

# Coalition or Derogation? How Perceived Discrimination Influences Intraminority Intergroup Relations

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Five studies explored how perceived societal discrimination against one's own racial group influences racial minority group members' attitudes toward other racial minorities. Examining Black–Latino relations, Studies 1a and 1b showed that perceived discrimination toward oneself and one's own racial group may be positively associated with expressed closeness and common fate with another racial minority group, especially if individuals attribute past experiences of discrimination to their racial identity rather than to other social identities (Study 1b). In Studies 2–5, Asian American (Studies 2, 3, and 4) and Latino (Study 5) participants were primed with discrimination against their respective racial groups (or not) and completed measures of attitudes toward Black Americans. Participants primed with racial discrimination expressed greater positivity toward and perceived similarity with Blacks than did participants who were not primed. These results suggest, consistent with the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), that salient discrimination against one's own racial group may trigger a common “disadvantaged racial minority” (ingroup) identity that engenders more positive attitudes toward and feelings of closeness toward other racial minorities.

*Keywords:* intergroup dynamics, minority groups, prejudice, interracial attitudes, perceived discrimination

The United States is teetering on the “tipping point” at which the number of babies born to racial and ethnic minorities will outnumber the number of babies born to Whites (Yen, 2010). Indeed, recent figures show that more than half of American children under age 2 in the United States are members of racial or ethnic minority groups (Yen, 2011). The tipping point of minority births portends the expectation that within the next four decades, racial minorities will constitute more than 50% of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). In other words, racial minorities will become the majority. This population shift and social policies intended to increase diversity will undoubtedly create more opportunities for intergroup contact, not only between Whites and racial minorities but also among members of different racial minority groups.

Despite this emerging trend, social psychological research on intergroup relations has focused almost exclusively on attitudes and interactions between members of dominant groups and members of disadvantaged groups; as a result, little is known about

relations among members of different disadvantaged groups (for some notable exceptions, see Galanis & Jones, 1986; Levin, Sinclair, Sidanius, & Van Laar, 2009; Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008; White & Langer, 1999). Although “minority–minority” relations—what we have termed intraminority intergroup relations—may be shaped by processes similar to those involved in relations between members of different groups more generally, it is also possible that the common experiences that distinguish advantaged from disadvantaged groups result in distinct patterns of intraminority intergroup relations. Our aim in the present research was to consider the effects of one potentially common experience, namely, perceived discrimination. In particular, this research examined how perceptions of pervasive racial discrimination against one's own group affect racial minority group members' attitudes toward and perceptions of other racial minority groups.

How might perceived discrimination against one's group affect intraminority intergroup relations (i.e., the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors that members of one minority group express toward members of different minority groups)? The extant social psychological literature offers two compelling, yet competing, predictions, one from the literature on social identity threat (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999) and the other from work on the common ingroup identity model (CIIM; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). Although both theories draw upon the basic tenets of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986)—namely, that individuals are motivated to favor individuals with whom they share group memberships more than other individuals—the social identity threat perspective and the CIIM emphasize different processes and, thus, forward divergent predictions. The models and their predictions for intraminority intergroup relations in response to perceived discrimination are described below.

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### Racial Discrimination as a Trigger of Social Identity Threat

The social identity threat (Branscombe, Ellemers, et al., 1999) perspective argues that the recognition that one's group faces discrimination and is devalued is likely to be perceived as a threat to the value of one's social identity.<sup>1</sup> Because people derive self-esteem from their group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), a value threat such as perceived discrimination should lead individuals to attempt to enhance their esteem by restoring the perceived positivity of their group (Branscombe, Ellemers, et al., 1999). Research has shown, consistent with this perspective, that perceiving threats to one's group (i.e., social identity threat) can lead group members, especially those who are highly identified, to derogate outgroups and, thus, promote the relative positivity of their own group (Branscombe, Ellemers, et al., 1999; Hornsey, 2008; Leach, Spears, Branscombe, & Doosje, 2003). In one study, Branscombe and Wann (1994) examined the consequences of social identity threat on evaluations of other groups. American participants viewed a video clip from *Rocky IV* in which an American boxer (Rocky) fought a Russian competitor. Social identity (American identity) was either threatened or not by manipulating the content of the clip. For participants in the threat condition, the clip showed Rocky losing to the Russian boxer. For participants in the no-threat, control condition, however, the clip depicted a scene in which Rocky was beating his Russian opponent.

After watching the clip, participants indicated the extent to which they considered Russians to be trustworthy, hostile, or aggressive. Participants also indicated their willingness to help students of different nationalities (e.g., French, Chinese, Italians). Results revealed that participants in the identity threat condition derogated Russians (the source of the threat) but not the nonthreatening outgroups (i.e., French, Chinese, and Italians) significantly more than did participants in the no-threat condition. Internal analyses of participants within the threat condition revealed, however, that the more threatened participants felt, the more they derogated both Russians (i.e., the source of the threat) and people of other nationalities (i.e., the nonthreatening outgroups). In other words, participants who experienced the most social identity threat derogated both the outgroup that perpetrated the threat and nonthreatening outgroups, suggesting that at least for some individuals, identity threat can result in a nonspecific outgroup derogation effect.

Support for the possibility that social identity threat can result in the derogation of nonthreatening outgroups can also be gleaned from research by Cadinu and Reggiori (2002) examining the role of perpetrator group status on outgroup derogation. They examined how individuals respond to social identity threat in the form of negative evaluations about the ingroup from a high-status outgroup. Cadinu and Reggiori (2002) were primarily interested in whether such threatened individuals would subsequently derogate both the high-status, threatening outgroup and a lower status, nonthreatening outgroup. In their study, clinical psychologists read the results of an alleged survey in which medical doctors (a high-status outgroup) expressed positive or negative opinions regarding clinical psychologists, then made ratings of how characteristic it was for different professional groups (medical doctors, social workers, psychologists) to possess several traits relevant to

professionalism (e.g., being competent, professional, or scientific). Participants rated medical doctors' professionalism similarly, regardless of the opinion expressed by medical doctors (i.e., whether or not their identity had been threatened). However, participants in the identity threat condition derogated social workers, a nonthreatening outgroup. In particular, social workers were evaluated as being less professional by threatened participants than by participants who were not threatened. Taken together, this work provides compelling evidence that individuals often respond to social identity threat by derogating outgroups, even groups that were not responsible for the threat. Consequently, to the extent that perceiving discrimination against one's group triggers social identity threat, this research suggests that racial minorities will derogate members of other racial minority groups.

### Racial Discrimination as a Trigger of a Common Ingroup Identity

Although the research on social identity threat overwhelmingly supports the idea that perceived discrimination is likely to lead members of one racial minority group to derogate members of a different racial minority group, there is reason to predict just the opposite. To the extent that perceived group discrimination triggers a common identity (perhaps as a "disadvantaged racial minority") that is shared with other racial minorities, perceived discrimination should engender more positive intraminority intergroup relations. Gurin, Miller, and Gurin (1980) conceptualized identification as "the awareness of having ideas, feelings, and interests similar to others who share the same stratum characteristics" (p. 30). Relative disadvantage compared to the White, male high-status group may be construed as a common experience for different racial minority groups that, in turn, promotes feelings of similarity and affiliation and, thus, categorization with other individuals who are thought to share this experience/status (Brewer, 2000; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Schmitt, Spears, & Branscombe, 2003). Indeed, Schmitt et al. (2003) found that the more international students from 32 different countries perceived that they were discriminated against due to their nationality, the more they identified with a common "international student" identity. In other words, perceived discrimination may facilitate a common identity by increasing the perceived similarities among one's own disadvantaged group and members of other disadvantaged groups.

According to Gaertner et al.'s (1993) CIIM, furthermore, more positive attitudes toward outgroup members result when individuals categorize themselves and outgroup members in terms of a common, superordinate identity than when individuals think of themselves as members of distinct groups. A common ingroup identity is thought to improve outgroup attitudes through a recategorization process in which the former outgroups actually become included into individuals' representations of their ingroup (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Recall that, according to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), ingroup members are favored

<sup>1</sup> Threats to social identity can take many forms (Branscombe, Ellemers, et al., 1999; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Whereas most research on social identity threat has focused on intraindividual outcomes such as individual task performance, vigilance, and anxiety (e.g., Steele & Aronson, 1995), the present research considered the effects of social identity threat on intergroup outcomes.

over members of other groups, in part, in order for individuals to maintain positive self-esteem. A common ingroup identity does not necessarily require individuals to reject their subgroup identity in favor of the superordinate, inclusive identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio, & Bachman, 1996). Instead, a dual identity may occur in which individuals view themselves as members of different groups working toward the same goals or “playing on the same team” (Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994, p. 227).

Studies conducted in varying situations (e.g., a multicultural high school, an ethnically diverse workplace, and a football game) have found that individuals express more positive attitudes toward racial outgroups when a common, superordinate identity is made salient (e.g., Cunningham, 2005; Gaertner et al., 1994, 1996; Nier et al., 2001). For example, White fans at a university football game were approached by a White or Black interviewer wearing a home team hat (i.e., common ingroup identity condition) or an away team hat (i.e., no common ingroup identity condition) and were asked to complete a 5-min survey. Fans complied with Black interviewers more when they were wearing the home team hat and, thus, making their common identity salient than when they were wearing the visiting team hat (Gaertner et al., 1996; Nier et al., 2001). Additionally, in a study of National Collegiate Athletic Association coaching staff (75% of whom were White), Cunningham (2005) found that in work groups with more racial diversity, greater belief that oneself and one’s coworkers were part of the same group (a common ingroup identity) was associated with greater coworker satisfaction. Conversely, without a common ingroup identity, racial diversity in work groups was related to lower satisfaction with coworkers (Cunningham, 2005).

Given the effectiveness of a common ingroup identity in improving Whites’ attitudes toward Blacks, it seems likely that to the extent that the discrimination that one’s racial group is perceived to face activates a common “disadvantaged minority” identity, positive attitudes between members of different low-status, stigmatized groups will be facilitated. We are aware of one study that has examined this possibility (Galanis & Jones, 1986). In this study, Black participants read a case about a man (race unspecified) who was experiencing a number of physical symptoms and had been labeled as mentally ill. Participants made ratings on a number of dimensions, including how dangerous he was and how willing they were to live near him. Prior to their making judgments, however, Black victimization was made salient for half of the participants by having them read a vignette about a Black defendant who entered a plea of insanity due to his status as a victim of societal oppression. Results indicated that Black participants in this victimization condition were more tolerant of the target with mental illness than were those for whom Black victimization was not made salient. In other words, consistent with the CIIM, making group victimization salient led to more positive evaluations of a member of a different stigmatized group (i.e., individuals with mental illness).

