

Constructing intergroup relationships in social communication

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Abstract: People communicate with each other about their ingroup and outgroup in a social context. These social communications may have profound effects in constructing intergroup relationships. In this paper, we outline how different combinations of the social identities of the sender, receiver, and target of the social communication may give rise to differing face concerns of the ingroup and outgroup, and may result in different patterns of communications about them. People may enhance or protect their ingroup social identity, and derogate the outgroup social identity to their ingroup audiences; however, they are more likely to enhance and protect their outgroup's social identity when communicating with outgroup audiences. Two studies tested these predictions. Study 1 used real groups of Australian and Asian students communicating about an Asian student in an Australian university context. In Study 2, participants assigned to two fictitious groups communicated about their ingroup and outgroup. In both studies, the findings were interpreted within the framework of intergroup communication, although there were some notable deviations from the predictions. Future directions of the research were also discussed.

Key words: intergroup relationship, stereotypes, social communication, politeness, social identity.

Our everyday social actions constitute our society. It is trivially true that humans – our thoughts, feelings, and behaviors directed to others, and theirs to us, in interaction with one another in a social context – are responsible for the overall functioning of society. Yet, how social reality is constructed in a large-scale collective and how we conceptualize it have been enduring questions for social psychology. To name a few of our forefathers, Mead (1934), Berger and Luckmann (1971), and others (more recently, Searle, 1969) were centrally concerned about this question. In this vein, several lines of research have emerged recently that aim to elucidate the process of constituting social

realities, particularly, intergroup relationships (for reviews see Kashima, Fiedler, & Freytag, in press; Kashima, Klein, & Clark, 2007).

These studies generally show that when people communicate about an outgroup in writing or in conversation, they tend to emphasize information that is consistent with the outgroup stereotype (stereotype consistent (SC) information) more than information that is inconsistent (stereotype inconsistent (SI) information). Janet Ruscher and colleagues' pioneering work showed this in dyadic conversation (e.g., Ruscher & Duval, 1998; Ruscher & Hammer, 1994; Ruscher, Hammer, & Hammer, 1996; for a review see Ruscher, 1998; also see

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Harasty, 1997); Kashima and colleagues (e.g., Kashima, 2000; Lyons & Kashima, 2001, 2003, 2006; also see Karasawa & Suga, in press) demonstrated this in Bartlett's (1932) serial reproduction paradigm, where SC and SI information was transmitted from one person to another in a communication chain. These findings appear to suggest that people's communications about their outgroup tend to reproduce the stereotypes that they already hold, perhaps contributing to the persistence of the social reality that they are accustomed to.

Nevertheless, such social communications are not simple information transmission, but are more appropriately construed as social actions. Namely, they are speech acts, which people perform *in* saying what they say (e.g., Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). To construe social communications as social actions is to emphasize their performances in a social context, examining the effect of social context on social communication, and to consider their social implications, exploring a potentially constitutive role that they may play in society. To be sure, discourse researchers, such as van Dijk (1984, 1986, 1993), and discursive psychologists, such as Wetherell and Potter (1992), made these points long ago. However, what they often de-emphasized in so doing is the interpenetration between cognition and communication, that is, the effect of cognition on stereotype communication, and vice versa. For instance, it is well known that people describe their ingroup's positive action more abstractly than its negative action, and describe their outgroup's negative action more abstractly than its positive action (e.g., Maass, Milesi, Zabbini, & Stahlberg, 1995). More recent research has shown that this is mainly because of their stereotypical expectations that their ingroup members are more likely to perform positive actions than outgroup members, and vice versa (e.g., Wigboldus, Semin, & Spears, 2000), pointing to the role of cognition in communication. In turn, communication can affect subsequent cognition. Higgins and Rholes (1978) showed that people communicated about an ambivalent target person in a positive (or negative) light to an audience who was said to have liked

(or disliked) the target, thus, tuning to the audience's attitude towards the target. However, this attitude tuning biased their subsequent recall of the target information, especially after a delay. Dubbed the saying is believing (SIB) effect, it suggests that the communication affected the cognition (see also Echterhoff, Higgins, & Groll, 2005).

Furthermore, in the current globalizing world, citizens are required to make significant, even history-defining, decisions about their own group and other groups with whom they have had no direct contact. Consider the case of deciding or not to support one's government's policy to send troops to a far away country. How would people gain information about this outgroup? In what context might they hear about this outgroup and from whom? Surely, news media would be one source; however, more often than not, such information comes to them through interpersonal communication (e.g., Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955). To the extent that the interpersonal communication and discussion about social groups contribute to people's decisions about how to relate to those groups, the question of how people communicate their ingroup and outgroup images to ingroup and outgroup others may play a significant role in the construction of intergroup relationships.

