Swart, 2011). Asimismo, se ha hallado que el contacto intergruparal afecta en mayor medida a la dimensión afectiva de las actitudes prejuiciosas (i.e., emociones) que a su dimensión cognitiva (i.e., estereotipos) (Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner y Christ, 2011; Tropp y Pettigrew, 2005).

La literatura también pone de manifiesto que los efectos beneficiosos del contacto intergruparal sobre el prejuicio no se producen sólo con el contacto directo –cara

a cara—, sino también con distintos tipos de contacto indirecto (Brown y Paterson, 2016; Eller, Abrams y Gómez, 2012; Gómez, Tropp y Fernández, 2011). Apoyando la premisa los amigos de mis amigos son mis amigos, los estudios llevados a cabo desde la perspectiva del contacto extendido muestran cómo el prejuicio de las personas hacia un exogrupo estigmatizado disminuye cuando saben que un miembro del endogrupo tiene una relación cercana o de amistad con un miembro del exogrupo estigmatizado (Vezzali, Hewstone, Capozza, Giovannini y Wölfer, 2014; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe y Tropp, 1997). Es más, mediante el paradigma del contacto extendido despersonalizado, Gómez, Tropp, Vázquez, Voci y Hewstone (2018) han demostrado que los efectos positivos de este tipo de contacto se producen incluso sin que exista relación con los miembros del endogrupo que tienen amigos del exogrupo. Basta con que el endogrupo apoye este contacto. Uno de los beneficios evidentes del contacto extendido (aplicable a otras formas de contacto indirecto) es que puede considerarse un estímulo para el contacto directo, ya que promueve expectativas positivas sobre el exogrupo (Gómez et al., 2011).

Otra línea de trabajo consolidada, aunque relativamente reciente, combina los principios de la simulación mental y del contacto intergrupar. Apoyándose en la utilidad demostrada en distintos ámbitos (p.e., clínico) de la simulación mental para activar los mismos mecanismos cognitivos que una experiencia real, la hipótesis del contacto imaginado (Turner, Crisp y Lambert, 2007) propone que imaginar una interacción con un miembro de un exogrupo podría tener efectos semejantes a los del contacto directo sobre las actitudes hacia el exogrupo (Meleady y Crisp, 2017). Aunque el efecto de este tipo de contacto sobre la disminución del prejuicio y la mejora de las actitudes intergrupales es más débil en comparación con el efecto del contacto directo, un creciente y prolífico conjunto de estudios apoyan la hipótesis del contacto imaginado

(Crisp y Turner, 2009; 2012). Así, Miles y Crisp (2014) confirman metaanalíticamente que el contacto imaginado reduce el prejuicio en general, aunque el tamaño del efecto encontrado oscila entre valores bajos y medios considerando tanto medidas implícitas como explícitas del prejuicio. También hallan que dicho efecto es mayor sobre el componente conductual (i.e., intenciones de conducta) que sobre los otros dos, cuando se miden actitudes hacia exogrupos de distinta nacionalidad (vs. etnia) y en muestras de población infantil (vs. adolescente y adulta), probablemente debido al uso de instrucciones más elaboradas (Husnu y Crisp, 2010).

En pocas palabras, el efecto del contacto intergrupar positivo sobre la disminución del prejuicio y la mejora de las actitudes intergrupales queda sobradamente demostrado por casi 70 años de investigación. Sin embargo, los actuales avances teóricos en el ámbito de las relaciones intergrupales permiten ampliar el conocimiento acerca de los efectos del contacto intergrupar considerando planteamientos conceptuales más complejos acerca de las actitudes intergrupales y que contemplan la especificidad del prejuicio, tales como el MCE y el BIAS Map, los dos modelos utilizados en la presente tesis.

Según Fiske et al. (2002), el contacto intergrupar y las dimensiones de contenido de los estereotipos están relacionados, ya que, desde un punto de vista *pragmático* y *funcional* (Fiske, 1993), su evaluación ocurre cuando las personas y/o los grupos interactúan. Algunos de los trabajos realizados en esta línea (Brambilla, Hewstone y Colucci, 2013; Brambilla, Ravenna y Hewstone, 2012; Kotzur, Schäfer y Wagner, 2019) han examinado el efecto del contacto sobre el contenido de los estereotipos, las emociones y las intenciones de conducta propuestas por el MCE y el BIAS Map. Así, se ha encontrado que el contacto imaginado positivo cambia las evaluaciones basadas en el contenido de los estereotipos sobre distintos grupos inmigrantes (Brambilla, Ravenna et

al., 2012). Concretamente, la interacción imaginada mejora la evaluación de la calidez para el grupo inmigrante envidiado, percibido como bajo en calidez y alto en competencia, así como la evaluación de la competencia para el grupo inmigrante hacia el que se mantenía una actitud paternalista, percibido como alto en calidez y bajo en competencia. Asimismo, Brambilla, Hewstone et al. (2013) demostraron que el efecto de la cantidad de contacto directo intergrupar con inmigrantes sobre las intenciones de apoyo a la inmigración está mediado por la dimensión estereotípica de moralidad, pero no por las de sociabilidad o competencia. Finalmente, Kotzur et al. (2019) han encontrado que el contacto directo positivo con un solicitante de asilo mejora el contenido de los estereotipos, las emociones y las intenciones de conducta hacia los miembros de este grupo. Por tanto, los estudios realizados en esta línea son más bien escasos y se han llevado a cabo solo con adultos.

Dado que la literatura previa parece indicar la idoneidad y utilidad del MCE y el BIAS Map para evaluar las actitudes intergrupales de los adolescentes, en la presente tesis, además de examinar las actitudes interétnicas de los adolescentes a partir de estos modelos, también se explorará experimentalmente el efecto del contacto intergrupar imaginado sobre sus componentes (estereotipos, emociones y tendencias comportamentales) en esta etapa evolutiva.

Contacto intergrupar en la infancia y la adolescencia

Los efectos del contacto son universales e independientes de la edad de las personas (Pettigrew et al., 2011). Prueba de ello son los numerosos estudios llevados a cabo con niños y adolescentes en los que se demuestra la eficacia del contacto intergrupar en la reducción del prejuicio durante estas etapas evolutivas (Turner y Cameron, 2016). Estudios longitudinales recientes (p.e., Wölfer et al., 2016) aportan además evidencia acerca de la importancia del contacto intergrupar directo e indirecto

(extendido) en el desarrollo y la configuración de actitudes intergrupales en la adolescencia. Estos estudios también revelan que el efecto del contacto parece disminuir y es más débil en la adultez temprana respecto a la adolescencia, incluso hasta el punto de perder su influencia sobre las actitudes ya establecidas de los jóvenes adultos. Por tanto, la adolescencia parece ser el último reducto, en términos evolutivos, para poder configurar actitudes intergrupales positivas con relativa facilidad.

Desde un punto de vista aplicado, el contacto intergrupal (directo) es uno de los componentes más eficaces de los programas de intervención orientados a la reducción del prejuicio durante la infancia y la adolescencia (Beelmann y Heinemann, 2014). Asimismo, el metaanálisis llevado a cabo por estos autores acerca de los efectos de dichos programas reveló que las intervenciones basadas en contacto indirecto también reducían el prejuicio, aunque su efecto era menor que el del contacto directo. Sin embargo, otros trabajos (p.e., Vezzali, Stathi, Crisp y Capozza, 2015) encontraron que, al menos a corto plazo, la diferencia entre el efecto del contacto directo e indirecto sobre las actitudes intergrupales en la infancia es mínima.

Además, las intervenciones basadas en contacto intergrupal indirecto presentan ciertas ventajas desde un punto de vista práctico respecto a las intervenciones basadas en contacto directo. Concretamente, este tipo de intervenciones se pueden utilizar en contextos con altos niveles de segregación o en los que el contacto directo no es posible, son más fáciles de implementar y suponen menos costes en términos de recursos económicos, temporales y logísticos (Cameron y Turner, 2017). Algunos autores (p.e., Cameron, Rutland, Hossain y Petley, 2011; Crisp y Turner, 2009; 2012) demuestran y enfatizan el papel complementario de las distintas formas de contacto indirecto (p.e., extendido, imaginado) al facilitar y potenciar el efecto del contacto directo sobre la reducción del prejuicio.

En el caso del contacto imaginado, éste implica la simulación mental de una interacción con un miembro del exogrupo. A diferencia de otras formas de contacto indirecto, y al igual que el contacto directo, el contacto imaginado conlleva la implicación personal en la situación de interacción, lo que permite a las personas centrarse en el exogrupo y realizar sus evaluaciones a partir de la propia experiencia imaginada (Crisp y Turner, 2009; 2012).

Como se ha mencionado previamente, el número de trabajos de investigación que avalan empíricamente la eficacia de esta técnica es cada vez mayor. Sus efectos se han puesto a prueba también con niños y adolescentes.

Así, Stathi, Cameron, Hartley y Bradford (2014), utilizando una tarea de contacto imaginado adaptada a niños de entre siete y nueve años, encontraron que quienes habían realizado la tarea mostraban actitudes intergrupales más positivas y más intención de contacto futuro con los asiáticos. En la misma línea, Vezzali y colaboradores encontraron que el contacto imaginado mejoró los estereotipos negativos de los niños participantes, aumentó sus intenciones de ayudar a niños inmigrantes (Vezzali et al., 2015) y redujo indirectamente la inhumanización de los inmigrantes a través del incremento de la confianza intergrupales (Vezzali Capozza, Giovannini y Stathi, 2012). En ambos casos el efecto del contacto imaginado se mantuvo una semana después de la intervención.

En otro trabajo, Turner, West y Christie (2013, Estudio 1) demostraron que aquellos adolescentes que habían imaginado una interacción positiva con un solicitante de asilo mostraban actitudes más positivas hacia este grupo, más confianza intergrupales y más intenciones de conducta de acercamiento. Además, la confianza intergrupales mediaba el efecto del contacto imaginado sobre las intenciones de conducta.

Por lo que sabemos, hasta el momento solo un estudio ha examinado el efecto del contacto imaginado sobre el contenido de los estereotipos en etapas evolutivas tempranas. Concretamente, Cameron, Rutland, Turner, Holman-Nicolas y Powell (2011) demostraron en una muestra de niños de entre 5 y 10 años que el contacto imaginado positivo con un compañero con discapacidad mejoraba la actitud general y sus percepciones de calidez y competencia sobre este grupo. Además, para los niños de entre cinco y seis años el contacto imaginado también generaba más intenciones de establecer relaciones de amistad con niños con discapacidad.

Resumiendo, por una parte se ha demostrado la influencia del contacto imaginado sobre las actitudes en la edad adolescente. Por otra parte, también existe evidencia del efecto del contacto imaginado sobre el contenido estereotípico de calidez y competencia de los niños. Sin embargo, todavía no se sabe cómo afecta el contacto imaginado al contenido de los estereotipos de los adolescentes, cómo puede variar dicho efecto al considerar tres dimensiones estereotípicas en vez de las dos tradicionales, y tampoco qué relación tiene el contacto intergrupar con las emociones y las intenciones de conducta contempladas en el BIAS Map. La presente tesis pretende cubrir estas lagunas mediante la realización de una serie de estudios experimentales.

Contacto negativo y proceso de generalización

La literatura sobre contacto intergrupar se ha centrado en el efecto del contacto positivo y en su potencial como estrategia de reducción del prejuicio. Sin embargo, en los contextos intergrupales reales ocurren tanto interacciones positivas como negativas. Por tanto, una comprensión integral del funcionamiento y la dinámica del contacto intergrupar y sus consecuencias sobre las actitudes intergrupales implica examinar, en paralelo, los efectos del contacto positivo y negativo (Graf y Paolini, 2017).

En este marco, una línea de investigación emergente está centrando su atención en las consecuencias diferenciales del contacto negativo y positivo sobre las actitudes prejuiciosas. Tomando como punto de partida la evidencia de otras áreas de la psicología acerca de los efectos asimétricos de la negatividad y la positividad (p.e., Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer y Vohs, 2001), Paolini y colaboradores (Paolini, Harwood y Rubin, 2010; Paolini et al., 2014) proponen un modelo teórico que considera la asimetría de la valencia en el marco de las relaciones intergrupales. Según estos autores, el efecto del contacto negativo sobre las actitudes intergrupales es mayor que el efecto del contacto positivo. Concretamente, en contextos caracterizados por relaciones intergrupales negativas, el efecto del contacto negativo sobre el incremento del prejuicio será mayor que el efecto del contacto positivo sobre la disminución del prejuicio. La mayor influencia se debe a que el contacto negativo se ajusta mejor a la imagen y a las expectativas negativas mantenidas sobre el exogrupo, lo que incrementa la saliencia categorial. La mayor saliencia categorial se asocia con la tipicidad de las personas implicadas en la interacción, que a su vez determina y facilita el proceso de generalización (Brown y Hewstone, 2005).

La explicación propuesta por Paolini et al. (2010; 2014) acerca del papel de la saliencia categorial y la tipicidad percibida en el proceso de generalización individuo-grupo fue respaldada por los resultados de un reciente metanálisis (McIntyre, Paolini y Hewstone, 2016). McIntyre et al. (2016) encontraron que la magnitud de la generalización individuo-grupo dependía de la tipicidad percibida de los miembros del exogrupo. Cuando el miembro del exogrupo es atípico, los niveles de atipicidad moderados (vs. altos) producirán un mayor efecto de generalización y, por ende, un cambio en la percepción del exogrupo. Niveles altos de atipicidad pueden llevar a considerar al ejemplar una excepción y/o a incluirlo en una subcategoría. En cambio, los

miembros del exogrupo percibidos como típicos confirmarían y reforzarían los estereotipos mantenidos sobre ellos.

El efecto de asimetría negativa-positiva de la valencia del contacto intergrupal se ha encontrado en distintos estudios (p.e., Barlow et al., 2012; Dhont y Van Hiel, 2009; Paolini et al., 2010; 2014), con distintos tipos de contacto, y tanto en situaciones de paz como en sociedades caracterizadas por conflicto (Graf, Paolini y Rubin, 2014; Husnu y Paolini, 2019). Por ejemplo, Barlow et al. (2012) encontraron un efecto más fuerte y robusto del contacto negativo (vs. positivo) sobre distintas medidas explícitas de prejuicio hacia australianos negros, australianos musulmanes y solicitantes de asilo (Estudio 1) y estadounidenses negros (Estudio 2). En otro estudio, Aberson (2015) encontró que tanto el contacto intergrupal negativo como el positivo tenían un efecto similar y de signo opuesto sobre la dimensión afectiva de las actitudes prejuiciosas, sin embargo, sobre la dimensión cognitiva (estereotipo) el contacto negativo tenía un efecto mayor que el positivo. No obstante, otros estudios (p.e., Barlow et al., 2019) confirmaron el efecto de asimetría para la relación entre la valencia del contacto y las emociones. Así, el efecto del contacto negativo sobre el incremento en las emociones intergrupales negativas fue mayor que el efecto del contacto positivo sobre su disminución. En cambio, el contacto positivo fue un mejor predictor de las emociones positivas que el contacto negativo. Hayward, Tropp, Hornsey y Barlow (2017) confirmaron experimentalmente estos hallazgos (Estudio 3), así como el papel mediador de las emociones intergrupales en la relación entre contacto negativo y distintas medidas actitudinales. Concretamente, la empatía y la ansiedad mediaron el efecto del contacto positivo y negativo sobre la evaluación general del exogrupo (Estudio 1). Asimismo, la ira medió el efecto del contacto negativo sobre el componente cognitivo del prejuicio (p.e., estereotipos) y las intenciones conductas de evitación, mientras que la ansiedad

medió el efecto del contacto negativo sobre las intenciones de contacto futuras y sobre las de evitación.

La literatura parece indicar además que el efecto de la valencia del contacto depende de cómo las personas construyen psicológicamente la positividad o la negatividad de la experiencia de contacto, es decir, de a qué aspectos de la experiencia vivida se atribuye su positividad o negatividad. En este sentido, los hallazgos de Graf et al. (2014) indicaron que el mayor efecto del contacto negativo (vs. positivo) se produjo cuando dicha negatividad se construía en torno a características del miembro del exogrupo implicado en la interacción (p.e., él/ella fue antipático/a), pero no cuando se asociaba con la situación de contacto en sí (p.e., no disfruté del encuentro, el encuentro no fue agradable).

Recientemente, otro metaanálisis (Paolini y McIntyre, 2019) reveló que el efecto diferencial del contacto intergrupales positivo y negativo sobre las actitudes hacia los exogrupos depende de la naturaleza de las relaciones intergrupales. En sus propias palabras, “lo negativo es más fuerte que lo positivo en contextos intergrupales negativos de estigmatización, y lo positivo es más fuerte que lo negativo en contextos intergrupales positivos caracterizados por admiración” (p. 51).

En resumen, el contacto intergrupales es una de las variables que más interés e investigación ha suscitado en el ámbito de la Psicología Social. Sin embargo, la diversidad del actual contexto sociocultural, el desarrollo de nuevos modelos teóricos centrados en la especificidad del prejuicio, así como el creciente interés por los efectos del contacto negativo sobre las actitudes intergrupales pone de manifiesto la complejidad de las relaciones intergrupales y la necesidad de integrar distintas perspectivas para seguir profundizando en el estudio de los factores y los procesos que inciden en su calidad.

Por tanto, los dos últimos objetivos específicos de la tesis contemplan examinar experimentalmente el efecto del contacto intergrupal imaginado (positivo y negativo) sobre los tres componentes actitudinales (contenido de los estereotipos, emociones e intenciones de conducta) del BIAS Map, así como el papel que desempeña la tipicidad percibida en la generalización de estos efectos.

Contexto de estudio

Los estudios planteados en la presente tesis se desarrollan en el marco de las relaciones interétnicas entre adolescentes españoles autóctonos y los miembros de dos minorías étnicas con una importante tradición migratoria en el contexto español, los inmigrantes marroquíes y ecuatorianos. El interés por estos grupos estuvo motivado por varias razones. En primer lugar, los marroquíes son el principal grupo de inmigrantes en España (Instituto Nacional de Estadística; INE, 2020), mientras que los ecuatorianos, aunque menos numerosos en la actualidad, siguen siendo un colectivo inmigrante representativo (2.4% del total de extranjeros). Además, los ecuatorianos son percibidos como un grupo que comparte características culturales con la población de la sociedad dominante (López-Rodríguez, Cuadrado, y Navas, 2017).

En segundo lugar, los estudios previos (Cuadrado et al., 2016; López-Rodríguez et al., 2013) acerca de estos dos grupos realizados en el contexto español con población adulta constituyen el antecedente de referencia para la interpretación de nuestros resultados. En línea con los trabajos originales (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002; Lee y Fiske, 2006), estos estudios han encontrado que su evaluación era muy diferente; los marroquíes eran un grupo devaluado, mientras que los ecuatorianos eran un grupo valorado. Concretamente, los adultos españoles e inmigrantes consideraban a los ecuatorianos más morales que a los marroquíes, aunque su característica definitoria era su sociabilidad (Cuadrado et al., 2016; López-Rodríguez et al., 2013). Los ecuatorianos

también generaban más emociones positivas e intenciones de facilitación activa y pasiva, mientras que los marroquíes provocaban más emociones negativas y tendencias de daño pasivo (López-Rodríguez, Cuadrado y Navas, 2016).

En tercer lugar, la información sobre las relaciones intergrupales entre adolescentes españoles e inmigrantes marroquíes y ecuatorianos es más bien escasa. Alguno de los pocos estudios realizados en esta etapa evolutiva están en consonancia con los hallazgos encontrados con adultos (López-Rodríguez et al., 2013) y ponen de manifiesto que los adolescentes españoles tienen actitudes más favorables hacia sus homólogos latinoamericanos (en su mayoría ecuatorianos), mientras los marroquíes generan los estereotipos más negativos respecto a distintos grupos de inmigrantes de comparación (Calderón, 2009). Además, un informe nacional (Díaz-Aguado et al., 2013) encontró que el origen étnico y el color de la piel fueron mencionados como razones de la violencia escolar, tanto por los agresores como por las víctimas, lo que podría indicar la existencia de relaciones intergrupales problemáticas.

Objetivos

El **objetivo general** de la presente tesis es examinar las creencias, emociones e intenciones comportamentales de adolescentes españoles autóctonos marroquíes y ecuatorianos, así como explorar la relación de la valencia del contacto intergrupales con dichas creencias, emociones e intenciones de conducta.

Objetivos específicos

El **primer objetivo específico** es comprobar la idoneidad del modelo tridimensional para medir el contenido de los estereotipos de una muestra de adolescentes hacia grupos étnicos minoritarios (Estudio 1).

El **segundo objetivo específico** es comprobar los postulados del MCE y el BIAS Map considerando la perspectiva tridimensional del contenido de los estereotipos (Estudio 1).

Los dos últimos objetivos específicos de la presente tesis vienen determinados por la necesidad de conocer cómo mejorar las relaciones intergrupales entre adolescentes autóctonos e inmigrantes.

Concretamente, el **tercer objetivo específico** consiste en analizar experimentalmente el efecto de la valencia del contacto intergrupar imaginado sobre los componentes del MCE y del BIAS Map (Estudio 2).

Finalmente, el **cuarto objetivo específico** es explorar proceso de generalización individuo-grupo del efecto de la valencia del contacto. Para ello, se examina el papel de la tipicidad percibida en la relación entre la valencia del contacto y los estereotipos de los adolescentes acerca de la moralidad, sociabilidad y competencia de los exogrupos inmigrantes evaluados (Estudio 3).

**CAPÍTULO II. INVESTIGACIÓN EMPÍRICA/ CHAPTER II.
EMPIRICAL RESEARCH**

Estudio 1/ Study 1. “We believe, we feel, we act”: Testing the BIAS

Map predictions during adolescence³

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Introduction

Immigration is considered one of the major problems of the XXI century, and ethnic prejudice, racism and discrimination seem to flourish worldwide and across ages. In the present study we examine, from the Behaviours from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes Map (BIAS Map; Cuddy et al., 2007, 2008) framework, the relations between Spanish native adolescents' stereotypes, emotions and behavioural tendencies towards two relevant immigrant groups in Spain: Ecuadorians and Moroccans. This framework is an extension of the stereotype content model (SCM; Fiske et al., 2002) that offers a straightforward scheme for the study of intergroup relations. The models explain the dynamics between socio-structural variables, stereotype content, emotions and behavioural intentions. We focus on adolescence since, at this developmental stage, attitudes are still flexible and relatively easy to change. Therefore, mapping the relations between variables that influence adolescents' attitude towards ethnic outgroups is essential to facilitate attitude change at this stage before they get firmly established in adulthood.