Galanis and Jones’ (1986) findings suggest that a common “disadvantaged minority” identity may indeed be activated by reminding participants of past group victimization. In that study, making Black victimization salient increased Black participants’ feelings of similarity with and sympathy for another stigmatized group. Although these results are compelling, aspects of the methods make it unclear whether or not salient group discrimination is

sufficient to engender positive intraminority intergroup relations. In particular, the Black victimization prime in the Galanis and Jones study included a direct, explicit association between mental illness and race; that is, it suggested that mental illness is a possible outcome of Black victimization. It is possible, therefore, that the common potential ingroup of “individuals with mental illness” was made salient by the prime rather than Black victimization, *per se*. Consequently, ambiguity remains regarding whether solely making discrimination against one’s group salient will similarly result in positive evaluations of members of other disadvantaged groups or, rather, whether salient group discrimination will activate social identity threat and thus result in more negative evaluations of members of other disadvantaged groups. Our purpose in the present research was to examine these competing possibilities.

### Overview of the Present Research

The present research examined how perceived discrimination against one’s own racial group influences attitudes toward other racial minority groups. In five studies, we examined (a) whether perceived discrimination against one’s own group is related to perceptions of commonality and/or similarity with other racial minorities (Studies 1–3 and 5) and (b) how making such discrimination salient affects the expression of bias toward members of other racial groups (Studies 2–5). In Studies 1a and 1b, we examined data from two national surveys of Black and Latino Americans in order to provide initial evidence that there is an association between perceived discrimination against oneself or one’s racial group and perceptions of commonality and/or similarity with another racial minority group. In Studies 2–5, we examined the causal relation between perceived discrimination and intraminority intergroup attitudes with a series of experiments in which participants were reminded (or not) of discrimination against their racial group and their attitudes toward different racial outgroups were then assessed. In addition, Studies 2, 3, and 5 investigated whether perceived similarity mediates the effects of perceived discrimination on intraminority intergroup attitudes. If perceptions of group discrimination primarily trigger social identity threat, individuals should perceive their racial groups to be less similar to and express more negative attitudes toward other racial minority groups (i.e., outgroups) when group discrimination is salient than when it is not salient. Conversely, if making group discrimination salient triggers a common ingroup identity (e.g., “disadvantaged racial minority”), individuals should perceive their racial groups to be more similar to and express more positive attitudes toward members of other racial minority groups when discrimination is salient than when it is not salient.

### Study 1a

Study 1a was meant to provide an initial test of the social identity threat and the common ingroup identity predictions regarding the effects of perceived discrimination on intraminority intergroup relations. We were primarily interested in whether perceptions of the racial discrimination faced by oneself or one’s own racial group were associated with greater perceptions of similarity with another racial minority group. We examined both perceptions of personally faced discrimination and perceptions that one’s group as a whole faces discrimination, because they often

differ. That is, although most disadvantaged group members report that their group faces discrimination, a much smaller percentage reports that they personally have faced discrimination (e.g., Crosby, 1982; Kasschau, 1977; Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam, & Lalonde, 1990). Individuals who are more likely to report personally experiencing discrimination, however, also tend to be more sensitive to cues that may signal discrimination (e.g., Kaiser, Vick, & Major, 2006; Operario & Fiske, 2001). Consequently, individuals who are more likely to perceive personal discrimination may also be more likely to perceive the discrimination that other disadvantaged groups face and perceive a commonality between themselves and other disadvantaged racial groups.

Thus, in a nationally representative sample, we examined Black and Latino respondents' associations between perceptions that they and/or their racial group face discrimination and (a) their perceptions that another racial minority group (Latinos and Blacks, respectively) also faces racial discrimination and (b) their perceived closeness toward the other racial minority group. If perceived discrimination faced by oneself or one's group is experienced solely as a social identity threat, we would expect either a negative or a nonsignificant correlation between respondents' reports of the discrimination they face and the discrimination they perceive the other minority group to face. Similarly, if perceived discrimination primarily triggers social identity threat, a negative or nonsignificant correlation should emerge between respondents' reports of perceived discrimination and the closeness they perceive with the other racial minority group. Conversely, if perceived discrimination faced by oneself or one's group triggers a common ingroup identity, we would expect that the more respondents report that they face discrimination, the more they should perceive the other racial minority group also to face discrimination and the closer they should report feeling to the other racial minority group.

## Data and Method

The present study examined data from the National Politics Study (NPS; Jackson, Hutchings, Brown, & Wong, 2004). The NPS includes data from 3,339 telephone interviews of residents of the United States that took place between September 2004 and February 2005. In the interviews, participants were asked about their attitudes and behaviors in relation to different political and social issues. To collect more data from Black respondents, the study intentionally oversampled in Black neighborhoods. We focused our analyses on the sample of self-identified Black ( $n = 756$ ) and Latino ( $n = 757$ ) respondents. Moreover, we analyzed responses to the following items: (a) perceived personal discrimination, (b) perceived discrimination against Blacks, (c) perceived discrimination against Latinos, (d) perceived closeness to Blacks (for Latino participants), and (e) perceived closeness to Latinos (for Black participants).

**Perceived discrimination.** In the interview, respondents indicated how much discrimination they thought that different racial or ethnic groups and that they themselves (i.e., personally) had faced in the United States on a 4-point scale (1 = *A lot*, 2 = *Some*, 3 = *A little*, 4 = *None*). Respondents were first prompted to think about and then indicate how much discrimination or unfair treatment different racial/ethnic groups (e.g., Blacks, Latinos) face in the United States. Afterward, respondents were asked to indicate

on the same scale "How much discrimination or unfair treatment do you think you have faced in the U.S. because of your ethnicity or race?" All responses were reverse-coded such that higher values indicate greater perceived discrimination.

**Closeness to other racial groups.** In order to gain an estimate of how similar respondents viewed themselves to a different racial minority group, we examined their responses to a measure of perceived closeness. Previous research has found perceived closeness to reflect individuals' psychological attachment or identification with a particular social group (e.g., Conover, 1984; Gurin, 1985; Gurin et al., 1980). Among the variables included in the NPS data set, items assessing perceived closeness to different racial groups are promising indices of perceived commonality with another racial minority group and, thus, make for a reasonable initial test of the competing predictions of social identity threat theory and the CIIM. Respondents were asked to indicate how close they felt their ideas, interests, and feelings were to those of Blacks and Latinos on a 4-point scale (1 = *Very close*, 2 = *Fairly close*, 3 = *Not too close*, 4 = *Not close at all*). Again, responses were reverse-coded such that higher numbers indicate greater perceived closeness to the racial minority group. In the present work, we examined only cross-race perceived closeness (i.e., Latino participants' reports of their perceived closeness to Blacks and Black participants' reports of their perceived closeness to Latinos).

## Results and Discussion

As is customary for data analysis with complex samples produced by stratified sampling, our analyses were weighted to compensate for the unequal probabilities of selection into the sample and to adjust for nonresponse (Graubard & Korn, 1996). Weights adjust the sample so that characteristics of the weighted sample match characteristics of the population of interest, allowing for more generalizable inferences to be drawn. Because we were interested in subpopulations of the data set (i.e., Black and Latino respondents), separate subpopulation weights were created for each subpopulation following the suggestions of Graubard and Korn (1996). In particular, we adjusted the centered weight that was created by Jackson et al. (2004) so that respondents who were not in the subpopulation of interest were assigned a low weight value (i.e., 0.001).<sup>2</sup> Subpopulation weights are preferable to listwise deletion, because if one deletes data from the sample instead of using subpopulation analysis, standard errors may be estimated incorrectly (Graubard & Korn, 1996).

The partial correlations among all five variables for the two subsamples (Black and Latino respondents) are provided in

<sup>2</sup> We also used an alternative method of analyzing complex samples with specialized software (STATA) to conduct the subpopulation analyses in Studies 1a and 1b. Both methods of complex samples data analysis (using specialized software or the adjusted weight correction technique) found consistent results. The results found with Graubard and Korn's (1996) adjusted weight correction procedures are reported in the text.

Tables 1 and 2.<sup>3</sup> The results for the two subsamples were largely consistent. Perhaps not surprisingly, the extent to which Black and Latino respondents reported facing racial discrimination themselves was positively (albeit modestly) associated with greater perceptions that their ingroup (i.e., Blacks or Latinos as a whole) also faced discrimination. Consistent with the tenets of the CIIM, furthermore, results indicated that both perceived personal discrimination and perceived group discrimination positively predicted perceived discrimination against the other racial minority group in both subsamples. That is, the more Black respondents perceived that they personally face discrimination or that Blacks as a group face discrimination, the more they perceived that Latinos likewise face discrimination. Similarly, Latino respondents' perceptions that they personally or Latinos as a group face discrimination were associated with perceptions that Blacks face discrimination. In other words, both Blacks and Latinos who perceive that they or their racial/ethnic group faces discrimination tend also to believe that the experience of discrimination is something that they have in common with the other racial/ethnic minority group.

Contrary to these findings for perceptions of discrimination, examinations of Black and Latino respondents' perceptions of cross-race closeness yielded inconsistent results. In support of the predictions of the CIIM, Black respondents' reports of perceived personal discrimination were significantly and positively correlated, albeit modestly, with feelings of closeness to Latinos (see Table 1). Contrary to the CIIM, however, Latino respondents' perceived personal discrimination did not predict feelings of closeness toward Blacks. If anything, consistent with the predictions of the social identity threat model, the relation between perceived personal discrimination and closeness toward Blacks was negative, albeit not reliably so (see Table 2). Moreover, results revealed that perceived ingroup discrimination did not predict perceived closeness toward the other minority group for either Black or Latino respondents.

