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EMPATHY AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

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Empathy has received increasing empirical attention in the study of intergroup relations. Much of this research has focused on the potential of interventions that generate empathy for improving intergroup attitudes and reducing intergroup bias. Specifically, this work typically explores how empathy mediates the effects of various manipulations, such as direct instructions to imagine how an outgroup member feels on participants' attitudes toward the outgroup as a whole. In this chapter, we offer complementary perspectives on the role of empathy in intergroup relations. In addition, we examine other potential roles of empathy in intergroup relations, considering the direct impact of intergroup empathy on behavior and how intergroup attitudes can moderate the arousal of empathy and its subsequent intergroup impact.

We consider three perspectives on the relations among empathy, intergroup attitudes, and group membership. Our goal is not to test these as com-

peting models, but rather to explore the range of ways empathy can play an important role in intergroup relations. In addition, we acknowledge that many alternative models are not only possible but also likely. All three of our models, however, share a common feature. In each, we hypothesize that empathy, specifically in the form of an other-oriented emotion (empathic concern; see chap. 1, this volume) that is associated with altruistic motivation, is a proximal predictor of intergroup orientations. That is, empathy is a significant mediator by which different social factors, such as intergroup contact and perceptions of common identity, shape intergroup attitudes and behavior.

There are several reasons why we propose that empathy is likely to play a role in intergroup behavior, potentially beyond any mediating effect on intergroup attitudes. First, intergroup attitudes are only a moderate predictor of intergroup discrimination (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996). Also, interventions, such as intergroup contact, which robustly improve intergroup attitudes, frequently do not translate into actual support for policies that when implemented would promote equality between groups (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). Second, intergroup behavior is motivated substantially by affective reactions. As Weiner (1980) observed, "Attributions guide our feelings, but emotional reactions provide the motor and direction for behavior" (p. 186). And third, empathy has unique interpersonal and thus, potentially, intergroup qualities. At the interpersonal level, empathizing with a member of the group may produce a "self-other merging" (Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, & Neuberg, 1997; see also chap. 6, this volume), in which the member becomes included more fully as part of his or her self-representation. To the extent that one's representations of ingroup members and one's self-representation are also closely related (Smith & Henry, 1996), these more positive orientations may generalize to the group as a whole.

Here, we explore three models that explicate the role of empathy as a mediator of intergroup behavior and its relation to intergroup attitudes. Model 1 depicts the arousal of empathic concern (e.g., the experience of sympathy, compassion, concern) as a mediator of the effect of various bias interventions, such as perspective-taking manipulations (Batson et al., 1997), on reductions of intergroup bias. In the second model, we explore how empathic concern can influence intergroup behavior over and above the influence of attitudes. In this section, we emphasize the fundamental role of social categorization in this process and examine both prosocial and punitive behavior within and across group boundaries. Finally, we explore a third model in which intergroup attitudes moderate the effects of positive and negative intergroup exposure on empathy and subsequent intergroup prosocial behavior.

We emphasize that we do not present these as competing models. We acknowledge that intergroup relations are very complex and are shaped by a number of different forces over time. Therefore, we suggest and present evi-

dence that each of these models may be correct, reflecting different facets of intergroup relations. Each of these approaches, however, converges on a central conclusion: Empathy can substantially shape intergroup responses; thus, it is an important factor to consider in interventions and programs designed to improve intergroup relations and promote lasting harmony.
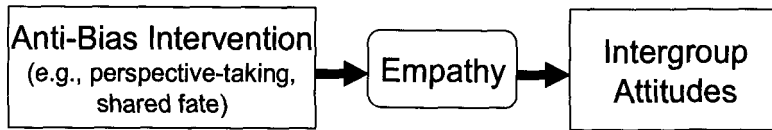
BIAS INTERVENTIONS, EMPATHY, AND INTERGROUP ATTITUDES