The BIAS Map foundation: The Stereotype Content Model

According to the SCM premises, when we perceive others (individuals or groups) we build our evaluations considering the two fundamental dimensions of social judgement, namely, warmth (e.g., warm, friendly) and competence (e.g., skilful, intelligent). The socio-structural hypothesis of the model posits that warmth follows from perceived competition with others and is the primary dimension of social perception since it informs about others' intentions (do they share the ingroup's goals?). Concretely, the SCM postulates that competitive groups are perceived as cold, while non-competitive ones are perceived as warm. On the other hand, competence derives from the perceived social status of the social target and describes its capacity of

accomplishing its goals (are they able to achieve their goals?). Specifically, high-status groups are perceived as competent, whereas low-status groups are considered incompetent.

The combination of high/low warmth and competence results in four categories of stereotype content, two univalent, high warmth and competence (HW-HC), low warmth and competence (LW-LC), and two ambivalent, high warmth and low competence (HW-LC), low warmth and high competence (LW-HC) (Fiske et al., 2002).

Additionally, the SCM proposes that each combination of stereotype content elicits a specific emotion. Warm and competent groups (e.g., ingroups, allies) evoke admiration, while cold and incompetent ones (e.g., homeless, immigrants) generate contempt. Warm and incompetent groups (e.g., elderly, housewives) elicit compassion, whereas cold and competent ones are envied (e.g., Asians, rich people) (Fiske et al., 2002).

The SCM assumptions have been tested and demonstrated using both correlational (Cuddy et al., 2008) and experimental methods (Caprariello, Cuddy, & Fiske, 2009). Furthermore, its initial findings (Fiske et al., 2002) have been replicated cross-culturally (Cuddy et al., 2009; Durante et al., 2013), and generalize across time and distinct levels of analysis (individuals, subtypes, groups, nations) (see Fiske, 2015, 2018, for a review).

New approaches on stereotype content

Despite the wide support for the universality of warmth and competence dimensions, some authors (Brambilla, et al., 2011; Leach et al., 2007; see also, Abele et al., 2016) have argued and confirmed that the warmth dimension has, in turn, two conceptually distinct facets: morality and sociability. Morality is defined as “being benevolent to people in ways that facilitate correct and principled relations with them by

the adherence to ethics and important social values” (e.g., trustworthy), while sociability is conceptualized as “being benevolent to people in ways that facilitate affectionate relations with them” (e.g., friendly) (Brambilla & Leach, 2014, p. 398). From this line of work, it has been confirmed the better fit of the three-dimensional model of stereotype content compared to the bi-dimensional one (López-Rodríguez et al., 2013).

Likewise, the higher importance of morality compared to sociability and competence has been consistently demonstrated for interpersonal (Landy, Piazza, & Goodwin, 2016) as well as for ingroups (Leach et al., 2007) and outgroups’ evaluations (Brambilla, Sacchi et al., 2012). Following this line of research, in the present study, we will consider the three-dimensional model of the stereotype content. Therefore, morality and sociability will be treated as distinct components of the broader dimension of warmth.

Stereotype content research during childhood and adolescence

Most of the gathered evidence on SCM is from adult samples. Only a few studies have examined warmth and competence stereotype content at an early developmental stage (e.g., childhood). A recent study (Roussos & Dunham, 2016) examined the development of stereotype content in 5-6 and 9-10 years old children. Children rated the warmth and competence of two groups for each one of the four SCM quadrants. These authors’ findings reveal that children detect and use cues of both dimensions. However, while their use of competence cues resembles that of adults, their warmth evaluations are influenced by competence information. This influence seems to diminish with age. Children gradually start, from the age of 10, to treat warmth as an independent dimension in regard to competence. In this line, Durante et al. (2014) also confirmed that children use the stereotype content dimensions in a similar fashion to adults by the end of elementary school. Their work examined the anti-fat bias in 6-11

Estudio 1/ Study 1. Testing the BIAS Map predictions during adolescence

years old children and found that children's ambivalent attributions of stereotype content of over-weight people mirrored those of adults.

Another study (Vauclair et al., 2018) explored age prejudice in a sample of both children (6-10 years old) and adolescents (11-15 years old). Their results evidenced that the ambivalent age stereotype starts in early childhood and prevails during adolescence towards adulthood. Their findings also showed that warmth evaluation seems to vary with age, whereas competence ratings seem not to change.

Although these studies examined children's stereotype content about distinct social groups, none addressed ethnic prejudice. Immigrants, in general, are evaluated as low in warmth and competence (Fiske et al., 2002). However, a study developed in the USA context (Lee & Fiske, 2006) found that when information on the ethnocultural origin of the immigrant groups is provided, intergroup differences emerge and ambivalent stereotypes are assigned to the evaluated groups. Thus, we will take into account this aspect by focussing on two distinct and relevant immigrant groups in the Spanish context.

Additionally, the aforementioned studies developed with children and adolescents always consider the bi-dimensional perspective of the stereotype content. Recent studies on the development of self-perceived morality, sociability and competence during adolescence (Crocetti et al., 2019) have found that adolescents' level of self-perceived morality and competence were stable across time, while the level of sociability decreased. Additionally, the inter-individual differences and the intra-individual configuration of the three dimensions were also established and stable at this stage. Furthermore, Crocetti et al. (2018) evidenced the higher importance of adolescents' self-perceived morality (vs. sociability and competence) for establishing meaningful relationships with others in school context, with family and with friends.

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According to Leach, Bilali and Pagliaro (2015), “individual morality is an oxymoron” (p. 142). Thus, although morality is important for self-concept and interpersonal relations, it is a group phenomenon with significant implications as well for intergroup relations and outgroups’ evaluations (Brambilla & Leach, 2014). However, these aspects have been mainly studied in adults.

To our knowledge, only one study developed with adolescents (Cuadrado & López-Turrillo, 2014) applied the SCM considering morality and sociability instead of warmth in intergroup settings. These authors assessed adolescents’ perception of three subtypes of women. Their results confirmed the SCM predictions for its three-dimensional perspective and showed that each women subtype was ambivalently stereotyped (e.g., housewives were assigned less competence than morality and sociability and elicited pity). Therefore, the present research extends the previous literature in two ways: 1) by contemplating and examining the adequacy of the three-dimensional perspective of the SCM during adolescence at intergroup level, and 2) considering Spanish adolescents’ perception of ethnic groups.

The BIAS Map model

Given that SCM refers only to the cognitive and emotional components of social attitudes, the BIAS Map (Cuddy et al., 2007) goes one step further and extends the SCM model by incorporating the behavioural aspect. In this regard, the model distinguishes between four types of behavioural intentions accounting for their valence –facilitation or harm, and their intensity –active or passive. Active facilitation implies acting for the outgroup and includes behaviours such as helping or defending the outgroup. Passive facilitation refers to associating or collaborating with an outgroup in order for the ingroup to also obtain benefits. Active harm occurs when an outgroup is

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overtly and intentionally acted against (e.g., attacked, harassed). Finally, passive harm entails acting without an outgroup by ignoring, avoiding or neglecting it.

Accounting for the primacy of warmth, the BIAS Map predicts that this dimension will determine the valence of active behaviours, while competence will determine the valence of the passive ones. Furthermore, the mediational hypothesis of the model proposes that emotions will be better predictors of behaviours than stereotypes, and that at least one emotion will mediate each stereotype content-behaviour link. Admiration towards HW-HC groups will lead to both active and passive facilitation, while contempt will lead to both active and passive harm towards LW-LC groups. Likewise, HW-LC pitied groups will prompt active facilitation and passive harm. Lastly, envied LW-HC groups will trigger passive facilitation and active harm as they evoke both respect and resentment (Cuddy et al., 2007).

Besides the core work of Cuddy et al. (2007), a few studies have tested and replicated the full range of proposed mediation models and only one study developed in the Norwegian context (Bye & Herrebrøden, 2018) replicated the original data. The BIAS Map predictions were also tested for subgroups of mental illness (Sadler, Kaye, & Vaughn, 2015), women subtypes based on their parental status (Bays, 2017) as well as using experimental data (Becker & Asbrock, 2012). In general, the findings support the hypothesized mediating role of emotions for the stereotype-behaviour link, but results are mixed. In some cases, only one emotion mediates the stereotype-behaviour link (Bye & Herrebrøden, 2018), whereas in others some of the mediations are not supported (e.g., Becker & Asbrock, 2012, the competence-passive behaviours link).

These findings reflect adults' view, but no study has yet tested the BIAS Map predictions during childhood or adolescence. Since recent research has found that children and adolescents use the two dimensions of social judgement for intergroup

evaluations, the next logical step entails testing the BIAS Map predictions for these developmental stages. Therefore, we will test the hypothesised mediation in an adolescent sample. Also, in keeping with the well-demonstrated conceptual distinction of morality and sociability as subdimensions of warmth, we will test the mediation models considering the three-dimensional model of stereotype content, as this aspect has not yet been explored from Bias Map perspective either with adults or children.

The present study

The main purpose of the present study is to explore the relations between adolescents' beliefs, emotions and behavioural tendencies towards two immigrant groups relevant in the Spanish context: the Ecuadorian target group (ET) and the Moroccan target group (MT). The two groups were chosen for the following reasons. First, Moroccans are the main immigrant group in Spain (INE, 2018a), whereas Ecuadorians, although less numerous nowadays, still are a representative immigrant group that is also perceived to share cultural features with the mainstream population (López-Rodríguez et al., 2017). Second, for comparative reasons, as previous research regarding these two immigrant groups was developed in the Spanish context with adult samples. In agreement with the original findings (Fiske et al., 2002), these studies have shown that for both groups (Ecuadorians and Moroccans) the perceived intergroup competition, was negatively and significantly related with native ratings of morality and sociability, and unexpectedly with groups' perceived competence. Regarding perceived social status, the expected positive relation with perceived competence was confirmed for Moroccans, but not for Ecuadorians. For the Moroccans, perceived status also significantly correlated with morality and sociability (López-Rodríguez et al., 2013).

Ecuadorians were also considered more moral than Moroccans by the Spanish adults and other immigrant groups, although their defining feature was their perceived

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sociability (Cuadrado et al., 2016; López-Rodríguez et al., 2013). Likewise, Ecuadorians elicited more positive emotions and active and passive facilitation intentions, while Moroccans evoked more negative emotions and passive harm tendencies in the Spanish adults (López-Rodríguez et al., 2016).

However, the information regarding intergroup relations between Spanish adolescents and their Moroccan and Ecuadorians peers is rather scarce. For example, a recent international report (OECD, 2018) showed that the level of baseline academic proficiency and life satisfaction of immigrant students in Spain were below the UE and OECD countries average and were also lower compared to their native peers. Likewise, a national report (Díaz-Aguado et al., 2013) found that ethnic origin and having a different skin colour were mentioned as reasons, by both aggressors and victims, of school violence. In addition, consistent with previous findings of target specific studies with adults (López-Rodríguez et al., 2013), some scholars (e.g., Calderón, 2009) have found that Spanish adolescents had more favourable attitudes towards Latin-American peers (mostly Ecuadorians), the Moroccan peers triggering the most negative stereotypes among the rated immigrants groups.

Although in our study we do not directly compare adolescents and adults, these groundwork studies provide us with baseline information for the interpretation of our results. Furthermore, the studies performed with adults in the Spanish context did not test for the mediational hypothesis proposed by the BIAS Map. Thus, by testing it in the Spanish context we contribute to the cross-cultural validation of the BIAS Map model.

In sum, we will test the full range of relations proposed by the SCM/BIAS map framework during adolescence to examine adolescents' perception of two relevant immigrant groups in the Spanish context and to see how these two models operate when

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applied to adolescents. Thus, we will examine the suitability of these models to study adolescents' social perception in the context of interethnic relations.

In order to achieve our main purpose, we first test the fit of the three-dimensional model of stereotype content in an adolescent sample, and this way we extend previous findings on the validity of the three-dimensional perspective of the stereotype content to a different developmental stage.

Next, we test the socio-structural hypothesis of the SCM and the mediational hypotheses of the BIAS Map. We broaden previous literature by testing the BIAS Map from the three-dimensional perspective of the stereotype content. Also, by testing the SCM/BIAS Map predictions in an adolescent sample we contribute to the generalizability of the models at a different age stage.

In line with the SCM predictions, we expect perceived intergroup competition to be negatively related with perceived morality and sociability of the target group, and perceived social status to be positively related with its perceived competence (H1).

Following the BIAS Map predictions, we expect morality and sociability to indirectly predict active harm through contempt and envy, and active facilitation through admiration and compassion (H2). Considering literature on the primacy of morality, we also expect morality to be a better predictor compared to sociability in the explored mediation processes (H3). Also, we expect that competence will indirectly predict passive facilitation through admiration and envy, and passive harm through contempt and compassion (H4).

Method

Participants and procedure

Spanish adolescents in a 14 to 18 age range ($N = 231$, $M_{age} = 15.39$, $SD = 1.09$), evaluated the ET group ($n = 117$, 59% girls) or the MT group ($n = 114$, 55.3% girls).

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The adolescents attended three incidentally selected high schools. The percentage of immigrant students in the participating schools was of approximately 12%. All the participants included in the study were Spanish with Spanish born parents. The students were randomly assigned to evaluate one of the two target groups. Each adolescent had to answer one of the two anonymous questionnaires. The paper and pencil questionnaires were identical except for the evaluated target group. The questionnaire was administered in their classrooms during regular school hours only to the students that voluntarily decided to participate. Following an inclusive criteria, the students with immigrant background were present in the classroom during data collection, but they completed a different questionnaire (these data were not included in the study). The teacher was present during the data collection as a condition imposed by the school boards. The study was approved by the authors' University Ethics Committee. The participation was voluntary. The adolescents that refused to participate stayed in the classroom and did a task given by the teacher.

Measures

The perceived intergroup competition was measured with three items adapted from Cuadrado et al. (2016) based on Fiske et al. (2002). Participants had to answer the following affirmations on a five-point Likert scale (1 = *totally disagree*; 5 = *totally agree*): “*The more power the (target group) have, the less power people like me are likely to have*”, “*The (target group) get special breaks (such as preference in hiring decision or obtaining a place in the university/ vocational training courses) that make things more difficult for people like me*” and “*The resources that go to the (target group) are likely resources that are taken away from people like me*”.

Perceived social status was measured with two items adapted from Cuadrado et al. (2016) based on Fiske et al. (2002). Participants had to answer to the following

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questions: “*What educational level do members of the (target groups) generally have?*” and “*What is the level of qualifications achieved by the (target group) students?*”. Items were rated on a five-point Likert scale (1 = *very low*; 5 = *very high*).

Stereotype content was assessed with nine items (three per dimension) adapted from the work of Fiske et al. (2002) and Leach et al. (2007) by López-Rodríguez et al. (2013). For the morality content, participants had to indicate how honest, sincere and trustworthy they considered the evaluated group. For the sociability content, adolescents had to indicate how likeable, warm and friendly they considered the target group. The competence content was evaluated using the items intelligent, competent, and skilful.

Emotions were measured using a scale of 24 items adapted to Spanish by Cuadrado et al. (2016) from Fiske et al. (2002). Participants had to rate to what extent did they feel four types of emotions (admiration, contempt, envy, compassion) towards the target group. Admiration was measured with the following eight items: admiration, understanding, respect, comfort, fondness, pride, inspiration and security. Contempt was assessed through the following 12 items: disappointment, fear, unease, anger, disgust, hatred, frustration, resentment, contempt, tension, shame and anxiety. Two items, envy and jealousy, were used to measure envy. Lastly, two items, pity and compassion, were used for measuring compassion.

Intergroup behavioural intentions were evaluated with the Intergroup Behavioural Tendencies Scale developed by López-Rodríguez et al. (2016) following Cuddy et al. (2007, 2008) definitions, which we previously adapted and validated for adolescents⁴

⁴ Two items of the original scale were modified in order to be more appropriate for the age of our participants. The active facilitation item “*Facilitate their promotion at work (if I could)*” was modified into the item “*Help them to progress at school and in other contexts (if I could do it)*”. The active harm item “*Prevent them from opening businesses*” was replaced by the item “*Prevent them from going to classes*”. This item was dropped from the analysis as it did not load on the expected active harm factor.

All the items of the last three measures were rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*; 5 = *very much*).

Data analysis

First, CFA analyses were performed with the EQS 6.2 program (Bentler, 2005) in order to test for the internal structure validity of the extended stereotype content model. Goodness of fit of the models was assessed through the robust Comparative Fit Index (RCFI), the Satorra–Bentler scaled χ^2 statistic⁵, the Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation (RMSEA) and Standardized Root Mean Square Residuals (SRMR). Values of the RCFI of 0.95 and higher are considered preferable and indicate that 95% or more of the covariation in the data is reproduced by the hypothesized model (Hu & Bentler, 1999). RMSEA values below .08 show a good fit of the hypothesized model to the observed data (MacCallum, Browne, & Sugawara, 1996). Similarly, SRMR values below .08 are indicative of the model good fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999). We also report the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) (Akaike, 1974). This indicator is used to compare the proposed model with competing ones. Although this index does not provide a statistical comparison of competing models, its use is recommended when comparing non-nested models. The model with the lowest AIC value fits the data better than the alternative solutions (Brown, 2006).

The three-dimensional model of the stereotype content was tested against a competing non-nested bi-dimensional model. For this purpose, morality and sociability items loaded on the same latent factor.

Thus, active harm was measured with two items instead of three. These two items belonged to the original scale.

⁵ Mardia's normalized coefficient revealed that our data presented multivariate kurtosis as for both groups and in all cases its value exceeded 5.00 (Bentler, 2005). In this case, both robust CFI and Satorra–Bentler scaled χ^2 statistic are preferred to ML estimates (Curran, West, & Finch, 1996).

Cronbach's *alpha* coefficient was calculated to assess the internal consistency of the studied variables.

Next, we tested the socio-structural hypothesis of the BIAS Map model. For this purpose, Pearson's correlation coefficient was used to examine the hypothesized relations between socio-structural variables and the stereotype content dimensions as well as between behavioural intentions and stereotype content and emotions.

Finally, the BIAS Map predictions regarding the stereotype-behaviour link were tested for each group through six parallel mediation analyses (Hayes, 2017; Model 4) performed with the SPSS22 macro PROCESS v 3.0 (Hayes, 2017). The significance of the effects was estimated using percentile 95% confidence intervals based on 5,000 bootstrap samples.

Results

The stereotype content model: Confirming the three-dimensional model

In order to test the validity of the three-dimensional perspective of stereotype content, we specified a first order three-factor model. Each factor predicted three corresponding specific items (see Table 1). The metric of the latent variables was defined through the marker indicator approach. All factors were allowed to covariate. The model was tested separately for each target group. This model proved to have a good fit for all target groups⁶: ET, $S-B\chi^2(24, 115) = 34.8159, p > .05, RCFI = .96, RMSEA = .06 (.00, .11), SRMR = .07, AIC = -13.184$; MT, $S-B\chi^2(24, 113) = 22.6024, p > .05, RCFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0 (.00, .07), SRMR = .045, AIC = -25.39$. In each target group all factor loadings were statistically significant (Table 1). We also tested a two-factor competing model in which the items measuring morality and sociability

⁶ Due to missing data, one case for the MT group and two cases for the ET group were skipped from the analysis.

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loaded on the latent factor of warmth, while the items measuring competence loaded on the competence latent factor.

Table 1

Standardised factor loadings and standard errors for each item

Model/dimension	Item	Ecuadorians		Moroccans	
		β	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>SE</i>
Stereotype content					
Morality	Sincere	.67	.74	.83	.55
	Honest	.81	.58	.88	.48
	Trustworthy	.69	.72	.77	.64
Sociability	Warm	.81	.59	.81	.59
	Likeable	.58	.82	.65	.76
	Friendly	.83	.55	.86	.51
Competence	Intelligent	.60	.80	.66	.75
	Skilful	.40	.92	.64	.77
	Competent	.51	.86	.55	.83

Note. All factor loadings were significant ($p < .05$).

This competing model had a good fit for the Moroccan target group, $S-B\chi^2(26, 113) = 36.3566$, $p > .05$, RCFI = .97, RMSEA = .06 (.00, .10), SRMR = .06, AIC = -15.643, and a poorer although acceptable fit for the Ecuadorians, $S-B\chi^2(26, 115) = 45.8262$, $p < .01$, RCFI = .92, RMSEA = .08 (.04, .12), SRMR = .07, AIC = -6.174. Although the two-factor model also fitted the data, the lower AIC values of the three-factor model indicated its superiority over the competing two-factor solution. Thus, the

results indicate the superiority of the three-factor model of stereotype content and the need to distinguish between morality and sociability content for the following analysis.

Cross-group invariance of the three-dimensional model factorial structure was further tested through several multi-sample analyses. For the first multiple-sample analysis no equality constraints were imposed. This configural model yielded a very good fit to the data, $S-B\chi^2(48, 228) = 57.9131, p > .05$, RCFI = .98, RMSEA = .04 (.00, .08), SRMR = .06, which proves the configural equivalence of the model. Next, measurement equivalence was examined. Equality constraints were imposed for all free estimated factor loadings.

The Lagrange multiplier test (LM test) revealed that the imposed equality constraints were tenable ($p > .05$, in all cases). This constraint model had a similar fit with the configural model: $S-B\chi^2(54, 228) = 62.9573, p > .05$, RCFI = .98, RMSEA = .04 (.00, .07), SRMR = .07. Thus, all factor loadings were invariant across the two samples.

Last, equality constraints were imposed for factor covariances and factor loadings, in order to test structural equivalence. As with the previous model, LM test results indicated that the imposed equality constraints were reasonable ($p > .05$, in all cases). The model also fitted the data very well, although the SRMR index had an inadequate value: $S-B\chi^2(58, 228) = 66.8330, p > .05$, RCFI = .98, RMSEA = .04 (.00, .08), SRMR = .11. All in all, these results prove the cross-group invariance of the three-dimensional factorial structure of the stereotype content.

For each group, descriptive statistics and internal consistency coefficients for all the studied variables are provided in Table 2.

Table 2

Means, standard deviations and reliability coefficients of the measured variables

	Ecuadorians			Moroccans		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α/r	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α/r
Intergroup competition	3.02	.94	.73	2.87	1.07	.72
Status	2.48	.59	.53**	2.32	.63	.43**
Morality	3.19	.70	.75	2.9	.83	.87
Sociability	3.68	.78	.78	3.19	.86	.82
Competence	3.29	.61	.52	3.44	.72	.64
Admiration	2.68	.72	.86	2.62	.86	.89
Contempt	1.47	.55	.88	1.63	.63	.88
Envy	1.15	.40	.66*	1.16	.42	.38**
Compassion	2.45	.86	.21*	2.5	.96	.40**
Active Facilitation	3.09	.88	.77	2.88	.96	.81
Active Harm	1.44	.82	.60**	1.4	.66	.34**
Passive Facilitation	2.99	.92	.37**	3.13	1.09	.65**
Passive Harm	1.60	.75	.71	1.72	.76	.65

Note. Scores ranged between 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*) for intergroup competition, from 1 (*very low*) to 5 (*very high*) for status and between 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*) for all other variables. Pearson's *r* is provided instead of Cronbach *alpha* coefficient for variables with less than 3 indicators.