Taken together, the present findings lend partial support to the tenets of the CIIM, suggesting that perceived discrimination may trigger a common "disadvantaged racial minority" identity. Similar

Table 1  
*Correlations Between Perceived Discrimination Faced by Black Respondents, Blacks, and Latinos, and Perceived Closeness to Latinos (Study 1a)*

Variable	1	2	3	4
1. Personally faced discrimination				
Zero-order correlation	—			
Partial correlation	—			
2. Discrimination faced by Blacks				
Zero-order correlation	.292***	—		
Partial correlation	.259***	—		
3. Discrimination faced by Latinos				
Zero-order correlation	.223***	.482***	—	
Partial correlation	.179**	.449***	—	
4. Closeness to Latinos				
Zero-order correlation	.124*	.033	.143*	—
Partial correlation	.132*	.019	.126*	—

Note. Partial correlations control for respondent age, gender, birthplace, and education level.  
\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Table 2  
*Correlations Between Perceived Discrimination Faced by Latino Respondents, Latinos, and Blacks, and Perceived Closeness to Blacks (Study 1a)*

Variable	1	2	3	4
1. Personally faced discrimination				
Zero-order correlation	—			
Partial correlation	—			
2. Discrimination faced by Latinos				
Zero-order correlation	.364***	—		
Partial correlation	.357***	—		
3. Discrimination faced by Blacks				
Zero-order correlation	.150**	.395***	—	
Partial correlation	.175***	.423***	—	
4. Closeness to Blacks				
Zero-order correlation	-.017	-.063	.163***	—
Partial correlation	.015	-.037	.114*	—

Note. Partial correlations control for respondent age, gender, birthplace, and education level.

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

to Schmitt et al.'s (2003) study of the effects of perceived discrimination on international students' collective identity, the present results provide preliminary evidence that perceiving more racial discrimination is associated with (a) a sense that another racial minority group also faces discrimination and (b), for Black respondents, greater perceived closeness to members of that other racial minority group. Although the associations between perceived discrimination faced by respondents or their ingroup and perceptions that the other racial minority group also faces discrimination were consistent for both Black and Latino subsamples, Latino respondents revealed different results than Black respondents in the relation between perceived personal discrimination and felt cross-race closeness. One possible explanation for this divergence is the sampling method employed for the NPS. The NPS intentionally oversampled majority Black neighborhoods, perhaps biasing the sample of Latinos represented in the study. Research has found negative effects of Black population size on Latino economic and political development (McClain & Karnig, 1990; McClain & Tauber, 1998). Thus, the NPS may have sampled in areas in which it is especially likely that Latinos perceive competition with Blacks, making it more difficult to perceive Blacks as allies. Moreover, in majority Black neighborhoods, it is possible that Latinos perceive Blacks to be the perpetrators of much of the racial bias that they face, rather than similarly disadvantaged because of their race. One aim in Study 1b, therefore, was to examine further the extent to which perceived racial discrimination may be associated with greater perceived commonality with and/or similarity to Blacks in a broader sample of Latinos.

### Study 1b

Study 1b was meant to offer a conceptual replication and extension of the correlation that emerged in Study 1a between

<sup>3</sup> In all of the analyses reported in Studies 1a and 1b, we controlled for the following participant characteristics: age, gender, education, and whether or not the participant was born in the United States.

perceived discrimination and feelings of commonality with another racial minority group, as well as to explore this potential relation further in Latinos. Our aim in Study 1b was to discern whether the positive correlation between perceived discrimination and commonality to a racial minority outgroup is specific to perceived racial discrimination (i.e., the potentially salient common experience) or, rather, whether the perception of discrimination due to any source (e.g., sexism, ageism) also predicts perceived commonality. To address this question, Study 1b examined responses on the Latino National Survey (LNS; Fraga et al., 2006), wherein respondents were asked about the discrimination they had faced and asked to attribute any perceived discrimination to a likely source (e.g., gender, race, age). Because Fraga et al. (2006) designed the LNS for purposes other than the examination of our specific research questions, they did not include items that directly assess perceived commonality with and/or similarity to a different racial group. Fraga et al. did, however, include a measure of participants' perceived common fate with Black Americans. Hence, we examined responses to this variable as a proxy for perceived commonality and/or similarity.

Common fate provides an interesting test of the CIIM predictions because common fate has been conceptualized as an aspect of group consciousness, formed from a sense of shared history of racial discrimination, that encourages cohesion and solidarity among group members (e.g., Dawson, 1994). Common fate, furthermore, is typically examined within racial groups (e.g., Blacks' perceptions that their fates are linked with those of other Blacks; Dawson, 1994), and, thus, examining the degree to which Latinos perceive a sense of common fate with Blacks provides an intriguing test of the extent to which perceived (racial) discrimination may prime a common "disadvantaged racial minority" identity in Latinos. Hence, in Study 1b we examined whether perceived racial discrimination leads to greater perceived common fate with a different racial group than does perceived discrimination due to factors unrelated to race. In particular, we tested whether Latinos who attributed past instances of unfair treatment to racial factors perceived greater common fate with Black Americans than Latinos who attributed past instances of unfair treatment to nonracial factors. Because these items were embedded within a large-scale national survey designed for purposes other than the present research questions, however, any effects that emerge are likely to be small in magnitude.

## Data and Method

Study 1b analyzed data from the LNS (Fraga et al., 2006), a national survey of 8,634 self-identified Latino or Hispanic residents of the United States. Between November 2005 and August 2006, adult Latino respondents were contacted by telephone and asked about their political attitudes, policy preferences, and social experiences. Survey respondents resided in 15 states and the District of Columbia metro area. The principal investigators of the LNS selected states to be sampled in the survey based on the size of the states' Latino or Hispanic population; as a result, 87.5% of Hispanic adults in the United States reside in the areas sampled in the LNS, allowing for confidence that the sample is representative (Fraga et al., 2006). Bilingual interviewers greeted respondents in both English and Spanish and offered to interview respondents in either language. Additionally, interviewers asked which term re-

spondents preferred (*Latino* or *Hispanic*) and subsequently used the preferred term throughout the survey (*Hispanic* was used if no preference was indicated). Our analyses focused on a subset of the 8,634 total respondents who indicated that they had faced some form of unfair treatment (i.e., discrimination) in the past ( $n = 2,657$ ). These respondents were asked to attribute that discrimination to one of eight sources (see below) and prior to these questions had been asked about their perceived common fate with Black Americans. These items were, of course, embedded among a much larger set of unrelated questions (i.e., approximately 165 distinct items were asked in the course of the interview).

**Attribution of discrimination.** Respondents were first asked to indicate (*yes* or *no*) whether or not they had faced unfair treatment in their jobs, housing, restaurants, and stores or by the police. After this, respondents were asked, "There are lots of possible reasons why people might be treated unfairly, what do you think was the main reason for your experience(s)?" The interviewer gave the respondents eight possible reasons for the unfair treatment: *being Latino*, *being an immigrant*, *national origin*, *language or accent*, *skin color*, *gender*, *age*, or *other*. We grouped together responses of *gender*, *age*, and *other* to indicate attributions to social categories unrelated to race and grouped together responses of *being Latino*, *national origin*, and *skin color* to indicate respondents' attribution of past discrimination to race or ethnicity. We did not include responses of discrimination due to immigration status or language, because it was ambiguous as to whether or not these should be grouped under race/ethnicity or other social categories. Consequently, of the 2,657 participants who reported encountering unfair treatment, 610 participants (23%) who attributed the unfair treatment to immigration status ( $n = 232$ ) or language ( $n = 378$ ) were excluded from analyses.

**Perceived common fate with Blacks.** One item assessed perceived common fate with Blacks. Respondents indicated "How much does Latinos/Hispanics 'doing well' depend on African-Americans also doing well?" on a 4-point scale (1 = *Not at all*, 2 = *A little*, 3 = *Some*, 4 = *A lot*). Thus, higher numbers indicate greater perceived common fate with Blacks.

## Results and Discussion

We wanted to maximize generalizability to the general Latino population and thus used weighting procedures similar to those utilized in Study 1a. For the LNS, Fraga et al. (2006) created a national weight to adjust the sample to conform to the demographic composition of the total U.S. Latino adult population. However, as we were interested in the subpopulation of individuals who had experienced some form of discrimination, as in Study 1a, a subpopulation weight was created from the national weight following the suggestions of Graubard and Korn (1996). That is, we adjusted the national weight that was created by Fraga et al., so that respondents who were not in the subpopulation of interest (i.e., individuals who did not report experiencing any discrimination or who reported experiencing discrimination due to their immigration status or language) were assigned a low weight value of 0.001.

To test whether Latinos' attribution of past discrimination to race-related, rather than race-unrelated, factors is associated with greater perceived common fate with Blacks, we examined the correlation between respondents' attributions of discrimination (dummy coded as 1 for race-related and 0 for race-unrelated) and

their perceived common fate with Black Americans. The zero-order correlation between Latinos' attribution of past discrimination to race-related, rather than race-unrelated, factors and perceived common fate with Blacks was positive and significant, albeit of small magnitude ( $r = .075, p < .001$ ). Controlling for respondent age, gender, level of education, and birthplace did not notably alter these results ( $r_{\text{partial}} = .056, p < .010$ ). Latinos who attributed past unfair treatment to race or ethnicity perceived greater common fate with Blacks than did Latinos who attributed past unfair treatment to factors unrelated to race. Consistent with the CIIM, therefore, these findings suggest that perceived racial discrimination, rather than perceived discrimination more generally, may be particularly likely to activate a common ingroup identity.

The association between attributing past discrimination to race-related, rather than race-unrelated, factors and perceived common fate that was found in this study is, of course, not an overwhelmingly large effect; however, one may not expect large effect sizes from the single-item measures we examined because of potential issues with reliability, measurement error, and the complexity of the actual construct. Given the limitations of correlational research and the fact that the surveys were not specifically designed to examine the questions motivating our research, it is not particularly surprising that such small effect-size estimates were revealed. Due to the constraints of the data set, common fate provided an acceptable, although perhaps not ideal, proxy for perceived similarity or commonality. Regardless, in spite of these limitations, using these variables to measure our constructs, we found evidence that attributing past instances of unfair treatment to racial factors is associated with greater perceived common fate with another racial minority group than is attributing unfair treatment to nonracial factors.

Taken together, Studies 1a and 1b offer preliminary support for the tenets of the CIIM regarding the predicted effects of perceived racial discrimination on attitudes toward members of other racial minority outgroups. They reveal that perceived racial discrimination toward oneself is positively associated with expressed cross-race closeness (Black sample in Study 1a) and common fate (Study 1b) with a different racial minority group—two variables that have been thought to reflect a sense of shared group identity (e.g., Conover, 1984; Dawson, 1994; Gurin, 1985; Gurin et al., 1980). Indeed, measures of collective identity often include items that tap into a sense of closeness, common fate, or shared destiny with other group members (e.g., Lowery, Knowles, & Unzueta, 2007; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). Consistent with Schmitt et al. (2003), in other words, these data suggest that perceived racial discrimination may activate an identity, such as “disadvantaged racial minority,” that individuals share with other racial minority group members either in addition to or instead of triggering social identity threat. Study 1b showed that perceptions of racial discrimination in particular are associated with greater common fate with another racial minority group, suggesting that a common disadvantaged identity may be more likely among groups for which there are similar ostensible perpetrators or for whom discrimination is manifested in similar ways. We return to this idea in the General Discussion.