We begin by considering Model 1 in Figure 20.1, which represents one of the more established frameworks for studying empathy and intergroup relations, a framework that emphasizes the causal role of empathy in prejudice reduction (Batson et al., 1997). Several studies provide converging evidence that interventions designed to influence the perspective that people adopt and their tendency to empathize with a member of another group can substantially affect intergroup attitudes. Finlay and Stephan (2000), for instance, varied whether participants adopted an empathic or an objective perspective while they read a series of short essays ostensibly written by Black college students describing their personal experiences with discrimination (e.g., being falsely accused of wrongdoing, being denied check-writing privileges). This study revealed that Whites who were instructed to empathize with the Black person (by imagining either how the writer of the essay would feel or how they themselves would feel in such a situation) showed lower levels of bias in their evaluations of Whites versus Blacks compared with those in a control condition who were instructed to attend objectively to the details of the essay.
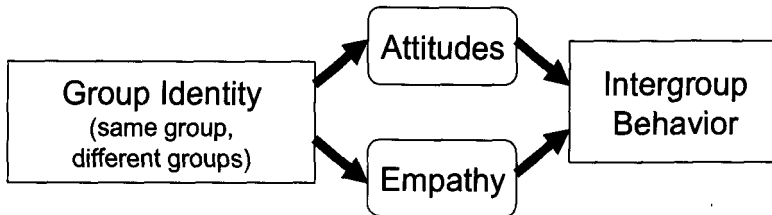
Other research has more directly illuminated the mediating role of empathy in this process. In a study by Batson and colleagues (1997), participants who were instructed to focus on how a target person felt (rather than on facts about the person's problem) while listening to an interview with a member of a stigmatized group subsequently exhibited more positive attitudes toward the target person's group (people suffering from AIDS, homeless people, or convicted murderers). In other work, Batson, Chang, Orr, and Rowland (2002) showed that focusing on a particular group member's feelings, in this case a drug addict's feelings as he described his misfortunes (how he became addicted, got arrested, and spent time in prison), elicited higher levels of empathic concern (e.g., feeling sympathetic) than did focusing on the facts of the person's situation. Stronger feelings of empathic concern, in turn, increased caring about the person's welfare, which then mediated improved attitudes toward the group as a whole.

Vescio, Sechrist, and Paolucci (2003) also used the Batson et al. (1997) perspective-taking manipulation in a study in which White participants listened to an interview of a Black man who displayed stereotype-confirming or

Model 1:

Anti-Bias Intervention (e.g., perspective-taking, shared fate) → Empathy → Intergroup Attitudes

Model 2:

Group Identity (same group, different groups) → Attitudes / Empathy → Intergroup Behavior

Model 3:

Attitudes
Group Identity (same group, different groups) → Empathy → Intergroup Behavior
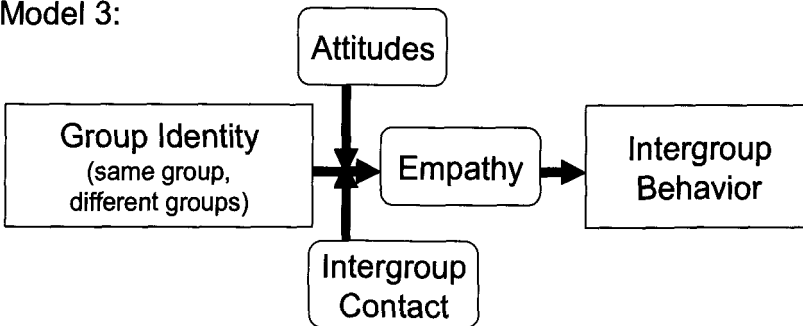Intergroup Contact

Figure 20.1. Three models of the relations among identity, empathy, attitudes, and intergroup behavior.

-disconfirming attributes while discussing challenges associated with being Black. These researchers similarly found that participants who focused on how the interviewee felt subsequently reported more positive attitudes toward Blacks as a group than did those who adopted an objective perspective and focused on the factual information while listening to the interview, regardless of whether the person exhibited stereotypic or nonstereotypic traits. It is important that the difference in racial attitudes among empathy-focused versus objectively focused participants was mediated by feelings of empathic concern for the interviewee. Dovidio et al. (2004, Study 1) further found that instructing Whites to take the perspective of victims (versus being objective) promoted feelings of injustice in response to viewing acts of racial discrimination, which subsequently mediated reductions in racial bias.

