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Discussing Differences between Groups: The Content of Intergroup Encounters and Motivation for Social Change among Members of Advantaged Groups

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Discussing Differences between Groups: The Content of Intergroup Encounters and Motivation for Social Change among Members of Advantaged Groups

Abstract

Recent research highlighted that intergroup contact can inadvertently undermine social change. However, relatively little work had linked experiences of contact to motivation for social change among advantaged groups. We develop the hypothesis that the association between amount of intergroup contact and motivation for social change depends on the content of the encounter. Specifically, intergroup contact that prioritizes differences between groups (over commonalities) can predict greater motivation for social change among members of advantaged groups. Our findings reveal, consistent with the literature on preferences for the content of contact, that an intergroup interaction that is focused on differences predicts greater motivation for social change, but only if such interaction is part of repeated positive contact experiences. We discuss theoretical and practical implications of findings.

Keywords: intergroup contact, social change motivation, desire for equality, advantaged group members.

Decades of research have shown that contact between members of different groups is a powerful tool for reducing prejudice (Allport, 1954; Hodson & Hewstone, 2013; Vezzali & Stathi, 2017). However, recent evidence reveals an important shortcoming of contact, which in some circumstances may represent an obstacle to the desire to change the unfair status hierarchy. Specifically, whereas positive intergroup encounters may foster more positive outgroup attitudes by increasing perceptions that ingroup and outgroup members belong to a superordinate category (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), they can also reduce disadvantaged group members' awareness of group distinctions, including those pertaining to power (Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2012; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Given that such awareness is critical for fostering collective action, this constitutes a serious limit for the contact hypothesis.

The current work critically extends these understandings by focusing on the association between contact and social change motivation among members of advantaged groups. Whereas much of the research that links contact to social change had focused on processes among disadvantaged groups, little work had examined the social change orientations of advantaged group members, as a function of experiences of contact. To begin and fill this gap, in the current work we review relevant writings and findings about the potential effects of contact on members of advantaged groups. We further demonstrate findings from a study conducted among Italians who reported their experiences of contact with immigrants and also their support for change towards equality. In our theoretical analysis, as well as in the reported study, we develop the prediction that the content of intergroup contact, specifically the extent to which it is focused on intergroup differences, can play a critical role in shaping motivation for change among members of advantaged groups. Given that research on intergroup contact and social change has been mainly conducted with disadvantaged groups, investigating these effects among advantaged groups, together with

potential ways to attenuate them, would constitute a critical and much called for advancement in research examining social change motivation in the context of power relations.

Contact and social change: The disadvantaged group perspective

There is now impressive evidence supporting the role of contact in improving outgroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). However, cross-group liking may have unintended consequences which could undermine possibilities for social change (McKeown & Dixon, 2017; but see Kauff, Green, Schmid, Hewstone, & Christ, 2016). Saguy et al. (2009), in a laboratory study, manipulated group position, by assigning participants to high-power (advantaged) and low-power (disadvantaged) groups, and type of contact, by asking participants to discuss commonalities or differences between groups. Consistent with the contact literature, commonality-focused (vs. difference-focused) contact improved outgroup attitudes, but also led participants to pay less attention to status inequalities. Moreover, disadvantaged group members had stronger expectations for outgroup fairness after commonality-focused contact, expectations that were violated by the advantaged group, who discriminated equally across contact conditions.

The expectations for equality among the disadvantaged group were further replicated in several correlational studies conducted around the world among members of minority groups (see Saguy, Shchory-Eyal, Hasan-Aslih, Sobol, & Dovidio, 2017). For example, greater quantity of positive intergroup contact (i.e., greater number of direct cross-group friendships) between Arabs and Jews was associated with reduced attention to intergroup inequalities and, in turn, with less support for social change. A correlational study conducted in South Africa among Blacks (Cakal, Hewstone, Schwär, & Heath, 2011), and a longitudinal study conducted in the United States among Black and Latino Americans (Tropp, Hawi, Van Laar, & Levin, 2012) – both revealed that intergroup contact negatively predicted collective action tendencies. Similar findings were found among the Maori minority in New-Zealand,

for whom more friendships with the White majority predicted perceptions of the inequality as legitimate (Sengupta & Sibley, 2013).

