

Prejudice among Peruvians and Chileans as a Function of Identity, Intergroup Contact, Acculturation Preferences, and Intergroup Emotions

Roberto González*

Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

David Sirlopú

Universidad del Desarrollo

Thomas Kessler

University of Exeter

A special Latin American acculturative context is currently developing in Chile in which native Chileans have contact with several immigrant groups, particularly newcomers from Peru. This study examines several intergroup variables including contact, national and Latino American identities, group distinctiveness, realistic threat, intergroup anxiety, and acculturation preferences as predictors of prejudice on the part of both Chilean natives and Peruvian immigrants. Three hundred Peruvian immigrants (194 females and 106 males) and 300 Chileans (199 females and 101 males) participated in the study. Acculturation preferences, perceived group distinctiveness, and especially intergroup contact were shown to be important predictors of prejudice toward out-group members. Intergroup anxiety and realistic threat mediated some of these effects. The pattern of these results also varied as a function of nationality. Theoretical as well as practical implications for further research are discussed.

*Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Roberto González, Escuela de Psicología, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Av. Vicuña Mackenna 4860, Santiago, Chile [e-mail: rgonzale@uc.cl].

This research was partly supported by a grant from the Chilean National Funding for Scientific and Technological research program (FONDECYT, grant N° 1070833) allocated to Roberto González.

Historical Context of the Latino–American and Chilean Immigration Process

Migration is changing social conditions around the world and Latin America is not an exception. From colonial time until the middle of the 20th century, international migration to Latin America and the Caribbean was predominantly characterized by people coming from southern Europe, Africa, and Asia. During the second half of the 20th century this pattern changed significantly, and the region was no longer an attractive place for such migration. At the same time, this period was a starting point for increasing migration of Latin American and Caribbean people, both to other continents and within the region (intra-regional migration). According to the Latin-American and Caribbean Center for Demography (CELADE) report (2006), the number of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants to North America and Europe increased significantly during recent years, reaching 25 million in 2005 and representing 13% of international immigration. The United States is the destination of the majority of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants (18 million), who represent more than 50% of the total number of immigrants to the United States. The remainder of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants moved to countries in Europe (Spain and Portugal being the most common destinations because of shared language), as well as to Japan and Canada.

Although Latino immigration to more developed countries continues steadily, official reports reveal increasing immigration within nations of Latin America. According to Martínez (2004), in 1970 the percentage of intra-regional immigration was close to 22%; now 59% of immigration in Latin America is between countries within the region (approximately 3 million people). Examples include Salvadorian and Guatemalan immigration to Costa Rica, Colombian immigration to Venezuela, and Argentinean, Bolivian, and Peruvian immigration to Chile. Between 1992 and 2002 immigration to Chile from other Latin American countries grew about 75%, the largest reported gain during last 50 years (Population and Housing Census, 2003). Indeed, Chile has been considered one of the most attractive places for immigrants in South America as people look for better conditions of life, including work opportunities and social mobility. Official reports indicate that about 1.8% of the current Chilean population are immigrants ($N = 300,000$); estimates are that immigration to Chile will increase significantly in the next decade, bringing about both positive and negatives consequences (Martínez, 2004). Therefore, the Chilean society has to recognize that it will become more heterogeneous, which may challenge beliefs and intergroup attitudes toward immigrant groups. As such, this particular social context offers an opportunity to analyze some relevant social–psychological factors that might be important predictors of attitudes toward immigrants in general.

Peruvian Immigration to Chile

The present study focused particularly on Peruvian immigration to Chile. Peruvians represent the largest immigrant group in Chile (28.6%), followed by Argentines, Bolivians, and Ecuadorians (20.5%, 6.9%, and 5%, respectively) (Daneri, 2008). In general terms, Peruvians and Chileans have low cultural differences: they share the same language, cultural roots, and religious beliefs. Yet there are important distinctive aspects that characterize Peruvian immigration. For instance, many Peruvian immigrants have an Andean origin (ethnicity) that is very different from the majority of Chileans who descend from White and Occidental Spanish. The majority of Peruvian immigrants are young women (between 15 and 44 years of age); additionally the typical Peruvian immigrant is low skilled and has low socioeconomic status. Moreover, Peruvian immigration is relatively recent and Peruvian immigrants are still settling down in Chile. Indeed, the biggest movement of Peruvian immigrants to Chile has occurred during the last decade, mainly to the capital city of Santiago (82% live in the urban areas of Santiago, while the remainder are to the north of Chile, close to the border of Bolivia and Peru). In Santiago, Peruvian immigrants compete directly with lower- and middle-class Chileans in the job market, mainly as builders, workers, and in domestic service. As we will address later, this competition for resources could be considered an important factor that might increase realistic threat for the Chileans and constitutes the base for holding negative attitudes toward Peruvians in general. Indeed, previous research has shown that Peruvian immigrants are perceived as a low-status group that is frequently a target of prejudice and discrimination by Chileans (González, 2005).

The aim of the present study was to examine this special acculturative context by looking at the role of several sociopsychological factors that have proved to be important predictors of intergroup attitudes in previous research. Concepts such as acculturation preferences, social identity, perceived group distinctiveness, intergroup contact, prejudice toward out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and perceptions of realistic threat are central for the present discussion (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Florack, Piontkowski, Bohmann, Balzer, & Perzig, 2003; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zagefka, Brown, Broquard, & Martin, 2007; Zagefka, Brown, & González, 2009). This article addresses three specific goals that are fully described in the next sections.

Perception of Intergroup Relations

The first goal of the study was to describe the nature of perceived intergroup relations and preferences for acculturation on the part of both Peruvian immigrants and Chileans. In choosing this strategy, we aim to correct a bias in the psychological literature on acculturation whereby attention is given primarily to the acculturation

preferences of immigrants while neglecting the attitudes of the majority (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzalek, 2000; van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006; Zagefka et al., 2009). We will look at both sides of this intergroup relationship.