In the present paper, we investigate how social context affects communication and cognition, thereby illuminating potentially constitutive effects of stereotype communication in intergroup relationships. In particular, we examine the effect of social identity (e.g., Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1987), or group membership, of a communicator and an audience in stereotype communication. Imagine a context in which a communicator (sender) is talking about a target person to an audience (receiver), where the three individuals (i.e., sender, receiver, and target) belong to social groups. To simplify the situation, suppose that there are two groups, A and B, to which the sender, receiver, and target belong. This creates eight possible combinations, which can be classified into four general types (Table 1; see Freytag, in press

Table 1. Social context by combinations of sender, receiver, and target social identities

No.	Sender	Receiver	Target	Type	Context
1	A	A	A	I	Intragroup or intergroup
2	A	A	B	II	Intergroup
3	A	B	A	III	Intergroup
4	A	B	B	IV	Intergroup
5	B	A	A	IV	Intergroup
6	B	A	B	III	Intergroup
7	B	B	A	II	Intergroup
8	B	B	B	I	Intragroup or intergroup

for a similar taxonomy). Depending on the combination of group memberships, different types of social contexts are likely to emerge, emphasizing different types of social concerns, making it likely for people to adopt different strategies for communicating stereotype relevant information. We first consider a variety of patterns of intergroup communication, and then hypothesize which social context is likely to result in which pattern.

Communication strategies

Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory provides a starting point for theorizing communication strategies for stereotype relevant information. According to them, there is a universal concern for politeness in any communication, which is understood to involve both the protection and enhancement of one's own and the interaction partner's faces. In the context of intergroup communication, their notion of face is very closely aligned with the senders' and receivers' social identities. Note that there are altogether four general goals. Namely, senders may try to enhance or protect their ingroup face or enhance or protect the receivers' social identity. However, each of these goals can be accomplished by including or withholding positive or negative information about an ingroup or an outgroup. Table 2 summarizes eight possible strategies.

First of all, senders can enhance their ingroup's face by a direct or relative strategy. The direct ingroup enhancement strategy would be to

Table 2. Intergroup communication strategies

	Ingroup Face	Outgroup Face
Enhancement		
Direct	Include IG+ (IEh)	Include OG+ (OEh)
Relative	Include OG- (OD-)	Include IG- (IEf-)
Protection		
Direct	Withhold IG- (IP)	Withhold OG- (OP)
Relative	Withhold OG+ (OD+)	Withhold IG+ (IEf+)

IG+, ingroup positive information; IG-, ingroup negative information; OG+, outgroup positive information; OG-, outgroup negative information; IEh, ingroup enhancement; OEh, outgroup enhancement; OD+, outgroup derogation by omitting positives; IEf+, ingroup effacement by omitting positives; IP, ingroup protection; OP, outgroup protection; OD-, outgroup derogation by including negatives; IEf-, ingroup effacement by including negatives.

include positive information about the ingroup; by playing up positives about one's ingroup, one can surely enhance one's ingroup social identity. We call this simply an ingroup enhancement (IEh). Alternatively, the same ingroup enhancement goal can be achieved by adopting a relative strategy, that is, by including the outgroup's negative information. By playing up a relevant outgroup's negative aspects, one could enhance one's ingroup identity *relative to* the outgroup. We call this an outgroup derogation by including negatives (OD-). Second, senders can protect their ingroup identity directly by withholding negative

Table 3. Summary of the predictions and results of Study 1 and Study 2

Type	Prediction	Study 1	Study 2	
			Group A	Group B
I	No bias or IEh/IP	No bias	Little bias (IEh/IP)	IEh/IP
II	OD+/OD-	OD+ and OD-	Little bias (OEh/OP)	OD+/OD-
III	IEh/IP or IEf+/IEf-	IP	IEh/IP	IEf+/IEf-
IV	OEh/OP	OEh and OP	Little bias (OEh/OP)	OEh/OP

X/Y means strategy X or Y is used; IEh, ingroup enhancement; IP, ingroup protection; OD+, outgroup derogation by withholding positives; OD-, outgroup derogation by including negatives; OEh, outgroup enhancement; OP, outgroup protection; IEf+, ingroup effacement by withholding positives; IEf-, ingroup effacement by including negatives.

information about their ingroup (ingroup protection (IP)) or relatively by not saying how good the outgroup is, that is, by withholding positive information about the outgroup. We call this an outgroup derogation by withholding positives (OD+).

Turning to outgroup face enhancement and protection, senders can enhance an outgroup's identity directly by including positive information about the outgroup (outgroup enhancement (OEh)) or relatively by including negative information about their ingroup (ingroup effacement by including negatives (IEf-)). Finally, senders can protect an outgroup's identity directly by withholding negative information about the outgroup (outgroup protection (OP)) or relatively by withholding their ingroup's positive information (ingroup effacement by omitting positives (IEf+)). It is important to note, however, in intergroup communication contexts, the enhancement and protection of ingroup face cannot be pursued at the expense of threatening outgroup faces, or vice versa. These considerations will have to wait until a more detailed consideration is given to the social contexts later.

Social context of communication

The social identities of the sender, receiver, and target may in combination determine the meaning of the social context of communication (Table 2). When the sender, receiver, and target all belong to the same group (Type I), self-categorization theory (SCT; Turner, 1987)

suggests that the senders are unlikely to regard themselves as members of the group because there is no contextual cue for an intergroup differentiation. This is typically the context where people gossip about their ingroup others. However, in all other cases, there exists an intergroup context where the sender's social identity is likely to be salient and, therefore, the sender is likely to categorize him or herself into one's ingroup category in contradistinction with the outgroup category. Even in a Type I context, factors other than the immediate sender, receiver, and target identities may make the context intergroup, rather than intragroup. Self-categorization theory suggests that this should depersonalize the sender, resulting in his or her adoption of the ingroup norm as his or her own *modus operandi*.