In a subsequent study (Dovidio et al., 2004, Study 2), we found that an indirect intervention designed to amplify the salience of a common racial

identity produced parallel results. Whites who were led to believe that both Blacks and Whites were the common enemy of terrorists were more sensitive to injustice while viewing racially discriminatory acts than were those who were led to believe that Whites were the primary targets of terrorism, and these greater feelings of injustice again mediated a decrease in prejudice toward Blacks.

Taken together, these studies offer convergent evidence that taking the perspective of a member of another group can improve even well-crystallized intergroup attitudes, such as Whites' attitudes toward Blacks in the United States. Moreover, a range of empathically motivated reactions, such as feelings of compassion (Batson et al., 1997) or outrage at injustice (Dovidio et al., 2004), have been shown to critically mediate this process of prejudice reduction.

Whereas the approach represented in Model 1 emphasizes the importance of interpersonal processes (feeling empathy for another individual) on intergroup attitudes, the second perspective, which we discuss in the following section, considers group-level processes more explicitly. Specifically, Model 2 in Figure 20.1 proposes that group membership can influence both intergroup attitudes and empathy, and that these two factors can independently influence intergroup responses.

FROM GROUP IDENTITY TO INTERGROUP BEHAVIOR: EMPATHY AND ATTITUDES

The primary approach we have used, the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), draws on the theoretical foundations of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This strategy emphasizes the process of recategorization, in which the goal is to reduce bias by systematically altering the perception of intergroup boundaries, redefining who is conceived of as an ingroup member. If members of different groups are induced to conceive of themselves as a single superordinate group rather than as two separate groups, attitudes toward former outgroup members are expected to become more positive through processes involving pro—ingroup bias, thereby reducing intergroup bias (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; chap. 10, this volume). A common ingroup identity can be achieved by increasing the salience of existing superordinate memberships (e.g., a school, a company, a nation) or by introducing factors perceived to be shared by different groups (e.g., common goals or fate).

Considerable empirical support has been obtained for the common ingroup identity model in laboratory and field experiments involving temporary and enduring groups (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). For example, with respect to prosocial behavior, in one study (Dovidio et al., 1997) we brought two laboratory-formed minimal groups into contact under conditions that

were designed to foster recategorization as one group (e.g., integrated seating, same-colored T-shirts) or to maintain their identities as different groups (e.g., segregated seating, different-colored T-shirts). Later in the study, in our examination of helping, participants were escorted to separate rooms and informed that they would be listening to an audiotape of one of the previous participants in the study. The person on the tape was presented as either a member of participants' original artificial subgroup category (e.g., a trait "overestimator" vs. "underestimator") or a member of the other group. In the audiotape, the person mentioned that she was unable to complete an important project because of an illness. At the conclusion of the session, participants were given an opportunity to help the person in need by posting advertisements to recruit participants for the other person's project.

The results provided support for the facilitating role of recategorization in intergroup helping. As expected, in the two-group condition, which reinforced the original group memberships, participants were more helpful (i.e., agreed to distribute more ads for the other person) toward an ingroup than an outgroup member. In the one-group condition, in contrast, no bias against initial outgroup members emerged.

Evidence of the effectiveness of establishing a common group identity for promoting intergroup helping has also been obtained outside of the laboratory. In a field experiment (Nier, Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, & Ward, 2001, Study 2) conducted at the University of Delaware football stadium prior to a game between the University of Delaware and Westchester State University, Black and White interviewers wearing either a University of Delaware or a Westchester State hat approached White fans from both universities just before they entered the stadium. These fans were asked whether they would be willing to be interviewed about their food preferences. We found that whereas White fans were significantly more likely to help a Black interviewer who shared their university affiliation than a Black interviewer ostensibly from the other university (59% vs. 36%), they showed no significant difference in their likelihood of helping a White interviewer ostensibly from their own (44%) or a rival university (37%). These findings, together with those of the preceding study, offer converging support for the idea that outgroup members will be treated more favorably when they are perceived as members of a common ingroup.