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$.

Testing the socio-structural hypothesis: Relations between socio-structural variables and the stereotype content dimensions

As the information displayed in Table 3 reveals, perceived intergroup competition was negatively and significantly related with morality and sociability for

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both groups, whereas a significant negative relation with competence stereotype content was found only for the MT group. For the ET group, perceived status had a significant positive relation with morality, sociability and competence. For the MT sample, perceived status correlated positively only with competence.

These results partially confirm H1, as unexpectedly intergroup competition significantly correlated with perceived competence for one of the groups (MT), whereas perceived status significantly correlated with morality and sociability for the other (ET).

Table 3

Correlations between socio-structural variables and stereotype content dimensions

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Competition	-	-.24*	-.48**	-.35**	-.08
2. Status	-.19*	-	.35**	.28**	.27**
3. Morality	-.22*	.17	-	.64**	.53**
4. Sociability	-.25**	.06	.70**	-	.55**
5. Competence	-.24**	.26**	.55**	.58**	-

Note: Data for Ecuadorian target group are shown in the upper right section. The lower left section shows data for Moroccan target group. Bold correlations are those predicted to be significant by the SCM. Pearson's r is provided instead of Cronbach α coefficient for variables with less than 3 indicators.

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$.

The stereotype-behaviour link: testing the BIAS Map predictions

Once the socio-structural hypothesis was tested, we examined the BIAS Map predictions concerning the mediating role of emotions in the stereotype-behaviour link. For this purpose, we first examined the relations of the four behavioural tendencies with the stereotype content and the emotions (see Table 4).

In both groups, active behavioural tendencies were significantly related to morality and sociability in the expected direction. Competence was significantly related only with passive facilitation tendencies.

In both groups, active facilitation was positively related with admiration and compassion, whereas active harm was positively related with contempt but not with envy. Similarly, in both groups, passive facilitation positively correlated with admiration, but no significant negative correlation was found with envy. Finally, passive harm was positively related with contempt in both groups and negatively related to compassion in the Ecuadorian group.

Following Cuddy et al. (2007), we further tested several mediation models in which the effect of each stereotype dimension on the hypothesized behavioural tendency was mediated by two specific emotions. But, unlike these authors, we distinguish between morality and sociability instead of collapsing them into the warmth dimension. Thus, six models were tested instead of four (Figure 1). In each model, we controlled for the effect of the two non-predictor stereotype dimensions and participants' sex⁷. Completely standardized effects are presented. In both groups, active facilitation was positively related with admiration and compassion, whereas active harm was positively related with contempt but not with envy.

⁷ A factorial MANOVA was performed with the immigrant group and participants' sex as IVs and the three stereotype dimensions, four emotions and four types of behavioural intentions as DVs. A significant multivariate effect was found for the immigrant group (Pillais' Trace = .216, $F(11, 216) = 5.41$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$) and for participants' sex (Pillais' Trace = .126, $F(11, 226) = 2.83$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$). Univariate analysis revealed that Ecuadorians were considered more moral, $F(1, 226) = 6.87$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, and sociable, $F(1, 226) = 19.77$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, than Moroccans. Likewise, the univariate analysis indicated that girls compared to boys consider immigrants more sociable, $F(1, 226) = 5.14$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, feel less contempt, $F(1, 226) = 10.57$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, and less envy, $F(1, 226) = 13.00$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Girls also manifested more active facilitation intentions, $F(1, 226) = 4.91$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, and fewer active harm intentions, $F(1, 226) = 10.21$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, and passive harm intentions, $F(1, 226) = 5.68$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, towards immigrants than boys did.

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Table 4

Correlations of behavioural intentions with stereotype content dimensions and emotions

		Active Facilitation		Active Harm		Passive Facilitation		Passive harm	
		ET	MT	ET	MT	ET	MT	ET	MT
Stereotype	Morality	.52**	.52**	-.33**	-.39**	.26**	.34**	-.40**	-.39**
	Sociability	.44**	.60**	-.20*	-.30**	.21*	.40**	-.22*	-.43**
	Competence	.31**	.48**	-.19*	-.31**	.36**	.36**	-.16	-.35**
Emotion	Admiration	.73**	.73**	-.23*	-.38**	.46*	.53**	-.35**	-.42**
	Contempt	-.45**	-.41**	.67**	.65**	-.29**	-.24**	.65**	.57**
	Envy	-.08	.07	.13	.16	-.03	.07	.08	.10
	Compassion	.22*	.23*	-.04	-.18	.05	.17	-.05	-.04

Note: Bold correlations are those predicted to be significant based on the BIAS map. ET: Ecuadorian group; MT: Moroccan group

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$.

Similarly, in both groups, passive facilitation positively correlated with admiration, but no significant negative correlation was found with envy. Finally, passive harm was positively related with contempt in both groups and negatively related to compassion in the Ecuadorian group.

Following Cuddy et al. (2007), we further tested several mediation models in which the effect of each stereotype dimension on the hypothesized behavioural tendency was mediated by two specific emotions. But, unlike these authors, we distinguish between morality and sociability instead of collapsing them into the warmth dimension. Thus, six models were tested instead of four (Figure 1). In each model, we controlled for the effect of the two non-predictor stereotype dimensions and participants' sex⁴. Completely standardized effects are presented.

Our results indicate that in both groups, active facilitation tendencies were indirectly predicted by morality but only through admiration: ET, $B = .24 (.08)$, CI 95% = .0752, .3786; MT, $B = .18 (.07)$, CI 95% = .0485, .3181. The same pattern was found for both groups when sociability was the predictor: ET, $B = .21 (.08)$, CI 95% = .0655, .3863; MT, $B = .24 (.07)$, CI 95% = .1266, .3954. Thus, perceiving the target group as moral or sociable elicits more admiration, which in turn fosters active facilitation tendencies towards these groups.

⁴ A factorial MANOVA was performed with the immigrant group and participants' sex as IVs and the three stereotype dimensions, four emotions and four types of behavioural intentions as DVs. A significant multivariate effect was found for the immigrant group (Pillais' Trace = .216, $F(11, 216) = 5.41$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$) and for participants' sex (Pillais' Trace = .126, $F(11, 226) = 2.83$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$). Univariate analysis revealed that Ecuadorians were considered more moral, $F(1, 226) = 6.87$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, and sociable, $F(1, 226) = 19.77$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, than Moroccans. Likewise, the univariate analysis indicated that girls compared to boys consider immigrants more sociable, $F(1, 226) = 5.14$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, feel less contempt, $F(1, 226) = 10.57$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, and less envy, $F(1, 226) = 13.00$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Girls also manifested more active facilitation intentions, $F(1, 226) = 4.91$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, and fewer active harm intentions, $F(1, 226) = 10.21$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, and passive harm intentions, $F(1, 226) = 5.68$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, towards immigrants than boys did.

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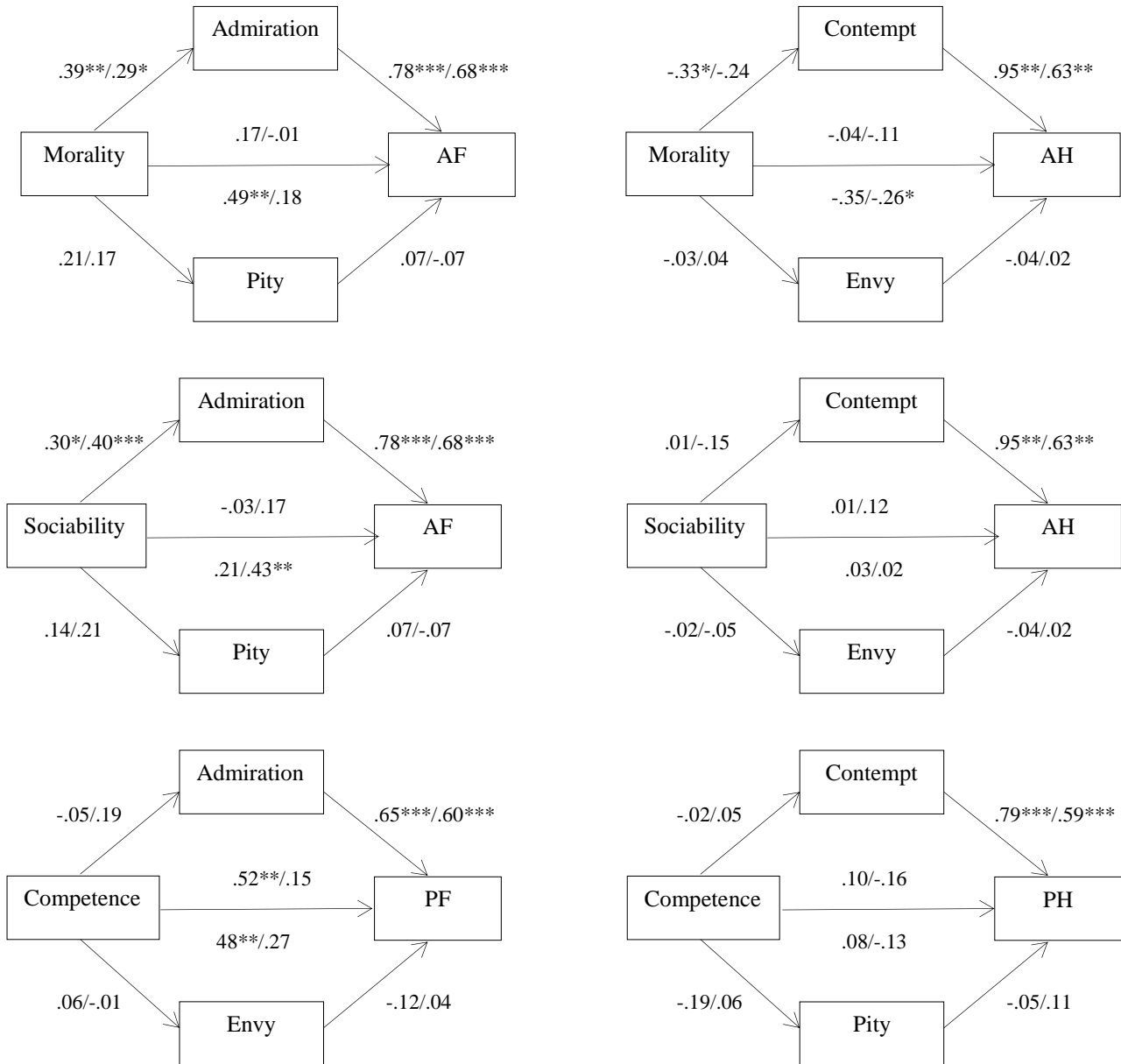


Figure 1. Results from the parallel multiple mediator analysis. Unstandardized coefficients are reported. Total effects are reported below the central lines and direct effects are reported above the central lines. Ecuadorian group/Moroccan group; AF: Active Facilitation; AH: Active Harm; PF: Passive Facilitation; PH: Passive Harm.

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Active harm tendencies were indirectly predicted only through contempt and only when morality was the predictor: ET, $B = -.27$ (.10), CI 95% = $-.4502, -.0537$; MT, $B = -.19$ (.10), CI 95% = $-.3878, -.0054$. Sociability had no direct or indirect effect on this type of behavioural tendency (the bootstrap confidence intervals included zero for

all the effects in both groups). In sum, only perceptions about the target group's morality and not those of its sociability fostered active harm tendencies and, as predicted, this effect was mediated by contempt.

These results partially confirm H2, as only admiration acted as a mediator of morality and sociability on active facilitation intentions. Also, only morality predicted active harm and only through contempt. Therefore, these results show that morality, unlike sociability, predicted both types of active behavioural intentions rendering support to H3.

Passive facilitation tendencies were directly predicted by competence in the Ecuadorian group, $B = .35 (.16)$, CI 95% = .2098, .8375, and indirectly predicted through admiration in the Moroccan group, $B = .08 (.04)$, CI 95% = .0049, .1743. No direct or indirect effects of competence on passive harm were found for either of the two groups (the bootstrap confidence intervals included zero for all the effects in both groups).

Our fourth hypothesis receives also partial support. For both groups, competence only affected passive facilitation behaviour, and this effect was mediated only by admiration in the Moroccan group.

Discussion

The main purpose of the present work was to examine the relation between adolescents' stereotypes, emotions and behavioural intentions towards two relevant immigrant groups in the Spanish context. In this sense, we applied and tested the assumptions proposed by the SCM/BIAS Map framework along with the literature that emphasizes the primacy of morality over sociability and competence stereotype content.

We first tested the fit of the three-dimensional model of stereotype content. In line with previous findings obtained in the Spanish context (López-Rodríguez et al.,

2013) and elsewhere (Brambilla et al., 2011), our results confirm in both groups the better fit of this model, compared to the traditional bi-dimensional one.

From a theoretical standpoint, these results not only support the need of distinguishing between morality and sociability stereotype content for intergroup evaluations, but they also strengthen the evidence that adolescents differentiate between the two subdimensions of warmth and treat them as independent in intergroup evaluations (Cuadrado & López-Turillo, 2014).

Once the three-dimensional model of the stereotype content was confirmed, we tested the socio-structural hypothesis proposed by the SCM. In this regard, our results present some similarities and some differences with the core predictions of this model (Fiske et al., 2002). For both groups, as expected, the perceived intergroup competition was negatively related to warmth subdimensions, and the perceived status was positively related to competence.

However, the higher perceived competition with the Moroccans also decreased their perceived competence, while Ecuadorians' perceived status also positively affected their perceived morality and sociability.

These unpredicted findings are not entirely unexpected. Indeed, studies developed in the same context with adults using an identical approach (e.g., López-Rodríguez et al., 2013) have found similar results. It seems that mainstream adolescents not only have endorsed the ethnic stereotype content of the mainstream adults, but this content is further related to the socio-structural variables in a similar fashion. These results are in keeping with social learning theory premises (Bandura, 1977) as well as socio-developmental theories of prejudice (e.g., Barrett, 2007) which emphasize that prejudice becomes more context-dependent during this developmental stage (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011).

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Although the effect of the socio-structural variables on adolescents' attitudes and behaviours towards different outgroups has been analysed (Abrams, Pelletier, Van de Vyer, Cameron, & Lee, 2015; Cuadrado & López-Turillo, 2014; Siegelman, 2012), our study is the first one that examines the interplay of socio-structural variables and the three-dimensional stereotype content assigned by adolescents to different ethnic outgroups.

Regarding the mediational hypothesis proposed by the BIAS Map, the expected relations were partially confirmed. Only univalent emotions (i.e., admiration and contempt) took priority and acted as mediators between the stereotypes and their corresponding behavioural intention. This occurred mainly for active behavioural intentions.

Concretely, the higher perceived morality and sociability of each group elicited adolescents' admiration towards them (but not their compassion), which in turn, led adolescents to manifest more active facilitation intentions. Furthermore, for both groups, only their perceived morality negatively affected adolescents' contempt towards them (and not envy), and this, in turn, decreased their active harm intentions towards Ecuadorians and Moroccans. Therefore, the evidence of the higher importance of morality over sociability is further reinforced as only morality affected both types of active intentions.

Whereas the results for active behavioural intentions broadly confirmed our expectations and converged with findings of previous studies that considered warmth as one dimension (Bye & Herrebrøden, 2018; Cuddy et al., 2007, 2008), the results for passive behavioural intentions were in part inconsistent. Competence only affected adolescents' passive facilitation towards both groups, and this effect was mediated by admiration only for Moroccans.

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These inconsistent patterns of competence–passive behaviours link have been found across some studies (e.g, Becker & Asbrock, 2012). Children’s evaluations of others’ competence resemble those of adults and seem to prevail across the lifespan (Roussos & Dunham, 2016). However, for morality and sociability, this seems not to be the case. As children get older, morality and personal relations acquire greater importance for their interpersonal and intergroup relations. By adolescence, both dimensions are being treated as independent, and morality seems to become the primary dimension of social judgement, as it was confirmed by our findings. These findings align with previous results on the development of self-perceived morality, sociability and competence during adolescence (Crocetti et al., 2019) and its effects on adolescents’ relationships with meaningful others (Crocetti et al., 2018). These studies have shown the distinct relevance across time of each one of the stereotype dimensions during adolescence. Furthermore, our results were affected by gender in a similar vein with the results of these authors. These trade-offs might affect the stability the stereotype content dimensions with the predicted emotional and behavioural response towards outgroups. How these trade-offs occur across time, as well as their effect on intergroup evaluations, may be interesting avenues to be explored in future studies. However, in general lines, our findings provide support to previous studies (e.g., Cuadrado, López-Rodríguez, & Constantin, 2020; Study 1; Sierksman, Lansu, Karremans, & Bijlstra, 2018) which have shown that stereotype content is an important variable that influences adolescent’s behaviour.

Regarding the lack of influence of the mixed emotions (envy and pity) in the hypothesised mediation between the stereotype dimensions and their corresponding behavioural intentions it could have several explanations. On one hand, the authors of the BIAS Map suggest as a possible explanation the high contextual dependency of

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these emotions. This type of affective response represents a complex combination of positive and negative affect that elicits volatile patterns of behaviour highly sensitive to the social context (Cuddy et al., 2007). For example, under stable social conditions envied groups may elicit passive facilitation responses following the premise “going along to get along”, but when the conditions become unstable envied groups may elicit overt attacks (Harris, Cikara, & Fiske, 2008).

On the other hand, the ratings of both groups on the evaluated stereotype content dimensions were rather moderate. Envy it is felt towards competent and cold targets, while pity is triggered by incompetent and warm ones, so, the lack of effect of these variables could be due to the specific target groups being assessed more than to the ability of these emotions to mediate the stereotype-behaviour link. Likewise, measurement issues (e.g., weak correlation between the items measuring pity) could also account for these findings (however, our results upheld even when the ambivalent emotions were removed from the mediation analyses). Although we used the original scales to ensure conceptual correspondence with the original operationalization of these variables, the measures used in the original work (Cuddy et al., 2007) were validated to rate aggregated social groups. It is possible that for these measures the items do not represent a “singular construct when evaluating groups in isolation” (Bays, 2017, p. 152).

Another limitation of our study is the correlational nature of the data and its cross-sectional design. Also, our results cannot be generalized to the adolescent population, as the sample we used was a convenience sample. Furthermore, our findings cannot be generalized to other immigrant groups as we evaluated only Moroccan and Ecuadorian immigrants.

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In sum, although we could say that our main purpose was achieved, the limitations of our study compel us to be cautious with the interpretations of the results and to provide some recommendations for future studies. First, the premises of the model should be tested with target groups that fit into each one of the stereotype content quadrants of the model. Second, measurement issues should be attended developing and validating specific measures of envy and pity to evaluate groups in isolation. Third, our findings should be replicated with experimental methods in order to confirm the directionality of the predicted relations, as well as with a longitudinal design to have a more profound insight from a developmental standpoint. Fourth, results should also be replicated with adolescents from other cultural contexts as well as with other immigrant groups in order to increase their external validity. Finally, in our study, we have strictly focussed on the BIAS Map component variables. The inclusion of other relevant individual variables into the analysis (e.g., contact, friendship, socioeconomic status) would increase our knowledge regarding their relation with adolescents' social perception and could provide useful information with practical implications for attitude improvement toward ethnic outgroups during this developmental stage.

All things considered, we believe that our study offers compelling information about adolescents' social perception in the context of interethnic relations by making four main contributions to the current psychosocial literature. First, we confirmed that, like adults, adolescents make social judgments about outgroups distinguishing between morality and sociability. Second, we provide evidence of the higher importance of morality compared to sociability and competence for these social judgments. Third, our study illustrates the process through which adolescents' stereotype evaluations of different immigrant groups are translated into behavioural intentions towards them through emotions. Finally, our findings have clear implications for intergroup relations

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in adolescence as we have shown that perceived morality is a key aspect to promote helping behaviours and decrease harmful ones towards outgroups.

This small although relevant piece of information could be substantiated in actions destined to highlight immigrants' moral character as a part of intervention programs aimed at reducing ethnic prejudice and promoting healthy and harmonious interethnic relations during adolescence.

**Estudio 2/ Study 2. The Effect of Imagined Contact Valence on
Adolescents' and Early-Adults' Stereotypes, Emotions and
Behavioural Intentions toward Ethnic Groups⁸**

⁸ Este estudio se encuentra en revisión en la revista *Social Development*: Constantin, A. A. & Cuadrado, I. (under review). The Effect of Contact Valence on Adolescents' and Early-Adults' Stereotypes, Emotions and Behavioural Intentions toward Ethnic Groups. *Social Development*.

Introduction

According to a recent report, one in four 5-years-old students from the OECD countries is an immigrant or has an immigrant background (OECD, 2018). In this heterogeneous cultural context establishing and maintaining positive and harmonious intergroup relations is a true challenge. Relatedly, a great body of research has examined the influence of direct and indirect positive intergroup contact in intergroup relations and has proved its potential for improving people's attitudes toward outgroups (Lemmer & Wagner, 2015; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Recent work emphasizes the need of examining the effect of different characteristics of intergroup contact such as its valence (Barlow et al., 2012) or /and its nature (e.g., imagined, extended) on intergroup attitudes. Likewise, some scholars have recently addressed the relation between direct (Kotzur et al., 2019) or indirect intergroup contact (Brambilla, Ravenna et al., 2012) and intergroup attitudes considering new models of social perception that account for the specificity of prejudice (e.g., Fiske et al., 2002).

This work builds on these advances and extends them by experimentally testing the effect of imagined intergroup contact valence, an indirect form of intergroup contact, on specific components of ethnic prejudice toward two relevant immigrant groups in Spain: Moroccans and Ecuadorians.

Since recent longitudinal studies (Wölfer et al., 2016) have shown that the effect of intergroup contact on intergroup attitudes follows different processes from adolescence to early adulthood, we will examine the effects of imagined contact valence on attitudes toward ethnic outgroups considering adolescents' (Study 2.1) and early-adults' perspectives (Study 2.2).

How do we perceive others?

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According to the literature on social perception (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2007), when we evaluate social targets (individual or groups) our primary concern is related to their intentions toward us and /or our ingroup, that is, we assess the warmth of the social target. We also evaluate whether the social target can pursue its intentions toward us (or our ingroup); thus, we assess its competence.

The stereotype content model (SCM; Fiske et al., 2002) and the BIAS Map (Cuddy et al., 2007) posits that these two basic dimensions of social perception, warmth and competence, determine specific evaluations of outgroups and trigger particular patterns of behavioural responses toward them. Warmth evaluations prompt intentions of active facilitation (e.g., helping) or active harm (e.g., attacking), whereas competence activates intentions of passive facilitation (e.g., collaboration) and passive harm (e.g., exclusion). Furthermore, the effect of the cognitive evaluations of warmth and competence on people's behavioural intentions is mediated by their emotions toward the evaluated target group emotions having a stronger effect on behavioural intentions than cognitions (Talaska et al., 2008).