In these intergroup contexts, which communication strategy might be used? Each type of context requires separate consideration. Table 3 summarizes the predictions. In Type I, if it is construed to be an intergroup context, there is no need to protect or enhance the outgroup face, but the need to protect or enhance the ingroup face is clearly present. As a result, communication about the ingroup is likely to include positive information (IEh) and to withhold negative information (IP).

Type II is the context in which the sender and the receiver, who belong to the same group, are talking about an outgroup member. In this case, there is little need to protect or enhance the outgroup face, and it is only necessary to enhance or protect the senders'

ingroup identity. This should make it more likely for the senders to include negative information (OD-) and to withhold positive information about the outgroup (OD+).

In a Type III context where senders are talking about their ingroup to an outgroup audience, both the ingroup and outgroup identities need to be enhanced and protected. In this case, a stronger concern about the ingroup face would increase positive information (IEh) and decrease negative information (IP) about the ingroup, whereas a stronger concern about the outgroup face would have an opposite effect (ingroup effacement by commission, IEf-, or by omission, IEf+). Clearly, a number of contextual variables may tip the balance one way or the other. For instance, if a communicator is on a mission to improve the image of his or her ingroup in the eye of the audience, the ingroup face would prevail over the outgroup face. There may be a need to enhance and protect one's ingroup social identity (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Finally, Type IV involves the case where senders are talking about an outgroup to a member of that outgroup. Again, both the ingroup and outgroup faces need to be worked on. However, under this circumstance, the attention may be more likely to be on the outgroup face than on the ingroup face because the sender is communicating about the outgroup. A greater concern about the outgroup face would increase positive information (OEh) and decrease negative information (OP) in the message about the outgroup.

Thus, depending on the type of social context, different information may be included in, or withheld from, communication. We report two studies that examine the theoretical considerations outlined above. In both studies, we manipulated the sender, audience, and target social identities systematically to examine the type of information that is likely to be communicated.

STUDY 1

In Study 1, we examined stereotype communication in an intergroup context using real stereotypes. In particular, European Australian

and Asian international students were asked to communicate about a fictitious Asian student who exhibited behaviors that are consistent or inconsistent with the Asian student stereotypes shared by both Australian and Asian students in Australia.

Method

Pilot studies

Two pilot studies were conducted to find out the content of the stereotypes of Asian international students, and to construct stimulus materials for the main study. In pilot study 1, 30 undergraduate students (14 local Australian and 16 Asian international students) were asked to list the characteristics that they believed were typically associated with Asian international students. Of the 34 characteristics identified, 24 mentioned by three or more participants were used to generate 28 behavioral instances, half of which were consistent and the other half of which were inconsistent with these characteristics. These and several neutral behaviors were presented to a different group of 31 students (15 local Australian and 16 Asian international students) who rated the typicality and desirability of these behavioral instances on 7-point scales (1 = extremely atypical to 7 = extremely typical of Asian international students; 1 = extremely negative to 7 = extremely positive). Instances rated differently by Asian international and local Australian students were removed, and those instances with mean ratings of less than 3.5 or greater than 4.5 on typicality and desirability were selected, so that there were four instances each of stereotype consistent positive (SC+ e.g., "When Yin saw her Australian classmates, she greeted them with a nod and a smile."), stereotype consistent negative (SC-; e.g., "Yin's economics tutor said she did not participate in the class discussion."), stereotype inconsistent positive (SI+ e.g., "Yin is helping to organize a rally against a plan to raise University tuition fees.") and stereotype inconsistent negative (SI-; e.g., "When Yin was working on a group project, she declared that all the others' ideas were pretty useless.") behaviors. Four more neutral

behavioral instances (i.e., neither stereotype relevant nor valenced; e.g., Yin skipped her economics class because she thought the class was boring.") were added. Twenty behavioral instances were used for the main study.

Participants

Sixty-eight first year psychology students at The University of Melbourne (35 local Australian students and 33 Asian international students) participated in this study as part of their course requirement. Asian international students were from six countries: Malaysia (4), Indonesia (7), Singapore (13), People's Republic of China (4), Hong Kong (3), and Taiwan (2). All Australian students were born in Australia without any Asian background.

Procedure

On arrival, participants were greeted and told that they would learn about an Asian international student by reading a number of behaviors performed by the target person, Yin. Each participant received a packet of cards, shuffled for each participant, which contained behavioral descriptions. They were instructed to "read through these behavioral instances carefully and only read them once. As you read, please form an impression of Yin, so that you can communicate to the others about what you think Yin is like and why you think so."

Participants were given 10 s per card to read the behavioral instances, and the experimenter collected the cards and asked them to do a distracter task (drawing a map of Australia) for 5 min. This distracter task was adopted to make salient the intergroup context for both Australian and Asian students; likewise, in the condition where Asian senders were communicating to Asian receivers about the Asian target, this would strengthen the intragroup context. At this point, participants were told that they have been paired up with another Asian international (or local Australian) student in the communication task, and that they have been identified to their partner based on their social identity (as Asian or Australian). In addition, they were told that their partner was going to form an impression of the target

person and the participant on the basis of the communication that he or she would receive. Participants then wrote a one-page description of the target person.

After they were probed about the true aim of the experiment, they were told that there was no communication partner in the next room and were debriefed, thanked, and dismissed.

