Reports

The conflict *of* harmony: Intergroup contact, commonality and political solidarity between minority groups

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ABSTRACT

Recent work on social change has complicated the picture regarding the influence of intergroup contact with majority groups on minority group members' perceptions of inequality and willingness to engage in social action. The present research investigated the ability of a commonality-focused message to inspire political solidarity between minority groups, as well as the potential moderating role of intergroup contact with a majority group on the efficacy of this message for political solidarity. Across two experiments, as hypothesized, political solidarity from one minority group to another was highest within a commonality condition, relative to group-boundaries salient and control conditions, which was explained by increases in commonality perceptions. As expected, however, these effects were moderated by majority group contact, such that those with high levels of contact with majority group were less likely to show the commonality-to-political solidarity relation. Implications for intergroup contact and more broadly social change are discussed.

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Introduction

Social change often involves a dynamic interplay between majority (advantaged) and minority (disadvantaged) groups. Within the area of intergroup relations, social change is typically achieved via positive intergroup contact between majority and minority groups (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) or via collective action taken up by minority group members (Wright & Tropp, 2002). Recent work suggests that the very psychological processes that work to reduce prejudice (intergroup contact), can also have the potential to reduce social change-oriented motivations (collective action) among minority group members, such that more positive contact with majority groups can lead to *decreases* in awareness of injustice (Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2010). The present research draws on a framework that considers the implications of intergroup contact for social change (Wright & Lubensky, 2008), as well as the common in-group identity model (CIIM; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), to investigate the potential for a commonality-focused message to inspire political solidarity among minority groups, as well as the possible role of majority group contact on such solidarity.

There is substantial evidence for the utility of commonality for reducing biases between groups, but less work has focused on the extent to which common identity can inspire social change-oriented action. According to the CIIM, to the extent that a one group representation is salient, rather than differentiated sub-group categories,

cooperation between groups increases (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). Much of the work on the CIIM has occurred within a prejudice-reduction framework, aimed at understanding how the salience of commonality can improve relations between majority (e.g., Whites) and minority (e.g., Blacks) groups (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Yet, less is understood about the extent to which commonality may be able to inspire solidarity from one minority group on behalf of another minority group.

Collective action research has traditionally focused on the action of individual minority group members (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), rather than on creating solidarity between minority groups. As a result of this focus, less is understood about the factors that lead minority group members to act in solidarity with *another* minority group. Indeed, research on political solidarity has primarily focused on when majority group members will act in solidarity with minority group members (Subasic, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008). Taken together, whereas research on collective action has predominantly focused on individual action with respect to one's own group, political solidarity work has investigated majority group solidarity with minority groups. Drawing on the CIIM, it may be the case that when group boundaries are blurred, political solidarity from one minority group to another is more likely. The efficacy of a commonality approach on minority group political solidarity, however, may be influenced by the degree to which a minority group member has intergroup contact with majority groups.

Despite the positive effects of intergroup contact on decreasing bias between groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), recent work suggests that intergroup contact may sometimes have the unintended consequence of decreasing social change-oriented motivations and actions

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among minority group members (Wright & Lubensky, 2008). Indeed, intergroup contact with majority group members has been shown to increase expectations of benevolent treatment from majority group members (Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009), decrease motivation to engage in collective action (Wright & Lubensky, 2008), and decrease estimates of personal discrimination (Dixon, Durrheim, et al., 2010). There is evidence to suggest, therefore, that intergroup contact may simultaneously reduce attention to group differences with the majority group (Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1996), as well as awareness of inequities facing the minority group (Dixon, Tropp, et al., 2010). Because the efficacy of a commonality message of minority solidarity may be predicated on a sense of shared identity of disadvantage, as well as awareness of inequities, and intergroup contact can simultaneously increase attention to similarities with an advantaged majority group (Gaertner et al., 1996), as well as decrease awareness of inequities facing the minority group (Dixon, Tropp, et al., 2010), it may be the case that the effectiveness of a commonality message focused on disadvantage will be moderated by minority group members' intergroup contact with majority group members. Intergroup contact research has yet to investigate the extent to which contact with majority groups may decrease the potential efficacy of commonality-focused messages on political solidarity between minority groups.