It is important to note, however, that although the effects of Studies 1a and 1b are modest in terms of effect-size estimates, they emerged from responses to national surveys of adult respondents,

suggesting that the phenomenon under investigation in the present work is likely to have broad relevance. Nevertheless, these limitations, coupled with issues of directionality associated with correlational research, argue for an examination of the effects of perceived racial discrimination on perceptions of other racial minority groups with experimental methods. Building on the preliminary support of a common ingroup identity response to perceived discrimination suggested by Studies 1a and 1b, Studies 2–5 employed experimental methods to examine whether perceived racial discrimination triggers a sense of common identity with members of other racial minority groups that, in turn, leads to the expression of more positive attitudes toward those groups.

## Study 2

Our primary aim in Study 2 was to test whether perceived racial discrimination leads to an increase in perceptions of similarity with other racial minority groups that, in turn, results in the expression of more positive attitudes toward those groups. That is, if the racial discrimination that one (or one's group) faces is perceived to be a common experience that is shared with other racial minorities (Study 1a) and, thus, promotes feelings of closeness and a common fate with individuals who share this experience (i.e., racial minorities; Studies 1a and 1b), the CIIM predicts that perceived discrimination will also lead to the expression of more positive attitudes toward other racial minority groups. As a test of this possibility, in Study 2 Asian American participants were randomly assigned to be exposed to discrimination toward their group (i.e., “anti-Asian” discrimination) or to a no-discrimination control condition, after which they reported their perceived similarity with and attitudes toward Black Americans, another racial minority group.

We further examined the concept of a common ingroup identity by utilizing a measure of perceived similarity, modeled after Aron, Aron, and Smollan's (1992) Inclusion of Other in the Self measure. This measure of perceived similarity provides convergent evidence that a broader ingroup is primed and is preferable to asking more explicit and, potentially, demanding questions regarding the degree to which individuals perceive a common identity as a disadvantaged group member. This type of measure has been used in previous research to assess level of group affiliation (Swann, Gómez, Seyle, Morales, & Huici, 2009; Tropp & Wright, 2001). Thus, in Study 2 we examined perceived similarity between Blacks and Asians and assessed the relative favorability of attitudes toward Blacks. Consistent with the general pattern of results in Studies 1a and 1b, participants who were primed with anti-Asian discrimination were expected to express greater similarity with Black Americans. Moreover, consistent with the CIIM, Asian Americans who were primed with anti-Asian discrimination were expected also to express more positive attitudes toward Black Americans and perceived similarity was expected to mediate the predicted positive effect of salient racial discrimination on intraminority intergroup attitudes.

## Method

**Participants.** Thirty-three Asian American women participated in exchange for partial course credit or \$8. All participants

had lived in the United States or Canada for at least 5 years prior to participation.

#### Materials and measures.

**Perceived discrimination manipulation.** Anti-Asian discrimination was primed through a newspaper article manipulation adapted from previous research (Major, Kaiser, O'Brien, & McCoy, 2007; Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005) examining the effects of exposure to pervasive group prejudice. Participants in the anti-Asian, discrimination-salient condition and participants in the control condition first read two neutral, identical texts (e.g., one was an article outlining a lawsuit against McDonald's and the other was an op-ed about plagiarism). After this, participants read a third article about a research study that either pertained to the social and economic consequences of racial discrimination against Asians in the United States (discrimination-salient condition) or concerned left-handedness and brain function (control condition). For example, the discrimination-salient condition text was titled "Racial Bias Is Alive"; it described an alleged study that found pervasive discrimination faced by Asian Americans in income disparities, anti-Asian attitudes held by Whites, mental health risks, and disparities in media representation. In contrast, the control condition text was titled "Researchers Explore Left-Handedness" and simply presented information on the potential genetic determinants and neural correlates of handedness. Participants responded to several questions after each article (e.g., "How persuasive was this article?") to ensure that they had read and believed the discrimination article.

**Perceptions of similarity.** Perceptions of similarity between Blacks and Asians were assessed with an adapted Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale (Aron et al., 1992). Increasingly overlapping pairs of circles representing Blacks and Asians were shown on the screen, and participants were asked to indicate the pair of circles that best represented the similarity of the two groups. Each similarity circle pair was labeled 1–7, with higher numbers corresponding with increasingly overlapping circles and increased perceived similarity.

**Anti-Black attitudes scale.** Participants completed the 10-item Anti-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) on two occasions, once during a pretesting session several weeks before the laboratory study to establish a baseline assessment of negative beliefs about Blacks and again during the laboratory session. This scale is a self-report measure of negative beliefs about Blacks. Participants indicated their agreement on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*) with items that suggest Blacks lack the values necessary to advance in society. For example, items included "Black children would do better in school if their parents had better attitudes about learning" and "One of the biggest problems for a lot of Blacks is their lack of self-respect." Thus, higher scores indicate greater agreement with these statements and more negative attitudes toward Blacks. The 10 items from each session were averaged separately to create indices of negative attitudes toward Blacks at baseline ( $\alpha = .87$ ) and after exposure to the experimental manipulation ( $\alpha = .84$ ).

**Procedure.** Several weeks after a mass-testing session in which they completed a baseline assessment of negative beliefs about Blacks (among several unrelated measures), participants came into the lab individually and were met by an Asian American experimenter who explained that the goal of the study was to examine reading and memory skills. After providing informed

consent, participants read three short newspaper articles with the final article providing the perceived discrimination manipulation. After reading the articles, they completed an unrelated sorting task, followed by the self-report similarity and attitudes measures. Finally, participants were probed for suspicion regarding the hypotheses, debriefed, and thanked.

## Results

One participant was removed from the analyses for indicating that the discrimination-salient article was unconvincing. Thus, the final sample included 32 participants (16 discrimination-salient, 16 control).

**Perceptions of similarity.** Perceived similarity was examined as a function of the prime condition (discrimination-salient, control). Consistent with the CIIM, Asian American participants who read about anti-Asian discrimination ( $M = 4.25$ ,  $SD = 1.29$ ) rated Blacks and Asians as significantly more similar to one another than did participants in the control condition ( $M = 3.25$ ,  $SD = 1.44$ ),  $t(30) = 2.07$ ,  $p = .047$ ,  $d = 0.73$ .

**Anti-Black attitudes.** Participants' anti-Black attitude scores were similarly examined as a function of the prime condition (discrimination-salient, control), with baseline scores on the anti-Black attitudes scale as a covariate. Consistent with predictions and the CIIM, participants who were primed with anti-Asian racial discrimination ( $M = 3.52$ ,  $SD = 1.05$ ) revealed significantly less anti-Black sentiment than did participants who were not primed ( $M = 3.91$ ,  $SD = 0.73$ ),  $F(1, 29) = 4.47$ ,  $p = .043$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .13$ . Thus, although there was overall disagreement with the anti-Black statements for participants in both conditions (i.e., the means of both conditions are below the midpoint of the scale), participants in the discrimination-salient condition disagreed more with anti-Black statements (i.e., demonstrated more positive attitudes) than did participants in the control condition.

**Mediation through perceptions of similarity.** The CIIM proposes that increased perceptions of similarity with a former outgroup is one factor that can lead to common ingroup identification and more positive attitudes toward that group. To test the significance of the indirect pathway from anti-Asian discrimination-salient condition to anti-Black attitudes through perceived similarity, we used Preacher and Hayes' (2004, 2008) bootstrapping method with the recommended 5,000 resamples. We assessed the indirect effects of perceived discrimination on anti-Black attitudes with perceived similarity toward Blacks as the mediator (see Figure 1 for the beta weights). The direct effect of the dummy-coded perceived discrimination variable (0 = control, 1 = discrimination-salient) on anti-Black attitudes was significant,  $t(29) = -2.11$ ,  $p = .043$ , and, importantly, the bias-corrected bootstrap estimate of the indirect effect through perceived similarity had a 95% confidence interval that was reliably different from zero, 95% CI [0.01, 0.34]. This indicates that perceived similarity significantly mediated the effect of perceived discrimination on anti-Black attitudes.

## Discussion

Study 2 further examined the effect of perceived racial discrimination directed toward one's own group on feelings of similarity with another racial minority group in an experiment with Asian



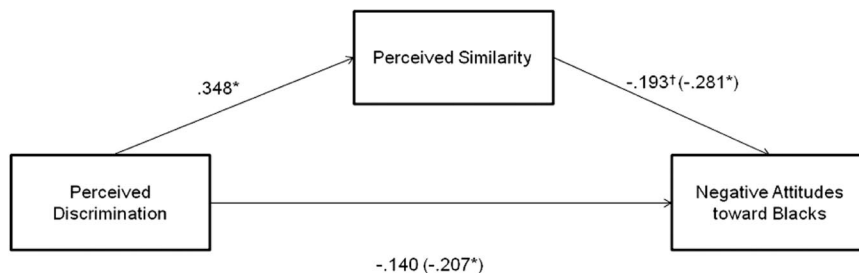


Figure 1. Study 2: Perceived similarity as a mediator of perceived discrimination's effect on negative attitudes toward Blacks. Path values represent the standardized regression coefficients. The values inside of the parentheses indicate the total effect prior to inclusion of the mediator. †  $p < .1$ . \*  $p < .05$ .

Americans participants. Consistent with the general findings of Studies 1a and 1b, participants who perceived racial discrimination against their group also perceived greater similarity with a different racial minority group. In addition to perceived similarity, Study 2 also revealed that making racial discrimination salient results in the expression of more positive attitudes (less anti-Black bias) toward another racial minority group. Moreover, consistent with the CIIM, mediation analyses indicated that perceived similarity was a significant mediator of the relation between perceived discrimination and anti-Black attitudes. Hence, these findings are consistent with the hypothesis that perceived discrimination faced by one's racial minority group can promote a common "disadvantaged racial minority" ingroup identity that, in turn, results in more positive intraminority intergroup relations. This interpretation is bolstered by the operationalization of perceived group similarity employed in this study. Recall that the similarity measure was similar to one used in previous research by Tropp and Wright (2001) to examine group identification. Whereas Tropp and Wright's measure examined individuals' perceived identification with an ingroup via an overlap of the self and the ingroup, our measure assessed the perceived overlap or similarity between Blacks and Asians, hinting at a potential common superordinate ingroup identity.

