

INVITED CONTRIBUTION

Including *Both* Voices: A New Bidirectional Framework for Understanding and Improving Intergroup Relations

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Methods: If successful intergroup harmony is to be achieved between two groups, then both groups' voices must be heard. Despite this, 60 years of social psychological "intergroup" prejudice research has tended to adopt a solely majority-centric perspective, with the majority group portrayed as the active agent of prejudice, and the minority group as passive targets.

Objective: This paper critically reviews relevant literature, highlighting this unidirectional imbalance, and proposes a new, two-stage bidirectional framework, where we encourage researchers and educators to first understand how minority and majority groups' intergroup attitudes and emotions impact intergroup dynamics, before tailoring and implementing contact and recategorisation strategies to improve intergroup relations, nationally and internationally.

Conclusion: We argue that the interactive nature of the intergroup dynamic needs to be better understood, and each group's voice heard, *before* prejudice can be effectively reduced. Lastly, we describe an Australian study, the Dual Identity and Electronic-contact (DIEC) programme, that has been conducted and has successfully applied this bidirectional framework.

Key words: cognitive recategorisation; contact; intergroup relations; minority and majority attitudes; prejudice reduction.

"Prejudice may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports, and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity *between members of the two groups.*" (Allport, 1954, p. 281, emphasis added).

In 2013, a national survey showed that approximately one in five Australians experienced prejudice due to their ethnicity or religion (Markus, 2013). Such discrimination can have pervasive detrimental consequences for society on many levels—physically, psychologically, and economically. In Australia, intergroup tension and disharmony have been shown to create several deleterious outcomes for the targets of racism, including the disruption and destabilising of social relations (Pedersen, Walker, & Wise, 2005), negative emotional and psychological effects (Kalek, Mak, & Khawaja, 2010; Mak & Nesdale, 2001), decreased national productivity (Loosemore & Chau, 2002), and poor health outcomes, particularly among Aboriginal children (Priest, Paradies, Stevens, & Baillie, 2012). Internationally, research has also shown that the targets of racial prejudice and

discrimination experience negative health outcomes (Bhopal, 2009; Paradies, 2006; Priest et al., 2013) and poorer employment prospects (Derous, Nguyen, & Ryan, 2009; Dietz, 2010). In addition to the adverse effect on targets of prejudice, even the proponents of prejudice have been found to experience negative intrapersonal problems, such as impaired executive function after intergroup interactions (Richeson & Trawalter, 2005; Richeson, Trawalter, & Shelton, 2005). Therefore, it is abundantly clear that an effective solution to the problem of prejudice is urgently needed.

Here, prejudice refers to "any attitude, emotion or behaviour towards members of a group, which directly or indirectly implies some negativity or antipathy towards that group" (Brown, 2010, p. 7). Importantly, according to this well-established social psychological definition, *any* member of society can be a proponent and/or target of prejudice, whether people belong to majority (e.g., White or Christian in Western countries) or minority groups (e.g., Black or Muslim in Western countries)—suggesting that prejudice is bidirectional.¹ Although bidirectionality may imply that everyone plays an equal role in the relationship, this is not borne out in society or in the research evidence. For example, although some minority groups might hold negative views towards the majority, minorities often do not tend to occupy positions of power to structurally impact the majority in a detrimental way. Instead, minorities may indirectly affect or reinforce the majority's negative stereotypes of them, which in turn perpetuates social disharmony. If this vicious and ongoing cycle of prejudice is ever going to be broken, then researchers and educators must acknowledge that both voices need to be included in understanding the complexity of prejudice and developing a solution to improve intergroup relations.

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Improving Intergroup Relations: The Contact Hypothesis

A number of approaches have been postulated to address the negative impact of prejudice, with Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, one of the most widely researched strategies. Here, he proposed that under appropriate conditions, positive interpersonal contact is one of the most effective ways to improve intergroup relations between majority and minority groups. Consequently, it is Allport's original and rich conceptualisation of intergroup contact as a prejudice reduction strategy that will underpin the approach proposed in this review paper.

Allport (1954) hypothesised four facilitating conditions that are needed for the reduction of prejudice between majority and minority group members. These include (a) equal status, (b) cooperative contact, (c) pursuit of common goals, and (d) sanctioning from authority. Thus, according to Allport's conceptualisation, the contact required for successful prejudice reduction is more than a mere interaction between two groups. Instead, effective intergroup contact requires the complex interplay between these four facilitating conditions. Importantly, Pettigrew's (1998) Intergroup Contact theory has more recently proposed a fifth condition involving a longitudinal component where participants need to be provided with sufficient time to become friends. That is, time spent in a collaborative and goal interdependent contact situation may be an additional and essential condition for promoting positive intergroup relations. This condition is supported by a strong literature that has consistently shown that intergroup friendships are particularly powerful in improving intergroup attitudes and anxiety (Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011; Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Tropp, 2008; Turner, Hewstone, Voci, Paolini, & Christ, 2007).

Intergroup contact has been widely considered by social psychologists as a panacea for prejudice reduction (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Interestingly, however, a meta-analysis involving over 500 research studies has revealed that contact has had only low to moderate success in reducing prejudice in the short term (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). There may be various explanations for this result. We contend, however, that it is (in part) the product of Allport's (1954) lack of specificity concerning how the facilitating conditions may need to be operationalised across an *intergroup* context; that is to say, how intergroup contact can adequately address the interactive nature of intergroup dynamics and be tailored to incorporate the perspectives of *both* minority and majority group members. Although this bidirectional approach to understanding intergroup relations may seem intuitive, there has been a broad tradition in social psychology to adopt an intrapersonal and unidirectional approach, with a focus on the perspective of the majority group (Shelton, 2000; Shelton & Richeson, 2006b), and the need to change its attitudes, emotions, and behaviours. Consequently, there has often been minimal attempt to consider and integrate the minority's perspective. This paper will argue that if research is to effectively put a stop to the detrimental outcomes of intergroup tensions, a new bidirectional framework in prejudice reduction is needed that includes *both* minority and majority group voices.