Drawing on the CIIM (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), we investigated how the blurring of minority group intergroup boundaries, via commonality, can inspire political solidarity from one minority group to another. We also investigated the potential moderating role of majority group contact on the influence of commonality on political solidarity. We expected that under conditions where group boundaries are blurred via commonality, one minority group (Latino/as) would show increases in political solidarity with another minority group (Blacks), compared to conditions where group boundaries were made salient. In addition, drawing on recent intergroup contact work (Wright & Lubensky, 2008), we expected intergroup contact with a majority group (Whites) to moderate the influence of commonality salience on political solidarity, such that minority group members with a high degree of contact with the majority group would show less political solidarity in response to a commonality message.

Method

Participants

Forty-one undergraduate students (22 females and 19 males) who were U.S. citizens participated to fulfill one option of an introductory psychology course requirement. All participants self-identified as Latino/a.

Procedure and materials

Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions (commonality, group-boundaries, or control) and individually completed questionnaires in a group setting. Among a number of filler items, participants first reported on quality of intergroup contact with Whites on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale, using with three items (see Brown, Maras, Masser, Vivian, & Hewstone, 2001): "Some of my closest friends are White," "I feel very close to my White friends," and "Most of my experiences with Whites are positive" ($\alpha = .89$).[1]

Participants were next asked to read one of three one-page reports describing 'Relations in America.' In the control condition, participants read a paragraph describing diversity in America, including the following passages: "The population of America is becoming

increasingly ethnically diverse.....As our country becomes even more diverse, it will be important for groups to try and get along and productively live together." Thus, the initial paragraph (control condition) merely described that there are many groups in America and it would be important to try to get along.

To vary salience of group boundaries, participants in the other two conditions read an additional paragraph that, between-participants, either blurred or emphasized group boundaries. The additional paragraph designed to blur group boundaries (commonality condition) read, in part, "Experts agree that thinking based solely on one's racial ethnic group does not improve race relations...We must look beyond racial/ethnic groups, treat all unique individuals equally...we will be better able to solve important problems...In order to overcome any conflict, we must remember our common values and remember we are also humans." The additional paragraph designed to make group boundaries salient (group-boundaries condition) read, in part, "Experts agree that it is important to recognize differences between racial/ethnic groups to improve race relations...We must look at the diversity of racial/ethnic groups, uniquely treat all groups ...we will be better able to solve important problems...In order to overcome any conflict, we must remember to recognize diversity in groups and remember we are also a part of our own racial/ethnic group." These reports were adapted from previous research investigating interethnic ideology (Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000).[2]

To assess commonality perceptions between Latinos and Blacks, participants were next asked to report, among a variety of filler items, the extent to which they viewed Blacks and Latinos as having common values on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale using two items: "The values and life-guiding principles of Blacks and Latinos in America are similar" and "Blacks and Latinos in America live by common values" ($\alpha = .89$). Finally, among several filler item scales, participants reported their political solidarity with Blacks. Participants responded on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale, and three items were used to assess political solidarity: "Blacks (African-Americans) and Latinos (Hispanics) should work together to improve the position of both groups," "Latinos (Hispanics) and Blacks (African-Americans) must stick together and work with each other to change the position of both groups," and "Latinos (Hispanics) and Blacks (African-Americans) would be better off if they worked together to improve each group's position" ($\alpha = .87$). Thus, whereas the commonality message was a general message designed to increase salience of commonality, our primary political solidarity measure explicitly referred to solidarity from the racial/ethnic group of the participants (Latino/a) with another minority group (Blacks).

Results

Commonality perceptions and political solidarity

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) testing for differences in levels of commonality perceptions among the three conditions (commonality, group-boundaries, and control) revealed an effect of condition, $F(2, 38) = 5.25$, $p = 01$, $\eta^2_p = .21$. Tukey's HSD pairwise procedure revealed, as expected, that participants reported greater ($p < .05$) perceptions of commonality in the commonality condition ($M = 5.25$, $SD = 1.94$), relative to the control ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.06$) and group-boundaries ($M = 3.59$, $SD = 1.31$) conditions. Along the same lines, an ANOVA revealed a significant effect of condition for political solidarity, $F(2, 38) = 5.59$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2_p = .22$. Consistent

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[1] Intergroup contact did not differ by experimental condition in either Experiment one or two, $F's < 1$.

