

WHAT'S PAST IS PROLOGUE:  
INTERGROUP EMOTIONS AND TRUST  
AS MEDIATING THE LINKS BETWEEN  
PRIOR INTERGROUP CONTACT  
AND FUTURE BEHAVIORAL TENDENCIES

BROCK C. ROZICH  
JARED B. KENWORTHY  
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

ALBERTO VOCI  
UNIVERSITY OF PADOVA

MILES HEWSTONE  
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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Building on and extending prior research demonstrating the role of both quality and quantity of intergroup contact in reducing negative attitudes toward outgroup members (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), the present study takes the novel approach of applying both contact theory and Intergroup Emotions Theory (IET; Mackie & Smith, 2002) to the study of prejudice reduction as a function of intergroup contact. We examined the mediating role of both intergroup emotions and trust in predicting both positive and negative behavioral tendencies toward the outgroup. In a study of intergroup contact between Catholics and Protestant students in Northern Ireland, outgroup contact (measured by the product of quality and quantity of contact) was directly associated with outgroup trust, outgroup emotions (increases in positive emotion and decreases in negative emotions), and outgroup behavioral tendencies (increases in positive behavioral tendencies and decreases in negative behavioral tendencies). Additionally, the relationship between contact and outgroup behavioral tendencies was mediated by general outgroup trust as well as by positive and negative outgroup emotions.

Key words: Intergroup contact; Intergroup emotions; Trust; Northern Ireland; Prejudice.

*Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Jared B. Kenworthy, Department of Psychology, University of Texas-Arlington, Box 19528, Arlington, TX 76019, USA. Email: kenworthy@uta.edu*

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Both theory and research have proposed and demonstrated the positive relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice reduction toward outgroup members (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000, 2006). Previous research analyzing the mediating effects of variables such as intergroup emotions, trust, perspective-taking, empathy, and anxiety, however, is relatively less common (cf., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). The present study represents a novel merging of intergroup contact theory and Intergroup Emotions Theory (see Mackie & Smith, 2002) in examining the processes that underlie the relationships between positive outgroup contact and behavioral tendencies toward the outgroup.

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## INTERGROUP CONTACT

There is a substantial body of evidence supporting the basic hypothesis that contact across group boundaries leads to a significant reduction in prejudice or negative intergroup attitudes (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). In a theoretical review and integration of contact theory, Brown and Hewstone (2005) reported that contact was demonstrated to have positive effects on factors such as outgroup attitudes, overall outgroup evaluation, willingness to interact with outgroup members, as well as other measures across a wide variety of intergroup relations. These include interactions between Hindus and Muslims, Catholics and Protestants, British and Japanese, Blacks and Whites, Italians and Northern African immigrants, to name just a few.

Positive contact can help overcome a variety of individual, contextual, and societal factors that might otherwise nudge outgroup attitudes in a more negative direction. For example, when confronted with an objective threat, such as an act of terror, intergroup contact can still prevail in attenuating negative attitudes toward maligned outgroups (see Abrams, Van de Vyer, Houston, & Vasiljevic, 2017). Germane to the present paper, positive contact has been associated with improved outgroup attitudes between Catholics and Protestants in the historically conflictual, sectarian context of Northern Ireland (see Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger, & Niens, 2006; Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci, 2004; Tausch, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns, & Christ, 2007; Tausch, Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns, 2007). For instance, in a study of contact between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, Hewstone et al. (2006) found that with increasing frequency of social contact with the outgroup, positive attitudes toward cross-community mixing, outgroup attitudes, perspective-taking, and trust all tended to increase as well.

Examining individual-level differences in Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; see Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006), Hodson (2008) showed that positive outgroup contact increased empathy and reduced ingroup-favoring attitudinal bias among high-SDO British prison inmates. Tausch, Hewstone, et al. (2007) found positive cross-group contact to weaken the perceptions of outgroup threats (both symbolic and realistic; see Stephan & Stephan, 2000) and anxiety. Reductions in perceived symbolic threats from the outgroup and outgroup anxiety were, in turn, strong predictors of improved outgroup attitudes (see also McLaren, 2003).