It is important to note, furthermore, that the present results both replicate and extend the findings reported in Galanis and Jones (1986). As in that study, priming group victimization (i.e., perceived discrimination) resulted in more positive attitudes toward a different stigmatized group. The present findings extend this work in two significant ways. First, unlike in Galanis and Jones, the materials used to make group victimization salient in the present work did not explicitly link the participant's own group membership to the group under evaluation. That is, Asian American participants read about anti-Asian racial discrimination only, not about racial discrimination against Blacks or even racial discrimination more generally. Second, the present study documented the mediating role of perceived group similarity in shaping more positive attitudes toward a different stigmatized group in response to salient group discrimination. Building on Galanis and Jones, in other words, the present results suggest that exposure to pervasive discrimination against one's own racial group is sufficient to engender a common "disadvantaged racial minority" identity that, in turn, results in more favorable evaluations of members of other racial minority groups (e.g., Black Americans).

### Study 3

In Study 3, we sought to replicate and extend the findings of Study 2 by considering whether the effects extend beyond self-report assessments of attitudes. Study 2 demonstrated that considering discrimination against one's own group leads participants to express more positive attitudes toward another racial minority group. Because intergroup attitudes were assessed with self-report measures, however, it is possible that the effects were due to more reasoned, propositional, rather than associative, processes (associative-propositional evaluation model; Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). Although propositional evaluations are relatively reasoned and subject to validation (e.g., "is it wrong to derogate racial minority group members?"), associative processes (often measured via indirect measures) are characterized by the activation of valenced associations, without concern for validation. In other words, it is possible that the individuals in our previous studies reported positive attitudes toward other minority groups because of explicit beliefs that it is wrong to derogate members of other minority groups, rather than because the other racial minority groups and participants' ingroup had become connected psychologically.

Although the results of Study 2 for perceived similarity suggest that we are unlikely to be tapping reasoned evaluations of other minority groups, if such propositional processes were the route of the observed effects, an increase in the positivity associated with another racial minority group after being reminded of one's own group's experiences of racial discrimination should not be observed on measures of more automatic evaluations. If, however, perceived group discrimination affects the extent to which other racial minorities are associated with the ingroup, such automatic associations should be affected such that racial minority outgroups should more readily be linked to positive associations when primed with group discrimination than when group discrimination is not salient. Study 3 sought to examine this question. In particular, we explored the effects of being reminded of anti-Asian racial discrimination on Asian Americans' automatic attitudes toward Black Americans. On the basis of results of the previous studies, we predicted that participants who were primed with anti-Asian discrimination would express more positive automatic evaluations of Blacks than would participants who were not primed with discrimination.

## Method

**Participants.** Thirty-eight Asian American participants (17 men, 21 women) from an introductory psychology class participated in exchange for partial course credit. No significant effects of participant gender were found in this study or any of the subsequent studies (i.e., Studies 4 and 5), and thus, the reported analyses are collapsed across gender. All participants had lived in the United States or Canada for at least 5 years prior to participation.

### Materials and measures.

**Perceived discrimination manipulation.** Participants received the newspaper article prime (referring to anti-Asian discrimination) that was described in Study 2.

**Perceptions of similarity.** Perceptions of similarity between Blacks and Asians were assessed with the “similarity circle” item from Study 2. Again, increasingly overlapping circles representing Blacks and Asians indicated greater perceived similarity between the two groups.

**Automatic racial attitudes.** The Implicit Associations Test (IAT) was used to measure automatically activated attitudes (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Participants classified words and pictures into four categories, “African American,” “European American,” “Good,” and “Bad.” Stimuli for the racial categories included color pictures of young Black and White men (five pictures for each category). Stimuli for Good and Bad were positively or negatively valenced words (8 positively valenced words, e.g., *wonderful* or *laughter*; 8 negatively valenced words, e.g., *awful* or *agony*). Participants completed seven blocks: (a) one categorizing words only; (b) one categorizing faces only; (c) practice trials categorizing words and faces with the same response mappings as the first two blocks; (d) critical trials categorizing words and faces with the same response mappings as in Block 3; (e) one categorizing faces only (the keys corresponding to *African American* and *European American* switched); (f) practice trials with the reverse pairing of concepts; and (g) critical trials with the reversed pairing. The order of the pairings (i.e., *African American/Bad* and *European American/Good* or *African American/Good* and *European American/Bad*) was randomly assigned across participants. Each pairing of concepts included 20 practice and 40 critical trials, with a total of 15 stimuli from each category. This task is scored such that matching more quickly in the blocks when *African American/Bad* and *European American/Good* are paired than when *African American/Good* and *European American/Bad* are paired reflects an anti-Black (pro-White) bias.

**Procedure.** Participants came into the lab individually and were met by an Asian American experimenter who explained that the goal of the study was to examine reading and memory skills. After providing informed consent, participants read the three newspaper articles described in Study 2 through which half were primed with anti-Asian discrimination. After reading the articles, participants completed the IAT and the similarity measure. They were then probed for suspicion regarding the hypotheses, debriefed, and thanked.

## Results

Two participants were removed from the analyses because they correctly guessed the study hypotheses. The final sample included 36 participants (19 discrimination-salient, 17 control).

**Perceptions of similarity.** Replicating the results of the previous studies and consistent with the proposed CIIM mechanism, analyses of perceived similarity revealed that participants in the discrimination-salient condition ( $M = 4.16$ ,  $SD = 0.90$ ) rated Blacks and Asians as significantly more similar to one another than did participants in the control condition ( $M = 3.29$ ,  $SD = 1.16$ ),  $t(34) = 2.51$ ,  $p = .017$ ,  $d = 0.84$ .

**Automatic racial attitudes.** The IAT data were analyzed with the improved scoring algorithm (Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003). Specifically, a D score was computed by calculating the difference between mean response latencies during the *African American/Bad* and *European American/Good* and *African American/Good* and *European American/Bad* blocks and dividing by the pooled standard deviation across blocks. Higher scores indicate a greater association between *African American/Bad* and *European American/Good* than between *African American/Good* and *European American/Bad* (i.e., an anti-Black [pro-White] bias). The D scores for participants in both the discrimination-salient condition ( $M = 0.48$ ,  $SD = 0.44$ ),  $t(18) = 4.77$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 1.09$ , and the control condition ( $M = 0.80$ ,  $SD = 0.30$ ),  $t(16) = 10.96$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 2.66$ , were positive and significantly different from zero, indicating an overall anti-Black bias in both conditions. Consistent with the tenets of the CIIM as well as with the findings of Study 2, however, analyses revealed that participants primed with racial discrimination expressed less anti-Black bias than did participants in the control condition,  $t(34) = 2.52$ ,  $p = .017$ ,  $d = 0.84$ .

**Mediation through perceptions of similarity.** As in Study 2, we examined whether perceived similarity mediated the effect of perceived discrimination on automatic attitudes using bootstrapping (Preacher & Hayes, 2004, 2008). The model tested with this procedure included the dummy-coded perceived discrimination condition (0 = control, 1 = discrimination-salient) as the independent variable, perceived similarity as the mediator, and automatic attitudes as the dependent variable. Although the direct effect of perceived discrimination on automatic attitudes was significant,  $\beta = -.40$ ,  $t(34) = -2.52$ ,  $p = .017$ , contrary to predictions, perceived similarity was not a significant mediator. That is, the bias-corrected bootstrap estimate of the indirect effect through perceived similarity had a 95% confidence interval that included zero, 95% CI [-0.08, 0.16].

## Discussion

The results of Study 3 partially replicate those of Study 2, revealing that the positive effect of being primed with the racial discrimination that one’s group faces on evaluations of other racial minority groups extends to automatically activated associations. Specifically, Asian American participants who were primed with anti-Asian discrimination expressed less automatic anti-Black (pro-White) bias than did Asian American participants who were not primed with racial discrimination. In addition, replicating the results of Study 2, participants in the present study who were primed with anti-Asian discrimination also perceived Asian Americans and Black Americans to be more similar than did participants who were not primed.

The methodological artifact of the IAT that necessarily binds pro-Black and anti-White bias may help explain Study 3’s failure to replicate the mediation found in Study 2. That is, whereas the attitude

measure in Study 2 examined attitudes toward Blacks alone, the IAT bias scores in Study 3 may have assessed both pro-Black and anti-White sentiment. Therefore, if some combination of pro-Black and anti-White associations drove the IAT bias scores, it is understandable that similarity between Blacks and Asians did not fully predict them. It is also possible that our failure to replicate the mediation found in Study 2 is an artifact of the many task differences between the explicit similarity measure and the IAT (Hofmann, Gawronski, Gschwendner, Le, & Schmitt, 2005; Payne, Burkley, & Stokes, 2008). Research has found that measures that are quite different tend to have low conceptual correspondence and, thus, also often quite low intercorrelations. In other words, the similarity circle and IAT are very different tasks with less conceptual correspondence or structural fit than for the measures used to assess similarity and racial group evaluations in Study 2.

Regardless, Study 3 offers evidence that automatic associations are affected by exposure to own group discrimination, suggesting that our previous results are more than reasoned reactions. However, in addition to its potential contribution to our failure to find mediation in the present study, the fact that IAT bias scores are a combination of pro-Black and anti-White associations presents a conceptual challenge to the present work. Specifically, if participants who were exposed to anti-Asian discrimination generated more negative associations with Whites than did participants who were not exposed to discrimination, we might still expect to observe the pattern of results that we found (i.e., less anti-Black [pro-White] IAT bias among individuals exposed to discrimination). Given our interest in evaluations of other minority groups as a function of discrimination exposure, we thought it important to examine the extent to which automatic evaluations of Blacks become more positive, relative to a racial group other than Whites. Our purpose in Study 4 was to examine this possibility.

### Study 4

In Study 4 we sought to address the primary limitation of the measure of automatic evaluations utilized in Study 3 by including a comparison group in the measure of automatic associations other than White Americans. Specifically, whereas Study 3 examined the influence of salient anti-Asian discrimination on Asian Americans' automatic attitudes toward Blacks by utilizing a Black-White IAT, this design left open the possibility that changes in automatic attitudes were due to increased anti-White, rather than pro-Black, associations. Although the perceived similarity results obtained in Study 3 do not support this interpretation, we sought to provide a more stringent test of whether discrimination against one's own group leads participants to express more positive attitudes toward another racial minority group, rather than to simply demonstrate negative attitudes toward the ostensible perpetrator.