Supporting the Minority Voice to be Heard

While various scholars (e.g., Amir, 1969; Devine & Vasquez, 1998) have drawn attention to the unidirectional focus of previous research, Shelton (2000; see also Shelton & Richeson, 2006b) has provided one of the most compelling critiques, pointing to the fact that decades of research has neglected the minority group's perspective when examining the interpersonal dynamics and outcomes of intergroup interactions. Shelton noted that a typical experiment would involve an initial examination of a majority group members' outgroup attitudes and beliefs, followed by an "interaction" with a minority group confederate. In this instance, the aim would be to assess the influence of the majority's outgroup perceptions on their interactions with minority individuals (for a classic example of this method, see Word, Zanna, & Cooper, 1974). Even though such procedures have greatly broadened our understanding of intergroup encounters, the minority group has seldom been examined. Although Shelton's commentary centred on research on White and African Americans, her criticisms are still pertinent to research between other majority and minority groups, as research in a range of other countries and ethnic groups has also tended to be majority focused.

Shelton (2000) proposed that this majority-centric approach may reflect the widespread practice of treating majority group members as functional individuals, who can manage and influence intergroup dynamics, while subjugating minority group members to the position of "passive targets" (p. 374). This perspective is evident in the manner in which majority and minority groups have been traditionally examined in the literature. On the one hand, there has been a tendency to concentrate on the origin and nature of the majority group's stereotypes and prejudice towards the minority group (e.g., Allport, 1954; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1986). On the other hand, the minority group literature has highlighted the consequences of being a member of a stigmatised group and the mechanisms employed to cope with perceptions of prejudice (e.g., Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Crocker & Major, 1989). These two relatively isolated literatures map well onto the view of majorities as "active" and minorities as "passive" interpersonal agents, and inadvertently imply that intergroup harmony can only be achieved by targeting the majority group.

In her critique, Shelton (2000) contended that the unidirectional approach to intergroup relations might also reflect historical, socio-political, and pragmatic forces. For example, in Australia, if researchers investigate the active role that Indigenous Australians play in negative intergroup relations with non-Indigenous Australians—in other words, roles beyond the more passive one of coping with prejudice—it may appear that they are relinquishing the majority group's responsibility for past transgressions, which has become a source of guilt for the Anglo-European majority (McGarty *et al.*, 2005). Additionally, examining intergroup relations in this way might appear to delegitimise—or even reject—the Indigenous minority's historical experiences with racial victimisation. From a practical perspective, however, researchers may have focused on the majority group due to the restricted demographics of their available participant pool, which typically comprises of

undergraduate psychology students. In Australia, it is often the case that minority group members, such as Indigenous or Islamic Australians, make up a relatively small proportion of the undergraduate population. Additionally, sourcing and evaluating a more diverse sample, beyond the university campus, is often logistically difficult.

Nonetheless, the call for a “paradigm shift in the way Social Psychology attempts to understand the dynamics of [intergroup] contact” (Shelton & Richeson, 2006b, p. 122) has triggered a burgeoning movement towards a bidirectional approach to examining intergroup encounters. Recent studies have focused on the minority group’s perspective (e.g., Richeson & Trawalter, 2005; Richeson et al., 2005; Shelton & Richeson, 2006a; Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005), or have taken the initiative of examining both groups simultaneously (e.g., Holloway, Waldrup, & Ickes, 2009; Mendes, Major, McCoy, & Blascovich, 2008; Page-Gould et al., 2008; Shelton, 2003). This new wave of research is beginning to illuminate the interpersonal reality of intergroup interactions that was once largely limited to the perspective of the majority group. However, despite this important advancement, researchers are yet to adequately apply this to prejudice reduction interventions.

A Two-Stage Bidirectional Framework for Understanding and Improving Intergroup Relations

To this end, we propose a new, two-stage framework that aims to encourage local and international researchers and educators to take a bidirectional perspective in developing, implementing, and evaluating prejudice reduction strategies in laboratory, clinical, and educational settings. This framework is depicted in Figure 1. Stage 1 of the framework focuses on *interpersonal*

processes. Guided by Shelton (2000), we propose that researchers first need to understand the interpersonal processes that underpin the intergroup interactions that they are observing and measuring. In other words, the intergroup attitudes, emotions, and behaviours of *both* minority and majority individuals need to be examined. By adopting a relational, bidirectional perspective, research can reveal the complex and dynamic nature of intergroup interactions, which can then form the basis for the development of intergroup contact strategies that target prejudice reduction. Such an approach will afford both groups agency within the intervention.

In Stage 2 of our framework, we extend the proposition of Shelton (2000) by arguing that if prejudice involves an intergroup relationship between minority and majority group members, then researchers need to develop prejudice reduction strategies that involve and benefit *both* groups. For example, Allport’s (1954) prejudice reduction strategy of intergroup contact demands a cooperative and goal interdependent interaction between *both* minority and majority group members. Our framework builds upon this in pointing to the need for researchers to determine how Allport’s conditions can be tailored to reflect each group’s goals for contact, based on the outcomes of Stage 1 research. Subsequently, in order to ensure that contact is effective, we have also included Pettigrew’s (1998) fifth condition of “time” in our framework. Importantly, intergroup relations research must also provide majority and minority group members with sufficient time for rapport building in the contact situation. In line with current theorising (e.g., Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011), the contact situation must be collaborative and structured to facilitate the achievement of a valued, common goal, while also recognising similarities and differences between the two groups. This can be achieved through a dual identity recategorisation (this is represented by the overlapping circles in Stage 2). Finally, the framework advocates the need to examine the extent to which prejudice reduction interventions (Stage 2) impact on the interpersonal processes between minority and majority groups (Stage 1) in the long-term (this is represented by the broken line connecting Stage 2 and Stage 1).