[2] A manipulation check at the end of Experiment one revealed the manipulation had the intended effects. In response to the item "The message I received earlier emphasized an individualistic/commonality approach to group relations," participants in the commonality condition ($M = 5.92$, $SD = 1.67$) reported higher agreement than those in control ($M = 4.75$, $SD = 1.76$) or group boundaries ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 1.98$) conditions, $F(2,37) = 6.66$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .36$.

with our hypotheses, a Tukey HSD pairwise procedure revealed that participants reported greater ($p<.05$) political solidarity in the commonality condition ($M = 5.97$, $SD = 1.51$), relative to control ($M = 4.51$, $SD = .92$) and group-boundaries ($M = 4.43$, $SD = 1.40$) conditions.

To test whether commonality perceptions explained the relation between commonality condition and political solidarity, a mediation analysis was conducted. For the purposes of this mediation analysis, we contrasted commonality (coded 1) with the control condition (coded −1). The requirements for showing mediation were successfully met (Kenny, Kashy, & Bolger, 1998): commonality condition was (a) significantly related to political solidarity, $\beta = .52$, $t(23) = 2.93$, $p<.01$, as well as (b) to commonality perceptions, $\beta = .47$, $t(23) = 2.56$, $p = .02$; (c) commonality perceptions was significantly related to political solidarity, $\beta = 67$, $t(22) = 4.54$, $p<.001$, when the effects of commonality condition were controlled. In addition, the effect of commonality condition became non-significant, $\beta = .20$, $t(22) = 1.37$, $p = .18$. The bootstrapped estimate of the indirect effect also was estimated to lie between −1.90 and −.25 with 95% confidence (Preacher & Hayes, 2004).

Majority group intergroup contact and political solidarity

To test our hypotheses regarding the moderating role of majority group intergroup contact on political solidarity, we used a contrast dummy coding procedure, with centered continuous predictors (Aiken & West, 1991). Specifically, political solidarity was regressed on a commonality/control condition contrast, a group-boundaries/control contrast, intergroup contact with Whites, and their interactions. As has been demonstrated, there was a marginally significant effect for the group-boundaries/control contrast, $\beta = -.25$, $t(35) = -1.95$, $p = .058$, and the commonality/control contrast, $\beta = .42$, $t(35) = 3.21$, $p<.01$. There was also a main effect for intergroup contact with Whites, $\beta = -.47$, $t(35) = -3.94$, $p<.001$. However, of particular relevance to our hypotheses, the analysis demonstrated that whereas there was not a two-way interaction between the group-boundaries/control contrast and intergroup contact with Whites, $\beta = .02$, *n.s.*, there was a two-way interaction, approaching significance, between the commonality/control contrast and intergroup contact with Whites, $\beta = -.25$, $t(35) = -2.02$, $p = .05$. As

expected, whereas greater intergroup contact with Whites was related to decreases in political solidarity in the commonality condition, $\beta = -.89$, $t(35) = -6.36$, $p<.001$, there was no relation in the control condition, $\beta = -.25$, $t(35)$, <1 (see Fig. 1).

Discussion

Consistent with a CIIM framework (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), we found that a message emphasizing commonality, which blurred group boundaries, increased political solidarity from one minority group to another. Moreover, the influence of the commonality message was explained by increases in perceptions of commonalities between the minority groups. The efficacy of this commonality message, however, was moderated by intergroup contact with an advantaged group. Specifically, the more intergroup contact Latinos had with Whites, the less efficacious the commonality message was at producing political solidarity from Latinos toward Blacks.