Results and discussion

Communication

Two independent coders coded participants' communications. The stereotype relevant propositions used in the description were categorized as SC+, SC-, SI+, SI-, and neutral. However, in some cases participants, for example, may describe a negative behavior in a positive way (e.g., "teasing a classmate's hairstyle" because "this is a way to assimilate into Australian culture"). In these cases, the experimenters categorized the propositions into the category the participants implied (in the above example, the negative behavior would be categorized as positive). Similarly, new propositions, such as adjectives (e.g., friendly), that were not included in the original item list were also categorized according to the implication of the words and phrases that the participants appeared to have implied. Inter-coder reliability was high ($\kappa = 0.88$). All disagreements were resolved by discussion. All new propositions were trait-related adjectives (e.g., friendly).

The numbers of stereotype consistent and inconsistent positive and negative propositions were counted for each participant and analyzed with a mixed-design analysis of variance (ANOVA) using stereotypicality (SC and SI) and valence (positive and negative) as within subject factors and identity of communicator and receiver (Australian or Asian) as between subject factors. As expected, there was a significant main effect for valence, $F(1,64) = 6.67$, $p < 0.05$, which was further qualified by a three-way interaction among valence, sender's identity, and receiver's identity, $F(1,64) = 20.05$, $p < 0.001$. Figure 1 depicts this pattern.

To examine these interaction effects, a paired *t*-test was conducted to compare the amounts

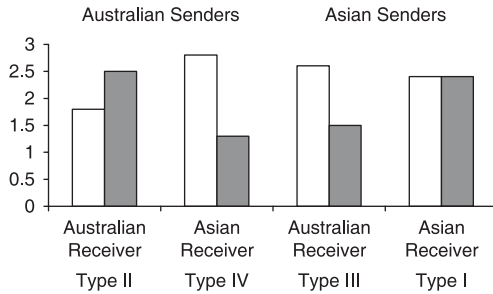


Figure 1. Mean number of positive and negative propositions Australian and Asian senders communicated to Australian or Asian receivers. □, positive; ■, negative.

of positive and negative information communicated in each condition of the speaker identity \times audience identity combinations. The pattern of results was generally consistent with our expectations. In a Type I context (Asian sender to Asian receiver about Asian target; intragroup), where the sender, receiver, and target were all members of the same group, similar amounts of positive and negative information were communicated, $t(15) = 0.11$, $p = 0.92$, suggesting that there was little intergroup face work.

In all other contexts, intergroup face work appears to have been in operation. Australian senders in a Type II context (Australian sender to Australian receiver about Asian target) adopted outgroup derogating strategies (OD+ and OD-), with more negative than positive information communicated, $t(15) = -2.18$, $p = 0.045$. In a Type IV context (Australian sender to Asian receiver about Asian target), Australian senders communicated more positive than negative information, $t(18) = 3.75$, $p = 0.001$, apparently adopting the outgroup enhancement and protection strategies (OEh and OP). Australian senders communicated significantly more negative information, $t(33) = -2.68$, $p < 0.05$, and less positive information, $t(33) = 4.31$, $p < 0.001$, to Australian (Type IV) than to Asian (Type II) receivers.

In a Type III context (Asian sender to Australian receiver about Asian target), an ingroup enhancement strategy was in operation with more positive than negative information

communicated, $t(16) = 2.75$, $p = 0.014$. Here, the Asian senders appear to have engaged more in ingroup face protection by withholding negative information (IP) about the ingroup member (i.e., less negative information communicated to an Australian receiver than to an Asian receiver; $t(31) = -2.63$, $p < 0.05$). However, there was no evidence for ingroup face enhancement (IEh); an equal amount of positive information was communicated to Australian and Asian receivers, $t(31) = 0.69$, $p = 0.50$.

There were three additional effects that involved stereotypicality. A significant main effect for stereotypicality, $F(1,64) = 27.30$, $p < 0.001$, was qualified by a significant two-way interaction between stereotypicality and the sender's identity, $F(1,64) = 14.52$, $p < 0.001$. Australian senders transmitted significantly more SI information ($M = 2.0$), $t(66) = -2.98$, $p < 0.01$, and less SC information ($M = 2.2$) than Asian communicators ($M = 1.5$ for SI; $M = 2.9$ for SC), $t(66) = 2.50$, $p < 0.05$. A recall advantage of information inconsistent with stereotypical expectations about Asian international students may be greater for outgroup observers (i.e., Australians) than for ingroup observers (i.e., Asian students; Bardach & Park, 1996). There was a three-way interaction between receiver's identity, stereotypicality, and valence, $F(1,64) = 7.19$, $p < 0.01$; however, this effect was left uninterpreted.

STUDY 2

Study 1 allowed us to examine the effects of the four types of social contexts on stereotype communication, and generally confirmed our expectations about the use of different communication strategies in different contexts. However, this design confounded the senders' cultural backgrounds with the manipulation of social context. To unconfound these variables, in Study 2, a modified minimal group paradigm (e.g., Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971) was used to further examine the hypotheses. In this study, fictitious groups were created, the participants were randomly assigned to the groups, and the sender, receiver and target social

identities were systematically manipulated. In particular, senders' and receivers' social identities were manipulated factorially, so that there were ingroup receivers and outgroup receivers for each group of senders. Furthermore, in this study, senders communicated about both their ingroup and outgroup to the same audience, thereby ensuring that the communicative contexts were entirely intergroup. This design enabled us to examine the use of the full range of communication strategies listed in Table 2 in intergroup context.