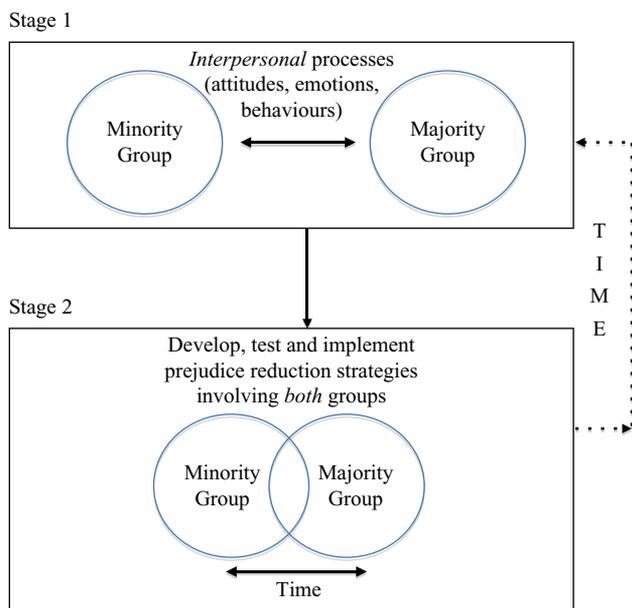


Figure 1 A new two-stage bidirectional framework for understanding and improving intergroup relations.

Stage 1: Understanding the Interpersonal Processes in Intergroup Interactions

The following section will give an overview of research findings on the interpersonal processes that underlie intergroup interactions, with a specific focus on how majorities’ and minorities’ attitudes and emotions impact on the dynamics of intergroup interactions. We argue that understanding these processes forms a crucial foundation for developing and evaluating intergroup contact interventions.

Intergroup attitudes

Majority and minority group members often endorse evaluative attitudes of each other. Australian survey findings have uncovered a considerable degree of intergroup intolerance towards Indigenous, Muslim, Asian, and Jewish Australians (Dunn, Forrest, Burnley, & McDonald, 2004). Our research has consistently shown that Asian and Muslim Australians, can also harbour negative attitudes towards their respective majority

outgroups (Verrelli, Harvey, & White, 2014; White & Abu-Rayya, 2012). Additionally, we have found that Asian Australians report significantly more explicit prejudice towards outgroups (i.e., negative attitudes available in conscious awareness) but significantly less implicit prejudice (i.e., negative attitudes held outside of conscious awareness) compared with their Anglo counterparts (McGrane & White, 2007). These different levels of implicit and explicit prejudice may suggest the possibility of a dissociated causal mechanism for minority and majority groups. In other words, unlike the majority, minority groups may be less inhibited by normative standards that require them to respond without prejudice (Shelton, 2000), or more likely to have developed coping strategies to deal with stigmatisation from the outgroup, increasing explicit prejudice (Ashburn-Nardo, Knowles, & Monteith, 2003).

There is a body of evidence to suggest that negative outgroup attitudes can have detrimental consequences on intergroup experiences for both majorities and minorities. For example, Vorauer and Kumhyr (2001) found that high-prejudiced, as opposed to low-prejudiced, White Canadians experienced less positive affect after interacting with an Indigenous partner. The authors posit that this may have occurred because high-prejudiced ethnic majorities were more likely to frame outgroup interactions in terms of negative self-evaluations. Specifically, their results indicated that high-prejudiced majorities expected to be viewed as prejudiced and closed-minded by a outgroup interaction partner, even if this perception was unwarranted. Consistent findings were obtained by Shelton and Richeson's (2006a) examination of African American's intergroup interactions with the White majority. Here, minority individuals with more negative racial attitudes towards the majority group were found to have less positive outgroup interactions; with the extent of negativity predicting the degree of deterioration in the quality of the interaction over time. As in the Canadian study, these findings were related to negative perceptions about the outgroup. Specifically, high-prejudiced minorities tended to perceive their majority interaction partner as behaving in a prejudiced manner, which in turn reduced the minority participant's enjoyment of the interaction.

These findings suggest that although negative outgroup attitudes can play a detrimental role during intergroup interactions for both majorities and minorities, divergent interpersonal concerns also appear to contribute to this relationship. That is to say, majorities are more concerned about appearing prejudiced, whereas minorities are more concerned about being the target of prejudice (Shelton, 2003). This might account for the emergence of divergent interpersonal goals that may need to be fulfilled during intergroup interactions: majorities seek to be liked and seen as moral, whereas minorities seek to be respected and seen as competent (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010). However, we need to interpret these findings with caution and acknowledge that intergroup relationships may vary across different historical and cultural contexts.

Intergroup emotions

There is substantial research to suggest that the dynamics of intergroup behaviour can be influenced by emotions, such as feelings of threat and anxiety that both majorities and minori-

ties experience before and during intergroup interactions. First, both groups have been found to appraise the prospect of intergroup (compared with intragroup) interactions as potentially anxiety provoking (Stephan & Stephan, 1985, 1989; Verrelli *et al.*, 2014). This is particularly the case for majority and minority members who have had negative experiences with the outgroup, perceive a history of intergroup conflict and status differences between both groups, and/or endorse negative outgroup stereotypes (Stephan *et al.*, 2002). These negative affective reactions are related to negative behavioural consequences, such as a tendency to hold their interaction partner responsible if an intergroup interaction does not go well and to avoid future interracial interactions (Plant, Butz, & Tartakovsky, 2008).