However, these studies do not directly illuminate the processes—specifically, the potential effect of intergroup attitudes and empathic concern—that mediate the effect of recategorization on intergroup prosocial behavior. Thus, we conducted another experiment in which we manipulated the salience of same- or different-group membership and tested both attitudes and empathic concern as possible mediators of the link between recategorization and intergroup prosocial behavior.

In this experiment, White college students from Colgate University viewed a videotape that portrayed an interview with a Black male student

(actually a confederate), with whom they anticipated interacting in a subsequent session. After a series of responses to questions designed to create a positive impression of the confederate, the interviewer inquired about how the confederate viewed himself in general. The confederate's response was systematically constructed to reflect either a common group membership ("I see myself primarily as a Colgate student") or different group membership ("I see myself primarily as a Black person"). The confederate then discussed a serious illness (pneumonia) that made him fall behind schedule in his senior project, which he needed to complete for graduation. The confederate explained that he needed students to complete questionnaires to help him finish the project. After the experimental session was allegedly concluded, a measure of helping behavior was obtained. The experimenter casually mentioned that the professor in charge of this study had asked her to give a sealed envelope to participants. Inside the envelope was a note from the professor informing participants that a letter was attached containing a request for their help but stressing that participants were not obligated to comply with this request. The letter was a request from the Black confederate who had been interviewed in the video to help distribute posters across campus for his project. The number of posters that participants agreed to distribute was our primary measure of helping. Additional dependent measures in the study included attitudes toward the confederate and empathic concern aroused by the person's problem. We expected that White participants would have more positive attitudes, respond with greater empathic concern, and be more helpful when the confederate expressed a common group identity (Colgate) than a different group identity (Black; see Dovidio et al., 1997).

The results of this study were generally consistent with our hypotheses. Responses were much more positive in the one-group condition than in the two-group condition for all three measures: attitudes, empathic concern, and helping. However, the results of mediation analyses revealed that whereas empathic concern significantly mediated the effect of a common group representation (compared with a different group representation) on helping, attitudes toward the confederate showed no significant mediating effect on helping behavior. These results not only replicate and extend our earlier work on recategorization and prosocial behavior but also directly illuminate underlying mechanisms. That is, consistent with the research of Stürmer, Snyder, and Omoto (2005), prosocial behavior toward others categorized as members of one's ingroup is motivated more strongly by feelings of empathy than by favorable attitudes.

Although we have focused on the roles of shared identity and empathy in promoting more direct forms of helping, to the extent that empathy sensitizes people to the needs of others and to concerns about injustice (Dovidio et al., 2004), it may also promote punitiveness toward individuals who are seen as unjustly causing the suffering of others. To examine this possibility, Pearson and Dovidio (2008) investigated how individual differences in em-

pathy can influence the treatment of outgroup members who exhibit morally reprehensible behavior. In particular, we hypothesized that when people learned of the unjust harming of another (e.g., a violent assault) by an outgroup member, those who are characteristically higher in empathic concern (the Empathic Concern subscale of the Davis, 1983, Interpersonal Reactivity Index) would show more punitive reactions and report less empathic concern for the perpetrator than did those lower in trait empathy.