The results of Experiment one provide initial support for the effect of commonality on political solidarity between minority groups, as well the moderating influence of intergroup contact with a majority group on solidarity. However, there are two distinct limitations with respect to the manipulation of commonality in Experiment one. First, past research provides strong support for a differentiation between decategorization (i.e., emphasis on the individual) and recategorization via common identity (i.e., emphasis on shared superordinate identity; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994). The commonality condition in Experiment one may have included elements of both decategorization ("individuals") and recategorization ("common identity of disadvantage"). A stronger test of the commonality hypothesis would therefore focus solely on recategorization via a shared identity of disadvantage. Second, along the same lines, both the commonality and the group-boundaries conditions did not make explicit reference to the two minority groups in question, and therefore may have made other groups (e.g., the majority group) salient. As such, a cleaner manipulation would explicitly make reference to the two minority groups. Experiment two was therefore designed to provide a stronger test of the hypotheses by using a commonality manipulation focused on common identity of disadvantage, as well as improve on the specificity of the manipulations by explicitly referencing both minority groups. Finally, Experiment two was also designed to generalize the process to an alternative form of political solidarity, and as such we focused on political action intentions on behalf of another minority group in the second experiment.
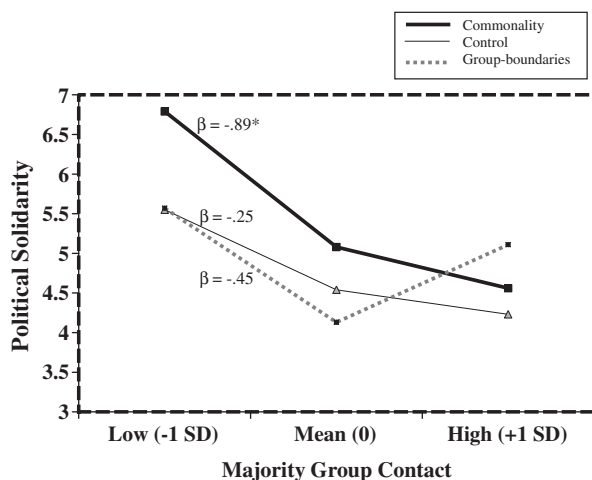
Experiment Two

Participants

Seventy-four undergraduate students (44 females and 30 males) who were U.S. citizens participated to fulfill one option of an introductory psychology course requirement. All participants self-identified as Latino/a.

Procedure and materials

Once again participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions (commonality, group-boundaries, or control) and individually completed questionnaires in a group setting. Among a number of filler items, participants first reported on the quality of intergroup contact with Whites by rating their agreement from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) with three items (Brown et al., 2001): "Some of my closest friends are White," "I feel very close to my White friends," and "Most of my experiences with Whites are positive" ($\alpha = .92$).

Participants were next asked to read one of three one-page reports describing 'Relations in the U.S.' that were used to manipulate salience of identity (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001). In the control

Fig. 1. Political solidarity as a function of degree of majority group contact and experimental condition in Experiment one. Regression-line slopes depict 1 standard deviation below the mean, the mean, and 1 standard deviation above the mean for intergroup contact. Participants responded on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale. * $p<.001$.

condition, participants read an opening paragraph describing groups in America, including the following passages: "The population of America includes many different racial/ethnic groups. As our country begins to include many groups it becomes critical to understand how groups relate to one another…many social scientists have considered the variety of different ways that groups live together."

In the commonality condition, after reading the control condition paragraph, participants read additional paragraphs designed to blur intergroup boundaries between the minority groups, via an emphasis on common identity, and read, in part: "Experts from different fields have recognized that Latinos (Hispanics) and Blacks share a common identity in the sense that they share common disadvantage within U.S. society…it is agreed that Blacks and Latinos should think more in terms of this common group membership…Thus, social scientists have confirmed the existence of a common group identity." Consistent with past work that has used a biased-response format to manipulate identity (i.e., participants choose from a biased set of responses; Esses, Wagner, Wolf, Preiser, & Wilbur, 2006), to strengthen our manipulation we also asked participants to complete a number of biased-response tasks, which further emphasized common identity of disadvantage with Blacks. Specifically, on the following page, participants were asked to complete three tasks: (a) write down five reasons why "Latinos and Blacks share a common identity", (b) choose a statement (e.g., "Blacks and Latinos should emphasize shared identity" from four (similarly-worded) options that best summarized the news report from the previous page, and finally (c) choose a pictorial representation from two pictures depicting the "relations between Blacks and Latino/as." Specifically, each pictorial representation had two circles along a continuum of distance, Blacks represented by a circle at one side and the other circle representing Latino/as on the other end of the continuum (Schubert & Otten, 2002). In the commonality condition, the biased choice was between two representations that depicted Blacks and Latinos as semi-overlapping: each of the circles overlapped with each other, suggesting a commonality.