In addition, Study 2 allowed us to manipulate the ingroup and outgroup stereotypes systematically. Research suggests that two dimensions dominate the content of group stereotypes, warmth and competence (e.g., Fiske, Cuddy, Xu, & Glick, 2002; Fiske, Xu, & Cuddy, 1999; Judd, James-Hawkins, Yzerbyt, & Kashima, 2005), and that stereotypes about a group tend to be compensatory on these dimensions, so that if a group is seen to be competent it tends to be seen to be cold, or a warm group is seen to be incompetent (e.g., Fiske et al., 2002; Judd et al., 2005). We provided information about the fictitious groups to the participants, so that they would develop stereotypes about their ingroup and outgroup. One group was portrayed as warmer, but more incompetent, than the other group.

Finally, Study 2 examined a cognitive consequence of communication. As noted previously, communication may have a cognitive effect according to SIB research (e.g., Higgins & Rholes, 1978). What is intriguing in the intergroup communication context is that the presence of a communication effect on cognition may depend on whether the sender and receiver belong to the same group. Echterhoff et al.'s (2005) recent research showed that the SIB effect is likely to be a result of shared reality (Hardin & Higgins, 1996; Higgins, 1992). In their experiment, a typical SIB paradigm was used while manipulating the social identity of the audience, namely, an ingroup or outgroup member of the communicator. When the audience to whom the communicators tuned their communication was an ingroup member, a usual SIB effect was found: the communicators'

memory was biased in the direction of the communication. However, when the audience was an outgroup member, the SIB effect disappeared. The authors suggested that this was because of the communicators' motivation to establish a shared reality with the audience. They were more motivated to share a reality with an ingroup audience than with an outgroup audience. If this were to be generalized to the current context, senders' impressions about the target person may be affected only when the receiver is an ingroup member (Types I and II).

Method

Participants

Thirty-two first year psychology students at The University of Melbourne participated in this study to fulfill part of their course requirement.

Materials

Participants learned about Groups A and B via a set of fictitious behaviors. Group members were supposedly observed performing these behaviors in a university college setting. They read 32 behaviors in total, 16 for Group A and 16 for Group B. Eight behaviors related to competence and eight to warmth, with each behavior "performed" by a different group member (referred to by their initials only). These behaviors were presented on separate cards, forming a deck of 32 cards (16 for each group). Group name (A or B) was clearly marked on the cards, and the decks were shuffled for each participant.

The behaviors either reflected competence, incompetence, warmth or coldness as determined in a pilot study, in which 25 participants rated a large number of behaviors using two 9-point scales, one for the degree of warmth (1 = very cold to 9 = very warm) and the other for the degree of competence (1 = very incompetent to 9 = very competent). According to the mean ratings for each behavior, items were selected to portray Group A as competent (e.g., C.C. was short-listed for a prize in a writing competition) and cold (e.g., S.M. refused to lend

money to a friend in need). Behaviors were selected to describe Group B as incompetent (e.g., S.D. failed a driving test three times) and warm (e.g., K.L. made sure to introduce herself to a new student in the class). For Group A's competence behaviors, three had mean ratings between five and six, three between six and seven, and two between seven and eight on this 9-point scale. For Group A's warmth-related behaviors, two had mean ratings between two and three, three between three and four, and three between four and five. Group B behaviors had the same distribution except that the first distribution was applied to warmth behaviors, and the second to competence ones. Behaviors on each dimension had mean ratings around the mid-point on the opposite dimension. That is, competence behaviors had ratings around the mid-point on warmth, and vice versa from warmth behaviors.

Procedure

On arrival, participants were welcomed to the experiment and given a brief overview. They were then informed that "research shows that preference for a particular painting style reliably indicates your psychological profile." They viewed five pairs of paintings via transparencies, with one painting in each pair by Klee and the other by Kandinsky. For each pair, participants indicated their preferred painting on a preference sheet.

A filler task was then administered, with participants asked to draw a mirror image of Australia while the experimenter "assessed" their preferences. After 5 min, participants were informed that their preferences had been marked. They were also informed that these preferences "distinguish between two different psychological profiles or groups of people," with "about 50% of the general population belonging to each group." A card was then distributed indicating the group each participant belonged to (A or B) based on their preferences. Unknown to participants, allocation was random.

Participants were then advised that "generally, the two groups have different characteristics,"

and that they would "read several cards containing typical behaviors performed by members of each group in a specific setting." When reading these behaviors, they were asked to "bear in mind that you will be asked to write a description about each group for another person" who would read their communication in a future experimental session. Then, the experimenter handed out a card indicating the group that the "receiver" belonged to (A or B, that is, the participants' ingroup or outgroup member).

Participants were then given a pack of cards, with the experimenter stating that half of the cards relate to Group A and half to Group B. Participants were informed that "to process this information at a consistently optimum speed or 8 s per behavior" a tape had been made, and that whenever they heard "next" on the tape they should read the next card in the pack. Then a brief summary of the task was displayed, participants' understanding checked and the tape played.