In this study, participants were college students who indicated affiliation with one of two rival major league baseball teams, the Boston Red Sox or the New York Yankees, in an ostensibly unrelated prior study. Data were collected at a large East Coast university uniquely situated midway between New York and Boston at the start of the 2005 American League play-off series. Participants read a newspaper article modeled after real police reports that described an assault on a male victim by a fan near Fenway Park in Boston or near Yankee Stadium in New York. The article depicted the perpetrator of the assault as a fan of the participants' rival team (outgroup perpetrator), describing the assailant as having just come from a game wearing either Red Sox or Yankees apparel, depending on whether participants had previously self-identified as Yankees or Red Sox fans, respectively. In all versions of the article, the victim was described as unidentified with either sports team (wearing generic clothing with no visible sports team affiliation). To manipulate the ostensible justification for the attack, in one version of the article the incident was described as having been provoked and potentially justified (provocation condition). Witnesses were reported to have seen the victim laugh at the assailant and shout an obscenity before being assaulted. In the other version of the article (no-provocation condition), the attack was portrayed as morally unjustified; no such instigating context was mentioned. The primary dependent measures were empathic concern (e.g., compassion, sympathy) for the victim and perpetrator of the crime, as well as recommendations for the length of prison sentence the perpetrator should serve.

The results largely confirmed our predictions. Although no main effect of provocation condition on length of sentence was found, the predicted Trait Empathy × Provocation interaction was obtained. Whereas participants lower (i.e., −1 SD) in empathic concern showed no significant difference in sentencing recommendations between the unprovoked and provoked conditions, those higher (+1 SD) in empathic concern recommended significantly longer sentences when the attack was described as unprovoked than when it could be justified by provocation. Furthermore, lack of empathy for the perpetrator, but not empathy for the victim, was found to mediate this effect. Whereas participants low in trait empathy reported no difference in empathy for the perpetrator as a function of condition, those higher in trait empathy reported significantly less empathy for the perpetrator when the attack was described as unprovoked versus provoked, and this differential empathic response mediated sentencing recommendations.

Together, these findings suggest a provocative new direction for intergroup empathy research. Whereas much of the research on empathy and intergroup responses has focused on positive behaviors, such as reductions in prejudice and the promotion of prosocial actions, this latter study indicates that empathic concern may also be important for "empathic punitiveness." Furthermore, in subsequent work, we have found that this punitiveness occurs uniquely for assailants who are members of an outgroup, but not for ingroup assailants (Pearson & Dovidio, 2008), suggesting that shared group membership may confer an empathic advantage by buffering sensitivity to injustice committed by a member of one's ingroup. Thus, identifying who is "out" of one's group may be as critical a condition for empathic punitiveness as being an ingroup member is for empathically motivated prosocial behavior (Stürmer et al., 2005).

In the next section, we consider an alternative perspective on the relationship between empathy and intergroup attitudes. Namely, we examine how preexisting intergroup attitudes can moderate the consequences of exposure to members of another group, affecting empathy and subsequent behavior toward the outgroup (see Figure 20.1, Model 3). This model differs notably from Model 2 by treating prior intergroup attitudes and the nature of intergroup encounters as moderators of empathic responses toward outgroup members.

MODERATORS OF EMPATHIC RESPONSES: ATTITUDES AND CONTEXT

In two studies, we investigated the impact of positive, negative, or neutral interracial contact on subsequent empathic concern and responsiveness to the needs of an outgroup member. Although intergroup contact is generally effective for improving intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), the nature of that contact can substantially moderate its effect. In particular, whereas positive intergroup contact has been shown to reduce intergroup bias, contact resulting in negative outcomes can exacerbate bias. Our focus in the present studies was on the responses of Blacks, a group that reports frequent experiences with prejudice, to Whites. In this research, in contrast to the perspectives offered by the two models of intergroup empathy reviewed in previous sections, we considered the potential moderating role of intergroup attitudes in this process. In particular, we examined the interactive effects of the nature of outgroup exposure—positive, negative, or neutral— and individual differences in Blacks' discriminatory expectations of Whites (Johnson & Lecci, 2003) on prosocial responding.

Blacks often anticipate discrimination from Whites (Johnson & Lecci, 2003; Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002) and typically try to avoid situations in which they may experience stigma. Johnson

and Lecci (2003), however, demonstrated individual differences in these expectations among Blacks, reflected in responses on the Ingroup-Directed Stigmatization and Discriminatory Expectations Scale (e.g., "I believe that most Whites would discriminate against Blacks if they could get away with it"; Johnson & Lecci, 2003). We hypothesized that individual differences in Blacks' discriminatory expectations of Whites would influence the impact of exposure to behavior by a White individual that was racially positive (a strong statement opposing bias), negative (a statement opposing affirmative action and supporting symbols that Blacks find offensive), or neutral (and unrelated to race) on supportive and prosocial responses to other Whites.