In an attempt to get at the mechanisms underlining the association between harmonious intergroup dynamics and collective action orientations several studies have focused on identity processes among disadvantaged groups. For example, minorities in the U.S. were led to focus on either a superordinate representation of intergroup relations ("Recognizing that all of us are Americans") or a dual-identity representation ("Recognizing that all of us are members of groups that have different traditions but also share a common American identity"; Glasford & Dovidio, 2011). Relative to dual identity condition, promoting a common identity decreased social change motivation (see similar findings in Ufkes, Calcagno, Glasford, & Dovidio, 2016). These findings were supported in another study conducted in Europe among Kurds (Ufkes, Dovidio, & Tel, 2015) in which stronger identification as Europeans was negatively related to collective action to repair structural disadvantage. Thus, the sense of feeling separated vs. connected to the advantaged group seems to play a critical part in shaping disadvantaged group members' motivation to engage in action in favor of their group. This conclusion is highly consistent with extensive research on predictors of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008). The key novelty to consider here is the emergence of such shared identity as a function of positive contact.

Together, these results suggest that commonality-focused contact, which leads to a sense of shared identity between the disadvantaged and the advantaged group, can foster overly optimistic expectation for equality among disadvantaged group members, and take attention away from intergroup disparities. Since acknowledging inequalities represent a crucial antecedent of the motivation to engage in collective action (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008; Wright & Lubensky, 2009), these studies highlight an important shortcoming of

contact, which may ironically be an obstacle to the mobilization of minorities towards social change.

One notable element in this previous research on the ironic consequences of contact is that it was conducted mainly among members of disadvantaged groups. Research involving advantaged groups had relatively little emphasis on social change as an outcome (see Dixon, 2017). The handful of studies in which such outcomes are measured paint a mixed picture of the association between contact and social change – as described next.

Contact and social change: The advantaged group perspective

The bulk of research on prejudice reduction, and particularly on intergroup contact, has focused on members of advantaged groups. For the most part, the outcomes that were considered in this line of research surrounded attitudes and emotions toward the disadvantaged group, which were shown to be more positive following contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Little work has focused on the way members of advantaged groups conceive of social inequality following contact, and even less work has considered behavioral outcomes such as resource distribution. The research that did take this step paints a complex picture. On the one hand, some studies show a positive association between contact and support for egalitarian policy. For example, White South Africans who had more contact with minorities also reported greater support for a range of race-related policies (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux. 2007; Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2010). Studies in Western Europe and the U.S. further find that positive contact with immigrants is associated with pro-immigration attitudes. For example, Hayes and Dowds (2006) found that non-immigrants in the UK who had close contact with immigrants were more likely to support the inclusion of immigrants in the UK (see also Pettigrew, Wagner, & Christ, 2007). These findings were supported by a recent experimental study in which common identity to White Americans and immigrants (vs. separate) identity was primed among White Americans. In the common identity condition

White Americans were more willing to donate money to an organization dedicated at integrating immigrants and to volunteer to help support them – suggesting that the effects of common identity translated via tolerance into egalitarian behavior (Kunst, Thomsen, Sam & Berry, 2015).

Notwithstanding these findings, there are indications that positive contact, and/or a focus on commonality, may also undermine intentions for social change among advantaged groups. For instance, Cakal et al. (2011, Study 2) found among advantaged members a negative correlation between positive contact and collective action tendencies. These findings echo much earlier work by Jackman and Crane (1986), who found among a nationally representative sample of White Americans that experiences of positive contact with Blacks predicted better racial attitudes, but less support for policies designed to redress racial inequalities in housing and employment. This finding is consistent with work by Durrheim and Dixon (2004; see also Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005), who argued for a general gap between advantaged group members' commitment to justice in principle, and their support for actual policies that can promote equality (e.g., affirmative action), a phenomenon they labeled "the principle-implementation gap" (Dixon et al., 2007).

The study by Saguy and colleagues (2009) described earlier offers the possibility that reduced attention to inequality can play a role in this gap. In that study, advantaged and disadvantaged group members engaged in either a commonality-focused or a differences-focused interaction. Members of the advantaged groups indeed came to like the disadvantaged group more after an interaction that centered on commonalities (rather than differences), but still discriminated against the disadvantaged group to the same extent after both types of contact. Thus, consistent with the notion of a rift between tolerant attitudes and egalitarian behavior, changes in attitudes across the contact conditions did not lead to changes in the allocation of resources, which were discriminatory regardless of the type of encounter.