After the behavior cards were collected, participants completed a short word-finding task "to allow time for this information to sink in." Then participants were asked to complete a communication about each group for their receiver, and to "write as if you were writing them a letter." After this, they were given another filler task. Participants were asked to draw a floor plan of their current accommodation, "to allow time for the information you have communicated to solidify in your mind." Then, they rated each group on 12 characteristics on a 9-point Likert-type scale (1 = not at all to 9 = extremely), pertaining to competence (competent, organized, independent), incompetence (incompetent, disorganized, dependent), warmth (warm, kind, considerate) and coldness (cold, unkind, inconsiderate). They were assured their responses "will not be viewed by your communication partner – they are for the experiments only."

Finally, participants were debriefed, and questions and comments were invited. They were then asked not to discuss the study until completion of testing before being thanked and dismissed.

Results and discussion

Communications

Two coders coded thirty-two communications, both coders were blind to the conditions at the time of coding. Each proposition was coded as “competent,” “incompetent,” “warm”, or “cold.” Due to the unambiguous nature of the initial behaviors, there were very few incompetent or warm propositions communicated about Group A (five in total), and equally few competent or cold propositions describing Group B (five also). Thus, the four types of propositions could not be analyzed separately and were aggregated into competence and warmth dimensions. To obtain the amount of competence related information communicated for each group (competence communication), the number of incompetent propositions was subtracted from that of competent propositions. The same procedure was used to calculate the warmth communication for each group, with the number of cold propositions subtracted from that of warm propositions. Competence and warmth communications between the judges were highly correlated for both groups (between 0.85 and 0.90, and there were no differences between them). All discrepancies were resolved by discussion.

The warmth and competence of communications about the target groups were analyzed using a four-way analysis of variance (ANOVA). Sender (Group A vs. Group B) and receiver (ingroup vs. outgroup receiver) were the between-subjects factors, and target group (sender’s ingroup vs. outgroup) and dimension (sender’s ingroup-favoring vs. disfavoring dimension) the within-subjects factors. There was an expected significant two-way interaction between target group and dimension, $F(1,28) = 418.67, p < 0.001$. Participants communicated more positively about the ingroup on the ingroup favoring dimension ($M = 4.1$) than on the ingroup disfavoring dimension ($M = -3.7$), but more positively about the outgroup on the ingroup disfavoring dimension ($M = 4.2$) than on the ingroup favoring dimension ($M = -3.9$). Basically, the communication pattern shows that their communications accurately reflected the

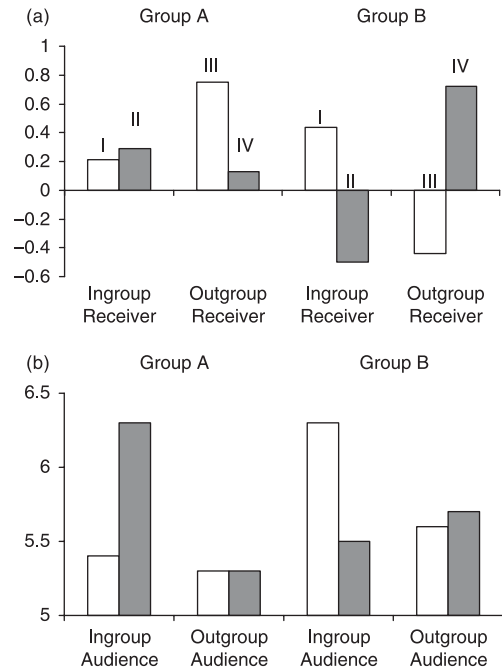


Figure 2. Mean valence of the (a) communicated information and (b) impression ratings about the ingroup and outgroup target for the ingroup and outgroup audience by two sender groups, A and B. Note: The upper panel depicts the means for communication (0 = neutral); the lower panel displays the means for impression ratings (1 = negative, 5 = neutral, 9 = positive). The Roman numerals in the upper panel indicate the types of communication contexts described in Table 1, except that the Type I context here is not an intragroup, but an intergroup context because of the presence of the outgroup target in communication. □, ingroup target; ■, outgroup target.

dimensional profile of the two groups portrayed by the fictitious behaviors.

A three-way interaction among sender identity, receiver identity, and target group was significant, $F(1,28) = 4.14, p = 0.05$, suggesting that the pattern of communications about the ingroup and outgroup to the ingroup and outgroup receivers differed between the two groups. The relevant means are displayed in Figure 2. Group B (warm but incompetent group) senders exhibited a communication pattern consistent with Study 1. Basically, when

they communicated to ingroup receivers, they portrayed their ingroup more positively than the outgroup (presumably a combination of ingroup enhancement, IEh, and protection, IP, and outgroup derogation, OD+ and OD-), although this contrast was not statistically significant, $t(7) = 1.30, p = 0.24$. When they communicated to outgroup receivers, their portrayal of the outgroup was more positive than that of the ingroup (outgroup enhancement, OEh, and protection, OP, as well as ingroup effacement, IEF- and IEF+), and this contrast was significant, $t(8) = 2.25, p = 0.05$. Group B senders enhanced and protected their receiver's identity. Nonetheless, none of the means were significantly different from zero, with the means for Type III for Group A senders, $t(7) = 2.20, p = 0.064$, and for Type IV for Group B senders, $t(8) = 2.10, p = 0.069$, marginally different from zero (all others $t < 1.37$).