In the group-boundaries condition, the paragraphs after the control condition paragraph were designed to emphasize group boundaries and the unique identities of Latinos and Blacks, and read, in part: "Experts from different fields have recognized that Latinos (Hispanics) and Blacks have unique identities and should *not* be treated the same within society…it is agreed that Blacks and Latinos should think more in terms of their own racial/ethnic group and not common group membership…Thus, social scientists have confirmed that there is a different group identity for Blacks and Latinos, whereby Black and Latinos do not share identity." In the group-boundaries condition, the three tasks on the following page were designed to bolster the manipulation, and thus emphasized the boundaries between the two minority groups: (a) write down five reasons why "Latinos and Blacks have unique and different identities," (b) choose a statement (e.g., "Latinos are very different from Blacks") from four (similarly-worded) options to best summarize the news report, and (c) a biased choice between two pictorial representations, each of which depicted the circles for Blacks and Latinos as very far apart (no overlap between circles).

For participants in the control condition, on the page following the opening paragraph, the three tasks were focused on the numerical groups in America: (a) write down five reasons why there are a number of groups in America, (b) choose which statement from four (e.g., "The population includes many groups") best summarized the opening paragraph, and (c) select between two pictorial representations of the 'groups in America.' In the control condition, both circles were labeled as "groups in America," with some overlap. Finally, all participants responded to two manipulation check items: "I share a common identity of disadvantage with Blacks" and "I feel that Blacks and Latinos (Hispanics) are a part of TWO very different groups in America" on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) scale.

To assess commonality perceptions between Latinos and Blacks, participants were next asked to report, among a variety of filler items, the extent to which they viewed Blacks and Latinos as having common values on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) scale, using three items: "The values and life-guiding principles of Blacks and Latinos in America are similar," "Blacks and Latinos in America live by common values," and "Blacks and Latinos (Hispanics) do not live by similar values in America ($\alpha = .82$). Finally, among several filler items, political solidarity with Blacks was assessed by asking participants about their willingness to engage in political action on behalf of Blacks. Participants responded on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) scale, using three items: "I would participate in a demonstration on behalf of Blacks," "I would participate in raising awareness about injustices facing Blacks," and "I would sign a petition to stop brutality against Blacks" ($\alpha = .88$).

Results

The manipulation check showed that the identity manipulation was successful. Participants perceived a shared common identity of disadvantage with Blacks to a greater extent in the commonality condition ($M = 4.84$, $SD = .94$), relative to the control ($M = 3.62$, $SD = .64$) and the group-boundaries ($M = 2.52$, $SD = 1.26$) conditions, $F(2,71) = 34.52$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .49$. Conversely, participants reported that Blacks and Latinos were a part of two very different groups to a greater extent in the group-boundaries condition ($M = 5.12$, $SD = 1.42$), relative to the control ($M = 3.75$, $SD = .98$) and commonality ($M = 2.84$, $SD = .80$) conditions, $F(2,71) = 27.02$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .43$.

Commonality perceptions and political solidarity

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) testing differences in levels of commonality perceptions among the three conditions revealed an effect of experimental condition, $F(2, 71) = 51.43$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .59$. Tukey's HSD pairwise procedure revealed, as expected, that participants perceived more ($p < .05$) commonality in the commonality condition ($M = 4.90$, $SD = .71$), relative to the control ($M = 3.59$, $SD = .40$) and group-boundaries ($M = 2.96$, $SD = .86$) conditions. Along the same lines, an ANOVA revealed a significant effect of condition on political solidarity, $F(2, 71) = 19.38$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .35$. Consistent with our hypotheses, a Tukey HSD pairwise procedure revealed that participants reported greater ($p < .05$) political solidarity in the commonality condition ($M = 4.66$, $SD = 1.37$), relative to control ($M = 3.68$, $SD = .52$) and group-boundaries ($M = 2.74$, $SD = 1.16$) conditions.