Moreover, in the commonality condition advantaged group members also focused less on the inequality that was created in the study, offering the possibility that the combination of positive attitudes and lesser attention to inequality produced the same level of discrimination that was observed in the differences condition.

In line with these ideas, Banfield and Dovidio (2013) demonstrated paradoxical effects of commonalities on recognition of discrimination among majority group members. White participants in the U.S. were primed with either a common (American) identity of Blacks and Whites, separate racial identities, or to an empty control condition. Participants then read a hiring scenario that involved either subtle or blatant discrimination, in which a Black candidate was not offered a job. Results revealed that when the bias witnessed was subtle, White participants for whom common identity was emphasized perceived lower levels of bias than those for whom separate identities were emphasized or those in a control condition, and these perceptions mediated less willingness to protest the negative outcome for the Black person who was rejected. No significant differences emerged when discrimination was blatant. In another study (Banfield & Dovidio, 2013, Study 3) the authors induced a common identity versus a dual identity (vs. an empty control). Although across conditions participants were equally likely to recognize racial bias, participants in the dual identity condition expressed greater willingness to protest the decision compared to participants in the common identity and control conditions.

The inconsistent results among the advantaged groups call for more thinking and research examining the particular association between contact and motivation for social change – which is the aim of the current paper. We next turn to theorize about the apparent inconsistencies in current research on advantaged groups and present initial data to support our thinking.

Focusing on differences across group lines

Together, the accumulating evidence regarding the link between contact and social change orientations among advantaged groups point to several important elements that might play a critical role in explaining the inconsistency in the findings. First, it seems that contact can increase support for policies favoring the low-power group (e.g., affirmative policies), but is less effective in impacting behavioral intentions to personally engage in actions challenging the status quo. Research therefore must include such, more consequential, outcomes to be able to assess the effects that go beyond rather superficial outcomes. As stated by Banfield and Dovidio (2013), who found that contact increased sensitivity to blatant, but not to subtle bias, which is often more elusive and pervasive "it is possible that the emotional benefits of contact may be offset by its tendency to promote acceptance of broader patterns of discrimination" (p. 707).

Moreover, the findings suggest that even though a sole focus on commonalities can have the paradoxical outcome of reducing sensitivity to subtle injustice across group lines – a focus that combines both commonalities and differences (as in the dual identity conditions described earlier; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012; Glasford & Dovidio, 2011) can more effectively promote social change orientations. But why would this be the case? As evidenced by much research on social change (van Zomeren et al., 2008), salience of social identity is necessary in order to promote collective action (see also Wright & Lubensky, 2009). If positive contact involves a focus on commonalities that obscures group differences, then increasing the relative salience of group differences should bring attention back to group-based distinctions, possibly also to those pertaining to group-based inequality. This prediction is consistent with Brown and Hewstone's (2005) intergroup contact theory, stating that maintaining group salience during contact is necessary for allowing generalization of contact effects, thus avoiding the personalization of contact (see Miller, 2002).

However the focus on differences in intergroup encounters is likely to be highly challenging. Research had shown that when advantaged group members are asked to choose topics for a future intergroup encounter, they show a clear preference to prioritize a focus on commonalities between the groups, than on group differences (Saguy & Dovidio, 2013; Saguy, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008; Saguy & Kteily, 2014). However, this work had further shown that under conditions that emphasize the illegitimacy of the group-based inequality, advantaged group members are more motivated to address group-based differences, including differences in power (Saguy & Dovidio, 2013). Beyond this contextual factor, close friendships across group lines, which often evolve naturally, can potentially involve a focus on differences, depending on how the relationship unfolds. We propose then, that in those cases, where, for whatever reason, a minority and a majority group member are able to focus on differences during their friendly interaction, motivation for social change is likely to increase. The reason is that such focus provides the necessary infrastructure for thinking in group-based terms about the relations between the groups. This is a critical element in situations that, almost naturally, evolve to include a focus on similarities and commonalities – thus blurring intergroup distinctions (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Miller, 2002). If advantaged group members' attention is not focused on group-based differences, then it is unlikely that they will undertake social change efforts for improving the disadvantaged group position.