Thus, in Study 4, we explored the effects of being reminded of anti-Asian racial discrimination on Asian Americans' automatic attitudes toward Black Americans by utilizing an Asian-Black IAT. This measure allows us to explore the degree to which Asian Americans show more or less bias in favor of Asians in their automatic evaluations relative to Blacks. Decreased pro-Asian bias (i.e., greater pro-Black bias) would demonstrate increased parity in how Asian Americans evaluate their racial ingroup and the other disadvantaged racial minority group, suggesting a lessened division between the two groups. On the basis of the results of the

previous studies, we predicted that participants who were primed with anti-Asian discrimination would express more positive automatic evaluations of Blacks (or less pro-Asian bias) than would participants who were not primed with discrimination.

### Method

**Participants.** Twenty-eight Asian American participants (11 men, 17 women) from an introductory psychology class participated in exchange for partial course credit.

#### **Materials and measures.**

**Perceived discrimination manipulation.** Anti-Asian discrimination was primed by presenting participants with the results of a fictitious survey (adapted from a measure used by Voci, 2006). Participants were shown a bar graph representing the frequency with which a number of alleged responses were provided by "a sample of Americans" when asked which characteristics come to mind when they think about Asian Americans. For participants in the control condition, all of the responses included in the graph were relevant, albeit benign or even positive, information regarding Asian Americans (e.g., "May be bilingual," "Grandparents may be immigrants," "Many live on the West Coast). For participants in the discrimination condition, however, half of the responses represented on the graph were similarly benign information, and half were negative Asian American stereotypes and/or referred to anti-Asian discrimination (i.e., "Work all of the time/Overly competitive," "Many experience prejudice/discrimination," "Very few in media [e.g., TV, movies]").

**Automatic racial attitudes.** As in Study 3, an IAT was used to measure automatically activated attitudes (Greenwald et al., 1998). Participants classified words and pictures into four categories, "African American," "Asian American," "Good," and "Bad." Stimuli for the racial categories included black and white pictures of young African Americans (7 male targets, 7 female targets) and Asian Americans (7 male targets, 7 female targets); stimuli for "Good" and "Bad" were positively or negatively valenced words (e.g., *wonderful* or *pleasant*, *awful* or *terrible*; 10 positively valenced words, 10 negatively valenced words). The seven blocks were ordered in the same manner as in Study 3. Each pairing of concepts included 12 practice and 40 critical trials. The task is scored such that matching stimuli more quickly in the blocks when *African American/Bad* and *Asian American/Good* are paired than when *African American/Good* and *Asian American/Bad* are paired reflects an anti-Black (pro-Asian) bias.

**Procedure.** Participants came into the lab individually and were met by an Asian American experimenter. After providing informed consent, participants saw one of the graphs described in Study 2 through which half were primed with anti-Asian discrimination. After seeing the graph, participants completed the IAT. Participants were then probed for suspicion regarding the hypotheses, debriefed, and thanked.

### Results and Discussion

One outlier on the IAT was removed from analyses, leaving a final sample of 27 participants (12 discrimination-salient, 15 control). The remaining IAT data were analyzed with the improved scoring algorithm (Greenwald et al., 2003). Again, higher scores indicate a greater association between *African American/Bad* and

*Asian American/Good* than between *African American/Good* and *Asian American/Bad* (i.e., an anti-Black [pro-Asian] bias). As shown in Figure 2, the D scores for participants in both the discrimination-salient condition,  $t(11) = 3.31, p = .007, d = 0.96$ , and the control condition,  $t(14) = 9.60, p < .001, d = 2.48$ , were positive and significantly different from zero, indicating an overall anti-Black/pro-Asian bias in both conditions. Consistent with the tenets of the CIIM as well as with the findings of Study 3, however, analyses revealed that participants primed with racial discrimination expressed less anti-Black/pro-Asian bias than did participants in the control condition,  $t(25) = 2.15, p = .042, d = 0.83$ .

The results of Study 4 replicate the findings of Study 3, revealing that exposure to the racial discrimination that one's group faces affects automatically activated evaluations of other racial minority groups. Most notably, Study 4 suggests that the decrease in anti-Black bias found among those in the discrimination condition in Study 3 is not attributable to the fact that the IAT employed included White Americans as the comparison group in the task. Specifically, the present study revealed that Asian American participants who were primed with anti-Asian discrimination expressed less automatic anti-Black bias than did Asian American participants who were not primed with racial discrimination on an IAT in which Asian Americans (i.e., the ingroup) were the comparison group. Thus, coupled with the results of Studies 2 and 3, the present study provides compelling evidence that both racial minority group members' automatic associations with and their explicitly considered evaluations of other racial minority groups become more positive after exposure to discrimination against their group.

### Study 5

The previous three studies provide experimental evidence that exposure to discrimination against one's own racial minority group leads individuals to express more positive attitudes and evaluations of members of other racial minority groups. Although these findings are consistent with the tenets of the CIIM, they are limited in at least two ways. First, each of the experimental studies was conducted with an Asian American sample. Although there may be an argument for why this group may be less likely to demonstrate

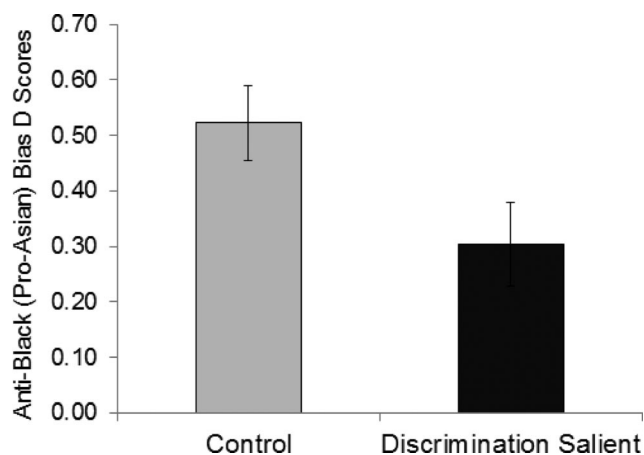


Figure 2. Study 4: Automatic anti-Black attitudes by condition. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

the observed findings than are racial minority groups with which Black Americans are perceived to be more similar, at least in terms of cultural stereotypes (e.g., Latinos), it is important to examine the proposed processes in a different racial minority group. Given the results of Studies 1a and 1b, one would certainly expect similar results to emerge among a different racial minority group; however, this remains an empirical question. Hence, in Study 5 we explored the effects of perceived group discrimination on Latino American participants' perceptions of their similarity with and attitudes toward Black Americans.

A second limitation of the previous three studies is that only one (Study 2) provided compelling evidence for the mediating role of perceived similarity in the expression of more positive racial attitudes toward other minority groups after exposure to group discrimination. Given that the tenets of the CIIM maintain that the more positive evaluations found among racial minority individuals exposed to discrimination are due to the emergence of a common ingroup identity, we thought it important to test the perceived group similarity mechanism anew in Study 5. Moreover, a different measure of perceived similarity than that used in Studies 2 and 3 was used in the present study. Specifically, the measure of perceived similarity in Study 5 assesses (Latino) participants' perceptions that they are personally similar to Blacks. If perceived discrimination broadens one's self-concept to include other racial minority groups, then personal similarity to another racial minority group should also be enhanced. A replication of the mediating role of perceived similarity found in Study 2 with a different measure of perceived similarity would provide strong evidence that, consistent with the CIIM, perceived racial discrimination does indeed lead to an enhanced sense of perceived similarity to or commonality with other racial minority groups.

Furthermore, participants in the present study not only were asked to report their attitudes on the Anti-Black Scale used in Study 2 but also provided their perceptions of the warmth and competence of different racial groups (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). The inclusion of these ratings allows for a more nuanced understanding of how beliefs about racial groups are affected by perceived discrimination. In previous research, high levels of perceived warmth and competence are reserved for ingroups (e.g., Fiske et al., 2002). Thus, if Latino participants view Blacks as part of a common "disadvantaged racial minority" ingroup, their ratings of Blacks' warmth and competence should increase when anti-Latino discrimination is made salient.

On the basis of the results of our previous studies, we predicted that Latino participants who were primed with anti-Latino discrimination would feel more similar to Blacks and would evaluate Blacks more favorably than would Latino participants who were not primed with anti-Latino discrimination. Furthermore, we expected perceived similarity to mediate the predicted effect of salient discrimination on attitudes toward Blacks, replicating the results of Study 2.

### Method

**Participants.** Twenty-eight Latino Americans (6 men, 22 women) participated in exchange for partial course credit in an introductory psychology class or for \$8.

**Materials and measures.**

**Perceived discrimination manipulation.** The manipulation of perceived discrimination was identical to that described in Studies

2 and 3; however, in this study the critical article pertained to racial discrimination against Latino Americans in the United States rather than discrimination against Asian Americans. Again, after reading each article, participants responded to several questions to assess how persuasive they found it.

**Perceptions of similarity.** Rather than being assessed with the overlapping circles measure used in Studies 2 and 3, perceptions of similarity between participants and Blacks were assessed by reported agreement to two items rated on 7-point scales (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*). Participants were asked to indicate their agreement with (a) “I think I’m very similar to most Black people” and (b) “I have a lot in common with the average Black person.” Responses to the two items were averaged to create a similarity index ( $\alpha = .84$ ), with higher numbers corresponding with greater perceived similarity.

**Self-report racial attitudes.** Participants completed self-report measures of their racial attitudes, as described in Study 2. They completed the Anti-Black Scale in a pretesting session early in the academic term ( $\alpha = .80$ ) as well as during the experimental session ( $\alpha = .81$ ). Higher scores on the Anti-Black Scale indicate more negative attitudes toward Blacks.

In addition, participants rated the warmth and competence of different racial groups (Blacks, Latinos, and Whites) with a total of 18 items using 7-point semantic differential scales (Fiske et al., 2002). Perceptions of each racial group’s warmth and competence were assessed with six items: three items were anchored by warmth-related words (i.e., *trustworthiness*, *kindness*, *friendliness*), and three items were anchored by competence-related words (i.e., *competence*, *intelligence*, *skillfulness*). The three warmth items for each racial group were averaged to create a warmth composite for each group (Blacks:  $\alpha = .88$ ; Latinos:  $\alpha = .88$ ; Whites:  $\alpha = .91$ ). Similarly, the three competence items for each racial group were averaged to create a competence composite for each group (Blacks:  $\alpha = .87$ ; Latinos:  $\alpha = .85$ ; Whites:  $\alpha = .94$ ). Higher scores indicate greater perceived warmth and competence.