Additionally, compared with same-group encounters, brief intergroup interactions can create a sense of interpersonal uncertainty that can result in individuals feeling uncomfortable, self-conscious, and anxious (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Recent investigations have also shown that intergroup contact can elicit physiological responses indicative of threat (Littleford, Wright, & Sayoc-Parial, 2005; Mendes, Blascovich, Lickel, & Hunter, 2002; Page-Gould *et al.*, 2008), which in turn can interfere with the production of affiliative behaviours (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell, 2001; Mendes, Blascovich, Hunter, Lickel, & Jost, 2007).

There is also an emerging body of work on the relational nature of intergroup anxiety (e.g., West, 2011; West & Dovidio, 2012). Specifically, outgroup members' anxious behaviours (e.g., gaze aversion) are often interpreted as unfriendly (Dovidio, West, Pearson, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2007), and outgroup interaction partners' anxiety is an important predictor of both self-anxiety (Andrighetto, Durante, Lugani, Volpato, & Mirisola, 2013; West, Shelton, & Trail, 2009) and the quality of the interaction as perceived by the outgroup member (Pearson *et al.*, 2008). These findings suggest that intergroup anxiety can act as an impediment to a successful intergroup interaction and can severely disrupt rapport building between groups.

There are, however, important factors that have been found to attenuate or exacerbate negative affective responses during intergroup interactions. First, the amount of prior experience an individual has in interacting with outgroup members can influence intergroup anxiety in predictable ways (Blascovich *et al.*, 2001; Olsson, Ebert, Banaji, & Phelps, 2005; Page-Gould, Mendes, & Major, 2010). Prior experiences can reduce feelings of uncertainty and increase perceptions of self-efficacy, which together can subdue feelings of threat. These findings suggest that intergroup interactions may need to provide participants with sufficient time to acquire the necessary experiences required to respond with less anxiety. Moreover, compared with majorities, minority individuals are more likely to have experiences with intergroup interactions, and therefore, tend to respond with less anxiety during intergroup interactions (Doerr, Plant, Kunstman, & Buck, 2011; Hyers & Swim, 1998; Mendes *et al.*, 2007; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008).

Second, individuals' interpersonal concerns during intergroup interactions, such as worry about whether their partner

understands and respects them, can potentially impact on intergroup anxiety. As already mentioned, there is growing evidence to suggest that racial majority and minority individuals tend to have divergent prejudice-related relational concerns during intergroup interactions (Shelton & Richeson, 2006b). These can potentially influence an individual's threat and coping appraisals in different ways. Majority members, who tend to be concerned about appearing prejudiced, are more likely to be "self-focused," whereas minorities, who tend to be concerned about becoming the target of prejudice, are more likely to be "partner-focused" (Trawalter, Richeson, & Shelton, 2009). Therefore, when appraising intergroup interactions, majority and minority group members might assess the demands of the interaction differently, and therefore perceive and cope with the "threat" of the interaction in different ways.

Third, unstructured intergroup contexts, which typically involve a high degree of interpersonal uncertainty, can heighten feelings of anxiety (Towles-Schwen & Fazio, 2003). On the other hand, contexts that provide intergroup members with guidelines and expectations (e.g., scripts and norms) for appropriate behaviour are more predictable, and therefore, potentially less threatening (Avery, Richeson, Hebl, & Ambady, 2009). Such contexts could include intergroup situations that involve a cooperative interaction guided by the pursuit of common goals.

Summary of Stage 1 intergroup processes. In sum, it is clear from the research reviewed that *both* interaction partners are functional interpersonal agents that can actively influence the social dynamics of intergroup interactions. This is in line with Shelton's (2000) claims that minority individuals, like their majority group counterparts, play an active role in negotiating intergroup relations, and reinforces the need for a bidirectional framework. The extant literature highlights the interpersonal complexities that often colour interactions between majority and minority group members: the individuals involved may enter the intergroup interaction with diverging preconceptions about their partner, concerns about how their interaction partner views them, and beliefs and feelings about the interaction itself. These perceptions have the potential to shape both individuals' behaviours and experiences as the encounter progresses, influencing the outcomes of the interaction.

It is striking that although Shelton's (2000; see also, Shelton & Richeson, 2006b) critical analysis and the ensuing bidirectional research has focused almost exclusively on characterising the nature of intergroup interactions between majorities and minorities, strategies for prejudice reduction have largely been ignored. We argue that researchers need to take the second step of using this rich body of Stage 1 bidirectional information to tailor contact strategies that will effectively meet the needs of minority and majority group members.

Stage 2: Including the Majority and Minority Voice in Intergroup Contact Strategies

Not surprisingly, consistent with literature examining interpersonal processes in intergroup interactions, research examining intergroup contact as a prejudice reduction strategy has also tended to adopt a majority-centric focus. Tropp and Pettigrew

(2005) found that among 515 studies appropriate for inclusion in their meta-analysis, only 20.3% examined the perspective of the minority group and only 7.3% examined the perspectives of both groups simultaneously. We argue that given the complexities of contact between majorities and minorities, adopting a majority-centric focus in examining contact interventions may be an ineffective strategy for improving intergroup relations. This is consistent with Tropp and Pettigrew's (2005) finding that the relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice was significantly weaker for minority group members ($r = -.18$) than for majority group members ($r = -.23$). This effect was also present when the analysis was limited to studies that included all of Allport's (1954) facilitating conditions. A number of explanations of this finding have been proposed. First, it has been argued that the facilitating conditions may not be equally achievable, or resonate in the same way, for both minority and majority groups. For example, it may be difficult to truly implement equal status in a direct contact setting, with minority group members being well aware of their devalued status in society, and history of prejudice and discrimination (Binder *et al.*, 2009; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Second, compared with majorities, minority individuals are exposed to the outgroup more often, and as a result, further outgroup encounters may not be remarkable or adequately impactful for attitude change (Barlow, Hornsey, Thai, Sengupta, & Sibley, 2013).