Assuming that Peruvian immigrants and Chilean natives have different status positions and roles within the Chilean society, we expect them to perceive the nature of their intergroup relations in quite different ways. Peruvians have arrived mainly to seek better living conditions and seem to be motivated to stay in Chile. Therefore, they are expected to have positive attitudes toward people who live in the country where they have opted to settle. Thus, we expect them to be less prejudiced and to experience more intergroup contact with Chileans than will the Chileans with reference to the Peruvians (González, 2005). Being a minority in this social context is also expected to influence the in-group perceptions and ties of Peruvians. As is well documented (e.g., Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992), minority members who identify with their in-group are motivated to keep their group distinctiveness high, particularly in highly comparative contexts. Indeed, under certain circumstances, intergroup encounters (as experienced by immigrants in their new society) may produce a threat to group identity (e.g., when minority groups resist being assimilated into the majority), which might mobilize group members to restore positive distinctiveness, as predicted by social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The more group distinctiveness is undermined by an out-group, the greater should be tendencies of differentiation to restore positive distinctiveness. Thus, Peruvian immigrants would be more concerned about keeping their group distinctiveness as well as their national and Latino American identities salient than Chileans would.

Finally, according to integrated threat theory (ITT, Stephan & Stephan, 2000), the arrival of immigrants to any given country can impact feelings of intergroup anxiety and realistic threat on both sides, immigrant and native born, as they have contact with one another. Stephan and Stephan (2000) argued that intergroup anxiety is a negative emotional reaction that emerges as a consequence of becoming aware of group differences from actual or anticipated contact with out-group members. At the same time, realistic threat derives from perceptions that the in-group's economic and political power, as well as its material well-being, may deteriorate. As such, realistic threat also predicts negative attitudes toward out-group members (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Interestingly, the concept of realistic threat refers to perceptions of threat regardless of whether it is actually true or not. It is important to mention that Chilean natives and Peruvian immigrants have clearly different status positions in the Chilean context (as is likely the case in most immigrant-receiving countries). Therefore, different issues might constitute a realistic threat for each group: Chileans, for example, might fear losing some of their material advantages, such as jobs, to Peruvians, while Peruvians may fear

not getting access to resources, such as not being hired. Even though perceptions of threat may differ depending on the group involved, the threats are, according to Stephan and Stephan's (2000) definition, conceptually similar. We will come back to this issue in the method section when we present our measure of threat.

Given the assumption that Peruvian immigrants are aware of being a minority and perceive the possibility of being discriminated against, we predict they will experience higher levels of intergroup anxiety than will Chileans. On the other hand, the competition for scarce resources (e.g., jobs) or the perception that immigrants might threaten the well-being of the in-group would influence Chileans' perceptions of realistic threat; therefore, we expect them to exhibit higher levels of realistic threat than Peruvians do.

Acculturation Preferences and Sociopsychological Factors

The second goal of the study is to characterize Peruvian immigrants and Chileans acculturation preferences and analyze the possible relationship between these preferences and the intergroup attitudes, group identities, and intergroup emotions experienced by these two groups. On the one hand, Chileans might vary in the extent to which they welcome the newcomers and in the ideas they have about how immigrants should live in their country. Peruvians, on the other hand, might also vary in terms of their attitudes toward Chileans and the way they want to live in Chile.

To investigate these issues, we based on Berry's acculturation model (Berry, 1997; see also Bourhis & Montaruli, this issue). The model was originally conceived with the immigrant minority rather than the native majority in mind. It describes several preferences that immigrants might have about how they want to live in their new country. Four types of acculturation preferences are distinguished according to answers on two dimensions: (1) the immigrant's desire to maintain his or her original culture (cultural maintenance) and (2) the desire to have contact with members of the majority society (contact). Based on these two dimensions, one can construct four acculturation preferences: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. A preference for integration exists if immigrants wish both to maintain their original cultural identity and to have contact with majority members. Immigrants favor assimilation if they prefer to abandon their original cultural identity while seeking contact with majority members. Immigrants who want to keep their original identity but do not want to experience contact with majority members are said to prefer separation. Finally, if immigrants distance themselves from their original culture but have no interest in making contact with majority members, they are said to be marginalized.

Although most research has focused mainly on the immigrants' acculturation preferences, majority members also have beliefs about how immigrants should live in the country. They, too, might have preferences for immigrants to

integrate, assimilate, be segregated, or be marginalized from the majority (Bourhis & Montaruli, this issue; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Piontkowski et al., 2000).

Based on this approach and previous research findings, we expect that support for particular preferences of acculturation (integration, assimilation, segregation, or marginalization) might be related to intergroup prejudice as well as other psychological outcomes (e.g., Berry, 1997; van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). Specifically, we predict that both Peruvians and Chileans who endorse integration, and to a lesser extent assimilation, will have more intergroup contact (defined as number of out-group friends), experience less intergroup anxiety, perceive less realistic threat, and be less prejudiced than those Peruvians and Chileans who prefer segregation and marginalization. Consistent with the idea that integration and separation are acculturative strategies that favor cultural maintenance, we expect that immigrants and majority members who endorse these strategies will be more concerned about keeping their group distinctiveness and national identity than members who prefer assimilation or marginalization. Finally, because Latino American identity is an inclusive category, we predict that people who opt for integration will be more strongly identified with this category.

Psychological Model for Predicting Prejudice

The third goal of the study is to model the relationship among several psychological factors. Overall, the model hypothesizes different associations between national and Latino American identities, group distinctiveness, intergroup contact, perceived realistic threat, and intergroup anxiety (mediators), with prejudice as the main dependent measure. These predicted relationships are presented in Figure 1.

Positive consequences of contact have been reported for a wide array of intergroup relationships—for example, relations between European and African Americans in the United States (e.g., Cook, 1978), international and interethnic attitudes in Europe (Pettigrew, 1997; Voci & Hewstone, 2003), and Catholic–Protestant relations in Northern Ireland (Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci, 2004). A recent meta-analysis involving over 500 studies confirmed the importance of contact for promoting reduction of prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Our model will identify some of the mediators of both the contact–prejudice and identity–prejudice relationship and ascertain if these operate in the same fashion in the Peruvian (minority) and the Chilean (majority) groups. A focus on mediating variables is consistent with contemporary analyses of intergroup contact (Brown & Hewstone, 2005). Here we highlight the roles played by “realistic threat” and “intergroup anxiety” as fully described in ITT, as they apply to both majority and minority group members. Several studies have found intergroup anxiety and realistic threat to be important predictors of negative attitudes toward out-group members (e.g., Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000;