It is intriguing to note that, in a Type III context, Asian students in Study 1 self-protected when describing their ingroup member to Australian students (outgroup members); however, in this study, Group B senders self-effaced when describing themselves to outgroup receivers. This difference may be because of the extent to which senders identified with their ingroup. Asian students in Study 1 would have seen themselves clearly as Asian international students, especially after performing the distractor task of drawing a map of Australia. In Study 2, however, Group B senders may have regarded their Group B identity as non-central to themselves, finding it much easier not to protect their ingroup face. Nonetheless, it will be a task for future investigations to examine under what circumstances senders self-efface, self-enhance, or self-protect.

By contrast, Group A senders displayed a different pattern. First of all, they described both targets slightly positively or neutrally; no one was described negatively. This suggests that they were not very biased. When communicating to ingroup receivers, they communicated about their ingroup and outgroup equally positively, $t(6) = -0.16, p = 0.89$. In communicating to outgroup receivers, they portrayed their ingroup slightly more positively than their

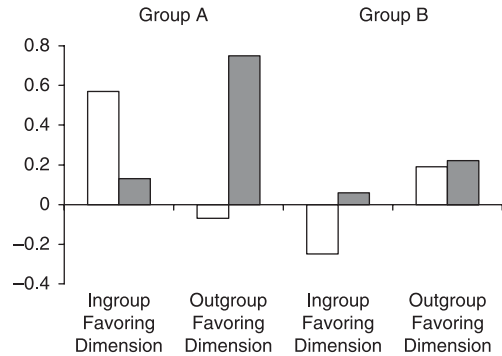


Figure 3. Mean valence of the communicated information to the ingroup and outgroup receiver on the ingroup favoring and outgroup favoring dimensions by two sender groups, A and B. □, ingroup receiver; ■, outgroup receiver.

outgroup; however, this was not significant, $t(7) = 0.68, p = 0.52$.

Interestingly, there was an unexpected three-way interaction effect among sender identity, receiver identity, and dimension, $F(1,28) = 4.39, p = 0.045$. Figure 3 displays the relevant means. When communicating to an ingroup receiver, Group A senders seemed to communicate more favorably about both their ingroup and outgroup on the ingroup favoring than outgroup favoring dimension. When communicating to an outgroup receiver, they appeared to communicate more favorably about both groups on the outgroup favoring than ingroup favoring dimension. In other words, Group A senders communicated to ingroup receivers about both groups as more competent than warm, thus emphasizing the ingroup favoring dimension. However, they wrote to outgroup receivers about both groups as warmer than competent, emphasizing the ingroup disfavoring dimension. Although unanticipated, this may suggest a way of enhancing and protecting the audience's face; by playing up the type of information that favors their audience, Group A senders may be trying to attend to the audience's face while being consistent with the norm as conveyed by the ingroup stereotype of being competent, but cold. By contrast, Group B senders appeared to communicate about both groups as more competent than

warm (emphasizing the ingroup disfavoring dimension), regardless of the receiver identity. None of the comparisons between ingroup and outgroup targets were significant, $t < 1.93$.

To explore the communication patterns of Group A and Group B senders, separate ANOVAs were conducted for each condition with receiver identity, target, and dimension as factors. For Group A senders, the receiver identity-dimension interaction was significant, $F(1,13) = 4.96$, $p = 0.04$. Group A senders described both the groups on the dimension that favored their receiver's group: if the receiver was an ingroup member, they used the ingroup favoring dimension more than the outgroup favoring dimension, whereas if the receiver was an outgroup member, the outgroup favoring dimension was used more than the ingroup favoring dimension. For Group B senders, the receiver identity-target interaction was significant, $F(1,15) = 5.77$, $p = 0.03$. Group B senders basically described their receiver's group more favorably: if the receiver was an ingroup member, the ingroup was described more positively than the outgroup, whereas if the receiver was an outgroup member, the outgroup was described more positively than the ingroup. Although intriguing, these results need to be interpreted with caution because of the small sample.

Impressions

The warmth impression ratings were calculated by averaging the warmth adjective ratings for that group (ranging between 1 and 9, with negative items reverse-scored). The same procedure was used to create competence impression ratings. The reliability was generally high, with Cronbach's α varying from 0.71 to 0.88. Again, a four-way ANOVA was conducted on the ratings. A significant main effect was found for dimension, $F(1,26) = 6.82$, $p = 0.015$, which was qualified by a dimension-target identity interaction, $F(1,26) = 322.50$, $p < 0.001$. Consistent with the communication, the ingroup was seen more positively on the ingroup favoring ($M = 7.6$), and more negatively on the ingroup disfavoring dimension ($M = 3.9$), than the outgroup ($M = 3.7$ and $M = 7.9$, respectively),

again showing that the participants evaluated the groups in accordance with the information given. There was also a sender identity-dimension interaction, $F(1,26) = 7.10$, $p = 0.013$. However, the results were unexpected and difficult to interpret and were left unexplored.