In the first of the pair of studies conducted to test this hypothesis (Johnson, Ashburn-Nardo, Spicer, & Dovidio, 2008), Black participants who had been pretested on the Ingroup-Directed Stigmatization and Discriminatory Expectations Scale read an essay ostensibly written by a White male college student for a study described as investigating perceptions of student writing quality. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions (negative, neutral, positive). In the negative exposure condition, participants read an essay in which the writer indicated support for the Confederate flag, Southern culture, and antiaffirmative action beliefs. In the positive exposure condition, the essay indicated opposition to the display of the Confederate flag, Southern culture, or any negative beliefs regarding Blacks. In the neutral (control) condition, the essay discussed the role of student government at 4-year universities. Thus, our research involved exposure to, but not direct personal contact with, an outgroup member.

As part of an ostensibly unrelated study described as assessing responses to "real life" stories, participants later read about the plight of a pregnant White female college student ("Susan") who was seeking a late semester withdrawal from all of her courses because of pregnancy. Participants were presented with excerpts of a letter from Susan to the dean explaining her situation and describing the pain, suffering, and confusion she had endured as a result of the pregnancy. Finally, participants reported their feelings of empathic concern (e.g., sympathy, compassion) for Susan and their support for granting her a withdrawal.

We predicted that the effects of outgroup exposure on empathic concern and prosocial attitudes would depend on participants' discriminatory expectations. For participants who were low in discriminatory expectations, we anticipated that negative exposure would decrease and positive exposure would increase empathic concern and prosocial attitudes, relative to the neutral (control) condition. We predicted a similar pattern for participants who were high in discriminatory expectations—except in the positive exposure condition. For these participants, the benefits of positive exposure were expected to be attenuated. Because such behavior is inconsistent with these participants' strong discriminatory expectations, we predicted that this information would be discounted and, thus, would only minimally influence

Blacks' intergroup orientations. As in prior research (see chap. 1, this volume), we further anticipated that prosocial attitudes toward the White person in need would be mediated by empathic concern.

The results were supportive of our predictions. Compared with the control condition, participants who were low in discriminatory expectations responded with greater support for Susan following positive exposure and with less support following negative exposure. For Black participants who had strong discriminatory expectations of Whites, negative exposure yielded less support for granting the White student's request for withdrawal, and positive exposure had no effect on such support, relative to the control condition. These findings underscore the fact that even well-intentioned actions of an outgroup member toward a stigmatized target may have little impact on intergroup behavior if perceivers hold chronic negative expectations concerning the outgroup.

Furthermore, as hypothesized, empathic concern played a critical mediating role. Blacks' empathic concern for Susan, the White student in distress, paralleled the pattern of results for support, showing the same significant effects. In addition, when tests for mediated moderation were performed, controlling for empathic concern significantly reduced the Exposure × Discriminatory Expectations interaction effect on prosocial attitudes. The results of this study provide direct evidence of how differing intergroup expectations, specifically Blacks' expectations of discrimination by Whites, can critically influence empathic and prosocial responses toward outgroup members.

Although these findings are consistent with our hypotheses, other explanations are plausible. It could be the case, for example, that negative outgroup exposure, perhaps because it creates general feelings of negative affect or powerlessness, would cause Blacks to be unwilling to help any person in need, regardless of race. In a second study (Johnson et al., 2008, Study 2), we therefore investigated how discriminatory expectations and negative, positive, or neutral exposure to a White person might influence subsequent prosocial responding to a White versus a Black person in need.