Additionally, Bergsieker *et al.* (2010) found that during interracial interactions, majority groups member (in this case, Whites) seek to be liked by minority group members (in this case, Blacks and Latinos), whereas minority group members seek respect from majority group members. This finding fits with Schnabel and Nadler's (2008) Needs-Based Model of Reconciliation, which proposes that majority and minority group members bring different goals into interactions that aim to achieve reconciliation. According to this model, following a transgression (such as a history of discrimination), victimised or disadvantaged individuals typically demonstrate a need for empowerment. Consequently, their primary goal in reconciliation with the perpetrator of the transgression (in this case, the majority) may be to regain respect, and a sense of competence and status. Schnabel and Nadler's (2008) model proposes that perpetrators on the other hand have different goals when reconciling with the victims of their transgressions. They are more motivated to seek social acceptance and restore their impaired moral image (SimanTov-Nachlieli, Schnabel, & Nadler, 2013). These divergent goals have implications for Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis. While Allport's four facilitating conditions should encourage positive and non-conflictual contact, this may not fulfil the minority group's need for empowerment, hence accounting for the weaker support for the contact hypothesis with this group (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007). Rather, the facilitating conditions proposed by the contact hypothesis appear to be more effective in building empathy and acceptance (Kunstman, Plant, Zielaskowski, & LaCrosse, 2013; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011), which is more in line with the majority group's goals for social acceptance (SimanTov-Nachlieli *et al.*, 2013). Consequently, such explanations may help to understand why intergroup contact in line with Allport's (1954) original conceptualisation has been found to be less effective for minority groups than majority groups.

Adapting the Contact Hypothesis for Majority and Minority Groups: The Role of Cognitive Recategorisation

In order to maximise the efficacy of intergroup contact interventions for *both* majority and minority groups, it is important to accommodate the divergent goals, expectations, and beliefs of each group. One way in which this is possible is by incorporating cognitive recategorisation strategies that align with these divergent aspects of the groups involved in the contact intervention.

According to Gaertner and Dovidio (2005), cognitive recategorisation is a critical mediator of the effects of intergroup contact on intergroup relations. Cognitive recategorisation strategy derives from Tajfel and Turner's (1986) Social Identity Theory, which postulates that all individuals attempt to attain or maintain a positive social identity, and consequently automatically engage in categorisation of others into ingroups and outgroups, enforcing an "us vs. them" mentality. Therefore, in order to promote greater intergroup harmony, intergroup contact must target this initial categorisation process by using recategorisation strategies that can create a more inclusive "we" mentality (Dovidio, Gaertner, Hodson, Houlette, & Johnson, 2005). Gaertner and Dovidio's (2000) Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) provides a framework through which this recategorisation can occur.

Over the last 25 years, much evidence has accumulated demonstrating the effectiveness of the CIIM in promoting more positive intergroup relations (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2000; Eller & Abrams, 2003; Houlette et al., 2004; West, Pearson, Dovidio, Shelton, & Trail, 2009; Wittig & Molina, 2000). The model emphasises that by adopting a more inclusive common or superordinate identity within the intergroup contact situation (e.g., "Australian") as opposed to thinking in terms of separate subgroups (e.g., "Anglo" or "Middle-Eastern"), group members' cognitive boundaries of what constitutes an ingroup and an outgroup will be changed. Benefits and advantages will then be ascribed to members who were previously considered outgroup, but who are now perceived to belong to the ingroup, resulting in greater intergroup acceptance. Nevertheless, a major initial limitation of the CIIM was that individuals who identify very strongly with their subgroup may not be prepared to relinquish this identity in favour of a common identity, which may aggravate intergroup relations (Dovidio et al., 2009). Furthermore, given that group salience is necessary (González & Brown, 2006) for the effects of recategorisation to generalise to the outgroup as a whole, focusing solely on a common identity may impede this generalisation. Consequently, the concept of a dual identity was added to the model, allowing identification with a common superordinate group, while maintaining ties with one's subgroup identity (e.g., "Anglo-Australian" or "Middle-Eastern-Australian") (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000).

Integrating Cognitive Recategorisation within Intergroup Contact: Examining the Effects in Minority and Majority Groups

Based on the CIIM, it would be expected that in contact situations, cognitive recategorisation that accurately reflects each

group's goals and experiences should increase the efficacy of interventions based on the contact hypothesis, for both majority and minority group members. Research conducted in the United States has indicated that emphasising a *common* identity is more successful in promoting positive intergroup attitudes in majority groups (principally White-Americans), whereas emphasising a *dual* identity is more effective in minority groups (principally African Americans) (Dovidio, Gaertner, Niemann, & Snider, 2001; Dovidio et al., 2007, 2009; Gaertner, Mann, Dovidio, Murrell, & Pomare, 1990; Glasford & Dovidio, 2011; Hehman et al., 2012; Nier et al., 2001; Saguy, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008).