Similar to communications, there was a significant three-way interaction involving sender identity \times receiver identity \times target group, $F(1,26) = 5.94$, $p = 0.022$. Nonetheless, the pattern of impression judgments differed somewhat from that of communications. Figure 2 displays the relevant means. Recall that Group B senders communicated to ingroup receivers portraying their ingroup more positively than the outgroup; likewise, Group B senders rated their ingroup more positively than the outgroup, $t(7) = 2.83$, $p < 0.05$, in this condition. In contrast, they communicated about the outgroup more positively than their ingroup to the outgroup audience; nonetheless, after communicating with outgroup receivers, Group B senders rated the two groups similarly, $t(8) = -0.14$, $p = 0.90$. In other words, consistent with Echterhoff et al.'s (2005) findings, Group B senders' impression judgments were in line with the content communicated *only to their ingroup*. Likewise, in communicating with ingroup members, Group A senders described their ingroup slightly less positively than the outgroup; again, following this pattern, they rated their ingroup less positively than the outgroup, $t(6) = -2.69$, $p < 0.05$. However, after communicating with outgroup receivers, there was no difference in their impression ratings of their ingroup compared to the outgroup, $t(7) = 0$, $p = 1$. Overall, these results support Echterhoff et al.'s contention that saying is likely to turn into believing only if the audience is one's ingroup. Sharing a reality with one's ingroup member may enhance one's sense of its realness; this, however, does not occur in communication with outgroup members.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The two studies reported in this paper demonstrated the utility of the framework presented earlier. In Study 1, Australian or Asian senders

communicated about an Asian international student to Australian or Asian receivers. The study design allowed us to examine separately the inclusion and withholding of positive and negative information. In the intergroup contexts (Types II, III, and IV), all the predicted effects were present. Senders derogated an outgroup member to their ingroup receivers; they protected their ingroup to their outgroup audience; and they enhanced and protected their outgroup target to the receiver who belonged to the same outgroup as the target. In a Type I context, where the sender, receiver, and target belonged to the same group, we expected senders to construe the context as intragroup and, therefore, we expected no bias. Indeed, this expectation was borne out by the data.

In Study 2, we used a modified minimal group paradigm to create fictitious groups with made up ingroup and outgroup stereotypes. By getting senders to communicate about both the ingroup and outgroup targets, we ensured that all contexts were intergroup; however, we could not examine the inclusion and withholding of positive and negative information separately because too little information opposite to the ingroup or outgroup stereotype was communicated in this study. Nonetheless, by computing the overall valence of the communication, we were able to examine the general pattern of communication in all contexts. When an ingroup was warm, but relatively less competent (Group B), the senders followed the predicted pattern: ingroup enhancement or protection and outgroup derogation to ingroup members, but ingroup effacement and outgroup enhancement to outgroup members. However, when an ingroup was said to be competent, but relatively cold (Group A), the senders' communications were relatively unbiased.

In general, Study 2 replicated Echterhoff et al.'s (2005) finding, in which people's mental representations were altered in line with their communication content following communication with an ingroup audience, but this was not the case after communication with an outgroup audience. In Echterhoff et al., the communicators' mental representations were examined by recall, but in the present study, impression

judgments were used. Regardless, we found that communicators' impression ratings showed a bias in line with their communications when they communicated with their ingroup; however, there was no bias in their impressions when they communicated with their outgroup.

Although these studies generally provided supportive evidence for the theoretical analysis, there were a number of findings that provided significant avenues for further exploration. First, Group A senders in Study 2 showed a pattern of communication that differed from our expectations. In general, they characterized the targets accurately. They did not show a clear pattern of outgroup derogation or outgroup enhancement or protection. Neither did they describe their ingroup positively when they communicated to their ingroup. However, it was only when they communicated with their outgroup audience that they engaged in a degree of ingroup enhancement or protection. One possible interpretation for this is that they were following their ingroup stereotype. Recall that Group A in this study was described as competent, but cold. They may have used their ingroup stereotype as a kind of ingroup norm, and tried to act as a detached (cold) and competent observer. Nonetheless, another finding implies that these communicators emphasized an ingroup favoring dimension when they communicated to their ingroup, but emphasized an outgroup favoring dimension when communicating with their outgroup. This may be interpreted as suggesting that they adopted a slightly different communication strategy to enhance and protect the ingroup and outgroup faces. These findings point to two significant issues that require future explorations: the role of ingroup norms in communication and possibilities for more subtle communication strategies to manage the intergroup relationships.

Despite the generally encouraging results in the two studies, there are significant limitations as well. First, Study 2 had a very small sample size; some intriguing findings should, nonetheless, be taken with a large grain of salt because of the small sample size in this study. Second, the present studies failed to clarify what social psychological processes may underlie:

(a) the relative emphasis on ingroup versus outgroup face concerns, and (b) face enhancement or face protection, which in turn may affect the differential use of positive and negative information in communicating about an ingroup and outgroup. With regard to the first question, ingroup identification and power may be two of the variables that require further attention. For instance, stronger ingroup identification is likely to direct one's attention to one's own ingroup face; one's higher status or stronger power relative to one's audience may also result in a greater emphasis on one's ingroup face. With regard to the second question, general self-regulatory processes such as regulatory focus (e.g., Higgins, 1998) may be responsible. That is, a promotion focus (attention to gains) may be more conducive to face enhancement, whereas an avoidance tendency (attention to losses) may lead to face protection.

All in all, the paper explored stereotype communication in context, thereby examining how intergroup relationships are constituted through social communication. In the contemporary world, intergroup relationships are often shaped on the basis of information communicated to people, rather than based on the information obtained through direct interaction with and observation of outgroups. In these social circumstances, social cognition as a basis for the construction of social reality needs to be examined not only as a theoretically significant research question, but also as a matter of pragmatic urgency. It is our hope that this paper, in a minor way, contributes to this research program.

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