As in the previous study, Black participants who varied in discriminatory expectations of Whites were exposed, using the same essays as those used in the previous experiment, to a White writer's comments showing evidence of racial bias (negative exposure), statements that opposed bias (positive exposure), or discussion of student government (racially neutral exposure). Participants then read a passage regarding the "true story" of a local college student who was the victim of a family tragedy. In this case, the essay described "Ron," a 26-year-old local college student whose parents were killed in a car accident, leaving him to raise his younger brother and sister alone. To vary Ron's perceived group membership, a photograph of the writer showing a White or Black student was included with the essay. Empathic concern was again assessed, and rather than measuring prosocial attitudes, partici-

pants' willingness to provide assistance to Ron was assessed. Specifically, participants read excerpts from a letter describing Ron's plight and were informed that the letter was to be distributed among any individuals who the participants thought might provide assistance to Ron. Participants were told that Ron needed help stuffing envelopes to distribute the letter and were asked to indicate their willingness to help by checking on a 7-point scale the number of hours they were willing to commit (ranging from 1 = 0 *hours* to 7 = 6 *hours*).

We hypothesized that for White targets, the results would replicate those of the previous study. However, for Black targets, the literature suggests at least two possible outcomes. On the one hand, given that outgroup exposure and discriminatory expectations are race-specific to Whites, one might predict null results when the person in need is Black. Indeed, many studies demonstrate the tendency to help others because of perceived similarity and/or shared group membership (e.g., Levine, Prosser, Evans, & Reicher, 2005) and underscore the importance of empathy for ingroup members (Stürmer et al., 2005). On the other hand, outgroup exposure—particularly when negative and presented to Blacks with higher expectations for discrimination— might increase prosocial orientations toward Black targets. For example, perceived discrimination may enhance feelings of commonality among Blacks, which, in turn, may increase prosocial behavior (Dovidio et al., 1997).

The results for prosocial commitment and empathy replicate and extend those of the previous study in which the patterns of findings for these two measures paralleled one another. For prosocial commitment, as illustrated in Figure 20.2, a significant three-way Exposure × Discriminatory Expectations × Race of the Person in Need interaction was revealed. As illustrated in the upper panel of Figure 20.2, when the person in need was White, among Black participants who reported lower discriminatory expectations, those who received negative interracial exposure volunteered significantly less time, and those who received positive exposure volunteered significantly more time than did those in the neutral exposure condition. For participants who anticipated greater discrimination from Whites, the negative exposure condition elicited less prosocial commitment than the neutral exposure condition, whereas positive exposure had no effect relative to the neutral condition. It is important to note that as in the previous study, empathic concern mediated the effects of the independent variables on prosocial commitment.