Thus, we aimed to provide a first test of the idea that a meaningful focus on group differences during contact would be associated with greater desire for social change among advantaged group members. By meaningful we mean that such focus should be part of repeated positive interactions between the groups, and not part of a single encounter (or the like). Operationally, this would mean that an increasing number of cross-group friendships that are focused on differences would predict motivation for change among advantaged group members. As stated earlier, research shows that the natural tendency of advantaged groups is

to avoid discussions of group differences (Saguy & Kteily, 2014). Thus, a sporadic encounter that involves a focus on differences in power is unlikely to exert a meaningful effect because it is likely to be inconsistent with the advantaged groups' needs and motives. As such it might even backfire. But if such discussions evolve as part of repeated interactions between the groups, with the potential for personal acquaintance (i.e., as is the case when several close friendships are formed and are focused on difference), then contact that is focused on differences can predict greater social change orientation among advantaged groups.

To test this idea we run a study in Italy. The intergroup context we focused on was the relationship between Native-Italians (advantaged group) and immigrants (disadvantaged group). Participants were Italian university students who reported their experiences of contact with immigrants in terms of frequency (i.e. number of cross-group friendships) and also in terms of content (i.e., whether the friendship is focused on cross-group commonalities or differences). We then assessed our critical outcome measure, motivation for social change, and also outgroup attitudes. Contact was assessed by considering the amount of direct cross-group friendships, an especially strong form of direct and positive intergroup contact (Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011). The content of the contact was tested as a moderator: we examined whether the effects of contact on motivation for social action (and on outgroup attitudes) is shaped by whether the encounter is reported to be focused on differences.

We expected that when the encounter is focused on differences, contact would be associated with greater motivation for social change. Moreover, given the inconsistent results in previous research that examined the association between contact and motivation for social change among advantaged groups, we did not set clear predictions about the association between contact focused on commonalities and social change orientations.

Thus, our work is the first to consider a potentially critical moderator for the association between contact and social change, a moderator that has much applied relevance – the content of the encounters. As such this research goes beyond much prior work on the paradoxical effects of contact on social change, which heavily focused on members of disadvantaged groups and involved little emphasis on moderating variables.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were 195 Italian students at a Northern Italian university (9 males, 185 females, 1 data missing). Mean age was 20.41 years (*SD* = 2.22). Participants were administered a questionnaire during classes.

Measures

Contact. Items were adapted from previous contact research (e.g., Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou, 2008). To assess contact we used four items, asking participants to indicate the number of immigrant friends in general, at school, in the neighborhood, in their free time. We used a scale ranging from 1 (*none*) to 7 (*more than 10*; the other degrees were: 2 = *1-2*; 3= *3-4*; 4 = *5-6*; 5 = *7-8*; 6 = *9-10;* α = .75).

Content of contact. To assess the content of the contact we used two items adapted from Saguy and Dovidio (2013) and from Saguy et al. (2008): "In general, when you have contact with immigrants, is the interaction mainly focused on the differences between Italians and immigrants?"; ""In general, when you have contact with immigrants, is the interaction mainly focused on the things that Italians and immigrants have in common?". Answers were given in a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). We then calculated the difference between the two items, subtracting the commonalities item from the differences item. The resulting difference score ranged from -6 to 6, with 0 reflecting an equal focus on commonalties and differences, a negative number reflecting a greater focus on similarities,

and a positive number reflecting intergroup interactions that are focused more on differences than on commonalities.

Outgroup attitudes. We used a feeling thermometer, where participants had to indicate their attitude toward immigrants on a scale ranging from 0 (*extremely unfavorable*) to 100 (*extremely favorable*).

Social change motivation. Five items were used, adapted from Saguy et al. (2008) and Glasford and Dovidio (2011), asking participants the extent to which they were likely to engage in actions promoting equality between Italians and immigrants (e.g., "I would participate in a movement aimed at raising awareness to issues of inequality between Italians and immigrants"; "I feel it's also my personal responsibility to do something to increase equality between Italians and immigrants"). Answers ranged from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much;* α = .90). Higher scores on this scale indicated a greater desire to engage in actions promoting intergroup equality.

Results

Descriptives and correlations are presented in Table 1. As can be noted from the negative mean of the content of contact index, during intergroup interactions individuals preferred to talk more about commonalities, $M = 2.89$, $SD = 1.53$, than differences, $M = 2.34$, $SD = 1.43$, $t(194) = 4.32$, $p < .001$. This difference score was normally distributed (skewness and kurtosis = -.28 and 1.72, respectively; Bulmer, 1979).