To test whether commonality perceptions explained the relation between commonality condition and political solidarity, a mediation analysis was conducted. For the purposes of this mediation analysis, we contrasted the commonality (coded 1) and control conditions (coded -1). The requirements for showing mediation were successfully met (Kenny et al., 1998): (a) commonality condition was significantly related to political solidarity, $\beta = .59$, $t(48) = 5.32$, $p < .001$; (b) commonality condition was also related to commonality perceptions, $\beta = .76$, $t(48) = 8.66$, $p < .001$; and (c) commonality perceptions was significantly related to political solidarity, $\beta = .39$, $t(47) = 2.24$, $p = .03$, when the effects of commonality condition were controlled. In addition, the effect of commonality condition became non-significant, $\beta = .30$, $t(47) = 1.70$, $p = .095$. The bootstrapped estimate of the indirect effect was estimated to lie between .04 and .91 with 95% confidence.

Majority group intergroup contact and political solidarity

To assess our hypotheses regarding the moderating role of majority group intergroup contact on political solidarity, political solidarity was regressed on a commonality/control condition contrast, a group boundaries/control contrast, intergroup contact with Whites, and their interactions (Aiken & West, 1991). As has already been demonstrated, there was a main effect for the group-boundaries/control

contrast, $\beta = -.53$, $t(68) = -5.92$, $p < .001$, and the commonality/control contrast, $\beta = .54$, $t(68) = 6.02$, $p < .001$. There was also a main effect for intergroup contact with Whites, $\beta = -.23$, $t(68) = -2.97$, $p < .01$. The analysis also demonstrated a two-way interaction between the group-boundaries/control contrast and intergroup contact with Whites, $\beta = .28$, $t(68) = 3.17$, $p < .001$, and as hypothesized, between the commonality/control contrast and intergroup contact with Whites, $\beta = -.48$, $t(68) = -5.34$, $p < .001$. Follow-up analyses revealed, as expected, that greater intergroup contact with Whites was related to decreases in political solidarity in the commonality condition, $\beta = -.81$, $t(23) = -6.77$, $p < .001$. Conversely, although the two-way interaction revealed differences between the group-boundaries and control condition, the follow-up analyses revealed no relation between intergroup contact and political solidarity for both the group boundaries, $\beta = .16$, $t(23) < 1$, $p = .43$, and control, $\beta = -.013$, $t(23) < 1$, $p = .95$, conditions (see Fig. 2).[3]

Discussion

Complementing the results of Experiment one, using an alternative measure of political solidarity (political action intentions), the results of Experiment two provide additional support for our hypotheses. Experiment two found that a commonality message focused on common identity of disadvantage, relative to a group boundaries message, increased political solidarity action intentions. Increased political solidarity in the commonality condition, however, was moderated by intergroup contact with Whites, such that the efficacy of the commonality message was decreased to the extent that participants had greater contact with Whites.

General discussion

The present work, focused on the conditions that bring about political solidarity between minority group members, has implications for the study of intergroup contact and social change. The current results illustrate the usefulness of commonality messages for producing political solidarity. Consistent with a Common In-group Identity framework (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), we found that a message emphasizing commonality, which blurred group boundaries, increased political solidarity from one minority group to another, which was explained by increases in perceptions of commonalities. Whereas past research within the common in-group identity framework has primarily focused on the ability of commonality to bridge the gap between majority and minority groups, the present results illustrate the usefulness of this approach for fostering solidarity between minority groups. The current work therefore extends the model by generalizing the efficacy of commonality to the arena of collective action, and particularly political solidarity between minority groups.