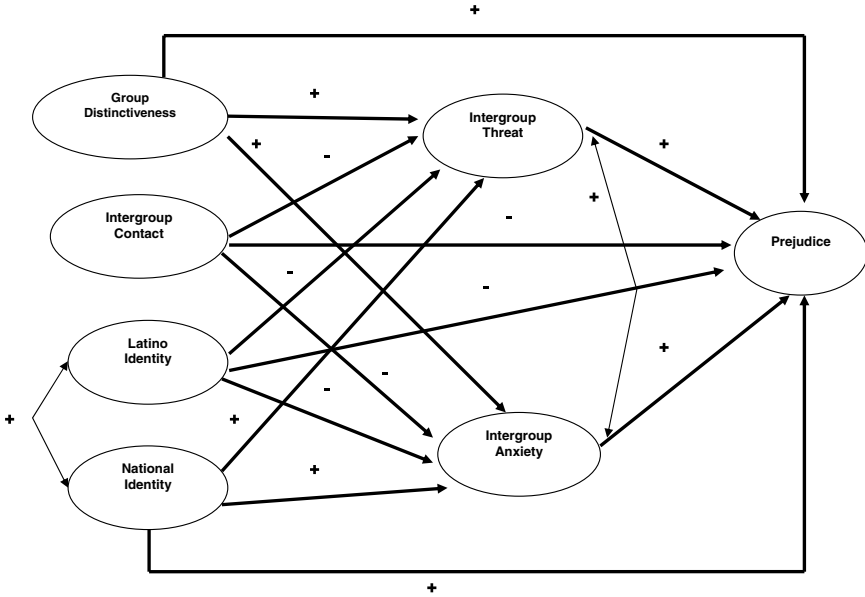


Fig. 1. Psychological predictors and mediators of prejudice.

Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Moreover, evidence has shown that contact reduces prejudice partly because it reduces intergroup anxiety and realistic threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Paolini et al., 2004). Frequent and in-depth contact with out-group members provides the potential to learn about the other’s background, history, values, customs, and traditions. Thus, increasing knowledge about the out-group may help to decrease intergroup anxiety through the experience of positive contact (e.g., out-group friendship). On the other hand, ITT predicts that perceived realistic threat can be associated with negative attitudes toward out-group members. Having friends from the out-group should reduce the perception of threat, which in turn should impact prejudice positively. Thus, we expect that realistic threat will mediate the contact–prejudice relationship.

National identity, Latin American identity, and group distinctiveness are hypothesized to have both direct and indirect (mediated by intergroup anxiety and realistic threat) effects on prejudice. Based on the common in-group identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; González & Brown, 2003, 2006), we predict that the more participants identify with Latin America (an inclusive category), the less they will exhibit prejudice against out-group members. The reverse pattern is expected for the national identity and group distinctiveness factors. If group members are motivated to maintain their national identity and to perceive group

differences as a way of differentiating oneself from a relevant out-group in a comparative context (i.e., a situation that involves both immigrants and majority members), then we predict that these identity aspects will be positively associated with prejudice toward out-group members (Hopkins, 2001), either directly or as mediated by intergroup anxiety and realistic threat. As pointed out in the ITT (Stephan & Stephan 2000), strong in-group identities should be related to feelings of intergroup anxiety and realistic threat, as people who identify with their own group are motivated to protect it. Finally, intergroup anxiety and realistic threat, both negative psychological aspects, are expected to covary to the extent that they represent emotional and cognitive consequences associated with direct contact or the expectation of contact with out-group members.

If the factors included in the hypothesized model are relevant for both Peruvian immigrants and Chileans, we would not expect to find different patterns when comparing the models derived separately for the two groups. However, based on previous research that has established that intergroup contact may benefit minority and majority groups in different ways (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), it is possible that some differences between the Peruvian and Chilean samples will emerge, particularly in the contact–prejudice link. This is an empirical question for which we expect to provide an answer in this study.

Method

Participants

Three hundred Peruvian work immigrants (194 females and 106 males; mean age: 32 years) and 300 Chileans (199 females and 101 males; mean age: 33 years), located in five integrated neighborhoods in Santiago, Chile, participated voluntarily in the study. All participants were adults of similar socioeconomic status (based on income level, they were classified as low socioeconomic status) and with similar educational backgrounds (most participants had completed secondary and/or technical levels of education). All Peruvian participants were first-generation immigrants who had lived in Chile for at least 2 years.

Procedure and Measures

Two comparable questionnaires were constructed (one for each ethnic group) and were administered individually to participants by trained Chilean and Peruvian interviewers. Chilean participants were approached in their homes, which were randomly selected within five counties in Santiago. The Peruvian sample was obtained using the snowball technique, following the social network of both the Peruvian interviewers who were recruited for the project and the participants themselves. The following scales were included in the questionnaire:

Acculturation preferences. Preferences for cultural maintenance and for contact were assessed separately on 5-point scales, using the items described in Berry (1997) and Zagefka et al. (2009), with slightly different wording for the Peruvian and Chilean samples. The preference for cultural maintenance was assessed with two items: “It is important to me that the Peruvian immigrants maintain their customs and traditions” and “It is important to me that Peruvian immigrants maintain their original way of living” (Peruvians $r = .40$, $p < .0001$ and Chileans $r = .57$, $p < .0001$). Preference for contact was also measured with a two-item scale: “It is important to me that Peruvian immigrants have Chilean friends” and “It is important to me that Peruvian immigrants spend their spare time also with Chilean people” (Peruvians $r = .35$, $p < .0001$ and Chileans $r = .63$, $p < .0001$).

To create the four types of acculturation suggested in Berry’s model and to achieve comparability with the prior literature on acculturation research (e.g., Donà & Berry, 1994; Pfafferott & Brown, 2006), median splits were performed on the “culture maintenance” and the “contact preference” scales. The resulting 2×2 matrix yields the four acculturation strategies proposed by Berry: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Based on this classification, however, we can characterize each group in terms of their attitudes, feelings, and other social–psychological aspects.

Group distinctiveness. Five questions were derived from optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991) to create a group distinctiveness measure. Sample items are: “How similar are the Chilean and Peruvian cultures,” “How similar are Chilean and Peruvian customs” (1 = *very similar* to 5 = *very different*). Higher values indicate greater perceived group distinctiveness (Peruvians $\alpha = .63$ and Chileans $\alpha = .70$).

Intergroup contact. Contact was measured with four items, each assessed on a 5-point scale. In line with current theorizing, two items tapped out-group friendships (e.g., “How many friends from the [respective out-group] do you have in Chile?”) and two other items referred to experiences of contact with out-group members generally (e.g., “Overall, how many people from the [out-group] do you know?”) Higher values indicate greater level of contact (Peruvians $\alpha = .80$ and Chileans $\alpha = .75$).