A functional perspective incorporating the goals of *both* minority and majority members can account for these consistent findings (Dovidio et al., 2007). According to Dovidio et al. (2009), a functional perspective refers to a group adopting the preferred representation that most effectively promotes their group's goals. That is, adopting a common identity has the function of reducing the threat to the status-quo and reinforces the ideals of the majority, which may explain the greater effectiveness of this form of recategorisation among majority individuals. This is particularly pertinent to the US context, where the common identity of "American" is generally synonymous with "White" (Devos & Banaji, 2005). The effectiveness of dual identity recategorisation among minority individuals may be explained in terms of motivation for social change. That is, a salient common identity can assist minority individuals to maintain positive connections with majority members, and to assert some control over the social system, whereas a parallel salient subgroup identity can provide the potential for social change, as group-based inequalities are not masked by the dominant cultural group (Dovidio et al., 2007).

Consistent with this functional perspective, research outside of the US context is beginning to demonstrate different patterns of preference in recategorisation strategies among majority and minority groups. A preference for a *common identity* was similarly demonstrated among Canadian nationals in regard to attitudes towards immigrants (Esses, Wagner, Wolf, Preiser, & Wilbur, 2006). More recently, Beaton et al. (2012) also found that the majority group (European Canadian) endorsement of a *common* identity led to more positive attitudes towards the minority Aboriginal Canadian outgroup. However, in contrast with the US findings, they did not find that a dual identity recategorisation led Aboriginal Canadians to report more positive attitudes towards the majority outgroup. Rather, endorsement of a "different groups" perspective, whereby Aboriginal and European Canadians are seen as separate groups with no overlapping commonalities, led to more positive minority attitudes towards European Canadians. This finding has been attributed to the fact that unlike African American minorities (Lee, 1993), Aboriginal Canadians do not manifest favouritism towards their ingroup, as reflected in evidence of their outgroup favouritism towards White children (Corenblum, 2003). Beaton et al.'s findings suggest that although European Canadians may value maintenance of the status-quo, and therefore benefit from a common identity, Aboriginal Canadians may view themselves as widely distinct from the majority group because of the long history of suppression, segregation, cultural discontinuity, marginalisation, and institutionalised disadvantage. Therefore, they may not actively seek

empowerment and social change (Kirmayer, Brass, & Tait, 2000), and it may not be functional to seek these goals at present via endorsement of a dual identity. Rather, the first goal in Aboriginal Canadians' reconciling past transgressions may be to establish acceptance by the majority (Beaton *et al.*, 2012).

Within the European context, a recent British study from Cameron, Rutland, Hossain, and Petley (2011) employed an intergroup contact intervention where White, British children were read stories in which either a dual or common identity was emphasised. Compared with a control condition in which children were exposed to a story which did not portray intergroup contact, the authors found both the dual and common identity conditions to be equally effective in lowering White children's prejudice levels and increasing behavioural intentions to engage with British-Indian children. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether the manipulation correctly elicited a distinction between a common and dual identity. Initially during the session, all children across the three conditions (dual identity, common identity, and control) were introduced to the outgroup as "Indian English" children (p. 197), a description which potentially primed a dual identity amongst all the children, including those in the common identity condition. Furthermore, the superordinate identity was not matched across conditions. Within the common identity condition, a superordinate "school" category was made salient, whereas in the dual identity condition, a national "British" category was made salient in addition to the Indian subgroup. There may be differences in the extent to which the children identified with these distinct superordinate categories, which could have influenced results. Thus, the findings may be more reflective of methodological limitations with the manipulation rather than actual patterns of preference among the students.

Finally, Guerra *et al.* (2010) implemented a contact intervention, involving intergroup contact between minority Angolan Portuguese and majority European Portuguese children. Among minority children, emphasising a *common* identity led to significant improvements in intergroup bias, in terms of competence ratings of majority children who were present in the contact situation in addition to ratings of the outgroup as a whole (Guerra, Rebelo, Monteiro, & Gaertner, 2013). In contrast, for majority children, emphasising a *dual* identity manipulation was more effective in improving intergroup bias towards children present (Guerra *et al.*, 2010), although not towards the outgroup as a whole (Guerra *et al.*, 2010, 2013). Guerra *et al.* (2010) and Guerra *et al.* (2013) explain the discrepancy between their findings and the US findings from a functional perspective, where the most effective form of cognitive recategorisation for any given group is the one that is most capable of promoting that group's goals during contact. They argue that a dual identity may not be adaptive for Angolan Portuguese children whose priority in contact with the majority group may be to assimilate and attain equality given their more tenuous status in society. Indeed, the migration of Angolans to Portugal has spanned approximately 40 years, in contrast to the US context where there has been a much longer history of integration and acculturation of the minority African culture, and a greater sense of ethnic and cultural pride driven by civil rights movements, which has not been observed in the Portuguese context. In contrast, the effectiveness of dual identity for

the majority may be driven by a need to attain positive distinctiveness from the minority in response to threat to the traditional Portuguese identity. For generalisability purposes, however, these results need to be replicated among adult samples.

In sum, although different contexts may produce different findings, these can be interpreted employing a functional perspective whereby certain groups show a preference for different cognitive recategorisation strategies within contact, depending on which can most effectively promote their group's goals. This development in theory underscores the importance of considering the perceptions and experiences of *both* the majority and minority before designing effective prejudice reduction interventions. It is thus imperative that future research incorporate both voices in their interventions and not treat prejudice reduction interventions within a "one-size-fits-all" framework.

Incorporating the New Bidirectional Framework in an Australian Context: The Dual Identity and Electronic-contact (DIEC) Programme

This review paper proposes a new a two-stage bidirectional framework involving both minority and majority group members to better understand and improve intergroup relations. To establish support for this new framework, it will need to be tested in a range of contexts. For example, in the Australian context, limited research involving *both* minority and majority voices has been conducted. White and Abu-Rayya (2012) and White and colleagues (2014) have provided one of the first Australian intergroup contact studies to involve *both* Christians (i.e., the majority group) and Muslims (i.e., the minority group). This study was triggered by the observation that although Indigenous and Asian Australians still remain targets of prejudice in Australia (McGrane & White, 2007; White & Gleitzman, 2006), in the post-September 11 era, there was an emerging and strengthening negative tension directed towards Muslims living in Australia (Abu-Rayya & White, 2010). In order to address this developing societal problem, White and Abu-Rayya (2012) designed the 8-week Dual Identity Electronic-contact (DIEC) programme.