There are many other published examples of the general effects of positive outgroup contact on improved intergroup relations. Under the broad category of intergroup relations outcomes, there are such psychological responses as general attitudes, specific cognitions (e.g., stereotypes, trust, etc.), specific emotions (anger, disgust, etc.), behavioral tendencies (e.g., approach vs. avoid), and observed behaviors. In keeping with the theme of this special issue, we propose that there is a theoretical model that, in conjunction with contact theory, suggests the types of mediating processes that should underlie the link between positive outgroup contact experiences and one of these important intergroup outcomes: behavioral tendencies toward the outgroup. That theory is Intergroup Emotions Theory (IET; Mackie & Smith, 2002), and below we will present our conjunctive model of intergroup emotions and contact.

## INTERGROUP EMOTIONS THEORY

Group belongingness is one of the most vital needs for an individual to fulfill. From small cohesive groups, such as a team of coworkers, to large, loosely connected groups, such as one's political party, group membership serves a central role for an individual's identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In Intergroup

Emotions Theory (hereafter IET; Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000; Mackie & Smith, 2002; Smith, 1993), the approach to prejudice is that individual cognitions, emotions, and behaviors flow from, and are in many senses isomorphic with, those of the groups with which individuals identify. It also proposes that these cognitions (or appraisals), emotions, and behavioral tendencies can manifest in a wide variety of ways but that they should have consistent relationships. The theory thus distinguishes between collective intergroup appraisals, emotions (which are felt on behalf of individuals' subjectively important social categories), and specific behavioral tendencies.

Proponents of IET claim that because certain group memberships are vital pieces of our individual self-definitions (see Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), the cognitions/appraisals of events that bear on the group and its fate will tend to produce collectively felt emotions. These should subsequently predict specific behavioral tendencies and responses. Mackie and Smith (2002; see also Mackie et al., 2000; Maitner, Mackie, & Smith, 2006; Miller, Smith, & Mackie, 2004) have reported findings that are broadly consistent with the proposal that specific ingroup-based emotions can predict both outgroup attitudes as well as specific, theoretically-derived behavioral tendencies. In an examination of the relationship between contact and outgroup prejudice that is relevant to our present study, Miller et al. (2004) found that positive outgroup emotions significantly mediated the relationship between increased contact and prejudice reduction. Additionally, negative outgroup emotions significantly mediated the relationship between lower levels of outgroup contact and increased levels of prejudice toward outgroup members (Miller et al., 2004).

It is important to note that, according to this theory and its various empirical tests (see also Voci, 2006), positive and negative intergroup outcomes should not be seen as mutually exclusive. They are not part of a zero-sum equation. Indeed, positive and negative cognitions, emotions, and behavioral responses can co-occur. The theory only proposes that each of the behavioral outcomes has its own respective emotional predictors, which in turn has its own specific antecedents. For example, a sports fan may feel euphoria based on the success of their favorite club in an important match, temporarily reducing hostile behavioral tendencies toward supporters of the opposing side. This same fan may at the same time feel some sense of collective guilt if cheating was involved or if the team benefitted from a clearly unfair call by officials, perhaps leading to an increased desire to talk about clear instances of the team's superior skill during the match. Likewise, a voter may feel dejection following the loss of her preferred candidate in a national election, leading to behavioral withdrawal from political discussions and activities. She may, at the same time, feel hopeful about future elections if the race was a close one, leading to a desire to work harder for a better outcome in the next election.

We propose that, based on IET and contact research, group-level emotions felt toward outgroup members will mediate the relationship between outgroup contact and behavioral tendencies toward outgroup members. Specifically, positive emotions should strongly predict positive behavioral tendencies but not negative tendencies. Negative emotions should predict negative behavioral tendencies but not positive tendencies. In addition to intergroup emotions, we also include another important consequence of positive outgroup contact in our model — outgroup trust.

#### INTERGROUP TRUST

Recent research programs testing corollaries of the basic contact hypothesis (see Kenworthy et al., 2016; McKeown & Psaltis, 2017; Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns, 2009) have found that one of the key mediating links between contact and improved intergroup relations (e.g., attitudes, behavioral tendencies) is changes in perceived trust toward the outgroup.