National and Latin American identity. Derived mainly from measures of Brown, Condor, Matthews, Wade, and Williams (1986), national and Latino identification were assessed independently using six items, each on a 5-point scale. Sample items for national identity are: “I am aware of my (Peruvian/Chilean) bonds,” “I feel proud of being (Peruvian/ Chilean)” (Peruvians $\alpha = .90$ and Chileans $\alpha = .91$). Sample items for the Latin American identity are “I consider

myself Latino” and “I feel proud of being Latino” (Peruvians $\alpha = .89$ and Chileans $\alpha = .88$).

Realistic threat. Based on Stephan and Stephan (2000), realistic threat was measured with four items. However, because Chileans and Peruvians have different statuses in Chile, different issues constitute a realistic threat. Accordingly, to develop a conceptually similar realistic threat measure, we formulated separate items for the Chilean and the Peruvian sample. In the Chilean sample, we focused attention on the realistic threat that Peruvian immigrants might pose for Chileans regarding several social issues (e.g., “Peruvian immigrants are taking away jobs that Chileans need” and “Public services are diminishing because of the Peruvian immigrants”). In the Peruvian group, we focused on the consequences they might experience because of their national membership (e.g., “I am terrified that I will be dismissed from my job because I am Peruvian” and “I am concerned that I will be sent away from my home because I am Peruvian”). The response scale ranged from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*), where high scores indicate higher levels of realistic threat (Peruvians $\alpha = .85$ and Chileans $\alpha = .87$).

Intergroup anxiety. Our measure of intergroup anxiety included four items adapted from Stephan and Stephan (1985). Participants in both groups were asked how they would feel if they were about to experience contact with out-group members (e.g., “Usually, when I deal with members of [respective out-group], I feel relaxed-tense”; Peruvians $\alpha = .63$ and Chileans $\alpha = .73$).

Prejudice. Eight items adapted from measures of blatant prejudice (Pettigrew, 1997) were used to assess prejudice (e.g., “I would really mind having a [Peruvian/Chilean] as a boss or professor” and “I would really mind if a close relative married a [Peruvian/Chilean] person.” The response scale ranged from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*) where high scores indicate higher levels of prejudice (Peruvians $\alpha = .61$ and Chileans $\alpha = .71$).

Finally, participants completed several items regarding demographic data (age, sex, level of income, and education). After completing the questionnaire, participants were thoroughly debriefed and thanked for their collaboration.

Results and Discussion

Psychological Predictors by Nationality

When members of different cultural groups come into contact, as in the immigration context, intergroup attitudes are not always reciprocal between the groups. The results of the present study confirmed that Peruvians and Chileans perceived the nature of intergroup relations quite differently, the Peruvians being

Table 1. Psychological Predictors by Nationality

	Peruvians (<i>n</i> = 300)	Chileans (<i>n</i> = 300)	<i>F</i> (1,597)
Group distinctiveness	3.80 (0.76)	3.64 (0.77)	6.32**
Intergroup contact	3.18 (1.14)	1.87 (0.93)	235.9**
National identity	4.59 (0.74)	4.34 (0.88)	13.95**
Latin identity	4.24 (0.90)	3.89 (0.98)	19.64**
Intergroup anxiety	2.52 (0.82)	2.56 (1.00)	0.37
Realistic threat	3.00 (1.09)	3.43 (1.17)	21.36**
Prejudice	2.82 (0.74)	2.98 (0.79)	6.78**
Preference for cultural maintenance	4.12 (1.0)	3.24 (1.2)	84.5**
Preference for contact	3.58 (1.0)	3.25 (1.2)	12.68**

Note. Table entries are means and standard deviations (in parentheses). All dimensions were measured on a 1 to 5 scale. Higher values indicate more levels of each dimension. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

more positive toward Chileans than the other way around (see Table 1). Overall, compared to the Chileans, Peruvians living in Chile exhibited higher levels of group distinctiveness, national identity, and Latino American identity. Peruvians also reported significantly less prejudice and more intergroup contact. Contrary to our prediction, the groups did not differ on intergroup anxiety: both groups exhibited a moderately high level of this emotion, close to the midpoint of the scale. However, in support of our prediction, Chileans reported higher levels of realistic threat than did Peruvians. This asymmetrical perception of the intergroup situation highlights the need to consider the perspectives of both immigrants and the majority members who are receiving them when creating interventions aimed at improving intergroup attitudes.

Acculturation Preferences by Nationality

What were the acculturation preferences of the Peruvians and the Chileans? Following Berry's model (1997), we found different patterns for the two groups. Contrary to our predictions, Peruvians were quite evenly distributed among the four acculturation strategies, with assimilation and marginalization the most preferred strategies (28% and 29% respectively), followed by separation (23%) and integration (20%). In the Chilean group, in contrast, more than a third of the respondents expected Peruvian immigrants to be marginalized (33%) while a similar proportion favored integration (29%); smaller proportions favored segregation (21%) or assimilation (17%).

Interesting enough, there was a similar pattern between the two groups when comparing the proportion of participants who endorsed separation and

marginalization (the more negative acculturation strategies) on the one hand and integration and assimilation on the other. Indeed more than one half of Chilean (54%) and Peruvian participants (52%) embraced separation and marginalization. In contrast, only 46% of Chileans and 48% of Peruvians opted for integration and assimilation. These results somehow reflect a divided society with different levels of tolerance and acceptance within and between the two groups. This pattern of results is also notable because immigrant and majority members in other countries normally embrace integration as the central acculturation preference (Berry, 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). We think that our results might be explained by the fact that Peruvian migration, and migration as a whole, is a recent phenomenon in Chile. Therefore, both Chilean and Peruvian immigrants (first generation) are probably in an early stage of the development of acculturation strategies. Neither Peruvians nor Chileans are yet used to the idea of becoming a more heterogeneous or multicultural society. Thus we think that this pattern of acculturation preferences will probably change in the long run toward more favorable views toward integration, as has happened in other parts of the world. Future research should investigate how the patterns of acculturation strategies adopted by both immigrants and majority members evolve as the demographic distributions change.