Drawing on the research reviewed and concepts proposed in this paper, we developed and tested the DIEC programme, utilising the newly proposed two-stage bidirectional framework as shown in Figure 2. In Stage 1, at pre-intervention the intergroup attitudes of the Muslim and Christian groups were assessed using a battery of tests measuring intergroup anxiety, affective bias, knowledge, and prejudice. These pre-intervention measures formed the basis for tailoring the DIEC intervention to be used in Stage 2. In Stage 2, eight structured 50-min E-contact sessions were conducted, focusing on dual identity recategorisation with the aim of long-term improvement of intergroup relations between Muslim and Christian students. The Australian DIEC programme (White & Abu-Rayya, 2012; White *et al.*, 2014) incorporated Allport's (1954) and Pettigrew's (1998) optimal facilitating conditions for contact. These conditions were implemented in the following way: (a) equal status was operationalised by ensuring that the four-person Muslim and Christian group were matched on demographic variables such

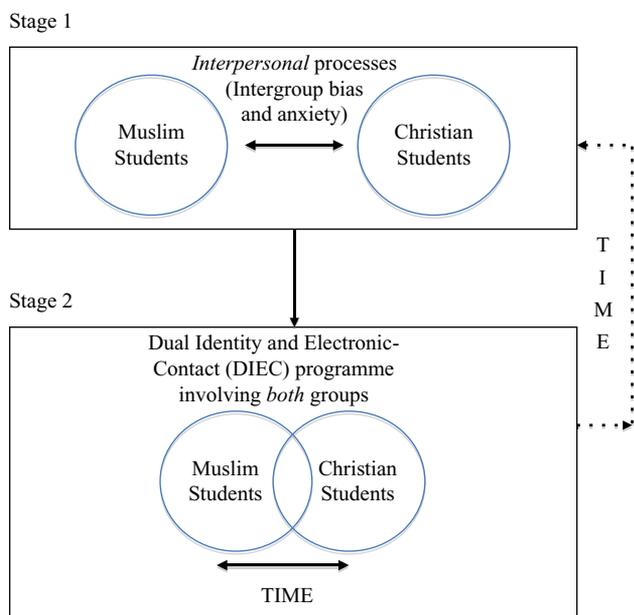


Figure 2 The Dual Identity Electronic-Contact (DIEC) programme: A bidirectional framework for understanding and improving intergroup relations between Muslim and Christian high-school students.

as the same gender, year in high school and independent school attendance, (b) cooperative contact occurred via a non-face-to-face synchronous internet text-tool where religious beliefs and environmental solutions were cooperatively exchanged, (c) the common goal was a poster to be presented at the end of the school programme, (which was also the means of orienting the dual identity recategorisation strategy of developing an environmental solution for a sustainable Australia), (d) the programme was sanctioned by the fact that the school authorities (principals, teachers, and parents) supported its inclusion in the curriculum; and (e) Pettigrew’s (1998) time condition was met by a long-term design across eight structured classroom sessions, allowing sufficient time for friendship formation (White & Abu-Rayya, 2012).

Due to the physical segregation of the two groups (in religiously segregated schools), and the practical problems of arranging face-to-face contact, we implemented a new Electronic- or E-contact strategy to connect the two groups and to facilitate exchange of information. This involved a synchronous text chat, where four-person groups (each made up of two Christian and two Muslim students) worked through a set of structured questions that required a synchronous and collaborative conversation to develop over an online text-messaging programme. Importantly, the synchronous nature of the E-contact interaction between the Muslim and Christian students allowed for the engagement of self in the contact situation, and research has found that interactions requiring personal engagement and emotional involvement assist individuals to build empathy with the outgroup (Comerford, 2003).

In addition to the E-contact interaction, dual identity recategorisation involved students working together to think of ways in which their religious beliefs and/or practices could be

integrated to actively contribute to an “environmentally sustainable future for Australia,” their shared community. Here, students retained their religious identity (Christian or Muslim), while experiencing a second, common Australian identity, grounded in their shared task of planning for an environmentally sustainable Australia. This finding supports recent evidence that allowing diversity with commonality should be a preferred element of any framework attempting to promote positive intergroup relations (Banfield & Dovidio, 2013). Following the 9-week DIEC programme, the same battery of intergroup tests were administered at three time points: 2 weeks post-intervention, 6 months post-intervention, and 12 months post-intervention. Full details of the DIEC programme can be found in White and Abu-Rayya (2012).

Our results showed that compared with a control group that involved only *ingroup* contact, the eight sessions of *intergroup* contact conducted in the DIEC programme produced a significant reduction in intergroup bias and anxiety at 6- (White & Abu-Rayya, 2012) and 12-month follow-ups (White et al., 2014). Interestingly, this reduction in affective intergroup bias was most clear in the minority Muslim student group, consistent with findings from the USA that dual identity interventions were more effective for minority than majority groups (Dovidio et al., 2007, 2009; Glasford & Dovidio, 2011). As suggested by Dovidio in the US context, our findings may similarly reflect the minority group’s greater desire to achieve social change and equality, which is more likely to be realised by keeping the subgroup salient alongside a common, more inclusive identity. In addition, because this dual identity strategy does not require minorities to relinquish their identity, it is particularly useful when the minority group reports a strong ingroup identification—a pattern that was observed in the Muslim sample, who reported significantly higher religious ingroup identification than the Christian group in Stage 1 of the study.