Many aspects of social life can be described as instances of social exchange (Cook, 1991; Kelley & Thibaut, 1978). Social exchange, more often than being explicitly negotiated, takes on the form of a reciprocal exchange (Molm, 1988) whereby a person acts positively towards another person without knowing whether that other person will later reciprocate. Trust has been described as a prosocial facilitator, meaning that extending or perceiving trust is a (psychological) means of surmounting social uncertainty in interactions by making benign assumptions about other actors' intentions and behaviors (Kollock, 1994; see also Tam et al., 2009). Similarly, trust has also been defined, broadly, as a positive "bias in the processing of imperfect information" (Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994, p. 136). Indeed, some studies have shown that trust can develop as a means of reducing uncertainty (e.g., Kollock, 1994; Molm, Takahashi, & Peterson, 2000) and that it is also associated with the development of affective bonds from repeated experiences with successful exchanges between the same partners (Lawler & Yoon 1996).

For instance, perceived group victimization seems to influence trust toward outgroup members. In a study by Rotella, Richeson, Chiao, and Bean (2013), when Jewish individuals in a majority Christian community felt stigmatized as a result of their group identity, they were significantly more likely to display ingroup trust behaviors (measured as ingroup-favoring trust behaviors in an economic investment game), compared to majority members. By contrast, Turner, West, and Christie (2013) asked British high school and university students to imagine having contact with maligned outgroup members, such as political asylum seekers or gays. Whereas imagined contact significantly predicted a greater likelihood of intended interactions with outgroup members, intergroup trust toward these groups acted as a mediating process in that relationship. In a meta-analysis of 20 studies examining intergroup interactions, Balliet and Van Lange (2013) found trust to be significantly associated with intergroup cooperation. This association was more pronounced in situations where conflict levels between parties was high, compared to when conflict was low.

In an examination of contact between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, as well as between Protestant and Catholic Northern Irish (McKeown & Psaltis, 2017), intergroup trust mediated the relationship between high quality of contact and increased outgroup interaction intentions. Schmid, Al Ramiah, and Hewstone (2014) found that high levels of contact between white and nonwhite British individuals predicted higher levels of trust for both white and nonwhite participants.

Recent research has also demonstrated the mediating effect of intergroup trust on the relationship between cross-group close friendship and both outgroup attitudes and behavioral tendencies. Focusing on close friendships between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, Kenworthy et al. (2016) showed via a confirmatory factor analysis that intergroup trust and intergroup emotions were conceptually distinct constructs. Intergroup trust significantly mediated the relationship between cross-group friendship and positive behavioral tendencies, avoidant negative tendencies, and confrontational negative tendencies. In parallel, intergroup emotions mediated the relationship between cross-group friendship and both behavioral tendencies and outgroup attitudes. The present study extends and builds on these findings by testing the mediating effects of intergroup emotions and trust on the relationship between general contact (not the more specific form of cross-group close friendship) and behavioral tendencies.

In general, such findings are directly relevant to our examination of trust as a mediator between contact and future behavioral intentions toward outgroup members. In fact, our model of contact, intergroup emotions, and intergroup behavioral tendencies rests on the assertion that it is essential to understand trust in any examination of intergroup behavior, because unlike mere attitudes, trust implies a willingness to positively engage in behavior, whereas the lack of trust implies an active avoidance of behavioral engagement (see Tropp, Stout, Boatswain, Wright, & Pettigrew, 2006). One of our key predictions is that, because of its link to behavior, trust should act as a mediator in parallel with intergroup emotions.

We have noted here that trust has been identified as central to intergroup conflict and conflict resolution (Bar-Tal, 2000; Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002; Kenworthy et al., 2016). The present research examines trust in a context of intergroup conflict. Although trust has been previously examined in some intergroup contexts (Brewer, 1999, 2000; Huo, Smith, Tyler, & Lind, 1996; Insko, Schopler, Hoyle, Dardis, & Graetz, 1990; Moy & Ng, 1996; Tropp et al., 2006; Yuki, Maddux, Brewer, & Takemura, 2005), there remain in the literature relatively few examinations of trust and distrust in contexts of real intergroup conflict, in which real-world outcomes are at stake. One of our goals in the present paper, therefore, is to explore trust, alongside intergroup emotions, as a key mediating process predicting behavioral intentions toward outgroups.