**Procedure.** Several weeks after a mass-testing session in which participants completed a baseline assessment of the Anti-Black Scale (among several unrelated measures), participants came into the lab individually and were met by an Asian American experimenter who explained that the goal of the study was to examine reading and memory skills. After providing informed consent, participants read three short newspaper articles with the final article providing the perceived discrimination manipulation. After reading the articles, participants completed an unrelated sorting task, followed by the self-report similarity and racial attitudes measures. Finally, participants were probed for suspicion regarding the hypotheses, debriefed, and thanked.

**Results**

Two participants were removed from the analyses because they were not persuaded by the discrimination article, and one participant was excluded for correctly guessing the study hypotheses. The final sample included 25 participants (11 discrimination-salient, 14 control).

**Perceptions of similarity.** Results for this variable replicated those of Studies 2 and 3 with a different measure of similarity. Analyses of participants’ similarity ratings revealed that participants in the discrimination-salient condition perceived themselves

to be more similar to Blacks ( $M = 4.91, SD = 1.11$ ) than did participants in the control condition ( $M = 3.89, SD = 0.94$ ),  $t(23) = 2.47, p = .021, d = 0.99$ .

**Racial attitudes.** As in Study 2, we examined differences in responses to the Anti-Black Scale, controlling for pretested baseline responses. Results revealed that participants who were primed with anti-Latino racial discrimination evaluated Blacks more favorably ( $M = 2.88, SD = 0.79$ ) than did those who were not primed ( $M = 3.60, SD = 0.87$ ),  $F(1, 20) = 5.48, p = .030, \eta_p^2 = .22$ . Thus, while on average, participants in both conditions indicated disagreement with the anti-Black statements, participants in the discrimination-salient condition disagreed more with anti-Black statements (i.e., demonstrated more positive attitudes) than did participants in the control condition. Replicating the pattern revealed in Studies 2 and 3, in other words, Latino participants rated Blacks more positively if discrimination toward Latinos was salient than if discrimination toward Latinos was not salient.

Study 5 also sought to examine whether exposure to anti-Latino discrimination increases Latino participants’ positive evaluations of Blacks’ competence and warmth, as well as to consider how such exposure may shape evaluations of the racial ingroup (i.e., Latinos) and the “perpetrating” outgroup (i.e., Whites). Consequently, we conducted separate independent-samples *t* tests comparing participants’ ratings of each racial group’s competence and warmth as a function of exposure to anti-Latino discrimination. Analyses of the competence composites revealed significant effects of condition for evaluations of Latino (i.e., ingroup) and Black (i.e., racial minority outgroup) competence,  $t(23) = 2.33, p = .029, d = 0.94$  and  $t(23) = 2.87, p = .009, d = 1.16$ , respectively (see Table 3). Participants who were reminded of discrimination against Latinos evaluated both other Latinos and Blacks as more competent than did participants in the control condition. Analyses of the warmth composites revealed a significant main effect of condition for evaluations of Latino warmth,  $t(23) = 2.21, p = .038, d = 0.89$ , as well as a marginal effect of condition for evaluations of Black warmth,  $t(23) = 1.96, p = .062, d = 0.79$ . In a pattern similar to that found for the competence results, participants in the discrimination-salient condition evaluated Latinos and Blacks (marginally) as warmer than did partici-

Table 3  
*Means and Standard Deviations for Warmth and Competence Ratings by Racial Group and Perceived Discrimination Condition (Study 5)*

Measure	Control condition		Discrimination-salient condition	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Warmth ratings				
Latino warmth	5.31	1.06 <sub>a</sub>	6.15	0.76 <sub>b</sub>
Black warmth	4.83	1.14 <sub>a</sub>	5.73	1.11 <sub>a</sub>
White warmth	4.95	1.10 <sub>a</sub>	5.73	1.18 <sub>a</sub>
Competence ratings				
Latino competence	5.21	0.94 <sub>a</sub>	6.06	0.85 <sub>b</sub>
Black competence	4.81	0.89 <sub>a</sub>	5.91	1.02 <sub>b</sub>
White competence	5.48	0.86 <sub>a</sub>	6.12	0.85 <sub>a</sub>

*Note.* Different subscripts within each row indicate statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ) between-condition differences.

pants in the control condition. Interestingly, results revealed no significant differences by experimental condition in ratings of how warm or competent Whites are.<sup>4</sup> Taken together, these results suggest that participants in the discrimination-salient condition evaluated both their own group (i.e., Latinos) and another racial minority group (i.e., Blacks) as warmer and more competent than did participants in the control condition.

**Mediation through perceptions of similarity.** As in Studies 2 and 3, we tested whether perceived similarity mediated the effects of perceived discrimination on attitudes toward and perceptions of competence of Blacks. We did not perform mediation analyses on the perceptions of Black warmth, because although results were in the expected direction, the direct discrimination condition–warmth path did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance. We conducted Preacher and Hayes' (2004, 2008) bootstrapping analyses separately for the two significant outcome measures (anti-Black attitudes, competence). The model used to assess the indirect effects of perceived discrimination on anti-Black attitudes included perceived similarity toward Blacks as the mediator and baseline anti-Black attitudes as a control variable. As shown in Figure 3, the direct effect of perceived similarity on anti-Black attitudes was significant. Furthermore, the bias-corrected bootstrap estimate of the indirect effect had a confidence interval that was reliably different from zero, 95% CI [−1.09, −0.02]. Thus, the effect of perceived discrimination on anti-Black attitudes was mediated by perceived similarity.

The analysis of the indirect effects of perceived discrimination on perceptions of Blacks' competence included perceived similarity toward Blacks as the mediator. Again, the direct effect was significant and the bias-corrected bootstrap estimate of the indirect effect had a confidence interval that was reliably different from zero, 95% CI [0.08, 1.00], indicating that perceived similarity was a significant mediator.

## Discussion

The present results lend compelling support for the predictions of the CIIM regarding the effects of perceived racial discrimination on attitudes toward and evaluations of other racial minority outgroups. After being primed with racial discrimination, Latino American participants expressed more positive attitudes toward Black Americans, perceived Blacks as more competent, and perceived themselves as more similar to Blacks than did Latino participants who were not primed with racial discrimination. Furthermore, perceived similarity with Blacks mediated the relationship between the discrimination prime and both participants' expressed attitudes regarding and participants' perceived competence of Blacks. The absence of significant differences in participants' attitudes toward Whites in Study 5 provides additional support for the notion that individuals' increased pro-minority attitudes are not solely the result of an increase in their anti-White attitudes. Hence, the present results are consistent with the view that considering the discrimination that one's own racial group faces promotes perceptions of commonality with other racial minority groups, leading individuals to evaluate other minority groups in a manner that is more similar to how they evaluate their ingroup. In other words, the present findings suggest that exposure to pervasive group discrimination can promote a common "disadvantaged racial mi-

nority" ingroup identity that consequently improves evaluations of other disadvantaged racial minority groups.

## General Discussion

Our purpose in the present research was to contribute to the examination of intraminority intergroup relations (i.e., the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that members of different low-status, stigmatized groups hold toward one another). The present work focused on the effects of a potentially common experience, the effects of perceived group discrimination, on such intraminority intergroup relations. Specifically, using a variety of manipulations and measures, five studies explored the effects of perceived discrimination faced by racial minority groups on members of those groups' attitudes toward and perceptions of other racial minority groups. Across the studies, we found results consistent with the predictions of the common ingroup identity model (CIIM; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner et al., 1993). Analyses of data from two national surveys revealed initial support for an association between perceived racial discrimination and perceptions of similarity and closeness with a different racial minority group (Study 1a) and demonstrated that attributing discrimination to racial, compared with non-racial, bias is associated with greater perceived common fate with a different racial minority group (Study 1b). Even given the limitations inherent to correlational data and the constraints associated with data sets that were collected for purposes other than the questions underlying the present work, Studies 1a and 1b provided preliminary support that perceived racial discrimination may be associated with a common disadvantaged racial minority identity.

Building on these preliminary investigations, four laboratory experiments (Studies 2–5) provided causal evidence that making discrimination toward one's racial group salient leads to both increased perceptions of similarity with (Studies 2, 3, and 5) and the expression of more positive attitudes toward (Studies 2–5) other racial minority groups. Studies 3 and 4 found support that even automatic evaluations of another racial minority group are positively influenced by perceived discrimination. Notably, Study 4 found that after exposure to group discrimination, individuals' automatic evaluations of their racial ingroup (i.e., Asians) and another racial minority group (i.e., Blacks) tended toward convergence. That is, participants exposed to group racial discrimination revealed less ingroup favoritism on the IAT (evaluating Blacks more positively) than did participants who were not exposed to group racial discrimination. Studies 2 and 5, furthermore, offered evidence that the positive effects of perceived discrimination on expressed attitudes toward a different racial group are mediated by increased perceptions of similarity with the racial minority outgroup. Taken together, the results of these five studies suggest that rather than generating more negative attitudes toward members of other racial minority groups, perceived racial discrimination en-

<sup>4</sup> There was an unexpected, marginal effect of condition for White competence scores, such that participants who were primed with anti-Latino racial discrimination had a tendency to rate Whites as more competent than did participants who were not primed,  $t(23) = 1.87, p = .075, d = 0.75$ . Because this effect was unexpected and nonsignificant, it is not discussed further.

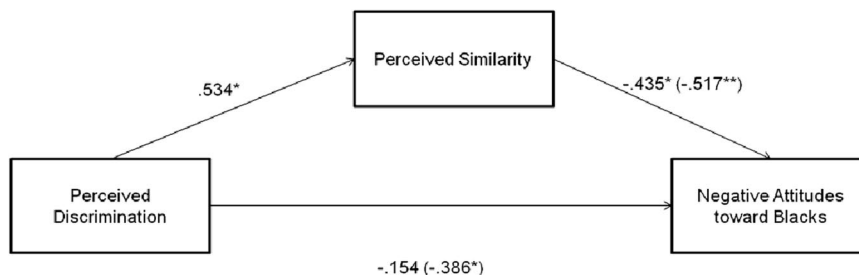


Figure 3. Study 5: Perceived similarity as a mediator for perceived discrimination's effect on negative attitudes toward Blacks. Path values represent the standardized regression coefficients. The values inside of the parentheses indicate the total effect prior to inclusion of the mediator. \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .

genders perceptions of increased commonality with and, thus, increased positivity toward members of other racial groups.