Although these premises have been tested and proved cross-culturally and across a wide array of social groups (Bye & Herrebrøden, 2018; Cuddy et al., 2009), some scholars (Brambilla et al., 2011; Leach et al., 2007; López-Rodríguez et al., 2013) have proved that warmth comprises two different sub-dimensions: morality, related to the perceived correctness of others, and sociability, that refers to connecting with others in meaningful ways. In this study, we will attend to this distinction and consider the three-dimensional model of stereotype content. Furthermore, studies regarding adolescents' attitudes toward ethnic outgroups developed from this perspective (Constantin & Cuadrado, 2020; Cuadrado et al., 2020; Study1) have shown that adolescents' ethnic

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stereotypes mirror those of adults and influence their emotions and behavioural intentions toward these groups.

Research has consistently evidenced that adults, as well as children and adolescents' intergroup attitudes can be influenced by both direct and indirect intergroup contact (Lemmer & Wagner, 2015; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Turner & Cameron, 2016). However, only a few studies addressed the relation of direct or indirect intergroup contact with stereotype content, emotions and behavioural intentions toward outgroups. The present work will add to the current literature by experimentally testing in adolescents and early-adults the effect of imagined intergroup contact on these three attitudinal components toward Moroccan and Ecuadorian immigrants.

Intergroup contact, stereotype content, emotions and behavioural intentions

Intergroup contact studies developed using the framework of the SCM and the BIAS Map (Brambilla, Ravenna et al., 2012; Kotzur et al., 2019) showed that intergroup contact improves the stereotype content of outgroups. Specifically, positive direct contact improved the evaluations of warmth, emotions and facilitative behavioural intentions toward asylum seekers. Furthermore, warmth and negative univalent emotions (contempt) mediated its effect on behavioural intentions (Kotzur et al., 2019). Focusing on indirect contact, Brambilla, Ravenna et al. (2012) showed that imagining a positive interaction with differentially stereotyped immigrants improved substantially the perceived warmth and competence only of the devalued outgroups. Likewise, Turner, West, and Christie (2013, Study 1) showed that adolescents imagining a positive interaction with an asylum seeker manifested more positive attitudes toward this group, more intergroup trust, and more approach behavioural intentions. Furthermore, intergroup trust mediated the effect of imagined contact on adolescents' behavioural intentions.

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Previous works examined only the effect of positive intergroup contact, but real-world interactions entail both negative and positive encounters between members of different groups. Therefore, a thorough comprehension of the relationship between intergroup contact and intergroup attitudes requires also examining the effects of negative intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Hewstone, 2017). The literature documents that both positive and negative direct and indirect contact shape intergroup attitudes (Wölfer, Jaspers, Blaylock, Wigoder, & Hughes, 2017). Moreover, negative compared to positive contact seems to have a stronger and more robust effect on general outgroup attitudes and different attitudinal components (Aberson, 2015; Barlow et al., 2012; Hayward et al., 2017). For instance, Aberson (2015) found that whereas both positive and negative direct contact similarly predicted the affective component of prejudice, negative compared to positive contact had a stronger effect on the cognitive component. Likewise, Hayward et al. (2017, Study 3) experimentally confirmed for imagined contact with a fictional ethnic group this negative asymmetry effect on anger, anxiety, empathy, stereotypes, outgroup evaluations, avoidance, and future contact intentions. Furthermore, across the three studies, the effect of negative contact was consistently mediated by anger on stereotypes, by anger and anxiety on avoidance and by anxiety on future contact intentions.

Additionally, the effect of contact valence seems to be influenced by the different evaluation of the targeted outgroups (e.g., valued vs. devalued) (Paolini & McIntyre, 2019). The meta-analysis performed by these authors revealed that a negative experience with a member of a stigmatized (devalued) outgroup will have a stronger impact on intergroup attitudes than a positive experience. In contrast, for admired (valued) outgroups, a positive experience with a member of the outgroup will have a stronger effect on intergroup attitudes than a negative one. Thus, "... bad is stronger

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than good for stigmatized outgroups but good is stronger than bad for admired outgroups” (p. 68).

This research will experimentally test the effect of imagined contact valence on adolescents’ stereotype content of morality, sociability and competence, emotions and behavioural intentions toward distinct immigrant groups. Thus, we add to the current literature by examining the effect of negative contact on the SCM-BIAS Map components (along with the effect of positive contact) and by considering adolescents’ attitudes toward different immigrant groups.

Effects of intergroup contact in adolescence and early adulthood

Adolescents’ intergroup attitudes are influenced by their more complex socio-cognitive abilities (e.g., development of moral beliefs and ethnic identity, Rutland et al., 2010) compared to children (Hart & Carlo, 2005). Likewise, during this stage, adolescents’ social exposure to different contexts increases, and peer relationships and socialization reach their highest relevance (Brown & Larson, 2009). Furthermore, adolescents have a higher capacity to adjust, learn and change compared to adults (Gopnik et al., 2017) and their cultural orientations (e.g., ethnocentrism) are more unstable and context-dependent compared to those of youth and adults (Volleberg, Iedema, & Raaijmakers, 2001). These features make intergroup contact experiences during adolescence particularly effective for prejudice reduction and favourable intergroup attitudes acquisition.

In this line, White et al. (2009) have found that adolescents manifested higher levels of blatant and subtle prejudice than university students, and that intergroup contact could be more important for prejudice reduction during middle than late adolescence. Longitudinal data (Merrilees, Taylor, Baird, Goeke-Morey, Shirlow, & Cummings, 2018) also showed that intergroup contact is associated with a slower

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increase of bias from middle to late adolescence. Likewise, Wölfer et al. (2016) evidenced that the positive effects of direct and extended contact with immigrants diminished and were weaker in early adulthood compared to adolescence. Intergroup contact shaped the development of adolescents' intergroup attitudes independently of their previous attitudes, but for early-adults, no influence of intergroup contact seemed to be found. Moreover, the authors confirmed that these different contact effects were not due to a decrease of contact opportunities from adolescence to early adulthood, but to the increasing stability of the acquired attitudes (Volleberg et al., 2001).

Accordingly, we further extend our contributions by replicating the first study with early-adults to examine the effect of imagined contact valence on intergroup attitudes in a subsequent developmental stage.

Research overview

The present work builds on and attempts to integrate findings of current lines of research on intergroup attitudes and intergroup contact in the context of interethnic relations during adolescence and early adulthood. Our main aim is to experimentally test the effect of imagined contact valence on adolescents' and early-adults' stereotype content, emotions and behavioural intentions toward two differently valued immigrant groups in Spain: Moroccans and Ecuadorians.

Early work developed within the SCM framework (Lee & Fiske, 2006) showed that the stereotype content assigned to the generic immigrant outgroup changed when additional information on the ethnic origin and the status of the immigrants was provided. Work developed in Spain with adults' perception regarding different immigrant outgroups aligns with these findings and indicate that the Moroccans are perceived as a devalued outgroup, whereas Ecuadorians are perceived as a valued group. Moroccans were perceived as less moral than Ecuadorians (Cuadrado et al.,

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2016; López-Rodríguez et al., 2013) and elicited more negative emotions and passive harm tendencies, whereas Ecuadorians elicited more positive emotions and active and passive facilitation (López-Rodríguez et al., 2016). Studies developed with adolescents in the same context have replicated most of these findings and show that adolescents also perceive Moroccans as a devalued group and Ecuadorian as a valued group (Constantin & Cuadrado, 2020).

To achieve our purpose, we used imagined contact (IC), a type of indirect contact whose effectiveness on prejudice reduction and improvement of intergroup attitudes has been proven by a growing body of research (Mile & Crisp, 2014). Although IC does not require actual contact, it involves the self and the personal engagement of the participants with the outgroup in a similar fashion as direct contact. Thus, from this standpoint, IC resembles and is close to the experience of a real intergroup encounter (Crisp & Turner, 2012). This resemblance is reinforced by the lack of differences between the imagined and direct contact effects on intergroup attitudes found in some studies (e.g., Vezzali et al., 2015).

Accounting for the presented literature on the effect of contact on the SCM and the BIAS Map components (e.g., Brambilla, Ravenna et al., 2012; Kotzur et al., 2019), we expect positive IC to improve adolescents' and early-adults' stereotypes, emotions and behavioural intentions toward the targeted immigrant groups (H1a), whereas negative IC will worsen them (H1b) (Aberson; 2015; Hayward et al., 2017). We also expect a stronger effect of the negative compared to the positive (Barlow et al., 2012) imagined contact on participants' stereotype content (H2), in line with Aberson's (2015) findings showing the differential effects of positive and negative contact on different attitudinal components (cognitive and affective).

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Finally, considering that the different evaluation of the outgroups influences the effect of contact valence on intergroup attitudes (Paolini & McIntyre, 2019), as well as the systematic devaluation of Moroccan immigrants in Spain (e.g., Cuadrado et al., 2020), we also expect a stronger effect of negative contact on participants' evaluations of Moroccan compared to Ecuadorian immigrants (H3).

To test our predictions we conducted two studies. The first study was developed with adolescents, and the second one with early-adults in order to analyse whether the previous hypotheses are confirmed in both developmental stages.

Study 2.1

In this study, we examine the effect of negative or positive contact with either a Moroccan or an Ecuadorian immigrant peer on adolescents' intergroup attitudes toward the immigrant group of the interaction partner.

Method

Participants and design. In this study participated 124⁹ Spanish adolescents ($M_{age} = 15.16$, $SD = 1.12$; 52.8 % girls) from three local high-schools. They were randomly assigned to one of six experimental conditions of a 3 (Contact valence: positive vs. negative vs. control) \times 2 (Group: Ecuadorians vs. Moroccans) between-subject design. The participation was voluntary and anonymous. The adolescents were recruited collectively during regular class hours. The ethnic minority students (less than 10% of the total) were provided with a different questionnaire that evaluated their attitudes toward Spaniards. The data collection took approximately 35 minutes.

⁹ The initial sample size was of 147 participants. Some participants were eliminated: twenty because their ratings regarding the pleasantness of the imagined experience were not in line with the expected valence of the imagined interaction (the ratings were at scales' midpoint) and three for being multivariate outliers. An a priori power analysis for a MANOVA special effects and interactions conducted with the program G*Power 3.1 (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009) suggested a minimum sample of 110 participants to detect a medium effect size, $f^2(V) = .098$, with an $\alpha = .05$ and power = .80.

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Procedure. Participants were asked for collaboration and were informed about their rights. Next, they were told that the tasks they were going to perform were part of two different studies. For the imagery task, adolescents were told that the researchers were trying to develop a realistic videogame with characters and situations as close as possible to reality. In this regard, adolescents were asked to imagine and describe a certain type of interaction (positive vs. negative vs. outdoor experience) with a certain character (Moroccan vs. Ecuadorian). The full instructions are presented in the Appendix.

Participants were prompted to do the task in five minutes, but they were allowed one minute more to finalize their descriptions. In the negative contact condition, to counteract the potential negative effects of the imagined negative contact experience, participants had to engage in a positive imagined contact task once they rated the targeted group on the dependent variables.

Next, as part of a study on adolescents' social perception about several social groups, participants had to complete a pencil and paper questionnaire to rate the target group on the measured variables. Finally, participants were thanked and debriefed.

The study was approved by the Ethics Committee of the authors' University, the local educational authorities and by the school' boards. Informed consent was obtained from both participants and their parents or legal tutors.

Measures. The questionnaire included the following measures:

Stereotype content. This variable was assessed with nine items adapted from the work of Leach et al. (2007) by López-Rodríguez et al. (2013). For the morality content, participants had to indicate how honest, sincere and trustworthy they considered the evaluated group ($\alpha_{ET/MT} = .86/.86$). For the sociability content, adolescents had to indicate how likeable, warm and friendly they considered the target group ($\alpha_{ET/MT}$

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=.76/.81). For the competence content, adolescents had to indicate how intelligent, capable and competent they considered the target group ($\alpha_{ET/MT}=.75/.62$).

Emotions. To assess adolescents' emotions toward the evaluated group, we used 20 items adapted from the work of Fiske et al. (2002) by Cuadrado et al. (2016). Eight items (admiration, understanding, respect, comfort, fondness, pride, inspiration and security) assessed positive emotions ($\alpha_{ET/MT}=.85/.84$). The remaining 12 items (disappointment, fear, unease, anger, disgust, hatred, frustration, resentment, contempt, tension, shame and anxiety) measured negative emotions ($\alpha_{ET/MT}=.83/.81$).

Intergroup behavioural tendencies. Participants were asked to what degree they were willing to perform four types of behavioural intentions toward the target group. Active facilitation intentions (e.g., Share leisure time with them) were measured using three items ($\alpha_{ET/MT}=.77/.73$). Passive facilitation intentions (e.g., Shop at their stores) were measured with two items ($r_{ET/MT}=.43^{**}/.32^*$, $p_{ET}=.001$, $p_{MT}=.021$). Passive harm intentions (e.g., Ignore them when I encounter them) were assessed with three items ($\alpha_{ET/MT}=.65/.73$)¹⁰. The items were extracted from the Intergroup Behavioural Tendencies Scale (López-Rodríguez et al., 2016).

Ratings on all the measured variables were recorded in 5-points Likert scale items (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very much*). The internal consistency of the measured variables was assessed with Cronbach' *alfa* coefficient and with Pearson's correlation coefficient for variables with less than three items.

The quantity of the previous contact was also measured as a covariable with one Likert scale item ranging from 1 (*none*) to 5 (*very much*). Adolescents had to indicate how much contact they had with members of the evaluated ethnic out-group.

¹⁰ We also assessed active harm, but this variable did not reach adequate internal consistency values, therefore it was not used in subsequent analysis.

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Finally, participants were asked to complete several socio-demographic variables (e.g., age, sex).

Results

Effect of imagined contact valence and ethnic group on stereotype content.

We performed a 3 (Contact valence: positive vs. negative vs. control) \times 2 (Group: Moroccans vs. Ecuadorians) between-subjects MANCOVA to determine the effect of the imagined experience and the ethnic group on adolescents' stereotype content toward the targeted group. A multivariate effect of the covariate was found, Pillai's Trace = .198, $F(3,113) = 9.28$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .20$. Contact quantity was significantly related to morality, $F(1, 115) = 17.69$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$, sociability, $F(1, 115) = 20.57$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .15$, and competence, $F(1, 115) = 21.12$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .15$.

Likewise, a multivariate main effect of the ethnic group was found, Pillai's Trace = .089, $F(3, 113) = 3.69$, $p = .014$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. No multivariate main effect of contact valence or interaction effects were found ($p > .05$). Univariate analyses showed significant differences between the targeted groups on their perceived morality, $F(1,115) = 4.02$, $p = .047$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, and sociability, $F(1,115) = 9.28$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. According to post hoc comparisons, Ecuadorians were perceived more moral ($M = 3.58$, $SD = .74$) than Moroccans ($M = 3.53$, $SD = .80$). They were also considered more sociable ($M = 3.98$, $SD = .69$) than Moroccans ($M = 3.80$, $SD = .75$). No differences between groups were found for the competence dimension ($p > .05$).

Effect of imagined contact valence and ethnic group on emotions. A 3 (Contact valence: positive vs. negative vs. control) \times 2 (Group: Moroccans vs. Ecuadorians) between-subjects MANCOVA was performed to determine the effect of the imagined contact valence and the ethnic group on adolescents' emotions toward the evaluated group. A multivariate effect of the covariable was found, Pillai's Trace =

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.103, $F(2,114) = 6.57$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. Contact quantity was significantly related to admiration, $F(1, 115) = 12.85$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$, but not to contempt ($p > .05$).

Contact valence also affected adolescents' emotions across ethnic groups, Pillai's Trace = .114, $F(4, 230) = 3.48$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Univariate analyses revealed a main effect of imagined contact valence on positive, $F(2, 115) = 3.22$, $p = .044$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, and negative emotions, $F(2, 115) = 5.51$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. Post hoc comparisons show that participants in the imagined negative contact condition felt less positive emotions toward immigrants ($M = 2.82$, $SD = .70$) compared to those in control condition ($M = 3.28$, $SD = .61$, $p = .016$) and imagined positive contact condition ($M = 3.23$, $SD = .79$, $p = .030$). Likewise, participants in the imagined negative contact condition felt more negative emotions ($M = 1.53$, $SD = .48$) than those in control ($M = 1.33$, $SD = .35$, $p = .025$) and positive imagined contact ($M = 1.29$, $SD = .31$, $p = .004$) conditions. No other differences were found (all $ps > .05$).

No multivariate main effect was found for ethnic origin ($p > .05$). However, the analysis revealed a multivariate contact valence \times ethnic group interaction effect, Pillai's Trace = .094, $F(4, 230) = 2.82$, $p = .026$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Univariate analyses revealed that the interaction affected the level of contempt felt toward the groups, $F(2, 115) = 3.36$, $p = .038$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Post-hoc comparison showed that in the negative contact condition Moroccans elicited more contempt than Ecuadorians ($p = .001$). No significant differences were found between the two ethnic groups in positive or control conditions (all $ps > .05$). Furthermore, Moroccans elicited more contempt in the imagined negative contact condition than in the positive imagined contact ($p = .003$) and control conditions ($p = .003$). No differences were found for this group between positive and control conditions. Also, for the levels of contempt triggered by the

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Ecuadorians, no differences were found between contact valence conditions (all $ps > .05$).

Table 5

Means and standard deviations of the stereotypes, emotions and behavioural intentions (Study 2.1)

	Positive Contact		Negative Contact		Control	
	ET	MT	ET	MT	ET	MT
Morality	3.78 (.70)	3.70 (.73)	3.26 (.55)	3.35 (.87)	3.78 (.87)	3.53 (.80)
Sociability	4.13 (.52)	3.73 (.85)	3.74 (.70)	3.70 (.66)	4.11 (.78)	3.98 (.68)
Competence	3.72 (.78)	4.00 (.59)	3.58 (.57)	3.79 (.69)	3.96 (.68)	3.92 (.72)
PE	3.32 (.81)	3.16 (.79)	2.66 (.61)	3.00 (.78)	3.22 (.64)	3.33 (.59)
NE	1.24 (.27)	1.33 (.34)	1.37 (.38)	1.75 (.53)	1.34 (.44)	1.33 (.26)
AF	3.78 (.88)	3.83 (.87)	3.45 (.67)	3.59 (1.05)	3.77 (.74)	3.72 (.72)
PF	3.68 (.88)	3.83 (.78)	3.27 (.80)	3.61 (1.02)	3.75 (.96)	3.85 (.69)
PH	1.57 (.80)	1.43 (.72)	1.37 (.53)	1.83 (1.00)	1.41 (.52)	1.53 (.63)
<i>N</i>	20	21	26	18	18	20

Notes. ET: Ecuadorian Target group; MT: Moroccan Target group; PE: Positive Emotions; NE: Negative Emotions; AF: Active Facilitation; PF: Passive Facilitation; PH: Passive Harm. Scores ranged from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*).

Effect of imagined contact valence and ethnic group on behavioural intentions. We performed a 3 (Contact valence: positive vs. negative vs. control) \times 2 (Group: Moroccans vs. Ecuadorians) between-subjects MANCOVA to examine the effect of imagined contact valence and ethnic origin on adolescents' behavioural

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intentions of active and passive facilitation and passive harm toward the evaluated immigrant group. A multivariate effect of the covariable was found, Pillai's Trace = .188, $F(3,113) = 8.69$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .19$. Contact quantity was significantly related to active facilitation, $F(1, 115) = 22.50$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$, passive facilitation, $F(1, 115) = 14.73$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$, and passive harm, $F(1, 115) = 6.19$, $p < .014$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$.

However, no multivariate main effect of ethnic origin, Pillai's Trace = .038, $F(3, 113) = 1.48$, $p = .22$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, or contact valence, Pillai's Trace = .021, $F(6, 228) = .40$, $p = .882$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, were found on participants' behavioural intentions. Likewise, no multivariate interaction effect was found, Pillai's Trace = .047, $F(6, 228) = .91$, $p = .487$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$.

For each condition, means and standard deviations for stereotype content, emotions and behavioural intentions are presented in Table 5.

Contact valence, emotions and behavioural intentions. Several scholars have proved (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2007) that emotions trigger behavioural intentions (Talaska et al., 2008). Although our manipulation did not affect participants' behavioural intentions, it influenced adolescents' negative emotions toward Moroccans immigrants. Therefore, it seems reasonable that the effect of contact valence indirectly affects adolescents' behavioural intentions toward this group through emotions (Hayward et al., 2017).

According to Cuddy et al. (2007), univalent negative emotions drive active and passive harm behavioural intentions, thus, we examined whether and how the contact valence (X) affected adolescents' passive harm intentions (Y) toward Moroccans as a result of their negative emotions (M) toward this immigrant group. For this purpose, we performed a simple mediation analysis using model 4 of the macro PROCESS for SPSS (Hayes, 2017). Indicator coding system was used to represent the three levels of

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contact valence. The control condition was coded as the reference comparison condition.

Results show that only negative imagined contact indirectly increased adolescents' intentions of passive harm toward Moroccans, $B = 0.30$ (.13), CI 95%: .0963, .5740, through negative emotions. Specifically, compared to control (no contact) condition, negative imagined contact increased adolescents' levels of negative emotions toward Moroccans which, in turn, increased adolescents' intentions of passive harm (see Figure 2). No indirect effects of positive imagined contact compared to control condition were found, $B = -0.03$ (.08), 95% CI: -.1626, .1669. Furthermore, no total or direct effects of contact valence on passive harm intentions were found, $F(2, 55) = .53$, $p = .590$; $F(2, 54) = .478$, $p = .622$.

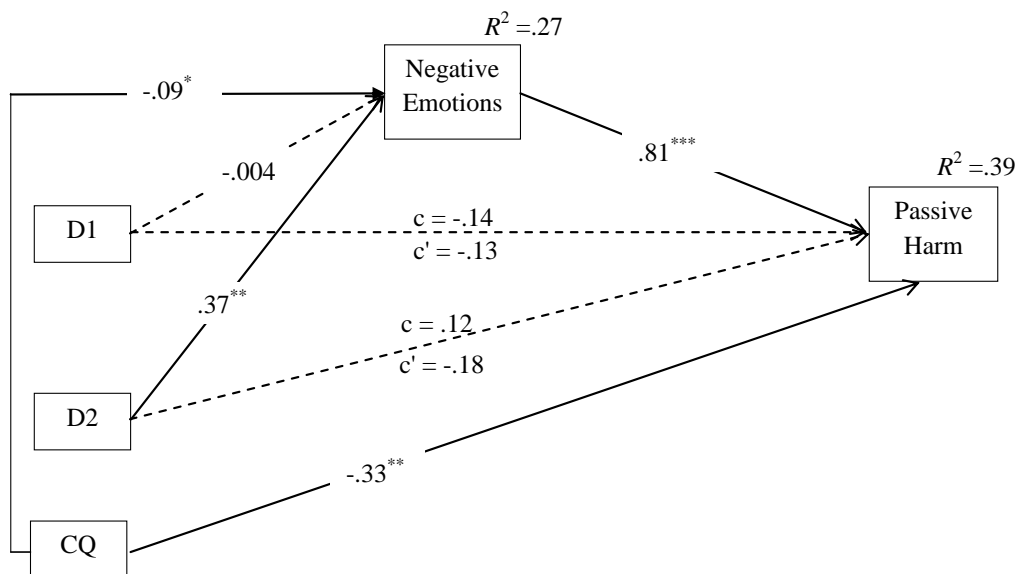


Figure 2. Indirect effect of negative contact on passive harm intentions toward Moroccan immigrants. D1: Positive Contact vs. Control; D2: Negative Contact vs. Control; CQ: Contact quantity covariable. Solid lines represent significant paths. All regression coefficients are unstandardized.

** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Discussion

This study aimed to test the effect of imagined contact valence on adolescents' stereotype content, emotions and behavioural intentions. Our results reveal that the imagined contact valence directly predicted adolescents' emotions and indirectly predicted their behavioural intentions, but did not predict their stereotype content. Thus, H1 was only partially supported, whereas H2 predictions were not confirmed. However, these results are not entirely unexpected. Previous studies (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) have also found that intergroup contact had a stronger relationship with the affective dimension of prejudiced attitudes, cognitions being more resistant to change.

Finally, as expected (H3), and in line with previous research proving a stronger effect of negative contact for devalued groups (Paolini & McIntyre, 2019), only negative contact affected adolescents' evaluations and only toward the Moroccan group. Specifically, negative contact increased adolescents' negative emotions toward Moroccan immigrants, which, in turn, elicited more intentions of passive harm (e.g., exclusion) (Hayward et al., 2017).

To sum up, the results of this study evidenced that contact valence influenced adolescents' attitudes on a devalued immigrant group. Since Wölfer et al. (2016) confirmed that the positive effects of direct and extended contact with immigrants were weaker in early adulthood than in adolescence, we performed a second study to test the effects of our manipulation at a different developmental stage.

Study 2.2

We replicated Study 2.1 with an early-adults sample. Accounting for previous longitudinal findings (Wölfer et al., 2016), we expected weaker effects (compared to those obtained in Study 2.1) of imagined intergroup contact valence on the measured variables (H4).

Method

Participants and design. In this study participated 169¹¹ first-year undergraduate Spanish students ($M_{age} = 19.04$, $SD = 1.64$; 75.7% girls). They were randomly assigned to one of six experimental conditions of a 3 (Contact valence: positive vs. negative vs. control) \times 2 (Group: Ecuadorians vs. Moroccans) between-subjects design. The participation was voluntary and anonymous. The data collection occurred during regular class hours and took approximately 35 minutes (including introduction and debriefing).

Procedure. We followed the same procedure as in Study 2.1.

Measure. We used the same items as in Study 2.1 to measure morality ($\alpha_{ET/MT} = .83/.84$), sociability ($\alpha_{ET/MT} = .81/.81$) and competence ($\alpha_{ET/MT} = .70/.68$) stereotype content, positive emotions ($\alpha_{ET/MT} = .88/.81$), negative emotions ($\alpha_{ET/MT} = .80/.85$) and intentions of active facilitation ($\alpha_{ET/MT} = .64/.81$), passive facilitation ($r_{ET/MT} = .44/.52$, all $ps < .001$), and passive harm ($\alpha_{ET/MT} = .62/.66$).

Results

Effect of imagined contact valence and ethnic group on stereotype content.

The results of a 3 (Contact valence: positive vs. negative vs. control) \times 2 (Group: Moroccans vs. Ecuadorians) factorial MANCOVA revealed a multivariate effect of the covariable, Pillai's Trace = .066, $F(3,160) = 3.76$, $p = .012$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Contact quantity was significantly related to morality, $F(1, 162) = 8.14$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, sociability, $F(1, 162) = 10.06$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, and competence, $F(1, 162) = 5.43$, $p = .021$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$.

¹¹ The initial sample size was of 200 participants. Some participants were eliminated: twenty two because their ratings regarding the pleasantness of the imagined experience were not in line with the expected valence of the imagined interaction (the ratings were at scales' midpoint), five because their age exceeded with 3SD the mean age of the sample and four for being multivariate outliers.

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Likewise, a main multivariate effect of the ethnic origin on the stereotype content dimensions was found, Pillai's Trace = .302, $F(3,160) = 23.03$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .30$. No other multivariate main or interaction effects were found ($p > .05$). Univariate analyses showed significant differences between the targeted groups on their perceived morality, $F(1,162) = 14.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, and sociability, $F(1,162) = 44.74$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$. According to post hoc comparisons, Ecuadorians were perceived more moral ($M = 3.75$, $SD = .64$) than Moroccans ($M = 3.43$, $SD = .70$, $p = .002$). They were also considered more sociable ($M = 4.16$, $SD = .63$) than Moroccans, ($M = 3.52$, $SD = .76$, $p < .001$). No differences between groups were found for the competence dimension ($p > .05$).

Effect of imagined contact valence and ethnic group on emotions. A 3 (Contact valence: positive vs. negative vs. control) \times 2 (Group: Moroccans vs. Ecuadorians) between-subject MANCOVA revealed a multivariate effect of the covariable, Pillai's Trace = .138, $F(2,161) = 12.83$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$. Contact quantity was significantly related to admiration, $F(1, 162) = 25.69$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$, but not to contempt ($p > .05$).

A multivariate main effect of ethnic group was also found, Pillai's Trace = .153, $F(2,161) = 14.48$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .15$. Ethnic origin affected participants' emotions positive, $F(1, 162) = 9.39$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, and negative emotions toward the target groups, $F(1, 163) = 24.82$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$. Moroccans elicited less positive ($M = 3.07$, $SD = .69$) and more negative emotions ($M = 1.60$, $SD = .49$) than Ecuadorians ($M = 3.26$, $SD = .77$; $M = 1.28$, $SD = .33$). No other main or interaction effects were found (all $ps > .05$).

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Table 6

Means and standard deviations of the stereotypes, emotions and behavioural intentions (Study 2.2)

	Positive Contact		Negative Contact		Control	
	ET	MT	ET	MT	ET	MT
Morality	3.77 (.66)	3.53 (.68)	3.71 (.63)	3.52 (.65)	3.77 (.67)	3.23 (.76)
Sociability	4.03 (.58)	3.72 (.89)	4.10 (.70)	3.46 (.71)	4.35 (.59)	3.40(.64)
Competence	3.87 (.59)	4.11 (.43)	3.83 (.57)	4.03 (.47)	3.90 (.61)	3.77 (.60)
PE	3.40 (.79)	3.24 (.67)	3.21 (.70)	2.92 (.59)	3.17 (.84)	3.08 (.69)
NE	1.23 (.25)	1.54 (.51)	1.39 (.46)	1.59 (.42)	1.21 (.21)	1.67 (.55)
AF	3.85 (.62)	3.88 (.90)	3.83 (.60)	3.71 (.78)	3.90 (.63)	3.82 (.78)
PF	3.76 (.79)	3.74 (1.14)	3.74 (.76)	3.40 (1.02)	3.72 (.80)	3.30 (.93)
PH	1.28 (.41)	1.64 (.77)	1.43 (.47)	1.62 (.69)	1.24 (.59)	1.81 (.73)
<i>N</i>	27	27	29	31	27	28

Notes. ET: Ecuadorian Target group; MT: Moroccan Target group; PE: Positive Emotions; NE: Negative Emotions; AF: Active Facilitation; PF: Passive Facilitation; PH: Passive Harm. Scores ranged from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*).

Effect of imagined contact valence and ethnic group on behavioural intentions. A 3 (Contact valence: positive vs. negative vs. control) × 2 (Group: Moroccans vs. Ecuadorians) between-subject MANCOVA revealed a multivariate effect of the covariable, Pillai's Trace = .096, $F(3,160) = 5.68$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. Contact quantity was significantly related to active facilitation, $F(1, 162) = 16.22$, $p <$

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.001, $\eta_p^2 = .09$, and passive facilitation, $F(1, 162) = 7.69$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, but not to passive harm ($p > .05$).

Additionally, a multivariate main effect of the ethnic origin was also found, Pillai's Trace = .102, $F(3,160) = 6.05$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. No other multivariate main or interaction effects were found ($p > .05$). Univariate analyses revealed that the ethnic group affected participants' intentions of passive harm, $F(1,161) = 14.99$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, and passive facilitation, $F(1,161) = 6.48$, $p = .012$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Specifically, they had less intentions of passive harm toward Ecuadorians ($M = 1.32$, $SD = .50$) than toward Moroccans ($M = 1.69$, $SD = .72$), and more intentions of passive facilitation toward Ecuadorians ($M = 3.74$, $SD = .77$) than toward Moroccans ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 1.03$). No differences were found for active facilitation ($ps > .05$).

For each condition, means and standard deviations for stereotype content, emotions and behavioural intentions are presented in Table 6.

Discussion

In this study, we tested our predictions in a sample of early-adults. The results show that, in our sample, imagined contact valence did not influence early-adults' attitudes. Although this result does not entirely contradict our hypothesis (H4), as we expected the effects to be weaker compared to the effects found in Study 2.1, the total lack of effect of intergroup contact was somehow surprising.

However, we found a main effect of the ethnic origin of the immigrant groups being evaluated. Supporting previous research developed with adults in the same context (e.g., Cuadrado et al., 2016; López-Rodríguez et al., 2013, 2016), Ecuadorians were better valued than Moroccans across contact conditions.

Taken together, the main effect of ethnic origin and the lack of effect of intergroup contact, align with and support Wölfer et al.'s (2016) findings for early-

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adults: the effect of intergroup contact on their attitudes might be diminished as a consequence of their more established and stable attitudes.

General discussion

In the present research, we integrate findings of current lines of research on social perception (Cuddy et al., 2007; Leach et al., 2007) and intergroup contact (e.g., Barlow et al., 2012) in the context of interethnic relations during adolescence and early adulthood. Specifically, we tested the effect of imagined contact valence on adolescents' and early-adults' stereotype content, emotions and behavioural intentions.

Our main findings show that only negative contact influenced adolescents' outgroup evaluations. Moreover, for adolescents, the effect of imagined contact valence on their outgroup attitudes depended on the ethnic origin of the evaluated outgroup (H3). Negative contact increased adolescents' negative emotions toward the evaluated outgroup (H1b), but only for the Moroccans. Furthermore, adolescents were more willing to display passive harm behaviours toward Moroccans after a negative imagined interaction with a member of this group, but this effect only occurred through the increase of negative emotions toward Moroccans. These findings support literature regarding the stronger effect of negative contact on outgroup attitudes (Barlow et al., 2012), as well as literature showing that the effect of contact valence on intergroup attitudes is contingent on the evaluation of the targeted outgroup (Paolini & McIntyre, 2019). Moreover, in line with previous studies (e.g., Brambilla, Ravenna et al., 2012), imagined contact did not change the evaluation of the valued group (i.e., Ecuadorian immigrants).

However, H2 was not supported, as no effect of imagined contact valence was found on the stereotype content dimensions, neither for adolescents (Study 2.1) nor for early-adults (Study 2.2). One possible explanation is that the imagined scenarios did not

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include relevant stereotypic information and, thus, did not capture the potential effects of imagined contact on stereotypes. On the other hand, previous studies (e.g., Wilder, 1984) have found similar results regarding the cognitive domain of intergroup attitudes. As Pettigrew and colleagues have ascertained, after intergroup contact “we may come to like the outgroup even while our stereotypes of the outgroup persist” (Pettigrew et al., 2011, p. 275). Furthermore, to affect cognitions about an outgroup, the intergroup contact experience has to occur with a member considered to be representative of the outgroup (McIntyre et al., 2016; Rothbar & John, 1985). Thus, the perceived typicality of the interaction partner might have moderated the effect of contact valence on our participant’ stereotype content of the evaluated outgroups. Future follow-up studies should examine the effect of imagined scenarios that include relevant stereotypic information, as well as how the perceived typicality of the interaction partner affects the effect of contact valence on cognitive components of outgroup attitudes such as stereotype content.

Furthermore, neither early-adults’ emotions nor behavioural intentions were affected by the imagined contact valence (Study 2.2). Although this lack of effect of contact valence on early-adults’ stereotypes, emotions, and behavioural intentions can seem surprising, several possible explanations might account for it. On one hand, there is longitudinal evidence showing that, for early-adults, intergroup contact has weaker or null effects on their attitudes toward outgroups (Wölfer et al., 2016). On the other, although the task of IC is highly similar to a direct contact experience, since it involves the self, and some studies (e.g., Vezzali et al., 2015) have found both to be equally effective, a close look to the results of a meta-analysis (Miles & Crisp, 2014) reveals that the effect size of IC in the studies that involve ethnic groups are rather small and, occasionally, non-significant. Thus, it is possible that both, the developmental dynamics

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of intergroup contact and the task characteristics have contributed to the lack of effect of imagined contact on early-adults' attitudes.

Another aspect worth noting is the lack of effect of positive contact in both studies. Does this lack of effect mean that imagined positive intergroup contact does not affect people's attitudes? Graf et al.'s (2014) findings suggest that the power of positive contact experiences in counteracting the effect of negative experiences and improving intergroup attitudes lies in its higher frequency. Thus, it is possible that more than a single imagined positive interaction is needed for its positive effects to emerge. On the other hand, this result can also suggest that the manipulation of positive contact might have not been sufficient to elicit an effect. Although the manipulation material we used was based on previous research developed with adults (e.g., Turner et al., 2007) and adolescents (e.g., West et al., 2013), future studies should consider developing stronger manipulation materials. For example, it would be interesting for the imagined scenario to include relevant stereotypic information. Likewise, to make a stronger case for the imagined contact effect, future studies could use a pre-post design and also account for the effect of previous positive and negative contact. Our findings should further be considered with caution since the percentage of participants excluded might affect their generalizability. All things considered, we believe that our research contributes to the current literature in several ways. First, we enhance the body of research on intergroup contact by integrating findings on contact valence and current models of social perception. Second, we conducted our research considering two understudied age groups on these topics: adolescence and early adulthood.

Furthermore, our findings also have practical implications. Most research on intergroup contact highlights the beneficial effects of experiencing positive contact as a strategy to reduce prejudice and social exclusion. Our findings instead put the spotlight

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on the other side of the picture. They show that negative contact had a stronger effect than positive contact, especially for adolescents' affective and behavioural responses toward the devalued group. Concretely, negative contact fostered negative emotions, which in turn elicited passive harm intentions.

Passive harm intentions entail acting “without the group, denying its existence, harming its members by omission of normal human recognition”, that is, the willingness to ignore, neglect or exclude (Cuddy et al., 2008, p. 109). This type of behaviours fit into the broader construct of social exclusion (Wesselmann, Grzysbowski, Steakly-Freeman, DeSouza, Nezlek, & Williams, 2016). Both interpersonal and intergroup exclusion are common phenomena during childhood and adolescence (Mulvey, Boswell, & Zheng, 2017) with diverse negative consequences (e.g., depression, academic difficulties) (see, Hitti, Mulvey, & Killen, 2011).

In this sense, our findings provide valuable information regarding the role of negative intergroup contact as an antecedent of this type of behavioural tendencies (i.e., passive harm intentions). Additionally, they reveal the underlying mechanism through which experiencing a negative contact with a member of an ethnic outgroup could make adolescents more willing to neglect, ignore or/and exclude members of devalued outgroups.

Given that intentions are the best predictors of behaviour (Ajzen, 1985), schools and practitioners should try to prevent, monitor, avoid and/or reduce negative interactions to promote positive student-student relationships between natives and members of vulnerable cultural minorities such as devalued immigrant groups. This is especially relevant during adolescence when the development of favourable intergroup attitudes will foster future contact intentions and positive attitudes in subsequent developmental stages (Wölfer et al., 2016).

**Estudio 3/ Study 3. The Effect of the Valence of Imagined Contact with
Immigrants on Adolescents' Stereotype Content: The Importance of
Perceived Typicality¹²**

¹² Este estudio se encuentra en revisión en la revista *Anales de Psicología*: Constantin, A. A., Cuadrado, I., & López-Rodríguez, L. The Effect of the Valence of Imagined Contact with Immigrants on Adolescents' Stereotype Content: The Importance of Perceived Typicality.

Introduction

Multicultural societies can suppose a true challenge for promoting and maintaining positive intergroup relations, therefore, it is important to know how children and adolescents perceive different ethnic outgroups and also how can this perception be altered to improve interethnic relations. In this regard, a recent meta-analysis (Beelmann & Heinemann, 2014) showed that interventions based on direct intergroup contact were among the most promising programs to reduce prejudice and promote positive outgroup attitudes during childhood and adolescence.

Drawing on recent literature on social perception (Fiske et al., 2002) and intergroup contact (Barlow et al., 2012; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), this work examines the effect of imagined contact valence on adolescents' stereotype content of morality, sociability and competence of two immigrant groups from Spain: the Ecuadorians (E), a valued group, and the Moroccans (M), a devalued group (López-Rodríguez et al., 2013; 2017).

Children and adolescents' stereotype content

The stereotype content model (SCM; Fiske et al., 2002) is one of the most prolific models addressing social perception (Cuddy et al., 2009). According to SCM, people build their social perception accounting for two basic and universal dimensions: warmth and competence. Warmth (e.g., warm, friendly) has a primary diagnostic role in social perception and is related to the perception of others' intentions, whereas competence (e.g., competent, intelligent) informs about others' capacity to pursue their intentions.

Recently, some scholars (Leach et al., 2007; López-Rodríguez et al., 2013) have shown that a three-dimensional model of stereotype content, distinguishing between the morality and sociability content of warmth, had a better fit than the traditional bi-

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dimensional one. Accordingly, we will distinguish between morality and sociability as sub-dimensions of warmth.

Some studies (Cuadrado et al., 2020; Study 1; Vauclair et al., 2018) have confirmed children's and adolescents' use of stereotype content dimensions to evaluate different social groups (e.g, elderly). Their results have shown that as children get older and reach adolescence their outgroup evaluations of stereotype content mirror those of adults (e.g., Vauclair et al., 2018) and influence their behavioural intentions toward ethnic outgroups (Cuadrado et al., 2020).

However, to our knowledge, only a few studies addressed the relevance of morality versus sociability content for intergroup relations during adolescence (e.g., Constantin & Cuadrado, 2020; Cuadrado et al., 2020). In this line, Constantin and Cuadrado (2020) proved the better fit of the three-dimensional model of stereotype content compared to the traditional bi-dimensional one when adolescents evaluated immigrant groups. Relatedly, Cuadrado et al. (2020; Study 1) have found that adolescents' morality stereotypes of a devalued immigrant group had a positive indirect effect on adolescents' helping intentions toward this group. These findings underline the importance of stereotype content, especially morality, in promoting positive intergroup behaviour during adolescence and emphasise the need for finding strategies to promote positive stereotype content evaluations and to counter negative ones.

Intergroup contact and SCM

Novel research provides evidence of the beneficial effects of both direct (e.g., Kotzur et al., 2019) and indirect positive contact (e.g., Brambilla, Ravenna et al., 2012) on stereotype content. For example, Kotzur et al. (2019) found that positive direct contact with an asylum seeker improved warmth and competence stereotype content, emotions and behaviour toward this group. Likewise, Brambilla, Ravenna et al. (2012)

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showed that positive imagined intergroup contact changed the stereotype content assigned to different immigrant groups. These authors found an improvement in the evaluation of the lowest-rated dimension of stereotype content of the assessed groups. However, these studies did not distinguish between morality and sociability as sub-dimensions of warmth. Furthermore, only a few studies (e.g., Cameron et al., 2011) examined the effect of positive imagined contact on stereotype content during early developmental stages. Thus, to cover these gaps, we will experimentally test the effect of positive imagined contact on the three dimensions of stereotype content in the context of interethnic relations during adolescence. We expect positive contact to improve adolescents' evaluation of the stereotype content dimensions especially for the dimension with the lowest ratings.

Most research on intergroup contact has focused on positive contact, but intergroup relations entail both positive and negative interactions. Relatedly, some authors (e.g., Barlow et al., 2012) emphasise the need to deepen our understanding concerning negative contact and its effects on outgroup prejudice and intergroup relations. Therefore, we will also investigate the effect of negative imagined contact on adolescents' stereotype content.

Negative intergroup contact

Early findings on the effect of contact valence on intergroup attitudes have revealed that negative contact has more influence on outgroups' evaluations than positive contact. In two studies, Barlow et al. (2012) found that, compared to positive contact, the effect of negative contact on different measures of ethnic prejudice was stronger and more robust. The relation between negative contact and increased levels of prejudice was stronger than the relation between positive contact and reduced levels of outgroup prejudice. A growing body of research has confirmed these findings (e.g.,

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Aberson, 2015), however, no study has yet considered the different dimensions of stereotype content. We add to the current knowledge by examining and comparing the effect of negative and positive imagined contact on adolescents' stereotype content of different ethnic groups.

We expect adolescents' evaluations of immigrants' stereotype content to be more positive after a positive than after a negative imagined interaction with an ethnic outgroup member. Furthermore, to imagine a positive interaction with an outgroup member should improve adolescents' evaluations on immigrants stereotype content, whereas a negative imagined interaction should impair them.

Boundary conditions of contact valence

From the stereotype change perspective, the basic generalization hypothesis (McIntyre et al., 2016) asserts that assimilation is the default cognitive operation of individual-to-group generalization process and its direction would be in the direction of the information provided about the exemplar. This meta-analysis also revealed that the magnitude of the generalization was contingent on the perceived typicality of the exemplar, moderately atypical outgroup members leading to larger generalizations effects than the highly atypical ones, while typical members would enhance previous outgroups stereotypes. Likewise, Brown and Hewstone (2005) evidenced that generalized positive effects of positive contact were stronger for higher (vs. lower) perceived typicality of the interaction partner. Additionally, Paolini et al. (2010) found that negative contact increased the salience of outgroup membership more than positive contact, which would explain the stronger effect of negative intergroup contact on attitudes toward outgroups. Another meta-analysis (Paolini & McIntyre, 2019) further revealed that the distinct effect of positive and negative intergroup contact on attitudes toward outgroups is contingent on intergroup settings. In their own words "bad is

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stronger than good in negative stigmatizing intergroup contexts and good is stronger than bad in positive, admired contexts” (p. 51). Relatedly, some authors (e.g., López-Rodríguez et al., 2013) have found that immigrants receive specific evaluations depending on their ethnic origin.

Based on these findings, we will examine the moderator role of perceived typicality on the relationship between contact valence and stereotype content. We will also analyse the moderator role of the ethnic origin on this relation considering a valued and a devalued immigrant group in Spain.