#### THE CONFLICT SETTING: NORTHERN IRELAND

Northern Ireland is a society that has experienced decades of sectarian violence. “The Troubles” began in 1969, and since then over 3,600 people have been killed, and over half of the population knows someone who has been injured or killed in the sectarian violence (see Smyth & Hamilton, 2003). The sectarian ideological divide is between those (mostly Protestants) who believe that the country should remain as a part of the United Kingdom and those (mostly Catholic) who want it to become part of a unified Republic of Ireland. Although most of the sectarian violence has subsided or disappeared, there still remain areas of residence, shops, political parties, schools, sports teams, and first and last names that can be easily identified as being either Catholic or Protestant (Hargie & Dickson, 2003), leaving reminders of the violence that has affected a large proportion of the population.

There have been some positive changes to the political and social life of Northern Ireland in recent years. For example, there was the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, which led to cross-community power sharing in the Northern Irish government. The Ulster Volunteer Force, responsible for more than 500 killings during “The Troubles,” has renounced violence; it has put its arms beyond reach and no longer exists as a terrorist organization (Kearney, 2007). The Irish Republican Army (IRA) also decommissioned its weaponry in 2005 and publicly announced an end to their violent struggle. However, despite many important societal changes, the conflict still infuses everyday life in Northern Ireland. Even though there are efforts to resolve an array of social and economic disparities between the Protestant and Catholic communities (e.g., employment, education, and housing), sectarian divisions are still present, highly symbolic, and psychologically real.

#### OVERVIEW OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study seeks to examine a real-world application of intergroup contact by measuring the effects of general social contact between Catholic and Protestant students in Northern Ireland (students are especially interesting to study in Northern Ireland, because many of them mix with outgroup members for the first time at this age). In conjunction, we seek to test the mediating roles of outgroup trust and variables derived from IET in predicting both positive and negative behavioral tendencies toward outgroup members. Whereas prior research has examined the effects of intergroup trust and intergroup emotions independently in the relationship between contact and outgroup attitudes, there is no known literature that examines the mediating influence of these factors within the same model (cf., Kenworthy et al., 2016, who examined a similar model specifically with cross-group close friendships).

We anticipate that outgroup contact (measures described below) will be positively associated with increasing positive intergroup emotions, with decreasing negative intergroup emotions, and with increased outgroup trust. Additionally, we hypothesize that trust and intergroup emotions will predict corresponding behavioral tendencies. Specifically, we expect outgroup trust and positive emotions to be associated with positive behavioral tendencies, and negative emotions to be associated with negative behavioral tendencies.

## METHOD

### Participants

In this study, we recruited a cross-section of a desegregated undergraduate population. One hundred ninety university students in Northern Ireland agreed to complete the survey. We excluded ten participants who reported not being from the country, leaving a final sample of 180 participants (83 Protestant: 50 female, 33 male, mean age = 22.14 years,  $SD = 3.94$ ; 97 Catholic: 53 female, 41 male, three did not respond, mean age = 21.8 years,  $SD = 4.07$ ).

### Measures

*Predictor variable.* The predictor variable measured in this study was a composite index, computed as the product of (a) quality of contact with the outgroup and (b) quantity of contact with the outgroup. Quality of contact was measured with two items preceded by, “When you meet members of the other community<sup>1</sup>, in general do you find the contact . . .”. The two quality items, assessed on 5-point scales (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very much*), were “pleasant,” and “cooperative” (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .96$ ). Quantity of contact was assessed with a single item (4-point scale: 1 = *never*; 4 = *very frequently*): “How frequently do you have contact with members of the other community?”. Prior to multiplication, the quantity scores were re-coded so that 0 corresponded to no contact and 3 to highly frequent contact; quality scores were also re-coded, so that  $-2$  indicated negative contact and  $+2$  positive contact. Thus, the composite index ranged from  $-6$ , indicating a high amount of negative contact, to  $+6$ , indicating a high amount of positive contact. The midpoint 0 may indicate either the absence of contact or the presence of a neutrally valenced contact.