The majority Christian group also showed a trend towards a decrease in bias; the effect did not reach significance. This finding may reflect a desire in the Christian group to maintain and pursue the status-quo, or alternatively, may be an artefact of the very low levels of affective intergroup bias they reported at pre-test, thus limiting the impact of the intervention in this group (see White & Abu-Rayya, 2012 for more details). These findings offer a promising beginning and demonstrate a practical method to promote cooperative contact via the Internet. The E-contact strategy could be modified for settings other than the school classroom, including the workplace to reduce bullying and/or clinical settings to reduce stigma associated with mental illness. Future research must confirm these longitudinal DIEC findings among more diverse Muslim and Christian groups of different ages and/or other types of minority–majority group contexts including different racial groups.

Indeed, the success of our DIEC programme demonstrates the powerful role that the Internet can play in promoting bidirectional research, and encouraging cooperative contact, which is essential for promoting intergroup harmony. The synchronous exchange underpinning E-contact provides the opportunity for physically segregated minority and majority groups to be self-engaged in *intergroup* contact. It demonstrates that if used in an appropriately structured and monitored format, the Internet can

cooperatively connect minority and majority groups through cyberspace. This method adds greatly to the feasibility of bidirectional research that truly involves two voices. Given that we have entered the technological age, with at least 2.3 billion individuals around the world accessing the Internet (Richardson, 2012), and youth increasingly relying on for social contact, future research using E-contact should endeavour to explore this possibility.

Conclusions and Future Research Challenges

This paper has argued that in order to successfully improve “intergroup” relations by reducing intergroup bias, prejudice, and discrimination, researchers and educators should be brave and adopt a two-stage bidirectional approach. Specifically, Stage 1 provides a necessary empirical foundation for understanding each group’s attitudes and effects towards one another; this in turn informs researchers on how best to tailor contact interventions in Stage 2 to improve intergroup relations between *both* majority and minority group members.

Although American researchers, including Shelton (2000; see also Shelton & Richeson, 2006b), have argued compellingly for the importance of acknowledging the bidirectional nature of these characteristics of minority and majority groups in the formation and maintenance of intergroup prejudice, there have been few attempts to apply this bidirectional notion to the more challenging area of prejudice reduction. We argue that a new and timely challenge exists for intergroup relations researchers and educators: to develop prejudice reduction strategies that are bidirectional in nature and are targeted towards the respective group’s goals and needs, in order to more effectively tackle the growing inter-ethnic and inter-religious tensions that continue to pervade society, both nationally and internationally.

The research reviewed here suggests that although approaches such as Allport’s (1954) contact hypothesis offer a solid foundation upon which prejudice reduction interventions can be developed, they should not be used as a simple checklist of conditions to be met by intervention programmes. We have presented evidence that Allport’s contact hypothesis is more relevant to the promotion of intergroup harmony in majority groups as opposed to minority groups, at least in the populations researched to date (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). It is therefore critical that researchers develop ways of operationalising Allport’s facilitating conditions interventions, which reflect each participating group’s goals, motivations, beliefs, and experiences, as well as the wider social context (Pedersen, Walker, Paradies, & Guerin, 2011). We argue that these factors are essential in order to tailor a contact intervention that can meet the needs of, and demonstrate long-term effectiveness for, *both* participating groups. Indeed, as consistently demonstrated in this review, contact interventions are not a “one-size-fits-all” approach.

It is a difficult research challenge to successfully implement contact interventions when the needs of the two groups diverge. Despite this, it is timely that this research challenge is finally discussed and addressed, rather than ignored. Additional challenges include the prospect that minority and majority intergroup interactions can also be fraught with peril. Negative

intergroup beliefs, attitudes, and emotions can impact unstructured contact situations in a deleterious way (see Barlow *et al.*, 2012, for a review), resulting in pervasive negative intergroup relations. Thus, where minority and majority groups are prepared for proactive intergroup engagement, tailored and structured interventions need to be considered. At some level, contact situations require a degree of structure guided by Allport’s conditions and recategorisation strategies (*i.e.*, the DIEC programme) which actively address each group’s goals and needs. Structured contact can reduce the uncertainty and anxiety associated with unexpected intergroup interactions. As discussed above, intergroup interaction guidelines relating to a type of behaviours that are appropriate, expected, and predictable can reduce threat and anxiety appraisals (Avery *et al.*, 2009). Conversely, contact situations that are unstructured, such as getting to know an outgroup stranger as part of everyday life, have been shown to increase threat appraisals in some contexts (Towles-Schwen & Fazio, 2003). Together, these findings provide guidelines for researchers on the importance of tailoring structured cooperative contact interventions.

Clearly, intergroup relations research has made some significant advances in understanding the formation, maintenance, and measurement of prejudice, but this progress has not been matched in the area of prejudice reduction. This review paper has offered a new bidirectional framework for those interested in understanding and improving strategies to promote intergroup harmony in research laboratories, as well as in educational and clinical settings. We have argued that the basis for this evolution in thinking and practice would greatly benefit from the inclusion of both minority and majority voices. Importantly, prejudice reduction interventions need to be based on sound empirical evidence that integrates attitudinal and affective characteristics from both participating groups. Only when both voices are heard can an honest and constructive conversation about our diverse but shared humanity begin.

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Note

1. The terms minority and majority groups are the terms used within the intergroup relations and social psychology literatures, and thus are appropriate in this review paper for consistency sake, and for keyword searches and citations. Additionally, although this review paper and proposed framework highlights majority and minority intergroup relationships, we acknowledge that tensions can also involve minority versus minority and/or majority versus majority groups. Our bidirectional framework can also be extended to these varying contexts.

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