The present research

Our main aim is to examine the effect of imagined contact valence on Spanish adolescents’ stereotype content of morality, sociability and competence of a valued (Ecuadorian) and a devalued (Moroccan) immigrant group.

To achieve our purpose, we used the imagined contact paradigm (Turner et al., 2007). Although imagined contact has a weaker effect than direct contact on outgroup evaluations, it can be implemented in settings where direct intergroup contact is not possible. Furthermore, its beneficial effects have been proved across a wide range of prejudice measures, groups and intergroup settings (Miles & Crisp, 2014). We also contemplate the boundary conditions of the effect of contact valence by examining the moderator role of the perceived typicality of the interaction partner (Harwood, Joyce, Chen, Paolini, Xiang, & Rubin, 2017) and its ethnic origin in this relationship.

Our work contributes to the current literature in four ways. First, although the relationship of intergroup contact and outgroup prejudice has been widely examined, few studies contemplate models of social perception that address the specificity of prejudice (but see, Brambilla et al., 2012; Kotzur et al., 2019). Second, unlike previous work on intergroup contact and current models of social perception, we consider both

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positive and negative contact. Third, we focus on adolescents since studies regarding the effect of intergroup contact and stereotype content during this stage are scarce (Cameron et al., 2011), they do not consider negative contact and they do not distinguish between the morality and sociability sub-dimensions of warmth content. Fourth, we explore the boundary conditions of the effect of imagined contact valence.

Considering the revised literature, for both groups, we expect that positive compared to negative contact will promote better evaluations of the outgroups' stereotype content (H1). Likewise, we expect that positive contact will improve the evaluations of the adolescent regarding the stereotype content of the outgroups, while negative contact will worsen these evaluations (H2). We further expect that the effect of contact valence on stereotype content will be moderated by the perceived typicality of the interaction partner (H3). In turn, this interaction effect will be contingent on the ethnic origin of the interaction partner (H4).

Our predictions were tested in two studies¹³. In Study 3.1, we focused on traditionally valued (Ecuadorians) and devalued (Moroccans) immigrants from the Spanish context (e.g., López-Rodríguez et al., 2013; 2017). In Study 3.2, we tested the findings of Study 3.1 only for the Moroccan group and considering a different control condition (Turner et al., 2007).

Study 3.1

In this study, we examined the effect of contact valence on adolescents' stereotype content of Ecuadorians and Moroccans. We further examined the moderator role of the perceived typicality of the interaction partner and its ethnic origin on this relation (Paolini & McIntyre, 2019).

¹³ The studies were approved by the authors' University Ethical Committee and schools' boards. Informed consent was obtained from both participants and their parents or legal tutors.

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Method

Participants and design. Spanish adolescents ($N = 133^{14}$, $M_{age} = 15.14$, $SD = 1.09$; 50.4 % girls) were randomly assigned to one of the six experimental conditions of a 3 (Contact valence: positive vs. negative vs. control) \times 2 (Group: Ecuadorians vs. Moroccans) between-subject design.

Procedure. Pen and paper booklets were designed for each experimental condition. Adolescents were told that they were participating in a study regarding their social perception of several social groups and were informed about their rights. Next, they were presented with the experimental imagined contact or control task (Crips & Turner, 2009; Husnu & Crisp, 2010). In the *contact conditions*, the instructions were as follows:

“We would like you to take 2 minutes to imagine that you meet Luis-Antonio/Ahmed [Blanca/Habiba¹⁵] for the first time and you start a conversation. Luis-Antonio/Ahmed [Blanca/Habiba] is an Ecuadorian/Moroccan adolescent who has recently arrived in Spain. When you imagine this interaction please think of when (e.g., last Wednesday, yesterday) and where (e.g., bus stop, a park in your neighbourhood) your encounter takes place. Imagine that your interaction is positive, relaxed and pleasant/negative, tense, and unpleasant.

In the *control condition*, the instructions were the following: “We would like you to take two minutes to imagine you are walking in the outdoors. Try to imagine aspects of the scene about you (e.g., is it a beach, a forest, are there trees, hills, what’s on the horizon?)”. To reinforce the effect of the imagery task, in all conditions participants were given 3 minutes to write down aspects of the imagined scene. Finally,

¹⁴ An a priori power analysis for a MANOVA special effects and interactions conducted with G*Power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2009) suggested a minimum sample of 113 participants to detect a medium effect size, $f^2(V) = .063$, with an alpha = .05 and power = .80.

¹⁵ Participants’ sex and the imagined character sex were matched.

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participants rated the perceived typicality of the interaction partner and the stereotype content of the evaluated outgroup. In the negative contact condition, to counteract potential negative effects, participants were engaged in a positive imagined contact task. Lastly, participants were thanked and debriefed.

Measures. The booklet included the following measures:

For the *manipulation check*, participants rated how pleasant was the imagined experience (Brambilla, Ravenna et al., 2012).

To assess *the perceived typicality*¹⁶ of the imagined character, adolescents had to indicate to what degree the imagined character bear resemblance to the members of his ethnic group.

The stereotype content was assessed with nine items adapted by López-Rodríguez et al. (2013) from Leach et al. (2007). Three items (honest, sincere and trustworthy, $r_{ET/MT} = .83/.79$) assessed morality, three items (likeable, warm and friendly, $r_{ET/MT} = .78/.81$) were used for sociability and three items (intelligent, capable and competent, $r_{ET/MT} = .68/.66$) assessed competence.

The ratings on all the measures were recorded in 5-points Likert scale items (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very much*).

Data analysis. The internal consistency of the measured variables was assessed with the Spearman-Brown corrected mean split-half correlation coefficient. Two factorial 3 (Contact valence: positive vs. negative vs. control) \times 2 (Group: Moroccans vs. Ecuadorians) between-subjects ANOVA assessed the effect of the manipulation on the pleasantness of the imagined interaction and the perceived typicality of the interaction partner. A 3 (Contact valence: positive vs. negative vs. control) \times 2 (Group:

¹⁶ For the control condition, the perceived typicality of the interaction partner was not measured, since the task did not involve imagining a member of the outgroup. Therefore, the analyses that involve this variable only considered negative and positive contact conditions.

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Moroccans vs. Ecuadorians) between-subjects MANOVA examined the effect of the contact valence and the ethnic group on the stereotype content dimensions.

We tested the effect of the three-way interaction of contact valence, ethnic group and perceived typicality on the stereotype content dimensions using the Model 3 of the PROCESS v 3.0 macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2017). Concretely, we checked if the moderation effect of perceived typicality on contact's valence effect on stereotype content dimensions depends on the ethnic origin of the out-group (Figure 3). The significant three-way interaction¹⁷ was examined with simple slopes analysis using the pick-a-point technique (Hayes, 2017) considering low, moderate and high levels¹⁸ of perceived typicality.

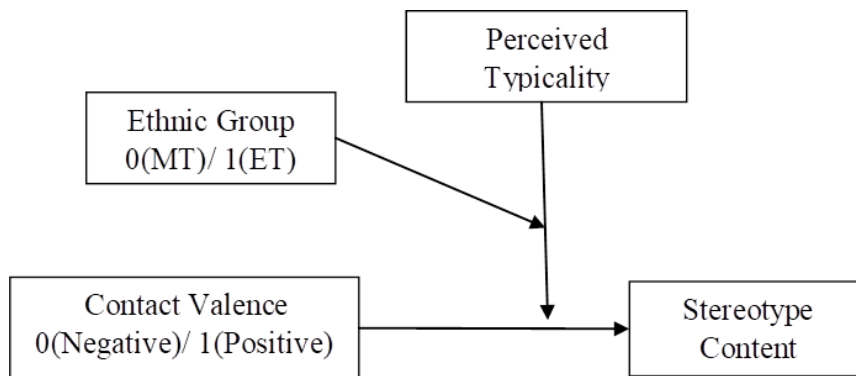


Figure 3. Three-way interaction model of contact valence, ethnic group and perceived typicality on the stereotype content dimensions.

Results

Manipulation check. A main effect of contact valence, $F(2, 124) = 73.88, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .54$, was found. In the imagined negative contact condition, the experience was perceived as less pleasant ($M = 1.87, SD = .76$) than in the imagined positive contact ($M = 4.00, SD = .65$) and in the control condition ($M = 3.71, SD = 1.17$) (all $ps <$

¹⁷ The continuous variable of the interaction term was mean centred to avoid collinearity issues (Aiken & West, 1991).

¹⁸ The values considered were the 16th, 50th, and 84th percentiles.

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.001). No differences were found between positive imagined contact and control conditions ($p = .485$). No other significant effects were found ($p > .05$).

Effects on perceived typicality. The analysis revealed a main effect of contact valence, $F(1, 83) = 20.63, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .20$. The imagined character was perceived as more typical of his/her ethnic group when the interaction was positive ($M = 3.60, SD = .97$) than when it was negative ($M = 2.60, SD = 1.16$). No main effect of ethnic group was found, $F(1, 83) = .09, p = .762, \eta_p^2 = .01$. However, a significant contact valence \times ethnic group interaction was found, $F(1, 83) = 7.74, p = .007, \eta_p^2 = .09$. Post-hoc analysis revealed that in the *positive* imagined contact condition, the Ecuadorian character was perceived as more typical of his/her ethnic group compared to the Moroccan character ($p = .035$). No between groups differences were found in the negative contact condition ($p = .077$). Furthermore, the Ecuadorian imagined character was perceived as more typical in the positive contact condition than in the negative one ($p < .001$) (Table 7). No differences were found for the Moroccan character between the positive and negative conditions ($p = .20$).

Effects on stereotype content. A multivariate main effect of the ethnic group was found, Pillai's Trace = .150, $F(3, 125) = 7.35, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .15$. Univariate analysis revealed that the ethnic origin of the interaction partner affected the perceptions of groups' morality, $F(1, 127) = 8.36, p = .005, \eta_p^2 = .06$, and sociability, $F(1, 127) = 19.68, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .134$. As expected, post-hoc comparisons showed that Ecuadorians were perceived as more moral ($M = 3.41, SD = .75$) and sociable ($M = 3.90, SD = .72$) than Moroccans ($M = 3.00, SD = .87, p = .005; M = 3.30, SD = .86, p < .001$, respectively). No effect was found for the competence dimension, $F(1, 127) = .49, p = .49, \eta_p^2 = .004$.

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A multivariate main effect of contact valence was also found, Pillai's Trace = .101, $F(6, 252) = 2.24$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Univariate analysis revealed that contact valence only affected immigrants' perceived sociability, $F(2, 127) = 3.19$, $p = .044$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Post-hoc comparisons showed that, across ethnic origin, immigrants were perceived as more sociable after a positive imagined contact than after a negative imagined contact ($p = .044$) (Table 7). No significant differences were found between control conditions and positive or negative contact (all $ps > .05$). No multivariate interaction effect was found ($p = .905$).

Table 7

Means and standard deviations of the dependent variables in each condition and group. Study 3.1

	Positive Contact		Negative Contact		Control	
	ET	MT	ET	MT	ET	MT
Morality	3.16 (.78)	3.18 (.84)	3.24 (.72)	3.03 (.88)	3.39 (.71)	2.82 (.87)
Sociability	4.04 (.61)	3.53 (.93)	3.67 (.79)	3.06 (.92)	4.00 (.69)	3.3 (.66)
Competence	3.96 (.72)	3.90 (.78)	3.71 (.60)	3.69 (.83)	3.69 (.57)	3.53 (.53)
Typicality	3.95 (.91)	3.26 (.92)	2.32 (1.09)	2.87 (1.18)	-	-
<i>N</i>	19	24	22	23	21	24

Note. The response scale ranged from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*).

Three-way interaction analysis. The three-way interaction term (contact valence \times typicality \times ethnic group) was significantly related with the perception of morality, $\Delta R^2 = .09$, $F_{Chg}[1, 79] = 7.68$, $p = .007$, and sociability, $\Delta R^2 = .19$, $F_{Chg}[1, 79] = 19.09$, $p < .001$, of the outgroups. The three-way interaction was not significant for the competence dimension, $\Delta R^2 = .04$, $F_{Chg}[1, 79] = 2.34$, $p = .131$ (Table 8).

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Table 8

Coefficients of the moderated moderation models. Study 3.1

	Morality Model				Sociability Model			
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	2.93 [2.65,3.21]	0.14	20.66	< .001	2.94 [2.67, .21]	0.14	21.76	< .001
Contact	0.19 [-.25, .63]	0.22	0.84	.405	0.46 [.08, .83]	0.19	2.40	.019
Typicality	-0.49 [-.83, -.17]	0.17	-2.99	.004	-0.58 [-.89, -.27]	0.16	-3.69	< .001
Contact × Typicality	0.96 [.48, 1.43]	0.24	3.99	< .001	1.34 [.96,1.75]	0.20	6.82	< .001
Ethnic Group	0.25 [-.24 .74]	0.25	1.02	.311	0.77 [.44 ,1.14]	0.34	2.46	.016
Contact × Ethnic Group	0.37 [-.27, 1.01]	0.32	1.14	.257	0.04 [-.66, .73]	0.40	0.10	.924
Typicality × Ethnic Group	0.42 [-.06, .89]	0.24	1.74	.085	0.63 [.08, 1.18]	0.27	2.27	.025
Contact × Typicality × Ethnic Group	-1.01 [-1.74, -.28]	0.37	-2.77	.007	-1.61 [-2.34, -.87]	0.37	-4.37	< .001
<i>R</i> ²	.26				.47			

Note. All coefficients are unstandardized.

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The two-way interaction between contact valence and typicality was found for Moroccan immigrants, $B = 0.95$, $F[1, 79] = 15.90$, $p < .001$, but not for Ecuadorian immigrants, $B = -0.05$, $F[1, 79] = .04$, $p = .841$.

The data displayed in Figure 4 (Panel A) show that when the interaction partner is perceived as a highly typical Moroccan, the perceived morality of the Moroccan group is significantly higher after an imagined positive contact than after an imagined negative contact with him/her, $B = 1.08$ (.28), $t(86) = 3.81$, $p < .001$. In contrast, when the interaction partner is perceived as atypical, the perceived morality of the Moroccan group is significantly higher after an imagined negative contact than after an imagined positive contact, $B = -0.93$ (.37), $t(86) = -2.27$, $p = .026$. The effect of contact valence on the Moroccan groups' perceived morality was not significant when the perceived typicality of the interaction partner was moderate, $B = 0.12$ (.22), $t(86) = 0.53$, $p = .597$.

For the Ecuadorians (Figure 4, Panel B), the effect of contact valence on morality was not significant ($p > .05$) regardless of the perceived typicality of the interaction partner.

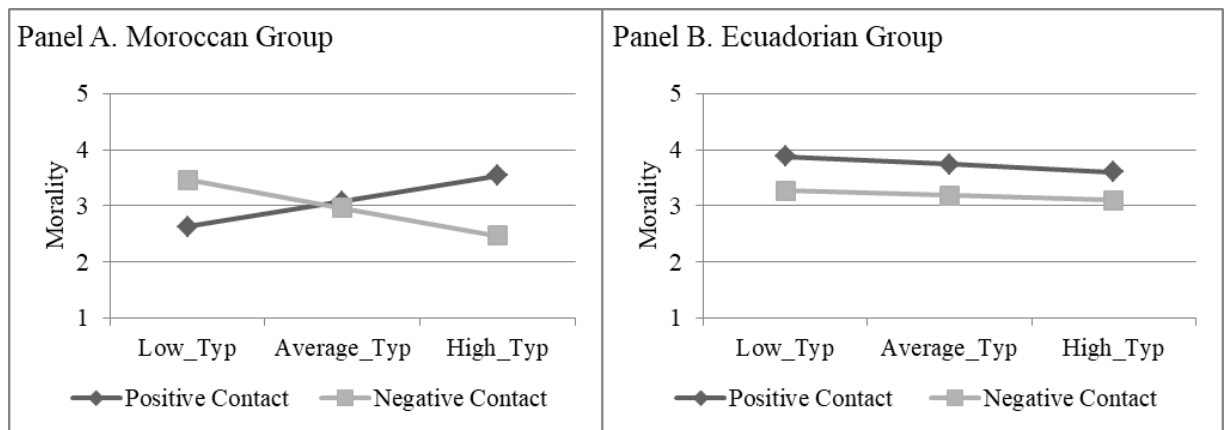


Figure 4. The conditional relationship between imagined contact valence and morality at low, moderate, and high levels of perceived typicality for the Moroccan group (Panel A) and for the Ecuadorian group (Panel B). Study 3.1.

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Similarly, the effect of contact valence on the perceived sociability of the immigrant groups was also moderated by the perceived typicality of the interaction partner for the Moroccan group, $B = 1.36$, $F[1, 79] = 46.45$, $p < .001$, but not for the Ecuadorians, $B = -0.25$, $F[1, 79] = .65$, $p = .421$.

As presented in Figure 5 (Panel A), when the Moroccan interaction partner was perceived as highly typical, the perceived sociability of the Moroccan group was significantly higher after a positive contact than after a negative contact, $B = 1.72$ (.26), $t(86) = 6.64$, $p < .01$. In contrast, when the Moroccan interaction partner was atypical, a negative interaction with him/her significantly improved the perceived sociability of the Moroccan group compared to a positive interaction, $B = -.99$ (.30), $t(86) = -3.39$, $p = .001$. When the typicality of the Moroccan interaction partner was moderate, the effect of contact valence on the Moroccan's perceived morality was not significant, $B = 0.36$ (.19), $t(86) = 1.90$, $p = .061$.

For the Ecuadorians (Figure 5, Panel B), the effect of imagined contact valence on the group's perceived sociability was not significant ($p > .05$) regardless of the perceived typicality of the interaction partner.

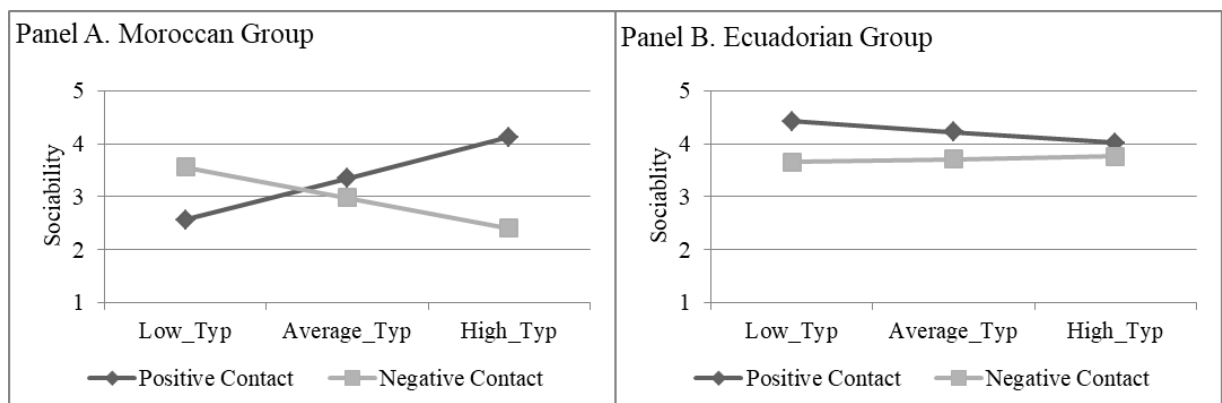


Figure 5. The conditional relationship between imagined contact valence and sociability at low, moderate, and high levels of perceived typicality for the Moroccan group (Panel A) and for the Ecuadorian group (Panel B). Study 3.1.

Discussion

Our results indicate that both the valence of intergroup contact and the ethnic origin of the interaction partner influenced adolescents' stereotype content regarding the rated outgroups. The ethnic origin of the evaluated group influenced ratings of both morality and sociability, showing that, across contact conditions, Ecuadorians were better valued than Moroccans (López-Rodríguez et al., 2013). Contact valence only affected adolescents' sociability ratings, positive contact being related with higher perceived sociability of the immigrant groups compared to negative contact, thus confirming H1. However, H2 was not supported given that no differences were found with the control condition.

Regarding the boundary conditions of contact valence, our expectations were confirmed (H3). In line with previous findings (e.g., McIntyre et al., 2016), we encountered that the effect of intergroup contact depended on the perceived typicality of the interaction partner and affected the content of perceived morality and sociability of the targeted outgroups. Furthermore, this effect was contingent on the ethnic origin of the immigrant group (H4) as it only occurred for the Moroccan group. Moroccans were perceived as more moral and sociable when adolescents imagined a positive contact with highly typical Moroccan peer compared to when they experienced a negative contact with the same character.

This effect was reversed when the interaction partner was perceived as atypical. Moroccans were perceived as more moral and sociable by the adolescents imagining a negative contact with an atypical member, compared to those experiencing a positive contact with an atypical Moroccan. Although negative contact is expected to increase prejudice and worsen attitudes toward outgroups (Barlow et al., 2012), our findings

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show that negative compared to positive contact might have beneficial effects on the stereotypes about outgroups as long as the interaction partner is perceived as atypical.

In sum, the findings of this study show that contact valence only affected the perceived morality and sociability of the outgroups and that this effect is contingent on the perceived typicality of the interaction partner and its ethnic origin. However, the control condition used in this study did not involve imagining an outgroup member, so it did not allow us to assess the perceived typicality of the interaction immigrant in absence of contact and to compare the moderated effects of contact valence considering baseline evaluations of the outgroup in absence of contact. Therefore, we cannot warrant that the effects we found reveal an improvement or impairment of adolescents' stereotypes. Study 3.2 was designed to test the findings of Study 3.1 accounting for this limitation.

Study 3.2

In Study 3.2, we used a different no-contact control condition in which participants were asked to think about an outgroup member (Turner et al., 2007). This control condition allowed us to test if the valence of imagined contact will improve or impair adolescents' stereotypes about the targeted group. Given that the interaction effects were found only for Moroccans, the devalued group, we only focused on this immigrant group and on the dependent variables affected by the interaction effects in Study 3.1, that is, morality and sociability.

Method

Participants and design. Spanish adolescents ($N = 113$, $M_{age} = 14.43$, $SD = 0.80$; 52.2 % girls) were randomly assigned, following a between-subject design, to one

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of three experimental conditions: positive contact ($n = 38$), negative contact ($n = 39$) or control ($n = 36$)¹⁹.

Procedure. The same procedure as in Study 3.1 was followed, but the instructions for the control condition were the following: “During the next 5 minutes, please think about an immigrant adolescent of Moroccan origin. While thinking about this person, please describe freely and write down everything that comes to your mind regarding this person”.

Measures. The same items as in Study 3.1 were used to measure morality ($r = .86$) and sociability ($r = .87$).

Data analysis. Two one-way between-subjects ANOVAs tested the effect of the contact valence manipulation on the perceived pleasantness of the imagined experience²⁰ and the perceived typicality of the imagined partner. A between-subject MANOVA examined the effect of the contact valence on morality and sociability stereotypes.