*Mediators: Intergroup emotions and trust.* Based on IET, we asked questions measuring the degree (from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *very much*) to which participants felt a series of emotions when thinking about the other community. Positive emotions ( $\alpha = .85$ ) included “cheerful,” and “happy,” whereas negative emotions included “angry,” “contempt,” “irritated,” “disgusted,” “nervous,” “anxious,” “fearful,” “worried” ( $\alpha = .91$ )<sup>2</sup>.

In addition to the negative and positive emotions, we also measured general trust toward the outgroup. This was assessed using an adaption (for the Northern Ireland intergroup context) of Brehm and Rahn’s (1997) 3-item trust scale. These 5-point items are: “Do you think most people from the other community would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair?” (1 = *definitely take advantage*, 5 = *definitely try to be fair*), “Would you say that most of the time people from the other community try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?” (1 = *definitely try to be helpful*, 5 = *definitely out for themselves*), and “Generally speaking, would you say that most people from the other community can be trusted or that you can’t be too careful with them?” (1 = *definitely can be trusted*, 5 = *definitely can’t be too careful*). After reversal of second and third items, these three items were averaged to form an index of general outgroup trust ( $\alpha = .72$ ).



*Dependent variables: Behavioral tendencies.* Based on IET, we asked questions measuring the degree (from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *very much*) to which participants desired to engage in certain intergroup behaviors. Specifically, the items were prefaced with: “In general, when thinking of the other community, I want to . . .,” followed by items (in randomized order) measuring negative behavioral tendencies (“oppose them,” “confront them,” “argue with them,” “avoid them,” “keep them at a distance,” “have nothing to do with them”;  $\alpha = .84$ ) and positive behavioral tendencies (“talk to them,” “find out more about them,” and “spend time with them”;  $\alpha = .88$ ).

## RESULTS

Correlations among the variables measured in this study, as well as their means and standard deviations, can be found in Table 1. To examine the relationships among the measured variables, we employed a structural equation modeling (SEM) approach (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1996). To assess the overall model fit, we used the chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) test, the root mean square of approximation (RMSEA), the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), the normed fit index (NFI), and the comparative fit index (CFI). A satisfactory fit is generally indicated by a nonsignificant  $\chi^2$  (although significant values are acceptable when the sample size is large), a  $\chi^2/df$  ratio  $\leq 3$ , a CFI  $\geq .95$ , a NFI  $\geq .90$ , a RMSEA  $\leq .06$ , and a SRMR  $\leq .08$  (see Hu & Bentler, 1999). We analyzed a proposed structural model which considers the association between quality and quantity of intergroup contact on positive and negative behavioral tendencies via the mediation of positive and negative intergroup emotions and general outgroup trust. As part of the mediational structure, we predicted that trust would be associated with increased positive behavioral tendencies and with decreased negative behavioral tendencies. We expected positive and negative emotions to be related only to positive and negative behavioral tendencies, respectively.

TABLE 1  
Means, standard deviations, and correlations between predictor, mediator, and criterion variables

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. Contact	2.18	2.44	—				
2. Trust	3.35	0.70	.42***	—			
3. Positive emotions	2.79	0.94	.16*	.39***	—		
4. Negative emotions	2.15	0.83	-.31***	-.34***	-.03	—	
5. Positive behavioral tendencies	3.44	0.95	.37***	.43***	.53***	-.16*	—
6. Negative behavioral tendencies	1.90	0.77	-.33***	-.42***	-.11	.74***	-.26***

Note. *N* = 180. Contact ranges from -6 to +6, all other measures from 1 to 5.