Acculturation Preferences and Intergroup Attitudes

Our next step was to see whether acculturation preferences are related to the sociopsychological factors considered in the study. The short answer to this question is “yes,” in both samples (see Table 2). Consistent with the idea that integration and separation are acculturative strategies that favor cultural maintenance, Peruvian immigrants who opted for these strategies tended to exhibit a greater need for group distinctiveness and stronger national and Latin American identification than did those who endorsed assimilation and marginalization. Consistent with their acculturation preferences, Peruvians who embraced integration and assimilation reported having more Chilean friends (contact) than did Peruvians who preferred separation and marginalization. Intergroup anxiety did not vary across acculturation strategies. Scores were all close to the midpoint of the scale, reflecting moderate levels of this emotional dimension. Realistic threat was higher across all acculturation strategies but particularly higher among Peruvians who endorsed separation. Finally, Peruvian immigrants who endorsed integration or assimilation were less prejudiced toward Chileans than were those who favored separation.

A different pattern of relationships emerged for the Chilean participants. First, national and Latino American identity did not vary across the four types of acculturation strategies: Chilean participants strongly identified with their country

Table 2. Psychological Predictors by Nationality and Acculturation Preferences

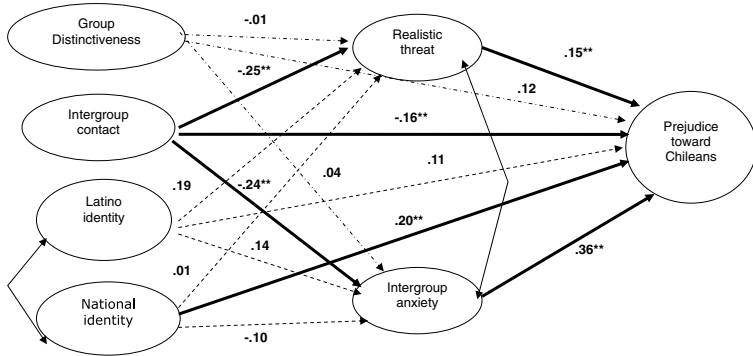
	Peruvian Immigrants (<i>N</i> = 298)				<i>F</i> (3,294)
	Integrated (<i>n</i> = 58)	Separated (<i>n</i> = 71)	Assimilated (<i>n</i> = 83)	Marginalized (<i>n</i> = 86)	
Group distinctiveness	3.77 (0.63)	4.05 (0.76) _a	3.66 (0.81) _b	3.74 (0.74)	3.78*
Intergroup contact	3.47 (1.19) _a	2.63 (1.08) _b	3.61 (1.02) _c	3.00 (1.05) _d	12.67**
National identity	4.87 (0.28) _a	4.77 (0.41) _b	4.44 (0.91) _c	4.37 (0.89) _d	8.19**
Latin identity	4.55 (0.67) _a	4.32 (0.82)	4.21 (0.98)	3.97 (0.94) _b	5.18**
Intergroup anxiety	2.61 (0.82)	2.68 (0.90)	2.34 (0.80)	2.47 (0.72)	2.61***
Realistic threat	3.13 (1.00)	3.21 (1.18) _a	3.07 (1.01)	2.68 (1.09) _b	3.77*
Prejudice	2.64 (0.69) _a	3.22 (0.81) _b	2.71 (0.83) _c	2.88 (0.82)	7.32**

	Chileans (<i>N</i> = 297)				<i>F</i> (3,292)
	Integrated (<i>n</i> = 85)	Separated (<i>n</i> = 50)	Assimilated (<i>n</i> = 62)	Marginalized (<i>n</i> = 100)	
Group distinctiveness	3.44 (0.69)	3.96 (0.68) _a	3.64 (0.69) _b	3.67 (0.89)	4.80**
Intergroup contact	2.11 (1.06) _a	1.63 (0.68) _b	1.92 (0.97)	1.76 (0.88)	3.44*
National identity	4.47 (0.79)	4.36 (0.75)	4.35 (0.77)	4.20 (1.04)	1.48
Latin identity	4.08 (0.91)	3.85 (0.96)	3.82 (1.01)	3.84 (0.99)	1.33
Intergroup anxiety	2.32 (0.93) _a	2.73 (1.01)	2.51 (1.14)	2.72 (0.91) _b	2.99*
Realistic threat	3.07 (1.19) _a	3.65 (1.15) _b	3.44 (1.10)	3.59 (1.15) _c	3.88*
Prejudice	2.71 (0.71) _a	3.19 (0.81) _b	2.86 (0.88)	3.19 (0.82) _c	6.92**

Note. Table entries are means and standard deviations (in parentheses). All dimensions were measured on a 1 to 5 scale. Higher values indicate more levels of each dimension. **p* < .05, ***p* < .01, ****p* < .06. Means in the same row with different subscripts differ at *p* < .01 (with Bonferroni correction). In rows without subscripts, the means do not differ from one another.

but not with Latin America. Even though some of the relationships between acculturation and the sociopsychological factors were similar to those observed in the Peruvian group, the level of some differences was striking (see lower section of Table 2). Particularly important were the low number of reported Peruvian friends and the high level of prejudice and realistic threat expressed by those Chileans who wanted Peruvians to be separated or marginalized from Chilean society. The latter pattern seems to indicate significant negativity toward Peruvian immigrants.

The consistent pattern of results observed across Peruvian and Chilean groups reveals that irrespective of their role in the society, the acculturation preferences of both groups are importantly linked to several psychological outcomes (Ward & Masgoret, 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zagefka et al., 2007; Zagefka et al., 2009). These associations confirm the importance of considering the conceptual



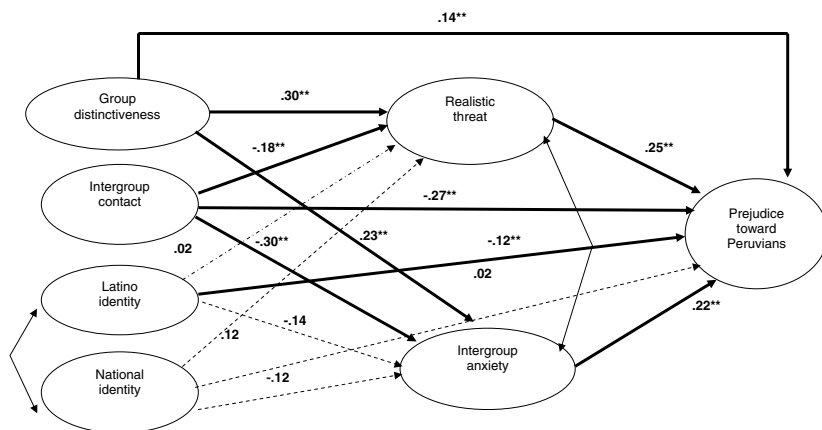
Note: Peruvian sample ($N = 300$). Fit indexes: $\chi^2(123) = 232.05, p < .01$; Non-normed Fit Index = .94; Comparative Fit Index = .95; Goodness-of-Fit Index = .92; root mean square error of approximation = .05; $R^2 = .55$. Covariance (Latin & National Identity) = .72**; Covariance (Realistic threat & intergroup anxiety) = .12**

Fig. 2. Psychological predictors and mediators of Peruvian prejudice toward Chileans.

frameworks derived from acculturation and intergroup research simultaneously. These two traditions can benefit from each other to illuminate theoretical and practical issues. We have also learned that immigration should always be considered an intergroup phenomenon. Therefore, we should attend to those factors that might predict attitude change in a particular acculturative context, especially in novel contexts, such as the Chilean–Peruvian case, in which migration is starting to transform the face of the society into a more multicultural setting.