When the person in need was Black (Figure 20.2, bottom panel), prosocial commitment among Black participants who reported relatively low expectations of discrimination were unaffected by the type of interracial exposure. However, for participants who were high in discriminatory expectations, those who received negative exposure were subsequently more helpful to a Black person in need compared with those in the neutral exposure condition. For these participants, the positive exposure did not relate to prosocial commitment for an ingroup member in need. Thus, for stigmatized persons
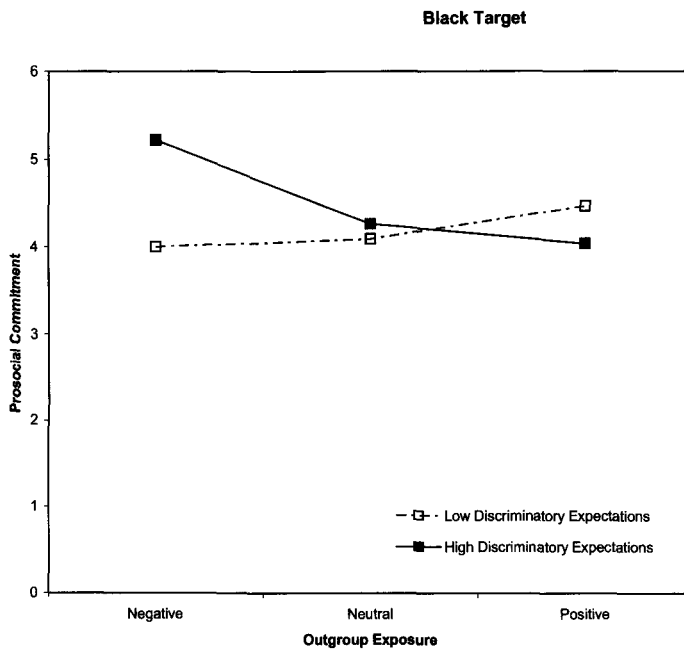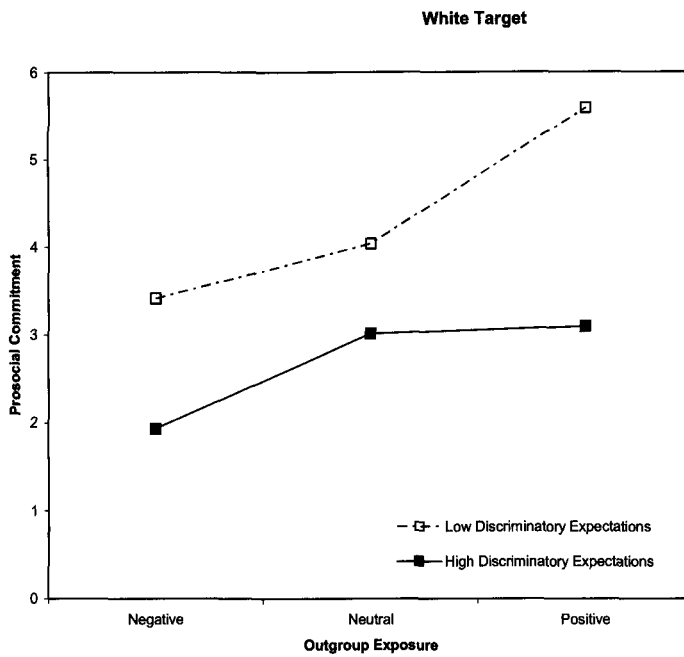
White Target

Black Target

Figure 20.2. Effects of Blacks' positive, neutral, or negative exposure to one White person on prosocial support for another White person. From "The role of Blacks' discriminatory expectations in their prosocial orientations toward Whites" by J. D. Johnson, L. Ashburn-Nardo, V. Spicer, and J. F. Dovidio, 2008, *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 44,* 1503. Copyright 2008 by Elsevier. Reprinted with permission.

with chronic expectations of discrimination, negative contact not only decreased prosocial responses toward the outgroup but also increased prosocial responses toward the ingroup. Overall, then, this study provides further evidence of the consequential effects of Blacks' discriminatory expectations of bias and interracial exposure on their prosocial responses, but in this case not only toward Whites but toward Blacks as well.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have explored ways that empathy can be aroused in intergroup contexts and the role it can play in reducing prejudice and shaping both punitive and prosocial intergroup behavior. Our goal was straightforward: to illustrate the potential range of ways empathy can be important in intergroup relations. We recognize that our models are simplified, distilling complex intergroup relations by focusing on only a few elements, and we readily acknowledge that many other models are plausible. Indeed, other chapters in this volume implicate other viable models. For instance, empathy can improve intergroup attitudes, which then produce more positive intergroup interaction (see chap. 1, this volume; see also Batson et al., 2002). In addition, future research might integrate several additional elements, suggested by other chapters in this volume, into our models. These additional facets could include (a) the relationship between empathy and intergroup forgiveness (chap. 15, this volume), (b) the potentially different impact of empathy on intergroup relations for majority and minority groups (chap. 21, this volume), and (c) the relationship of empathy to intergroup helping that produces empowerment or promotes dependency (chap. 10, this volume). We have found, for example, that among Whites who identify relatively strongly with their racial group, feelings of empathic concern relate to more support for policies of social change that will benefit Blacks, even if the change comes at some cost to Whites (Saguy & Dovidio, 2008). The significance of empathy, which is well-established in interpersonal relationships, thus holds enormous additional potential for improving intergroup relationships in stable, fundamental, and enduring ways.

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