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

First, we tested a model in which all the paths between the considered constructs were estimated, including the relations between contact and behavioral tendencies. The fit of this model was good, indicating that our measurement model was adequate:  $\chi^2(30) = 35.42$ ,  $p = .23$ ; RMSEA = .027; SRMR = .028; NFI = .97; CFI = 1.00. As reported in the left part of Table 2, the indirect effects of contact on behavioral

tendencies were both significant, showing the presence of mediated processes. With the aim of testing more directly the mediation hypothesis, we ran a second model in which the direct paths from contact to outcome variables were excluded *a priori*, thus leaving in the model the mediated relations only. As the fit of this second model was satisfactory —  $\chi^2(32) = 40.88$ ,  $p = .095$ ,  $\chi^2/df$  ratio = 1.28; RMSEA = .038; SRMR = .033; NFI = .96; CFI = .99 — we can conclude that contact was associated with behavioral tendencies through the mediation of trust, positive emotions, and negative emotions (see Figure 1 and the right half of Table 2). Specifically, positive emotions mediated the relation between contact and positive behavioral tendencies, negative emotions mediated the relation between contact and negative behavioral tendencies, while trust was a more general mediator, being involved in the link between contact and both criterion variables. Table 2 contains the direct and indirect effects of the main predictors and mediators for tested models.

TABLE 2  
Direct and indirect effects

Predictor	Criterion	Effects in the model with mediated and direct paths		Effects in the mediated model	
		Direct	Indirect	Direct	Indirect
Contact	Trust	.49 ***	—	.51 ***	—
	Positive emotions	.17 *	—	.19 *	—
	Negative emotions	-.32 ***	—	-.31 ***	—
	Positive behavioral tendencies	.20 **	.20 **	—	.28 ***
	Negative behavioral tendencies	.03	-.38 ***	—	-.37 ***
Trust	Positive behavioral tendencies	.22 (*)	—	.37 ***	—
	Negative behavioral tendencies	-.34 ***	—	-.32 ***	—
Positive emotions	Positive behavioral tendencies	.47 ***	—	.43 ***	—
	Negative behavioral tendencies	.06	—	.05	—
Negative emotions	Positive behavioral tendencies	-.03	—	-.03	—
	Negative behavioral tendencies	.68 ***	—	.68 ***	—

Note. \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ . (\*) $p < .06$ .

## DISCUSSION

Our hypotheses regarding outgroup contact being associated with intergroup emotions and outgroup trust were supported. As outgroup contact increased, trust toward outgroup members increased. Additionally, higher levels of contact were associated with both more positive emotions toward outgroup members as well as less negative emotions. Concerning our mediation model, the specific predictive value of positive and negative emotions for positive and negative behavioral tendencies, respectively, were supported. Specifically, positive emotions predicted positive behavioral tendencies but not negative behavioral tendencies, whereas negative emotions predicted negative behavioral tendencies but not positive behavioral tendencies. General outgroup trust was strongly associated with outgroup contact and predicted both increased positive behavioral tendencies as well as decreased negative behavioral tendencies.