### “Disadvantaged Racial Minority” as a Common Ingroup Identity

Although the results of the present work provide a conceptual replication and extension of Galanis and Jones (1986) and are consistent with the CIIM (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), considerable research has demonstrated that threats to the value of one's collective identity often increase the derogation of other groups (e.g., Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Cadinu & Reggiori, 2002). So, why did participants in the present studies respond to exposure to discrimination—something that can clearly be construed as an identity threat—with more favorable attitudes toward another minority racial group? We suggest that in addition to serving as an identity threat, reminders of group discrimination may activate a common ingroup identity, perhaps as “disadvantaged racial minority” group members, that encourages favorable evaluations of fellow ingroup members (i.e., other racial minorities; see Schmitt et al., 2003). A common ingroup identity of this kind is particularly likely to be generated by reminders of one's own group's racial discrimination given that (a) racial discrimination is a common experience for members of different racial minority groups and (b) members of different racial minority groups are often classified together as “racial minorities.” Government agencies such as the National Science Foundation and the Department of Health and Human Services, for example, regularly group Blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans together as “racial minorities” (National Science Foundation, 2009; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2006). So, while members of different racial minority groups may not necessarily spontaneously identify themselves in the higher level categorization of “racial minority,” this readily available common ingroup categorization may become active when individuals are exposed to or consider the racial discrimination their group faces, resulting in increased positivity toward other racial minorities.

Because the presumed perpetrator of racial prejudice (i.e., Whites) is the same for Asian, Latino, and Black Americans, furthermore, priming racial discrimination may promote a coalitional mind-set of working together against the common threat. In other words, perceived discrimination may lead individuals to expand their ingroup to include other similarly stigmatized racial minority group members because members of such groups could be allies in the fight for racial equality. If this is the case, then it

is also likely that a dual identity form of recategorization is at play in which different groups are considered to be parts of the same team (“disadvantaged racial minority” team), but each group maintains its subgroup identity (e.g., as Latino or Black; Gaertner et al., 1996). Indeed, this possibility is consistent with the CIIM authors' and others' theorizing that it is unlikely and perhaps undesirable for important social group memberships, such as race or ethnicity, to be wholly relinquished in favor of a superordinate identity (Gaertner et al., 1993, 1996; Glasford & Dovidio, 2011; Hewstone, 1996). Although an examination of the extent to which individuals are assuming a dual identity is beyond the scope of the present work, future research should certainly examine this possibility.

Last, if, as we suggest, the present findings emerged primarily due to the relative availability of a common ingroup identity, such as “disadvantaged racial minority,” then exposure to discrimination against one's own group may be less likely to afford positive evaluations of members of a different disadvantaged group for which a common categorization is not readily available. In other words, members of groups that are not often categorized collectively (e.g., Black Americans with gays/lesbians) may not reveal similar patterns of positive intraminority intergroup attitudes after perceiving group-based discrimination. Instead, social identity threat effects—namely, outgroup derogation—should be more likely to emerge (Branscombe & Wann, 1994). Consistent with this hypothesis, recent research from our lab has found that making sexism salient for White women results in more intergroup bias toward racial minorities (Craig, DeHart, Richeson, & Fiedorowicz, 2011). Evoking a common “disadvantaged minority” identity may have been more difficult for women evaluating racial minorities, compared to racial minorities evaluating other racial minorities, and, thus, evaluations of racial minorities were more negative among women reminded of sexism. Considered in tandem with the results of the present work, these findings suggest that unless a common ingroup identity is readily available (or, perhaps, explicitly induced as in Galanis & Jones, 1986), perceived group discrimination is likely to be experienced solely as a social identity threat and, thus, result in outgroup derogation, even against a nonthreatening, low-status group (Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Cadinu & Reggiori, 2002).

### Implications

This work offers a number of theoretical and practical implications for the study of intergroup relations. Exploring the predictions of both the CIIM and the social identity threat perspective for relations among members of different low status groups offers

important tests of the generalizability of these theories and also furthers the often underexplored domain of minority-focused research (see Shelton, 2000). There has been a great deal of research exploring the CIIM and social identity threat, but the present studies bring these literatures together to examine how information that could be perceived as threatening to one's social identity or as a common experience (or both) influences intraminority intergroup attitudes.

Moreover, the present research contributes to a more complete understanding of how members of stigmatized or disadvantaged groups respond to information that is threatening to their self-concept. That is, while past research has often focused on how perceived discrimination affects intrapersonal factors such as health and self-esteem (e.g., McCoy & Major, 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003), or how perceived discrimination shapes intergroup dynamics with "perpetrating" groups (e.g., Kaiser & Miller, 2001; Kaiser et al., 2006; Shelton et al., 2005), the present research considers intraminority intergroup outcomes: stigmatized group members' attitudes toward and perceptions of other similarly stigmatized groups. The present research suggests that perceived societal discrimination can lead to perceptions of commonality and positive intraminority intergroup outcomes. Thus, while perceived discrimination is often experienced as an identity threat (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999), leading to negative outgroup evaluations, the present research suggests that it can also, under certain circumstances, activate a common ingroup identity that may benefit similarly disadvantaged outgroups.

Indeed, our findings imply that promoting members of disadvantaged racial groups to pursue common equality does not necessarily require a heavy-handed, direct connection among different groups, but rather that by making one group's experiences with discrimination salient, a common categorization as a racial minority and more positive intraminority intergroup attitudes can be promoted. Outside of the laboratory, this suggests, for instance, that reminding non-Black racial minorities of the discrimination their groups face may boost recruitment for groups such as the NAACP (a group that promotes equality but is historically focused on Black Americans). Consistent with this idea, Asian Americans and Latinos came together in an organization called "The Coalition for Harmony in Monterey Park" in the 1980s to fight a resolution that would make English the official language and require English-only business signs—measures that were perceived as discriminating against recent Asian and Latino immigrants (Calderon, 1992; Horton, 1992). Furthermore, considering the changing racial and ethnic demographics of the United States and the projected emergence of a "majority-minority" populace, exploring the influence of potential similarities and a common categorization among racial minority group members is important to further our understanding of racial dynamics in the coming years.

### Limitations and Future Directions

In addition to these important implications, there are several limitations of the present research that offer opportunities for future research. First, the article manipulations used in three of the four experimental studies presented herein made the perpetrators of the discrimination (i.e., Whites) salient. Although the perceived similarity findings and the findings from Studies 4 and 5 are suggestive that a common categorization with Blacks is not solely

an anti-White reaction, the knowledge that Whites are considered common perpetrators of bias may have facilitated this common categorization. The activation of a common perpetrator is less likely for Studies 1a and 1b in which participants were asked to recall their own experiences with discrimination, so the perpetrator could be a member of any racial group, but, of course, the effect-size estimates in those studies were relatively small. Moreover, no perpetrator was specified in the manipulation of discrimination exposure/salience used in Study 4. That said, considering oneself as a member of a disadvantaged group does imply an "advantaged" comparison group, and so to some extent, a common disadvantaged identity may necessarily evoke thoughts of a common advantaged, perpetrating group. Consequently, while it may be implausible to make group discrimination salient without also making the perpetrators of this discrimination salient, manipulations in which Whites are not explicitly referred to are necessary in order to speak to the robustness of the common ingroup identity pathway to positive intraminority intergroup relations revealed in the present set of studies.

Although we explored our predictions within three different racial minority groups, another limitation of the present research is that it focused exclusively on racial minority participants. Although such a focus is important for furthering research focusing on members of socially disadvantaged groups as actors rather than passive targets (Shelton, 2000), many different social groups encounter discrimination. Thus, future research should explore different combinations of participant and target groups (e.g., gays and lesbians) to assess the generalizability of these findings. Based on the present results, gay men should feel more similar and more positively toward lesbians after being reminded of the homophobia that they (i.e., gay men) face.

Another direction for future research is an examination of how resource scarcity may affect intraminority intergroup attitudes. Increased similarity and commonality with other racial minority groups may not always promote positive intraminority attitudes. If ingroup resources and power are tenuous or similarly disadvantaged groups are seen as competitors, rather than potential allies, perceived similarity to other disadvantaged groups may be threatening and yield more negative intraminority intergroup relations. For example, instances in which an outgroup is perceived as increasing in status or resources tend to evoke more negative attitudes from low-status group members toward the progressing group (Gay, 2006; Rothgerber & Worchel, 1997). In these cases, minority group members perceive other minority groups to be in competition over the same resources, and the similarity perceived between minority groups may lead to increased perceptions of threat and more negative attitudes (Okami, 1992).

Finally, future research should move beyond attitudinal dependent variables and examine the impact of perceived discrimination on the behaviors individuals direct toward other minority groups and/or their motivations for social change. Our findings set up interesting possibilities for the impact of perceived discrimination on social change. Although past research has found that some methods for improving intergroup attitudes can reduce social change motivations (e.g., Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009), a sense of injustice (which may be evoked by perceived discrimination) positively predicts collective action (for a meta-analysis examining the predictors of collective action, see van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Thus, the effect of perceived



discrimination on intraminority support for collective action remains an open, and fascinating, question.

## Conclusions

Our aim in the present research was to take an initial step toward understanding how salient experiences that are threatening but potentially similar across disadvantaged groups may affect intraminority intergroup relations. The present work considered whether perceived discrimination might trigger perceptions of similarity and a common categorization with other disadvantaged groups. Across five studies, both correlational and experimental, with both general population and student samples of various racial minority groups, we found evidence that racial minority group members who perceived that they or their group faces racial discrimination expressed more favorable attitudes toward, and perceived themselves as more similar or close to, other racial minorities. Across studies we employed multiple operationalizations of the core constructs of interest (i.e., perceived discrimination, similarity, racial attitudes) and found largely consistent results suggesting that making the common experience of discrimination salient may engender a common “disadvantaged racial minority” group identity for racial minorities that, in turn, results in positive evaluations of fellow “disadvantaged racial minority” group members. In an increasingly diverse society, intraminority intergroup relations are becoming more prevalent and are thus deserving of greater scientific attention. Although the present research provides one potential starting point for exploring these issues, much remains to be learned about how the unique experiences of disadvantaged groups may shape intraminority intergroup relations in surprising ways that stand in stark contrast to the current models of intergroup relations based on interactions between two equally high-status groups or between one low- and one high-status group.

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