To test the effect of contact valence \times perceived typicality interaction on the stereotype content dimensions, we performed a two-way interaction analysis using the Model 1 of the PROCESS v 3.0 macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2017). We followed the same steps and attended the same considerations regarding mean-centring and simple slope analysis as in Study 3.1.

Results

Manipulation check. The analysis revealed that the participants perceived the interaction less pleasant in the negative contact condition ($M = 1.77$, $SD = 0.71$) than in

¹⁹ An a priori power analysis for a MANOVA global effects conducted with the program G*Power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2009) suggested a minimum sample of 116 participants to detect a medium effect size ($f^2 = .0625$) with an alpha = .05 and power = .80.

²⁰ The control condition did not allow to measure the pleasantness of the imagined situation as the task did not involve an *interaction* with another person. Therefore, this analysis considered only negative and positive contact conditions.

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the positive contact condition ($M = 3.82$, $SD = 0.65$), $F(1, 75) = 174.57$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .70$.

Effects on perceived typicality and stereotype content. The analysis revealed a main effect of the contact valence, $F(2, 109) = 4.25$, $p = .017$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. The imagined character was perceived as more typical of his/her ethnic group in the control condition ($M = 3.61$, $SD = .14$) compared to the negative contact condition ($M = 3.05$, $SD = .14$). No differences were found between positive contact ($M = 3.22$, $SD = .14$) and negative contact or control conditions (all $ps > .05$).

Regarding stereotype content, no multivariate effect of contact valence was found, Pillai's Trace = .061, $F(4, 220) = 1.73$, $p = .145$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$.

Two-way interaction analysis. To enable the comparison with the results in Study 3.1, we first considered only positive and negative imagined contact conditions. Next, we repeated the analysis considering contact valence as a multicategorical variable. Indicator coding system was used to code contact valence conditions. The control condition was defined as the reference category.

Positive vs. negative imagined contact. The moderation analysis revealed that the interaction of contact valence \times typicality significantly affected adolescents' perception of morality, $\Delta R^2 = .12$, $F_{Chg}[1, 72] = 5.14$, $p = .026$, and sociability, $\Delta R^2 = .16$, $F_{Chg}[1, 72] = 9.09$, $p = .004$, of the Moroccans.

The effect of contact valence on the perceived morality of the Moroccan group was moderated by the perceived typicality of the interaction partner, $B = 0.59$ (.26), $t(75) = 2.27$, $p = .026$. The data displayed in Figure 4 (Panel A) show that when the interaction partner was perceived as atypical, the Moroccan immigrants group was considered as more moral after a negative imagined contact than after a positive imagined contact, $B = -0.73$ (.29), $t(75) = -2.52$, $p = .014$. The effect of contact valence

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on Moroccans' perceived morality was not significant for moderate typicality of the interaction partner, $B = -0.14(.15)$, $t(75) = -.92$, $p = .363$, or high, $B = .45 (.31)$, $t(75) = 1.44$, $p = .154$.

Likewise, the effect of contact valence on the sociability dimension was moderated by the perceived typicality of the interaction partner, $B = 0.77 (.25)$, $t(75) = 3.02$, $p = .004$ (see Figure 4, Panel B). When the interaction partner was perceived as a highly typical member of the Moroccan group, the perceived sociability of this group was higher in the positive contact than in the negative contact condition, $B = 0.96 (.28)$, $t(75) = 3.41$, $p = .001$. The effect of imagined contact valence on the perceived sociability of the Moroccan group was not significant for a moderately typical, $B = 0.19 (.18)$, $t(75) = 1.05$, $p = .297$, or atypical interaction partner, $B = -0.58 (.34)$, $t(75) = -1.69$, $p = .094$.

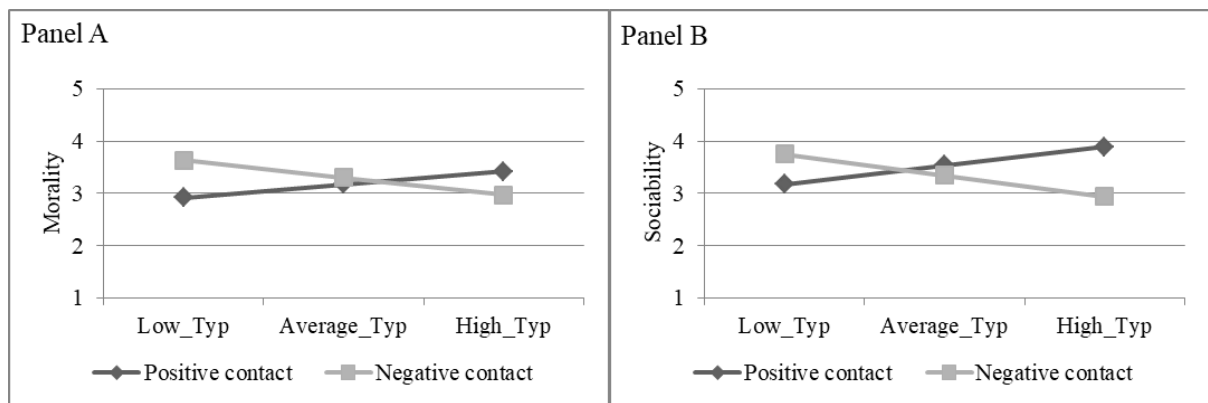


Figure 6. The conditional relationship between imagined contact valence at low, moderate, and high levels of perceived typicality for Morality (Panel A) and for Sociability (Panel B) of the Moroccan group. Study 3.2.

Positive and negative imagined contact vs. control. The two-way interaction did not affect Moroccans' perceived morality, $\Delta R^2 = .07$, $F_{chg}[2, 106] = 2.59$, $p = .078$. However, a significant contact valence \times perceived typicality interaction effect was

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found for the perceived sociability of the Moroccans, $\Delta R^2 = .10$, $F_{chg}[2, 106] = 4.56$, $p = .012$ (see Table 9).

Table 9

Coefficients of the two-way interaction model for the sociability dimension. Study 3.2

Sociability Model				
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	3.50 [3.19, 3.80]	0.15	22.78	< .001
X1	-0.27 [-.67, .13]	0.20	-1.35	.178
X2	0.14 [-.26, .53]	0.20	0.68	.496
Typicality	0.05 [-.34, .43]	0.19	0.25	.806
X1 × Typicality	-0.45 [-1.01, .10]	0.28	-1.62	.109
X2 × Typicality	0.32 [-.18, .80]	0.25	1.27	.207
<i>R</i> ²		.35		

Note. All coefficients are unstandardized. X1: Negative contact vs. Control; X2: Positive contact vs. Control.

Only for adolescents that perceived the interaction partner as a typical Moroccan, contact valence affected the perceived sociability of the Moroccan group, $F(2, 106) = 5.81$, $p = .004$. Specifically, to imagine a negative contact with a typical Moroccan compared to just thinking about a Moroccan (control condition) resulted in lower levels of perceived sociability of the Moroccan group, $B = -0.60$ (.29), $t(111) = -2.06$, $p = .041$ (see Figure 7). However, no effects were found for an atypical or a moderately typical Moroccan interaction partner.

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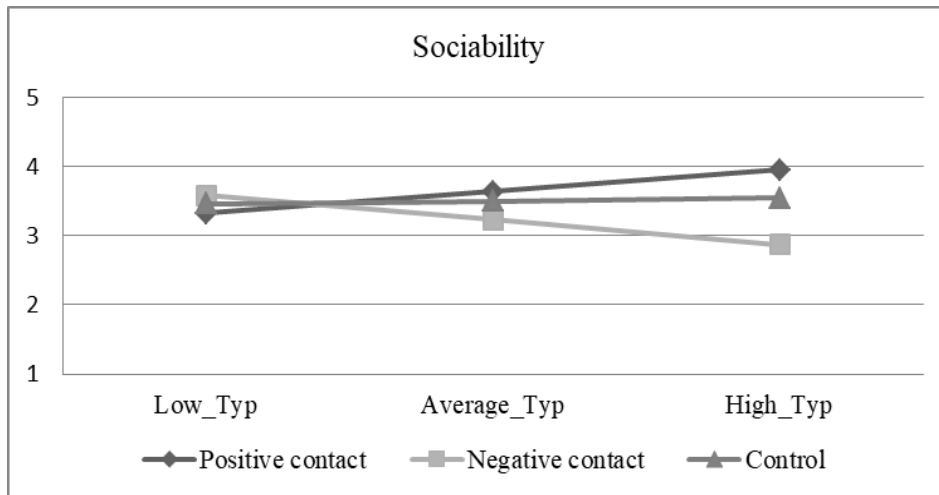


Figure 7. The conditional relationship between imagined contact valence and sociability at low, moderate, and high levels of perceived typicality. Study 3.2.

Discussion

This study aimed to replicate the findings of Study 3.1 considering a control condition that allowed assessing the perceived typicality of a Moroccan immigrant peer in the absence of contact. Thus, we could examine whether the variations prompted by the valence of the imagined contact in adolescents' ratings regarding the morality and sociability of the Moroccans were significantly different from their evaluations of the outgroup in absence of contact.

In general, the findings of Study 3.2 showed that the manipulation of the valence of imagined contact had no effect on adolescents' perception regarding the morality and sociability of the Moroccans. However, the moderated effects of positive and negative contact on morality and sociability stereotypes were in line with current literature on individual-to-group-generalization (McIntyre et al., 2016) and broadly replicated the findings of Study 3.1. Compared to positive contact, negative contact led to better evaluations of Moroccans' perceived morality when the interaction partner was perceived as atypical, and to worse evaluations of Moroccans' sociability when the interaction partner was perceived as typical. These findings indicate that negative

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contact could not lead to such negative results as long as the interaction partner is not presented as a typical member.

Further analyses indicate a stronger effect of negative contact (Paolini & McIntyre, 2019). As expected (H2), negative contact lead to negative evaluations. This effect was found only for the sociability dimension and only when the imagined interaction occurred with a typical outgroup member. Only for those adolescents that imagined a negative interaction and considered the interaction partner as a typical Moroccan, the perceived sociability of the Moroccan group was impaired.

General discussion

The main objective of the present work was to examine the effect of positive and negative imagined intergroup contact on adolescents' stereotype content of Ecuadorian and Moroccan immigrants. We also explored the boundary conditions of this relation by testing the interaction effect of the contact valence with the perceived typicality of the contact partner and the moderation of this effect by the ethnic origin of the immigrant groups.

The first study showed that adolescents' stereotypes toward the immigrant groups were affected by both their ethnic origin and the valence of their interaction with a member of these outgroups. In line with previous work (e.g., López-Rodríguez et al., 2013), adolescents perceived Ecuadorians as more moral and sociable than Moroccans across contact conditions. Also, across ethnic groups, a positive (vs. negative) contact experience resulted in higher levels of perceived sociability of outgroups.

Moderation analyses further shed some light regarding these results. In keeping with findings on individual-to-group-generalization (e.g., Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Paolini & McIntyre, 2019), in our study, a three-way interaction qualified the relation between contact valence and adolescents' stereotype content of the immigrant

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outgroups. The effect of imagined contact valence on adolescents' stereotypes depended on the perceived typicality of the interaction partner and its ethnic origin. Whereas for the Ecuadorians the effect of contact valence was independent of the perceived typicality of the interaction partner, for Moroccans the effect of contact valence on adolescents' stereotype content toward this group was contingent on the perceived typicality of the interaction partner. In Study 3.1 we also found that negative contact could prompt better evaluations compared to positive contact under certain circumstances, but they did not warrant the improvement of adolescents' stereotypes of the Moroccan group.

Study 3.2 replicated the findings of Study 3.1 regarding the Moroccan group and also clarified that imagined contact modified adolescents' evaluations only when it was negative and only when the interaction partner was perceived as typical. Furthermore, this effect occurred only for the sociability dimension. Moroccans' perceived sociability was impaired when adolescents imagined a negative contact with a typical Moroccan peer. Although in general our expectations were met, some findings were unexpected or only partially confirmed our predictions.

First, as shown in Study 3.2, only negative contact impaired adolescents' stereotypes of Moroccans' sociability, whereas positive contact did not improve adolescents' stereotypes. The lack of effect of positive contact indicates a stronger effect of negative contact (Paolini et al., 2010). Additionally, the fact that this effect occurs only for the devalued immigrant group, provides support to recent literature (Paolini & McIntyre, 2019) arguing for a stronger effect of negative contact for stigmatized groups.

Second, although positive versus negative contact was associated with higher ratings of sociability (Study 3.1), intergroup contact did not alter adolescents'

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stereotypes of Ecuadorians. Brambilla, Ravenna et al. (2012) found similar results regarding the effect of positive imagined contact on the stereotype toward a valued immigrant group in Italy. However, in our study, neither positive nor negative contact effects were found. Ecuadorians are considered by Spaniards as more similar to natives compared to other immigrant groups (López-Rodríguez et al., 2017). It is possible that the higher perceived intergroup similarity affected the perceived group boundaries and reduced the category salience needed for the generalization of contact effects (Brown & Hewstone, 2005). Future research should account for the role of perceived intergroup similarity and its interplay with different factors that might affect a person's perceived fit to a category (e.g., perceived typicality) in the relation between contact valence and the stereotypes about outgroups.

Third, across both studies, our results indicate that under low typicality conditions, negative contact may enhance Moroccans perceived morality more than positive contact in the same circumstances. The findings of Study 3.1 showed that Moroccans were perceived as a devalued group (López-Rodríguez et al., 2013), thus, although the contact situation is negative, an atypical (positive) exemplar would be inconsistent with adolescents' view of the Moroccans. When the information provided by an exemplar is inconsistent with the image of the group, people adjust their group evaluations in the direction of the provided information (Kunda & Oleson, 1979). Our findings seem to suggest that the positivity of the imagined character is assimilated, and the outgroup evaluation is adjusted in the direction predicted by the assimilation hypothesis.

Bless, Schwarz, Bodenhausen and Thiel (2001) have shown that the information provided by atypical members was assimilated into group's judgement and attenuated stereotypes about the target group when the exemplar's category membership was made

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salient. Additionally, some scholars (e.g., Paolini et al., 2010) have shown that negative (vs. positive) contact increments category salience more and that higher salience facilitates individual-to-group-generalization (Brown & Hewstone, 2005). It is possible that the imagined negative contact made salient the interaction partner membership and acted as a catalyst facilitating the assimilation of the positive traits of the atypical contact partner into the group's image. Nonetheless, how people balance the valence of the contact situation and the perceived valence of the interaction partner could be an interesting avenue for future research.

Fourth, our findings (Study 3.2) partially support previous research regarding the potential of imagined contact to reshape the evaluations of stereotype content (Brambilla, Ravenna et al., 2012). However, unlike their results showing the positive effects of positive contact, our findings reveal that only negative contact with a typical member of the group modified the stereotypes by impairing the perceived sociability of the Moroccans. No effect was found for positive contact or on the morality dimension. A recent meta-analysis (Miles & Crisp, 2014) indicates that the effects of (positive) imagined contact on attitudes toward ethnic groups could sometimes be nonsignificant. Additionally, our results are in consonance with recent literature (Paolini & McIntyre, 2019) showing that, for devalued groups, negative contact has a stronger effect on outgroup attitudes than positive contact. Together, both aspects, the type of contact and the stronger effect of negative contact for stigmatized groups, could explain the lack of effect of positive contact for this group.

The effect found for sociability and the lack of effect on morality in Study 3.2 may be related to the way these two basic dimensions are used by adolescents. Although morality is the main diagnostic dimension of social perception for adults, during adolescence interpersonal interactions and socialization acquire greater importance

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(Brown & Larson, 2009). This specific developmental aspect of adolescence and the fact that intergroup contact implies socialization might have directed adolescents' attention toward and made them focus more on sociability over morality aspects.

We are further aware that our work has some shortcomings that could be improved in future studies. First, we used explicit measures of stereotype content; therefore, social desirability could have influenced the response of our participants. Future studies could use implicit measures of stereotype content or measure the social desirability to control its possible influence.

Relatedly, our task allowed participants to decide the settings of their contact experience. Some studies (e.g., Bekhuis, Ruiters, & Coenders, 2013) have proved that the effect of positive and negative contact varies across social settings: The effect of positive compared to negative direct contact on attitudes toward ethnic outgroups are less predictive in unstructured settings (e.g., neighbourhood). Thus, future studies should account for the effect of different types of settings of the imagined contact.

All things considered, across two studies we provided evidence about the context-dependency of the generalization of positive and negative contact effects (1), the boundary conditions in which negative (vs. positive) contact could promote better evaluations of outgroups stereotypes (2), and the conditions under which adolescents' stereotype could be altered (3). From a theoretical standpoint, these findings extend current literature as they experimentally examine the relationship between intergroup imagined contact and specific stereotype content (1) considering positive and negative contact simultaneously (2), as well as the boundary conditions of positive and negative contact effects (3). Moreover, we explore these relations during adolescence, a developmental stage of crucial importance for the development as well as for prejudice reduction (4).

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Our findings also have practical implications. They draw attention to the importance of monitoring the valence of intergroup experiences, especially when they involve a member of a devalued group. They also provide useful information regarding the conditions in which this type of experiences generalize their negative effects on outgroup's image and impair adolescents' stereotypes. Negative contact will damage outgroup's image when the outgroup member involved in the interaction is typical of his/her group. Therefore, to avoid this outcome, the interaction partner should be presented as an atypical member of his/her outgroups. It should be considered that a negative contact with a single individual does not lead people necessarily to a more negative evaluation of the whole outgroup when the member with whom they have had such experience is not recognized as typical of their group. Mass media and political discourses might recognize the power of typicality and the generalization process.

CAPÍTULO III. CONCLUSIONES/ CHAPTER III. CONCLUSIONS

Discusión general

El continuo proceso de globalización conlleva el incremento de la diversidad étnica, social y cultural en las sociedades actuales. A menudo la diversidad étnica puede ser y es percibida como una fuente de enriquecimiento cultural. Sin embargo, la convivencia de grupos étnicos es un proceso complejo en el que la promoción y el mantenimiento de relaciones intergrupales positivas, así como la prevención y la evitación de las situaciones conflictivas es una necesidad fundamental (Rutland y Killen, 2015).

Tomando como punto de partida recientes perspectivas y aportaciones teóricas en el ámbito de las actitudes intergrupales y el contacto intergrupar, el presente trabajo intentó responder a esta necesidad.

Concretamente, en el contexto de la relaciones interétnicas en la adolescencia, los estudios realizados han intentado contestar a dos preguntas principales: (1) ¿Qué creen y sienten los adolescentes españoles autóctonos y qué intenciones de conducta tienen hacia los inmigrantes marroquíes y ecuatorianos (dos grupos inmigrantes relevantes en el contexto español)?, (2) ¿Qué efecto pueden tener las interacciones positivas y negativas con miembros de estos exogrupos sobre las actitudes intergrupales de los adolescentes autóctonos? Para ello, se llevaron a cabo un estudio correlacional (Estudio 1) y cuatro experimentos agrupados en dos estudios (Estudios 2 y 3).

En el **Estudio 1** se examinaron las creencias, las emociones y las intenciones de conducta de los adolescentes hacia los dos exogrupos inmigrantes evaluados. Para ello, en primer lugar, se comprobó la idoneidad del modelo tridimensional para medir el contenido de los estereotipos en la edad adolescente. Posteriormente, se comprobaron los postulados del MCE y el BIAS Map considerando la perspectiva tridimensional del modelo del contenido de los estereotipos.

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En consonancia con estudios previos realizados con adultos (Brambilla et al., 2011; López-Rodríguez et al., 2013), los resultados confirmaron, con población adolescente, el mejor ajuste del modelo tridimensional del contenido de los estereotipos que del modelo original bidimensional.

Trabajos previos sobre la autopercepción de los adolescentes (Crocetti et al., 2019) y su influencia sobre el establecimiento de relaciones con personas significativas de su entorno (p.e., padres, amigos) (Crocetti et al., 2018) ya habían confirmado el papel diferenciado de moralidad y sociabilidad en estos procesos y, por tanto, la necesidad e importancia de distinguir entre estas dimensiones en las evaluaciones intraindividuales e interpersonales. Los hallazgos del Estudio 1 extienden y complementan esta línea de trabajo al confirmar la pertinencia y utilidad de realizar esta distinción también cuando se consideran las evaluaciones intergrupales durante la adolescencia.

Además, los resultados obtenidos han puesto de manifiesto la especificidad del prejuicio étnico en esta etapa evolutiva. Así, al igual que los adultos (Lee y Fiske, 2006; López-Rodríguez et al., 2013), los adolescentes realizaron evaluaciones diferentes atendiendo al origen étnico de los grupos inmigrantes evaluados. Los adolescentes consideraban a los inmigrantes ecuatorianos más morales y sociables que a los inmigrantes marroquíes.

Respecto a las relaciones entre el contenido de los estereotipos y las variables socio-estructurales, en líneas generales los resultados confirmaron las premisas del MCE y el BIAS Map. La percepción de competición intergrupala con los exogrupos evaluados se relacionaba negativamente con la moralidad y la sociabilidad percibida de estos grupos, mientras su estatus social percibido se relacionaba positivamente con su nivel de competencia percibida.

Durante esta etapa evolutiva los adolescentes tienen una comprensión cada vez más compleja del mundo que les rodea y de las relaciones intergrupales. Además de los factores individuales, en su percepción influyen también factores contextuales, geográficos, históricos, económicos y políticos (Barret, 2007). La confirmación de la hipótesis socio-estructural del MCE, por tanto, constituye una clara evidencia de la influencia de variables contextuales en la imagen que los adolescentes desarrollan y mantienen sobre los exogrupos inmigrantes de su contexto.

En cuanto a las relaciones entre el contenido de los estereotipos, las emociones y las intenciones de conducta, los hallazgos de esta tesis apoyaron parcialmente las premisas del BIAS Map. La hipótesis de mediación se confirmó principalmente para las intenciones de conducta activa y solo a través de emociones univalentes. Aun así, estos resultados muestran el proceso mediante el que los estereotipos de los adolescentes acerca de los inmigrantes influyen en sus intenciones de conducta a través de sus emociones. Además, las relaciones encontradas respaldan estudios previos sobre la mayor importancia de la moralidad en el proceso de percepción social (p.e., Brambilla et al., 2011) y ponen de manifiesto que solo esta dimensión influyó tanto en las conductas de ayuda de los adolescentes hacia inmigrantes marroquíes (Cuadrado et al., 2020; Estudio 1), como en sus conductas de daño hacia los ecuatorianos y los marroquíes.

En el **Estudio 2** se comprobó experimentalmente el efecto del contacto imaginado positivo y negativo sobre el contenido de los estereotipos, las emociones y las intenciones de conducta de adolescentes y adultos jóvenes hacia inmigrantes ecuatorianos y marroquíes.

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El principal hallazgo de este estudio fue que solo el contacto negativo influyó sobre las actitudes intergrupales y solo en el caso de los adolescentes que evaluaban al grupo marroquí (el grupo inmigrante devaluado).