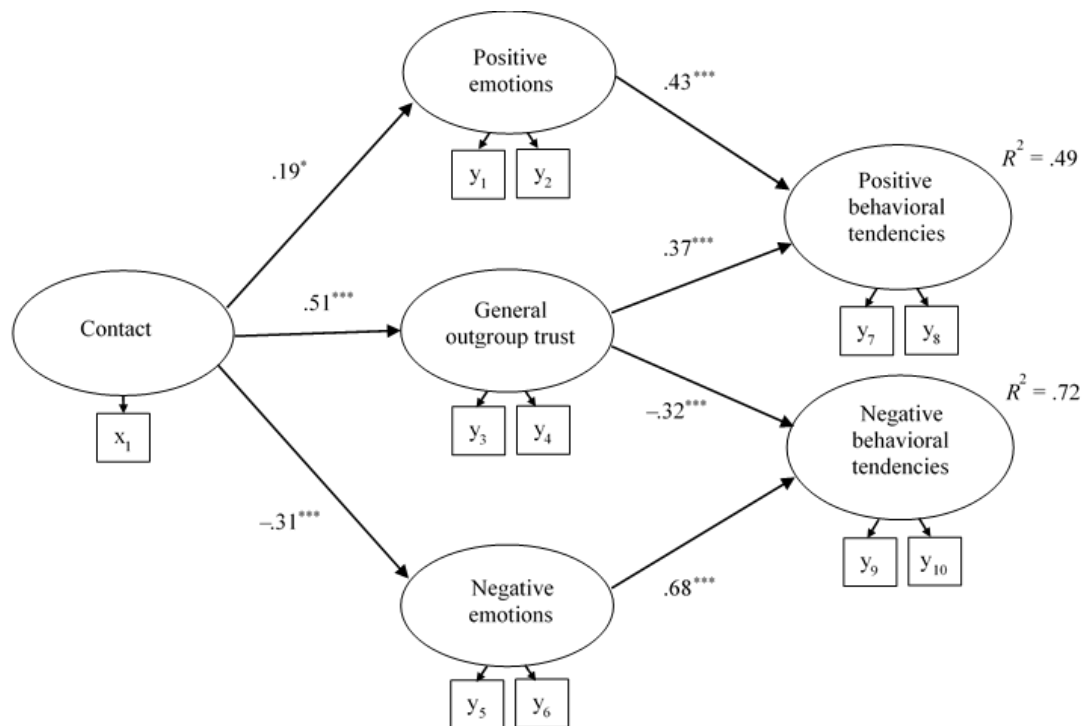


FIGURE 1  
The effect of quality  $\times$  quantity of contact on positive and negative behavioral tendencies,  
via intergroup emotions and general outgroup trust ( $N = 180$ ).  
\*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

These novel findings support predictions derived from IET (Mackie & Smith, 2002; Smith, 1993), and do so in the context of real post-conflict society, where there remains some residue of the earlier conflict. They parallel the group-based emotion findings of Miller et al. (2004) in that we did not find a strong empirical distinction between negative emotions such as fear, anger, and disgust. Instead, all negative emotions tended to be highly intercorrelated, and conjunctively predicted negative behavioral orientations.

The findings of this study also suggest an especially strong role for outgroup trust in the prediction of intergroup behavioral tendencies. Specifically, outgroup contact predicted general trust toward the outgroup, which was measured as the degree to which the outgroup community would be fair, helpful, and trustworthy. In turn, judgments of trust predicted both forms of behavioral orientation — positive and negative.

#### PROSPECTUS AND CONCLUSIONS

Although the current findings, along with other published studies in this vein (e.g., Kenworthy et al., 2016; McKeown & Psaltis, 2017; Schmid et al., 2014), add to the argument that intergroup contact can have beneficial psychological and behavioral outcomes, we feel that it is important for future researchers to address a number of crucial avenues. First, theoretical developments should seek to specify the conditions under which different types of contact (e.g., direct, indirect, friendship) are most likely to yield lasting trust and positive intergroup emotions.

Second, acknowledging the cross-sectional nature of the present study, we argue that much more research is needed to examine and understand the longitudinal effects of intergroup contact on trust, emotions, and behavioral tendencies. Third, methodologies utilizing social network analysis techniques (e.g., Wölfer, Schmid, Hewstone, & Van Zalk, 2016) should be more broadly applied to intergroup contact work. This has the advantage of allowing participants in social networks to report on the observed behavior of their peers, circumventing some of the problems with self-report data.

Finally, because of the asymmetrical weight that positive versus negative stimuli and experiences can have on individuals (see Kenworthy & Tausch, 2008; Roese & Olson, 2007; Rozin & Royzman, 2001; Skowronski & Carlston, 1989), it may be fruitful to identify the situations and contexts in which negative contact experiences are most likely and to attempt to mitigate against those. Keeping in mind that part of this paper's title ("What's Past is Prologue") comes from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, in which two characters are discussing violence for political gain, we would do well to remember that although prior positive contact can engender trust and positive emotions, the correlations also reveal the converse, namely, that negative contact experiences can engender future mistrust, anxiety, fear, and anger, as well as their corresponding behavioral consequences. Our hope is that future research might continue to suggest when and how intergroup contact can act as a mechanism that precludes a society's violent past becoming prologue.

#### NOTES

1. The terms "my community" and "the other community" are neutral, but unambiguous references to participants' religious (viz., Catholic or Protestant) ingroup and outgroup, respectively.
2. An exploratory factor analysis revealed that the negative items loaded onto two distinct, but highly correlated factors, precluding their separate representation in a structural equation model. Thus, we collapsed the negative emotions into a single factor, consistent with Miller et al. (2004).

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