Sociopsychological Model to Predict Intergroup Attitudes

The third goal of the study was to model the relationship among the specified psychological antecedents and mediators of intergroup prejudice. Using latent variables (each factor included three parcels that combined two or three items, depending on the total number of items available on each of the scales), a structural equation model was tested separately for the Peruvian and the Chilean samples. Overall, the tests of the model revealed that most of the variables significantly predicted prejudice toward the out-group in the expected directions with very good fit indices. However, we also found important differences by nationality. In the case of the Peruvians (see Figure 2), intergroup contact, as predicted, was negatively related to prejudice. The more contact Peruvians had with Chileans, the less they were prejudiced toward them. In addition, and in line with the main prediction, intergroup contact reduced prejudice, mediated by intergroup anxiety and realistic threat. That is, contact reduced prejudice because it reduced intergroup anxiety and realistic threat toward out-group members. Interestingly, although



Note: Chilean sample (N = 300). $\chi^2(123) = 191.22$; $p < .01$; Non-normed Fit Index = .96; Comparative Fit Index = .97; Goodness-of-Fit Index = .93; root mean square error of approximation = .04; $R^2 = .47$. Covariance (Latin & National Identity) = .50**; Covariance (Realistic threat & intergroup anxiety) = .22*

Fig. 3. Psychological predictors and mediators of Chilean prejudice toward Peruvian immigrants.

national identity predicted prejudice in the expected direction, this effect was not mediated by intergroup anxiety or realistic threat. Contrary to our prediction, group distinctiveness and Latino American identity were unrelated directly or indirectly (by the mediators) with prejudice. Finally, intergroup anxiety and realistic threat on the one hand, and national and Latino identity on the other, covaried in the model as expected.

The same model was tested with the Chilean group. This time the model reached much better fit indices and most paths were in line with predictions (see Figure 3). First, mirroring the Peruvian models, contact predicted prejudice directly as well as indirectly, the latter mediated by anxiety and threat, confirming the mediational hypothesis. Second, group distinctiveness followed the same pattern: it was directly associated with prejudice and also mediated by anxiety and threat in the expected direction. In addition, Latino identity significantly predicted prejudice in the expected direction: the more Chileans identified with Latin America, the less prejudice they expressed toward Peruvian immigrants. However, national identity was not associated with prejudice either directly or indirectly, disconfirming our prediction. Finally, and again mirroring the Peruvian pattern of results, anxiety and threat on the one hand, and national and Latino identity on the other, covaried in the model.

What have we learned from testing this model in Peruvian immigrant and Chilean native-born groups? First we learned that contact with out-group members

plays a central role in predicting prejudice. In contrast to some recent findings (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), intergroup contact produced positive outcomes for both the majority and minority groups. Above and beyond this pattern of results, contact also impacted prejudice indirectly through intergroup anxiety and realistic threat, confirming our mediational hypothesis. Thus, we were able to replicate previous findings that support the idea that contact reduces prejudice because it reduces anxiety and perceived threat (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Rohmann et al., 2006; Ward & Masgoret, 2006).

These findings also have policy implications. Any intervention aimed at improving intergroup relations and changing negative attitudes in an immigration context should consider the benefit of introducing positive intergroup contact, particularly of good quality like the one that brings about friendship (Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Policies that explicitly promote positive contact between immigrants and majority members will contribute to reducing negative outcomes such as anxiety and perceived realistic threat as well as prejudice. School settings might be the optimal places to introduce such policies, integrating them into the civic education curricula. This intervention would allow teachers to introduce the value of diversity, as young children learn to behave, think, and feel about different out-group members in a multiethnic context. Contact could reduce segregation and increase the complexity of the representation of the aggregate, rendering stereotypes, and prejudice less likely to emerge (Brown & Hewstone, 2005). Here, normative interventions may also be desirable. By introducing clear immigration policies, one might change the acculturation preferences of majority members to a stronger endorsement of contact between immigrants and majority members (depending on the kind of policy). This endorsement would in turn lead to greater support for intergroup contact, which is one of the facilitating conditions for positive contact experiences (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Contrary to our predictions, group perception and identities played an unexpected role in the model. On the one hand, group distinctiveness predicted prejudice in the expected direction, but only in the Chilean group. For them, from their position as the majority group, perceived cultural differences increased prejudice toward immigrants. This effect was mediated by anxiety and realistic threat as predicted. The more Chilean people perceive immigrants to be different in terms of their clothing, values and ways of living, the more they feel threatened and anxious. Through these paths, they in turn become more prejudiced toward them. On the other hand, it is unclear to us why group distinctiveness did not play a role in predicting prejudice in the Peruvian group, either directly or as mediated by intergroup anxiety or realistic threat. One possible explanation is that being aware of group distinctiveness is not enough to trigger anxiety or realistic threat if the immigrant's main concern is to become accepted and not discriminated against by members of the majority. It seems to reflect the status position that the minority

group has in this social context. Therefore, perceiving cultural differences is not informative when predicting negative attitudes toward majority members in the case of low-status group members. Overall, perceiving cultural differences should be a target of intervention to the extent that it is an outcome that typically emerges in the immigration context. By definition, immigrants bring cultural differences into play; therefore, the question is how to integrate them without perceiving these differences as threatening. Multicultural education and curricula should consider this aspect to succeed. In this regard, research that tests the dual identity strategy for accommodating group differences within an inclusive common identity could be an interesting way to deal with such cultural differences without threatening group identities (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gonzalez & Brown, 2003, 2006). Similar ideas have been presented when introducing multiculturalism policy as a way of accommodating group diversity in multiethnic societies like Canada (Esses, Lynne, & Tamara, 1998).