To test our hypotheses, we conducted two moderation analyses. Across both analyses contact served as the independent variable, and the content of contact as the moderator. The first analysis considered motivation for social change as the outcome measure and the second analysis considered outgroup attitudes.

The analysis for the change motivation outcome revealed two main effects, indicating that more experiences of contact were associated with greater motivation for change ($b = .58$,

SE = .11, *t* = 5.39, *p* < .001); and that greater focus on differences, overall, was associated with lesser motivation for change (*b* = -.33, *SE* = .12, *t* = 2.77, *p* < .0.01). However these effects were qualified by a significant 2-way interaction (*b* = .14, *SE* = .05, *t* = 2.66, *p* < .01). Follow up analyses revealed that when contact was focused more on commonalities than on differences, there was a marginally significant effect of contact on social change motivation (*b* = .24, *SE* = .13, *t* = 1.83, *p* = .07). However, when the content of contact was focused more on differences than on commonalities, there was a significant effect of contact on social change (*b* =.75, *SE* = .14, *t* = 5.24, *p* < .001). Figure 1 presents this interaction.

The other set of simple effects (that is, considering content of contact as the predictor and contact as the moderator) indicated that at low levels of contact, a focus on differences (over commonalities) was associated with less orientation for social change (*b* = -.16, *SE* = .07, *t* = 2.39, *p* < .05). However, at high levels of contact there were no significant differences in social change motivation as a function of the content of contact. Moreover, although not significant, the pattern of results demonstrates that at high levels of contact, contact that was focused on differences was associated with greater change motivation than contact focused on commonalities (*b* = .10, *SE* = .07, *t* = 1.31, *p* =.19).

The results for the attitudes measure revealed similar effects. The moderation analysis produced two main effects revealing that contact was associated with better attitudes (*b* = 10.19, *SE* = 1.65, *t* = 6.18, *p* < .001) and that the a focus on differences, overall, was associated with worse attitudes (*b* = -3.92, *SE* = 1.84, *t* = 2.12, *p* < .05). These effects were qualified by a marginally significant 2-way interaction (*b* = 1.59, *SE* = .83, *t* = 1.91, *p* = .058). Follow up analyses revealed that when contact was focused on commonalities over differences, there was a positive association between contact and attitudes (*b* = 6.53, *SE* = 2.06, *t* = 3.17, *p* < .01). When contact was more focused on differences over commonalities, this effect was in the same direction, but much stronger (*b* = 12.12, *SE* = 2.21, *t* = 5.49, *p* <

.001). Suggesting that also with respect to changes in attitudes, these were more significant when contact was focused on differences than on commonalities (see Figure 2).

The other set of simple effects (where content of contact was the predictor and contact was the moderator) indicated that at low levels of contact, a focus on differences (over commonalities) was associated with worse attitudes (b = -2.07, SE = 1.06, t = 1.96, p = .052). However, at high levels of contact there were no significant differences in outgroup attitudes as a function of the content of contact (b = .82, SE = 1.14, t = 0.71, p = .48).

Discussion

Results of this study provide initial evidence that the content of intergroup interactions play an important role in shaping the association between contact and motivation for social change among members of advantaged groups. Previous work on contact and motivation for social change paints a clear picture regarding disadvantaged group members. For them, experiences of commonality-focused contact predict less support for social change. For advantaged group members, however, the picture seems to be more complex. Contact seems to predict support for social change, but only under certain conditions – which extant literature is mute about. Indeed, there is no evidence today that we are aware of, that provides evidence for the conditions under which contact might increase social change among advantaged groups.