Estos resultados están en consonancia con recientes propuestas teóricas acerca de la asimetría negativa-positiva del efecto de la valencia del contacto intergrupal sobre las actitudes intergrupales (Barlow et al., 2012). Asimismo, parecen indicar que el efecto de asimetría está ligado a las actitudes que se mantienen hacia los miembros de los grupos con quien se mantiene contacto (Paolini y McIntyre, 2019).

Este segundo estudio reveló, además, el proceso mediante el cual el contacto negativo ejerce su efecto sobre las intenciones de conducta de los adolescentes a través de las emociones (Hayward et al., 2017). Concretamente, el contacto negativo elicó emociones negativas en los adolescentes que, a su vez, generaron intenciones de conducta de daño pasivo hacia los inmigrantes marroquíes.

Respecto a la falta de efecto de la valencia del contacto intergrupal sobre las actitudes intergrupales de los jóvenes, algunos autores (p.e., White et al., 2009) han encontrado que el contacto podría ser más efectivo para la reducción del prejuicio en los adolescentes que en los adultos jóvenes. Estudios longitudinales (Wolfer et al., 2016) apoyan estos resultados y demuestran que el efecto del contacto intergrupal sobre las actitudes intergrupales disminuye con el paso del tiempo y es más débil para los adultos jóvenes. Estos autores confirman además que esta disminución no se debe al descenso de las oportunidades de contacto durante la adultez emergente, y proponen como posible explicación la mayor estabilidad y consistencia de las actitudes intergrupales de los jóvenes adultos (Volleberget al., 2001).

Finalmente, ni el contacto intergrupal negativo, ni el positivo, afectaron al contenido de los estereotipos –el componente actitudinal cognitivo– en ninguna de las

dos etapas evolutivas contempladas. Este resultado, sin embargo, no es del todo inesperado. Metaanalíticamente se demostró que el contacto intergrupar tiene un menor efecto sobre el componente actitudinal cognitivo que sobre el afectivo y el conductual (Pettigrew y Troop, 2006). Asimismo, algunos autores han encontrado que el contacto intergrupar influye sobre el componente cognitivo de las actitudes hacia un exogrupo solo cuando el miembro con el que se interactúa es representativo de dicho grupo (McIntyre et al., 2016; Rothbar & John, 1985).

Tomando en consideración estos aspectos, en el **Estudio 3** se profundizó en el análisis de la relación entre la valencia del contacto intergrupar (imaginado) y el contenido de los estereotipos examinando el papel moderador de la tipicidad percibida.

Los resultados del primer experimento mostraron que el efecto de la valencia del contacto sobre el contenido de los estereotipos de los adolescentes acerca de los inmigrantes evaluados dependía de la tipicidad percibida de la pareja de interacción y de su origen étnico. Así, la tipicidad percibida de la pareja de interacción condicionó el efecto de la valencia del contacto sobre los estereotipos de moralidad y sociabilidad solo cuando se evaluaba al grupo marroquí. Cuando la pareja de interacción se percibía como típica marroquí, los adolescentes que se habían imaginado una interacción positiva evaluaban como más moral y sociable a dicha pareja que los que se habían imaginado una interacción negativa. Sin embargo, los adolescentes que se habían imaginado una interacción negativa, en comparación con los que se habían imaginado una interacción positiva, consideraban a los marroquíes más morales y sociables si la pareja de interacción imaginada se percibía como atípica.

Aunque interesantes, estos resultados solo contemplaban el proceso de generalización del efecto del contacto intergrupar comparando los efectos del contacto positivo y negativo entre sí. En consecuencia, no proporcionaban información suficiente

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acerca de la capacidad de la valencia del contacto intergrupar imaginado para modificar (mejorar o empeorar) los estereotipos de los adolescentes sobre el exogrupo marroquí y tampoco acerca de las condiciones en los que estos efectos podrían ocurrir. En este sentido, el principal hallazgo del segundo experimento del Estudio 3 aportó información adicional: la valencia del contacto solo modificó la sociabilidad percibida del grupo marroquí, pero no su moralidad. Concretamente, se encontró que fue suficiente una única interacción negativa imaginada con un miembro típico de este grupo para que la evaluación de los adolescentes autóctonos sobre la sociabilidad percibida del grupo inmigrante marroquí, en su conjunto, empeorase. Por tanto, se volvió a confirmar la hipótesis de asimetría negativa-positiva de la valencia del contacto intergrupar sobre las actitudes intergrupales (Barlow et al., 2012; Graf et al., 2014; Paolini et al., 2010): solo el contacto negativo, no el positivo, afectó al contenido de los estereotipos de los adolescentes acerca del grupo marroquí.

En resumen, los tres estudios realizados responden a las dos preguntas planteadas y aportan información acerca de las creencias, emociones e intenciones de conducta de los adolescentes autóctonos hacia los inmigrantes marroquíes y ecuatorianos, así como del efecto de la valencia del contacto intergrupar sobre estos componentes actitudinales.

Respecto a la primera pregunta, el Estudio 1 mostró que el contenido de los estereotipos de los adolescentes depende del origen étnico del grupo evaluado y que dicha evaluación, especialmente la de moralidad, influye en sus intenciones de conducta de ayuda y daño hacia miembros de estos grupos a través de las emociones univalentes de admiración y desprecio.

Respecto al efecto de la valencia del contacto intergrupar sobre los tres componentes actitudinales examinados en el Estudio 1 (pregunta 2), los Estudios 2 y 3

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mostraron que la valencia del contacto afectó solo a las evaluaciones de los adolescentes, principalmente cuando se evaluaba al grupo marroquí. Así, los adolescentes que se imaginaron un contacto negativo con un marroquí manifestaron más intenciones de daño pasivo hacia miembros de este grupo, un proceso mediado por el incremento de las emociones negativas hacia los marroquíes. Además, cuando el personaje imaginado se percibía como un miembro típico del grupo marroquí, una interacción negativa empeoraba la sociabilidad percibida del grupo en su conjunto.

Contribuciones teóricas

Desde un punto de vista teórico, los estudios realizados contribuyen a la literatura existente sobre percepción social y contacto intergrupales en el marco de las relaciones interétnicas en la adolescencia.

En primer lugar, se comprobó la aplicabilidad e idoneidad de recientes modelos teóricos desarrollados en el ámbito de la percepción social y las actitudes intergrupales para el estudio de las actitudes interétnicas en población adolescente. Aunque el MCE y el BIAS Map son modelos ampliamente utilizados para examinar la percepción social acerca de una amplia gama de exogrupos en distintos contextos (Cuddy et al., 2009), solo un número reducido de trabajos han aplicado estos modelos en etapas evolutivas anteriores a la adultez (p.e., Roussou y Dunham, 2016). Además, los escasos estudios realizados durante la infancia y la adolescencia que sí lo han hecho no se han centrado en las actitudes hacia exogrupos de distinto origen étnico, no han considerado la distinción entre las dos sub-dimensiones de calidez y tampoco cómo dicha distinción afecta a las premisas del BIAS Map.

Hasta donde conocemos, el Estudio 1 de la presente tesis es el primero que aplica el modelo del contenido de los estereotipos y el BIAS Map y comprueba sus premisas en población adolescente para evaluar sus actitudes intergrupales hacia

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exogrupos de distinto origen étnico. Además, se demuestra por primera vez en población adolescente el mejor ajuste del modelo del contenido de los estereotipos de tres dimensiones, así como el papel determinante de la moralidad (vs. sociabilidad y competencia) sobre las intenciones de conducta de daño y ayuda de los adolescentes hacia grupos inmigrantes. Por tanto, se pone de manifiesto que los adolescentes distinguen entre las dos subdimensiones de calidez y las utilizan de forma independiente en sus evaluaciones intergrupales de manera similar a los adultos.

En segundo lugar, aunque la importancia del contacto intergrupales en el desarrollo, mantenimiento y cambio de actitudes hacia exogrupos étnicos en la infancia y la adolescencia ha sido ampliamente demostrada (Cameron y Turner, 2017; Wölfer et al., 2016), escasos trabajos han considerado los modelos desarrollados en los ámbitos de percepción social y actitudes intergrupales examinados en el Estudio 1. Además, la gran mayoría de los trabajos realizados se centran en los efectos del contacto positivo, no en los del contacto negativo (Barlow et al., 2012; Paolini et al., 2010).

En este sentido, los Estudios 2 y 3 de la presente tesis consideran conjuntamente los recientes desarrollos teóricos y empíricos acerca del efecto de la valencia del contacto intergrupales sobre las actitudes intergrupales y los actuales modelos de medición de dichas actitudes examinados en el Estudio 1. Por tanto, se comprueban experimentalmente los efectos del contacto de distinta valencia sobre los distintos componentes actitudinales evaluados.

En ambos estudios se confirmó que la generalización del efecto de la valencia del contacto dependía del origen étnico del grupo evaluado (Paolini & McIntyre, 2019). Concretamente, se demostró que el efecto del contacto negativo, comparado con el del contacto positivo, fue mayor cuando se evaluaba la actitud de los adolescentes hacia el grupo marroquí (el grupo devaluado). Asimismo, los resultados revelaron el proceso

mediante el que el contacto negativo influye en intenciones específicas de comportamiento de los adolescentes a través de emociones negativas.

Finalmente, en el Estudio 3 se comprobó qué dimensiones estereotípicas están afectadas por el contacto intergrupar de distinta valencia y en qué condiciones dicho efecto produce una modificación en los estereotipos de los adolescentes sobre los grupos evaluados. Aunque el contacto imaginado positivo se relacionó positivamente con la evaluación de los adolescentes acerca de la moralidad y la sociabilidad percibida de los dos grupos inmigrantes evaluados, este efecto no fue suficientemente fuerte para mejorar los estereotipos de los adolescentes. Sin embargo, el contacto negativo empeoró los estereotipos de los adolescentes acerca de la sociabilidad de los marroquíes tras una sola interacción imaginada con un miembro prototípico de este grupo.

Implicaciones prácticas

Kurt Lewin afirmaba que no hay nada más práctico que una buena teoría. Por tanto, teoría, investigación y aplicación están interconectadas y son fundamentales para la prevención y la respuesta a diversos problemas sociales y, finalmente, para mejorar la calidad de vida y el bienestar del ser humano. Aunque esta tesis tiene un marcado carácter teórico y de investigación, está conectado con la realidad social tanto a través su punto de partida, como a través de las posibles implicaciones aplicadas de sus resultados.

Tal y como se ha mencionado, el desarrollo y mantenimiento de actitudes y relaciones intergrupales positivas en una sociedad multicultural puede suponer un gran reto. Este reto puede afrontarse con más facilidad a través de intervenciones realizadas en etapas evolutivas previas a la adultez, en las que las actitudes intergrupales son susceptibles de cambiar con mayor facilidad. Por tanto, es importante conocer las variables que influyen en estos complejos procesos, así como sus mecanismos

subyacentes. Por ello, nos hemos centrado en las relaciones intergrupales entre autóctonos e inmigrantes de distinto origen étnico durante la adolescencia examinando dos variables relevantes en este ámbito: las actitudes intergrupales y el contacto intergrupar.

Los resultados obtenidos en los tres estudios realizados ponen de manifiesto algunos aspectos a tener en cuenta en el desarrollo de intervenciones psicosociales orientadas a la mejora de las relaciones interétnicas durante la adolescencia.

Así, el Estudio 1 mostró la utilidad del MCE y el BIAS Map para medir las actitudes intergrupales de los adolescentes hacia distintos grupos inmigrantes. La aplicación de estos modelos permitirá conocer con detalle qué piensan, qué sienten y qué intenciones de conducta tienen los adolescentes hacia los grupos inmigrantes evaluados y cómo estos tres componentes actitudinales se relacionan entre sí.

Esta información puede ser de utilidad en las distintas etapas de una intervención, especialmente en la inicial, al facilitar la evaluación del estado de las relaciones interétnicas de los adolescentes. A su vez, el diagnóstico realizado permitirá guiar las líneas de actuación, identificar hacia qué componente actitudinal deberían orientarse las acciones a realizar para poder obtener los objetivos propuestos con la máxima eficiencia, y definir dichas acciones específicas (p.e., regulación de emociones) en función de la evaluación de los componentes actitudinales. En esta línea, los resultados de este estudio constatan la importante influencia del contenido de los estereotipos sobre las intenciones de conducta de los adolescentes (Cuadrado et al., 2020, Estudio 1; Sierksman et al., 2018) y enfatizan el papel clave de los estereotipos de moralidad y su relación con las intenciones de los adolescentes de ayudar o dañar a los miembros de los grupos evaluados. Por tanto, para incrementar las intenciones de conductas de ayuda y disminuir las de daño, las acciones a realizar deberían ir

orientadas a mejorar la percepción de los adolescentes acerca de la moralidad de los grupos inmigrantes evaluados (Constantin y Cuadrado, 2020).

Los tres estudios realizados también han confirmado que la percepción de los adolescentes acerca de los inmigrantes no es uniforme, sino que el origen étnico juega un papel clave en este proceso. Por tanto, sería recomendable diseñar intervenciones específicas adaptando las acciones a realizar a las particularidades que presentan las relaciones intergrupales de los adolescentes con el grupo inmigrante diana.

Relacionado con la idea anterior, los resultados de los estudios experimentales indicaron que, para los adolescentes, una única interacción negativa imaginada con un inmigrante marroquí fue suficiente para generar intenciones de conductas de daño pasivo (p.e., ignorarlos, excluirlos, evitarlos) hacia miembros de este grupo (Estudio 2). Aún más, cuando la pareja de interacción se percibía como un marroquí típico, la interacción negativa imaginada modificaba la percepción de los adolescentes disminuyendo la sociabilidad percibida del grupo marroquí (Estudio 3).

Las conductas de exclusión interpersonal e intergrupales son comunes en la adolescencia (Mulvey et al., 2017), y sus consecuencias para los excluidos pueden ser muy negativas, especialmente si ocurren con frecuencia (Hitti et al., 2011). Por tanto, dada la fácil generalización de los efectos del contacto negativo sobre los estereotipos de sociabilidad, las emociones negativas y las conductas intergrupales de daño pasivo, las intervenciones deberían incluir acciones de prevención, seguimiento y reducción de interacciones intergrupales negativas entre adolescentes autóctonos y miembros de grupos étnicos devaluados.

Limitaciones y recomendaciones para futuras líneas de investigación

Los trabajos realizados también presentan algunas limitaciones que se deberían abordar y examinar con detenimiento en futuros trabajos de investigación.

Así, el diseño transversal del Estudio 1 y la naturaleza correlacional de los datos no permiten asegurar la direccionalidad y la causalidad en los procesos examinados. Por ello, sería recomendable comprobar dichos procesos mediante experimentos en los que se compruebe cómo la manipulación del contenido de los estereotipos influye sobre las emociones y las intenciones de conducta de los adolescentes, tal y como se ha realizado en adultos (Cuadrado et al., 2020; Estudio 3). Otra opción alternativa para poder comprobar la causalidad en los procesos examinados y su estabilidad en el tiempo sería realizar estudios con diseños longitudinales. Este tipo de diseños proporcionaría además información valiosa desde un punto de vista evolutivo. Concretamente, permitirían observar: (1) si las evaluaciones de las distintas dimensiones estereotípicas a nivel intergrupar durante la adolescencia permanecen estables o se modifican en el tiempo, (2) cómo dichas variaciones afectan a las emociones y a las intenciones de conducta de los adolescentes hacia distintos grupos inmigrantes a lo largo del tiempo.

Por otra parte, a pesar de operativizar las variables examinadas siguiendo fielmente su conceptualización original (Cuddy et al., 2007; Leach et al., 2007), en el Estudio 1 las escalas de medida de las emociones mixtas de envidia y compasión han presentado ciertos problemas de medición (p.e., ítems débilmente correlacionados), problemas que pueden haber contribuido a encontrar resultados inconsistentes con la literatura previa y las hipótesis de partida (p.e., falta de efecto de las emociones mixtas en los procesos examinados). Por tanto, el desarrollo y la validación de escalas de medida adecuadas para este tipo de variables en la etapa adolescente debe contemplarse en futuros trabajos.

Otro aspecto relacionado con el tipo de medidas utilizadas es su naturaleza explícita y su sensibilidad a la deseabilidad social. Por tanto, sería aconsejable realizar estudios en los que utilicen medidas implícitas de las variables examinadas.

Asimismo, teniendo en cuenta la etapa evolutiva en la que se ha enmarcado el presente trabajo, las contribuciones teóricas y las implicaciones prácticas se podrían ampliar y mejorar incluyendo en el estudio otras variables relevantes tanto desde un punto de vista evolutivo como psicosocial, como la identidad étnica. Desde de un punto de vista evolutivo, la adolescencia constituye una etapa clave en la que los adolescentes exploran el significado y las implicaciones que conlleva la pertenencia a su grupo étnico de origen. Aunque numerosos estudios (p.e., Phinney, Jacoby y Silva, 2007; Phinney y Ong, 2007) han examinado el desarrollo de la identidad étnica de niños y adolescentes de grupos minoritarios y su relación con las actitudes intergrupales, los estudios con adolescentes de grupos mayoritarios son más bien escasos (Grossman y Charmaraman, 2009; ver Phinney y Alipuria, 1990, para una excepción). Sin embargo, algunos trabajos han encontrado una relación significativa entre la identificación endogrupal y el prejuicio y la discriminación hacia los exogrupos en la etapa adolescente (Masson y Verkuyten, 1993; Tarrant et al., 2001) y, sobre todo, en la adultez (p.e., Hewstone, Rubin y Willis, 2002; Smith, Seger y Mackie, 2007). Por tanto, incluir en futuros trabajos la identidad étnica y explorar su relación con los componentes del MCE y del Bias Map (Estudio 1) permitirá averiguar qué papel desempeña esta variable en los procesos examinados.

Respecto a los Estudios 2 y 3, la tarea utilizada posibilitó a los participantes decidir libremente el contexto en el que imaginaban su experiencia de contacto (positiva o negativa) con el miembro del exogrupo evaluado. Sin embargo, el efecto de la valencia del contacto depende del grado de estructuración del contexto en el que ocurre. Así, en contextos estructurados (p.e., en el colegio) solo el contacto positivo se relaciona con las actitudes de los adolescentes hacia los inmigrantes, mientras en contextos no estructurados (p.e., barrio) solo el contacto negativo influye en sus

actitudes (Bekhuis et al., 2013). Por tanto, estudios futuros deberían tener en cuenta y controlar el efecto de este tipo de condiciones y su posible interacción con la valencia del contacto imaginado.

Finalmente, los estudios realizados también presentan algunas limitaciones que afectan a su validez externa. Así, los resultados no se pueden extrapolar a población adolescente, dado que los participantes se han seleccionado mediante muestreo por conveniencia. Igualmente, los resultados no se pueden generalizar a otros grupos inmigrantes diferentes a marroquíes y ecuatorianos en España. En consecuencia, para incrementar la validez externa, futuras investigaciones deberían utilizar muestras representativas de la población española adolescente y evaluar grupos inmigrantes representativos de los cuatro cuadrantes definidos por el MCE (p.e, chinos, rumanos). También sería interesante examinar estos procesos considerando las actitudes intergrupales de los grupos minoritarios hacia grupos mayoritarios y/o hacia otros grupos étnicos minoritarios, tal y como se ha realizado con población adulta (Cuadrado et al., 2016). Analizar la perspectiva de las minorías ayudaría a tener una imagen más completa acerca de la naturaleza de las relaciones interculturales durante la adolescencia.

En definitiva, aunque los estudios realizados tienen más bien un carácter exploratorio, sus resultados pueden servir a nivel práctico y como punto de partida de futuras líneas de investigación.

Main Conclusions

The main motivation of the present dissertation was to acquire a more comprehensive understanding of interethnic relationships during adolescence. For this purpose, two key research questions were posed: (1) What do Spanish adolescents believe and feel, and what behavioural intentions do they have towards Moroccan and

Ecuadorian immigrants? (2) What effect can have positive and negative interactions with members of these ethnic outgroups on the intergroup attitudes of autochthonous Spanish adolescents?

Regarding the first question, our findings have shown that adolescents' attitudes towards the evaluated immigrant groups presented similarities with the way these groups were perceived by the adults in the mainstream society; the Ecuadorians were perceived as more moral and sociable than the Moroccans. Relatedly, adolescents' evaluations support the specificity and the context-dependency of prejudiced attitudes as their evaluations depended on the ethnic origin of the immigrant group being rated.

More importantly, it was confirmed that, also during this developmental stage, morality has a more diagnostic role compared to sociability and competence, and that this dimension plays a key role in the underlying processes of adolescents' helping and harming intentions towards Moroccan and Ecuadorian immigrants. Therefore, it might be helpful to highlight immigrants' moral character to reduce ethnic prejudice and promote healthy and harmonious interethnic relations during adolescence.

Regarding the second question, the experimental studies have shown that negatively valenced, compared to positively valenced intergroup contact experiences, have a stronger effect on adolescents' attitudes only toward the devalued immigrant group, the Moroccans. Specifically, a single imagined negative interaction with a member of this group is sufficient to trigger adolescents' negative emotions and, consequently, their intentions of passive harm. Moreover, when the interaction partner was perceived as a typical Moroccan, the sole negative experience was able to impair adolescents' stereotypes regarding the sociability of the group as a whole. Thus, the results provide valuable information regarding the effect of negative contact on the three examined attitudinal components. These findings also evidence the underlying

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mechanism and the boundary conditions in which negative interactions generalize their negative effects on outgroup's image and impair adolescents' stereotypes. They also draw attention to the importance of monitoring the valence of adolescents' intergroup experiences, especially when they involve a member of a devalued group.

Finally, it is worth noting that, although the findings of the present dissertation cannot be considered as major breakthroughs, they address two psychosocial processes relevant in the context of intergroup relations, namely, social perception and intergroup contact, and provide insight on their interplay during a developmental stage of crucial importance for prejudice development as well as for prejudice reduction.

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ANEXO /APPENDIX

Anexo (Appendix)

Full instructions of the imagery task. Study 2

“As you have been informed, the task that you will have to do it helps us to design a new videogame in which we want to present situations and characters as close to reality as possible. Please read the following instructions and do the task accordingly. Remember that your participation is voluntary and anonymous, thus you cannot be identified.

Please imagine and describe a scenario in which you meet for the first time with Luis-Antonio/Ahmed [Blanca/Habiba] a Moroccan/Ecuadorian adolescent. Imagine that your encounter is pleasant/ unpleasant and that your interaction is positive and relaxed/negative and tense. Imagine and describe his/her way of being and how he/she behaves, how do you behave and what do you do during your encounter, what do you talk about.”

The reinforcement task was included in the main task. The instructions were:

“To help you in your description and to make your description as close to reality as possible you can also mention when and where your encounter took place or any other aspect of your encounter that you wish to mention. Remember that your encounter with [character name] is pleasant/ unpleasant and that your interaction is positive and relaxed/negative and tense.”