Our data also suggest the importance of considering the Latino American identity as a possible predictor of prejudice. However, the relationship between these two factors was restricted to majority members only: The more Chileans perceived themselves as Latino American, the lower their prejudice toward Peruvian immigrants, a finding consistent with the common in-group identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; González & Brown, 2003, 2006; Gonzalez et al., 2008). This model asserts that to reduce intergroup bias, strategies should attempt to recategorize the intergroup situation so that in-groups and out-groups become subsumed into a more inclusive superordinate category. Thus, changing members' perceptions of group boundaries would enable some of the cognitive and motivational processes that may have contributed initially to in-group bias to be redirected toward the development of more positive intergroup relationships. In this way, the former out-group members will be perceived as belonging to a common in-group and hence the process of intergroup differentiation and in-group favoritism along the original category lines is inhibited (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000).

National identity, on the other hand, was a direct predictor of prejudice only for the Peruvian immigrant group. This pattern of results could be due to a methodological problem. In looking at the observed means of national identity in both groups (see Table 1), we see little variance and possible ceiling effects, rendering predictions in the model less testable. For that reason, we think this factor was less influential in predicting prejudice toward out-group members directly or indirectly by intergroup anxiety and realistic threat than expected (Stephan et al., 2000). We need some variability on these measures to predict attitude and to conclude that national identity is irrelevant for majorities in any given social context. Indeed there is empirical evidence that support this idea that we now discuss.

Rohmann and colleagues (2006) clearly showed that group identification was significantly linked to intergroup anxiety and threat in different ways among Italian

and Turkish immigrants. Particularly relevant was the reported link between group identity and threat in the immigrant group. Rohmann et al. (2006) reasoned that the more people are identified with their in-group, the more concerned they are about the in-group's well-being. Therefore, strong identification should be an important antecedent to predict in-group protection from realistic threats imposed by the out-group. Certainly this was not the case in the Peruvian group in Chile. A strong link between identity and threat may be more likely to emerge in a second generation of immigrants. The rationale behind this idea is that quite recent immigrants primarily focus their attention on adapting themselves to the new social context. Therefore, their national identity is psychologically less salient and relevant for them in the process of settling down; after all, they need somehow to integrate to the new culture to survive. Second-generation immigrants, in contrast, might be more motivated to protect their social roots, traditions, and values as a way of keeping group distinctiveness for subsequent generations. Thus, the second generation might feel more confident and empowered to exhibit their national identity. Certainly this is an empirical question to resolve in future research.

Strengths and Weakness of the Present Research

Some strengths and weaknesses of the present research should be noted. This is the first study conducted in Chile that combines acculturation and intergroup research traditions and that considers both Peruvian immigrants and Chilean majority members. Because findings obtained in one national context cannot automatically be generalized to other national contexts without testing the appropriateness of such generalizations, it is of obvious value to extend the array of national settings in which we conduct psychological research (Zagefka et al., 2009). Chile, as well as other countries in the region, represents a novel immigration setting to the extent that immigration is recently becoming a salient issue (as it has not been since the first half of the 20th century). Therefore, this study may serve as a base line for future comparative studies in Chile and the region. A clear indication of this recent immigration pattern is the fact that the Chilean government is about to introduce a specific immigration policy for the first time. This study could illuminate the policy by providing evidence of at least two important social psychological processes that are occurring. First is the evidence of strong links between acculturation preferences and intergroup attitudes held by immigrants and majority members, and more specifically, evidence that the values represented by the acculturation strategies of integration, and to a slightly lesser extent assimilation, are most likely to promote positive intergroup attitudes. Second is the evidence for the central role that friendship plays in promoting positive intergroup attitudes toward out-group members for both immigrants and members of the majority, realized through a reduction of perceived realistic threat and intergroup anxiety. When the Chilean

government does introduce specific immigration laws, these findings could be the basis for a normative intervention that would set the agenda for greater or lesser prejudice depending on the degree to which messages to immigrants conveyed a sense of welcome versus limitations. Moreover, such a framing would structure the context for more or less positive contact experiences.

The correlational design of the study introduces some limitations in terms of possible causal explanations. As can be seen in the literature, the factors that we included in our model can work in a reverse way, and thus the causal link is an important issue. The possible bidirectional effects of intergroup contact and prejudice, for instance, are still an issue. However, new and robust evidence from longitudinal studies suggests that the stronger causal link is from contact to prejudice (Binder et al., 2009). A similar debate exists concerning the effect of contact on the mediators (intergroup anxiety and realistic threat). Certainly the introduction of experimental research involving acculturation dimensions as well as psychological antecedents, consequences, and mediators will contribute to our understanding.

Finally, future research should focus attention on both the antecedents of acculturation preferences and the consequences of embracing particular acculturative strategies by both immigrants and members of the majority. To do so effectively, we think that a more widespread use of longitudinal or—even better—experimental designs will be crucial. Last but not least, it would be desirable to replicate the present findings in other countries where immigration is increasing significantly.

References

- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *46*, 5–68.
- Binder, J., Zagefka, H., Brown, R. J., Funke, F., Kessler, T., Mummendey, A., . . . Leyens, J.-P. (2009). Does contact reduce prejudice or does prejudice reduce contact? A longitudinal test of the contact hypothesis amongst majority and minority groups in three European countries. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *96*, 843–856.
- Bourhis, R. Y., Barrette, G., El-Geledi, S., & Schmidt, R. (2009). Acculturation orientations and social relations between immigrant and host community members in California. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, *40*(3), 443–467.
- Bourhis, R. Y., Moïse, L. C., Perreault, S., & Senécal, S. (1997). Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach. *International Journal of Psychology*, *32*, 369–386.
- Bourhis, R., & Montaruli, E. (2010). Acculturation in multiple host community settings. *Journal of Social Issues*, *66*(4), 780–802.
- Brewer, M. B. (1991). The social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *17*, 475–482.
- Brown, R. J., & Hewstone, M. (2005). An integrative theory of intergroup contact. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 37, pp. 255–343). New York, NY: Elsevier.