In the current paper we attempted to begin and provide evidence for the role that the content of contact plays in this respect. We found that friendships with immigrants predicted greater motivation for social change – but this association was shaped by the content of the encounter. Specifically, whereas when friendships were focused on commonalities the association between contact and social change was not significant, when friendships were focused on differences, more contact was associated with greater social change motivation. Importantly, relatively little contact that is focused on differences was associated with

relatively weak social change motivation, and significantly weaker than that association with little contact focused on commonalities. This supports our contention that a focus on differences, to be predictive of social change, should be part of a meaningful set of interactions that provide an opportunity for personal acquaintance and deep investigation of the relationship. Otherwise, such a focus might pose a threat to the high power group and might even produce backlash effects in the form of distancing from the other group, including from its needs for social change. Importantly, this interpretation should be done in light of the mean level of contact in the study and associated *SD* and range. The mean number of immigrant friends that Native-Italians had was 1 to 2, at the lower end of the contact scale. The standard deviation was 0.90, suggesting that most people in the study had between no friends to only few, 3-4 friends. Moreover, we did not have a measure of frequency of contact, which limits our ability to conclude that more friends means more contact – an assumption we are relying on based on much prior work.

In addition of being consistent with Brown and Hewstone's (2005) model which advocates an emphasis on separate as well as on common identities during contact, the results from the current study are also consistent with the "critical intergroup dialogue approach," advocating the explicit focus on power relations during situations of contact (Zuniga, Nagda, & Sevig, 2002). Similarly, Becker, Wright, Lubenski, and Zhou (2013) demonstrated that when the content of contact involved (vs. did not involve) a focus on power differences as illegitimate, contact did not have a demobilizing effect among members of disadvantaged groups. Future research can productively develop a systematic model of contact that involves a focus on differences, and/or differences in power – such a model will be evidenced-based, and will enable critical theoretical and practical advancement in this field of intergroup contact, and harmony more generally.

A great challenge that arises when considering such model is how to get members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups to be willing to openly address their differences, and particularly their differences in power. Members of advantaged groups are likely to avoid such discussions in order to protect their moral image (Knowles, Lowery, Chow, & Unzueta, 2014; Saguy & Kteily, 2014). Future work can advance this very avenue by investigating ways to promote advantaged group members' willingness to recognize their advantage and be motivated to dismantle inequality. Such interventions should rely on relevant findings on the psychology of dominant groups. For example, one potential way of raising recognition to inequality can be to direct majority group members' attention to potential losses in their moral image, given a certain inequality. Such an intervention would consider advantaged group members motive to sustain a sense of morality in face of privilege (Knowles et al., 2014; Lickel, Schmader, & Barquissau, 2004) and could be potentially effective.

The limitations of the current research should be noted and further addressed in future work. First, data are cross-sectional, rendering it impossible to make causal inferences. Second, we did not assess whether when discussing differences with outgroup friends, participants also referred to differences stemming from intergroup inequalities. Future research should investigate more closely which types of difference-focused discussions (e.g., differences in cultures, power, or both) are more relevant for predicting social change motivation.

In closing, we believe this line of research has noteworthy practical implications. Research on contact has generally assumed that liking for the outgroup and harmony between groups are key to improve intergroup relations (Wright & Baray, 2012). However, intergroup harmony does not automatically imply intergroup equality. We suggest that, although intergroup competition can prompt collective action (see Van Zomeren et al., 2008), it may not be necessary, and the crucial element may be found in the salience of group differences.

Despite avoiding focusing on group differences may help intergroup relations at a personal level in the short term, missing this focus may disrupt intergroup relations in the long term, contributing to maintain unchanged the unfair status hierarchy. If however recognizing both commonality and group-based differences helps people extend principles or morality across group lines, advantaged group members may become motivated to advance change themselves. Future research can focus on how to bring members of both advantaged and disadvantaged groups to be able to address such topics in a way that would promote sensitivity to inequality, while not undermining potential harmony between the groups.

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Tables

Table 1. Means, standard deviations and correlations among variables.

		1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Contact		-					
2. Content of contact		-.00	-				
3. Commonality-focused contact		.18*	-.63***	-			
4. Difference-focused contact		.19**	.56***	.30***	-		
5. Outgroup attitudes		.39***	-.06	.16*	.10	-	
6. Social change motivation		.32***	-.06	.18*	.12	.61***	-
	M	2.07	-0.54	2.89	2.34	64.40	4.02
	SD	0.90	1.76	1.53	1.43	21.31	1.36

Note. The variable "Content of contact" was obtained by calculating the difference between "Difference-focused contact" and "Commonality-focused contact," with higher scores reflecting greater focus on differences than on commonalities during contact.

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

Figure captions

Figure 1. Social change motivation (response scale 1-7) as a function of Contact and content of contact (± 1 *SD*). High scores of content of contact indicate that contact is more focused on differences than on commonalities between groups.