The efficacy of this commonality message, however, was moderated by intergroup contact with a majority group. These findings are consistent with recent work on social change rooted in two contrasting frameworks, one focused on achieving social cohesion between majority and minority groups and the other focused on collective action by minority groups (Dixon, Tropp, et al., 2010; Wright & Lubensky, 2008). Whereas past work suggests intergroup contact can decrease social-change oriented responses, such as personal awareness of discrimination (Dixon, Durrheim, et al., 2010), the present results suggest that intergroup contact with majority groups may also decrease the efficacy of commonality messages aimed at increasing political solidarity between minority groups. The effects of contact on minority political solidarity illustrated in the present work, which focused solely on harmonious forms of intergroup contact, may emerge as a result of quality contact leading to re-
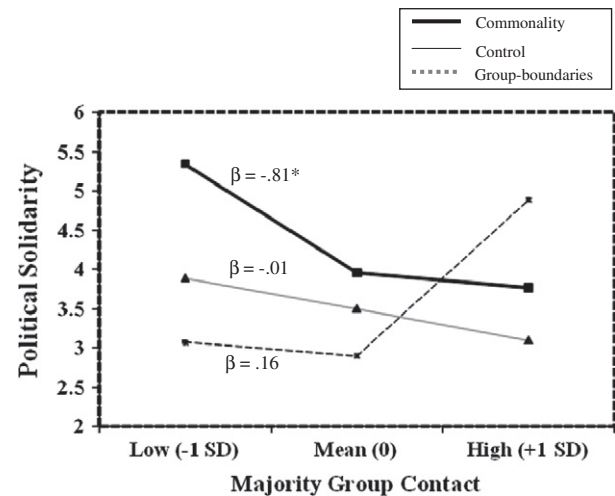

Fig. 2. Political solidarity as a function of degree of majority group contact and experimental condition in Experiment two. Regression-line slopes depict 1 standard deviation below the mean, the mean, and 1 standard deviation above the mean for intergroup contact. Participants responded on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale. * $p < .001$.

categorization, such that there is an inclusion of the majority group in the self-concept, decreases in the salience of minority group identity (Wright & Lubensky, 2008), and also decreases in perceptions of collective discrimination (Dixon, Durrheim, et al., 2010). That is, positive and harmonious intergroup contact with majority group members may lead minority group members to be more likely to recategorize to a common identity, including the majority group as a part of a re-categorized superordinate level in-group, which may reduce the effectiveness of a commonality message that requires both a salient majority out-group (Simon & Klandermans, 2001), as well as maintenance of the salience of the minority group identity (van Zomeren et al., 2008). The efficacy of the commonality message also requires an individual to perceive collective discrimination; increased harmonious intergroup contact may also lead minority group members to underestimate the degree of collective discrimination (Dixon, Durrheim, et al., 2010), decreasing the extent to which the elements of the message appealing to 'disadvantage' are compelling or relevant. In sum, the conflict of harmonious intergroup contact may lie in the fact that despite harmony leading to increased positive attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), it also has the potential to decrease a variety of social-change oriented responses among minority group members.

It should be noted that we are not suggesting that intergroup contact with majority groups will always lead to negative social change outcomes for minority group members, *per se*. Indeed, in the present study, although follow-up analyses were not significant, the pattern of results revealed that under conditions of heightened group boundaries, relative to control, the efficacy of the commonality message for political solidarity was greater for those with more majority group contact. Because contexts where both minority (e.g., via heighted group boundaries) and common (e.g., via majority group contact) identity are activated (i.e., dual identity contexts) may produce greater salience of the position of the minority group, but also the position of *all* other groups in the comparative context (i.e., the majority group *as well as* other minority groups), these contexts may allow for greater potential for collective action and political solidarity with other minority groups in response to commonality messages, possibly a result of decreased distinctiveness threat and bias directed at other minority groups (Crisp, Stone, & Hall, 2006; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). Importantly, the pattern of findings suggests that maintaining group boundaries, particularly salience of minority identity, may be critical to understanding when majority group intergroup contact does not undermine, and can possibly increase, social change motivations of the minority group.

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[3] Across both experiments, analyses revealed that commonality perceptions did not explain the relation between experimental conditions by majority group contact interaction term and political solidarity with the other minority group (mediated moderation).

Routes to social change include majority and minority groups working in solidarity with one another (Subasic et al., 2008), minority group members working on their own to achieve social change (i.e., collective action; van Zomeren et al., 2008), as well as two minority groups working in solidarity. The present results suggest, however, that a more nuanced investigation of the *types* of intergroup contact that distinctly promote the three different routes to social change may be needed. That is, whereas a majority of intergroup contact work has focused on harmony (quality of contact) as the primary means of measuring contact, for the purposes of the study of social change, expanding the measurement of contact to include salience of inequality (Saguy, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008), emotional content conducive to solidarity (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009), or the extent to which contact results in a "tension" to confront societal inequities (King, 1963), may help explain when and why intergroup contact promotes social change responses among both majority and minority group members.

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