- Brown, R. J., Condor, S., Matthews, A., Wade, G., & Williams, J. (1986). Explaining intergroup differentiation in an industrial organization. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, *59*, 273–286.
- Latin-American and Caribbean Center for Demography. (2006). *Migración internacional de latinoamericanos y caribeños en Iberoamérica: Características, retos y oportunidades*. [International migration of Latinos and Caribbeans people in Iberoamerica: Traits, challenges and opportunities]. Santiago, Chile: Cepal.
- Cook, S. W. (1978). Interpersonal and attitudinal outcomes in cooperating interracial groups. *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, *12*, 97–113.
- Daneri, C. G. (2008). Caracterización de la inmigración y gestión migratoria en Chile [Patterns of migration and migration policy in Chile]. In *Migration and multiculturalism: Chile and the international scenario*. Symposium organized by MIDE UC, Santiago, Chile. Retrieved June 15, 2009, from http://www.mideuc.cl/biblioteca_inmigracion.php.
- Donà, G., & Berry, J. W. (1994). Acculturation attitudes and acculturative stress of central American refugees. *International Journal of Psychology*, *29*, 57–70.
- Esses, V., Lynne, M., & Tamara, A. (1998). Intergroup competition and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration: An instrumental model of group conflict. *Journal of Social Issues*, *54*(4), 699–724.
- Florack, A., Piontkowski, U., Bohmann, A., Balzer, T., & Perzig, S. (2003). Perceived intergroup threat and attitudes of host community members toward immigrant acculturation. *Journal of Social Psychology*, *143*, 633–648.
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). *Reducing intergroup bias: The common ingroup identity*. New York, NY: Hove.
- González, R. (2005). Movilidad social: el rol del prejuicio y la discriminación [Social mobility: The role of prejudice and discrimination]. *En Foco*, *59*, 1–23.
- Gonzalez, R., & Brown, R. (2003). Generalization of positive attitude as a function of subgroup and superordinate group identifications in intergroup contact. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *33*, 195–214.
- Gonzalez, R., & Brown, R. (2006). Dual identities in intergroup contact: Group status and size moderate the generalization of positive attitude change. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *42*, 753–767.
- González, R., Manzi, J., Saiz, J., Brewer, M., De Tezanos, P., Torres, D., . . . Aravena, T. (2008). Interparty attitudes in Chile: Coalitions as superordinate social identities. *Political Psychology*, *29*(1) 93–118.
- Hopkins, N. (2001). National identity and prejudice? *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *40*, 183–186.
- Islam, M., & Hewstone, M. (1993). Intergroup attributions and affective consequences in majority and minority groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *64*, 936–950.
- Martínez, J. (2004). *Panorama sobre la migración internacional en América Latina y el Caribe* [Panorama on international migration in Latino America and the Caribbean]. Ponencia presentada al Simposio Panorama de la Inmigración en el Chile del siglo XXI, Santiago, Chile.
- Mullen, B., Brown, R., & Smith, C. (1992). Ingroup bias as a function of salience, relevance, and status: An integration. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *22*, 103–122.
- Paolini, S., Hewstone, M., Cairns, E., & Voci, A. (2004). Effects of direct and indirect cross-group friendships on judgments of Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland: The mediating role of an anxiety-reduction mechanism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *30*, 770–786.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1997). Generalized intergroup contact effects on prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *23*, 173–185.
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *90*, 751–783.
- Pfafferott, I., & Brown, R. (2006). Acculturation preferences of majority and minority adolescents in Germany in the context of society and family. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *30*, 703–717.
- Phinney, J. S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K., & Vedder, P. (2001). Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: An interactional perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*, 493–510.

- Piontkowski, U., Florack, A., Hoelker, P., & Obdrzalek, P. (2000). Predicting acculturation attitudes of dominant and non-dominant groups. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 24*, 1–26.
- Population and Housing Census (2003). *Census 2002*. Santiago, Chile: La Nación.
- Rohmann, A., Florack, A., & Piontkowski, U. (2006). The role of discordant acculturation attitudes in perceived threat: An analysis of host immigrant attitudes in Germany. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 30*, 683–702.
- Stephan, W., Diaz-Loving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 31*, 240–249.
- Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Social Issues, 41*, 157–176.
- Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 23–45). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.
- Tropp, L., & Pettigrew, T. (2005). Relationships between intergroup contact and prejudice among minority and majority status groups. *Psychological Science, 16*, 951–957.
- van Oudenhoven, J. P., Prins, K. S., & Buunk, B. P. (1998). Attitudes of minority and majority members towards adaptation of immigrants. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 28*, 995–1013.
- van Oudenhoven, J. P., Ward, C., & Masgoret, A. M. (2006). Patterns of relations between immigrants and host societies. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 30*, 637–651.
- Voci, A., & Hewstone, M. (2003). Intergroup contact and prejudice toward immigrants in Italy: The mediational role of anxiety and the moderational role of group salience. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 6*, 37–54.
- Ward, C., & Masgoret, A.-M. (2006). An integrative model of attitudes toward immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 30*, 671–682.
- Zagefka, H., & Brown, R. (2002). The relationship between acculturation strategies, relative fit and intergroup relations: Immigrant-majority relations in Germany. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 32*, 171–188.
- Zagefka, H., Brown, R., Broquard, M., & Martin, S. L. (2007). Predictors and consequences of negative attitudes toward immigrants in Belgium and Turkey: The role of acculturation preferences and economic competition. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 46*, 153–169.
- Zagefka, H., Brown, R., & González, R. (2009). Antecedents and consequences of acculturation preferences of non-indigenous majority Chileans in relation to an indigenous minority: Longitudinal survey evidence. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 39*, 558–575.

ROBERTO GONZÁLEZ is Professor of Psychology at the School of Psychology, at Pontificia Universiada Católica de Chile. His research interest and publications focuses on intergroup contact, prejudice, intergroup emotions, and acculturation processes. He lectures on social psychology, methodology, statistic, and prejudice. He is a member of both the council of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI), and the international board of the Association for Psychological Science (APS).

DAVID SIRLOPÚ is an assistant professor in the Faculty of Psychology at Universidad del Desarrollo (Chile). His main research interest is in Peruvian acculturation and intergroup processes. He has also conducted research involving mentally disabled and nondisabled people in school settings with inclusion programs. He lectures on social psychology and community psychology both at the undergraduate and postgraduate level.

THOMAS KESSLER is Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Exeter, UK. He has (co)authored several book chapters and articles, including a co-edited book on emotions. In his research he concentrates on intergroup relations with a particular focus on group-based emotions and explicit negative treatment of out-groups. He lectures on intergroup relations and evolutionary approaches in social psychology in BA and MA level.