Figure 2. Outgroup attitudes (response scale 0-100) as a function of Contact and content of contact (± 1 *SD*). High scores of content of contact indicate that contact is more focused on differences than on similarities between groups.

Figure 1

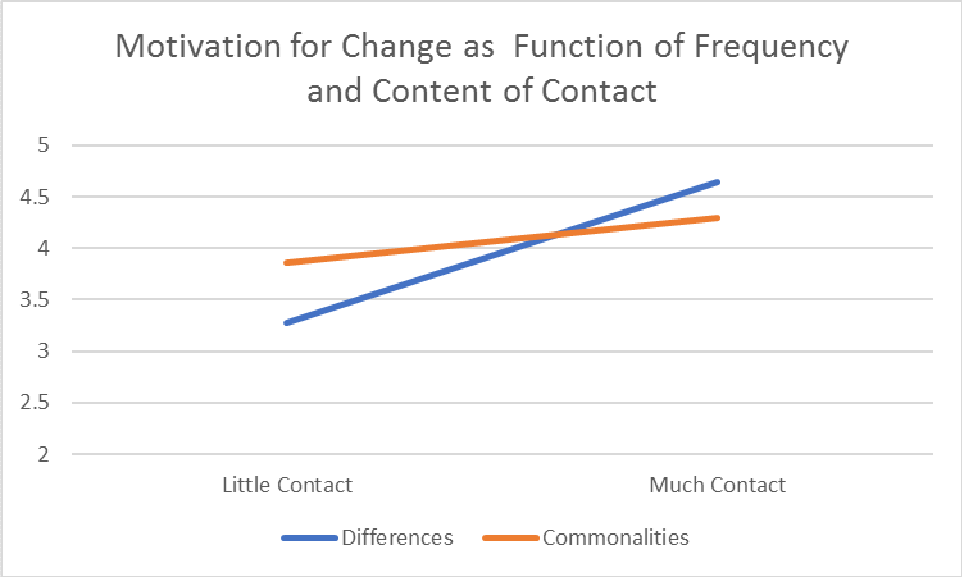
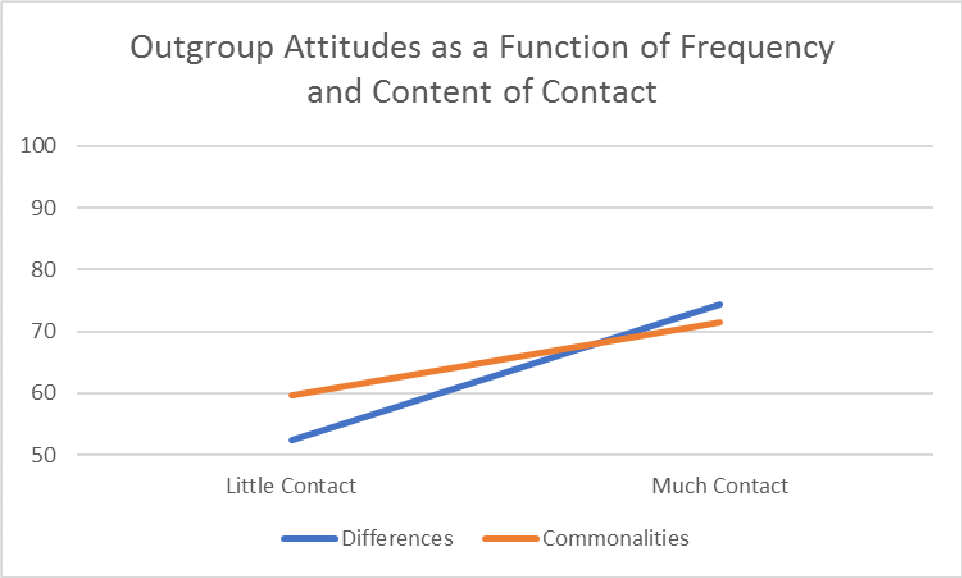

Motivation for Change as Function of Frequency and Content of Contact
5
4.5
4
3.5
3
2.5
2
Little Contact
Much Contact
Differences
Commonalities

Figure 2


Outgroup Attitudes as a Function of Frequency and Content of Contact
100
90
80
70
60
50
Little Contact
Much Contact
Differences
Commonalities