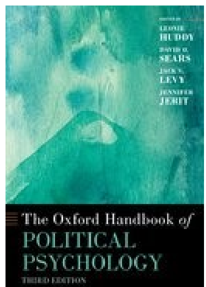

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CHAPTER

29 Prejudice Reduction and Social Change: Dual Goals to Be Pursued in Tandem

Linda R. Tropp, Trisha A. Dehrone

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Abstract

Recent theorizing suggests that intergroup relations may be construed in terms of either efforts to achieve prejudice reduction and intergroup harmony, or to achieve social change to promote intergroup equality. Coverage of these topics are often framed as if these goals are inherently in opposition to each other. Instead, we contend that promoting prejudice reduction at the relational level, and social change toward equality at the societal level, may be regarded as dual goals to be pursued in tandem, rather than necessarily being regarded as goals in conflict. With this lens, we review a number of theoretical perspectives on prejudice reduction and social change, including literature on intergroup contact, common group identities, and social norms. We conclude with suggestions for integrative research that can fill gaps in the existing literature, and we discuss implications of such work for interventions that seek to reduce prejudice and promote greater social equality.

Keywords: prejudice reduction, social change, intergroup contact, common group identities, social norms, social equality, intergroup relations

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Recent theorizing in social and political psychology suggests that intergroup relations may be construed either in terms of efforts to achieve prejudice reduction and intergroup harmony, or to achieve social change to promote intergroup equality, with the expectation that these goals are inherently in opposition to each other (e.g., Dixon et al., 2012; Cikara & Paluck, 2013). In this chapter, we contend that promoting prejudice reduction at the relational level, and social change toward equality at the societal level, may be conceived of as dual goals to be pursued in tandem, rather than necessarily being framed as goals in conflict. With this lens, we review a number of theoretical perspectives on prejudice reduction and social change, including literature on intergroup contact, common group identities, and social norms. Throughout the chapter, we

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stress how a dual focus on prejudice reduction and social change can inform our understanding of relational and structural challenges in intergroup relations, with special attention to the integral role that group status plays in shaping people's perspectives and experiences in relation to other groups (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2009; Jones & Dovidio, 2018; Tropp, 2006). We conclude the chapter with suggestions for integrative research that may be pursued to fill gaps in the existing literature, along with discussing implications of such work for interventions that seek to reduce prejudice and promote social equality.

1. Prejudice Reduction

Long-standing pursuits in the intergroup research literature have been to specify the nature of prejudice (Allport, 1954; Dovidio et al., 2005), along with identifying the individual and societal factors that contribute to and maintain prejudice (Duckitt, 1992; Kinder, Chapter 27, this volume; Zanna & Olson, 1994), and possible strategies through which prejudice between groups might be reduced (Paluck et al., 2021; Tropp & Molina, 2019). Since its early origins, scholarly writings on prejudice have emphasized ways in p. 1063 which people ↳ harbor distinctions between members of their own group and other groups (e.g., Sumner, 1906; Tajfel, 1981), and how they typically reserve more positive attitudes, more generous attributions and associations, and greater resources for members of their own group relative to those granted to members of other groups (e.g., Brewer, 1999; Cikara et al., 2014; Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Along with this historical emphasis, the focus of scholarship on prejudice and prejudice reduction has shifted considerably over the last several decades, both in terms of the perspectives of people studied, and in terms of how this social problem can and should be addressed. Early studies of prejudice and prejudice reduction typically centered on the perspectives of dominant groups (see Shelton, 2000; Swim & Stangor, 1998; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005b), highlighting the prejudices of those who held more privileged positions in society toward groups who were disadvantaged or marginalized, in order to consider strategies by which their prejudices might be reduced (see, e.g., Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Kinder, Chapter 27, this volume). One outgrowth of this tendency was for members of disadvantaged groups to be seen as little more than "objects" of others' attitudes (Amir, 1969; Jones et al., 1984; Shelton, 2000), an unfortunate tendency that persisted even as researchers began to investigate prejudice from the perspectives of members of disadvantaged and marginalized groups toward the end of the 20th century. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, for instance, a proliferation of research focused on the perspectives of "targets" of prejudice (see, e.g., Jones et al., 1984; Swim & Stangor, 1998), with a particular emphasis on understanding the effects of being targeted by prejudice and discrimination for psychological well-being (e.g., Crocker & Major, 1989), thereby inadvertently relegating the experiences of disadvantaged groups to being "nothing more than reactions to oppression" (Jones et al., 1984, p. 180). Only since the dawning of the new millennium—and with fresh insights afforded by the greater racial and ethnic diversity of scholars in the field—has research begun to incorporate more fully the perspectives and experiences of minoritized groups into studies that examine the foundations of intergroup prejudice (e.g., Monteith & Spicer, 2000) and how members of dominant and minoritized groups relate to and form attitudes toward each other (e.g., Devine & Vasquez, 1998; Perez & Vicuña, Chapter 25, this volume; Shelton, 2003; Shelton et al., 2006; Tropp, 2006).

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2. Prejudice Reduction through Intergroup Contact

Among the strategies proposed to reduce prejudice and improve relations between groups, one of the oldest and most widely studied approaches involves intergroup contact (see Allport, 1954; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Green & Staerkle, Chapter 28, this volume; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). In the psychology research literature, intergroup contact refers specifically to face-to-face interaction between members of distinguishable social groups; this contact may be reported by participants themselves, or observed directly in research studies (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). In either case, this definition of contact would not include studies that rely on proximity between groups or proportional indices reflecting local ↳ diversity to infer p. 1064 that some degree of interaction between groups has occurred (see, e.g., Enos, 2014; van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014).

Whereas studies using indicators of group proportions or proximity tend to show that greater outgroup representation corresponds with greater expressions of intergroup prejudice and threat (e.g., Craig et al., 2018; Enos, 2017; Quillian, 1995), intergroup contact research typically reveals that greater contact between groups corresponds with lower levels of intergroup prejudice and threat (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011, for a review). Nonetheless, it has long been recognized that contact between groups may still carry the potential to heighten intergroup hostility and prejudice (Allport, 1954; Hewstone, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011; Williams, 1947); hence, early scholarship on intergroup contact sought to specify conditions that could be instituted within the spaces where members of different groups interact to maximize the likelihood of achieving salutary outcomes from their contact. These optimal conditions—which were originally generated by Allport (1954) and Williams (1947), and later refined and consolidated by Pettigrew (1971; 2021)—include establishing equal status between groups within the contact situation, promoting cooperation between groups as they work toward common goals, and ensuring that this type of equal status, cooperative contact is supported by institutional authorities, policies, laws, and customs. Numerous research studies spanning many decades indicate that, while these conditions are not essential to achieve positive outcomes from intergroup contact, greater reductions in prejudice are likely to result when contact between groups is structured in accordance with these optimal conditions (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

More recent generations of scholarship on intergroup contact have focused on analyzing the psychological processes and mechanisms through which contact contributes to prejudice reduction (see Paolini et al., 2021, for a review). Research conducted in countries around the globe indicate that more intimate forms of intergroup contact, and contact that involves positive interactions across group lines, have greater capacity to reduce prejudice, as compared to other, more distant forms of contact, or contact experienced as negative in valence (Paolini et al., 2021; Tropp et al., 2017). Longitudinal, experimental, and meta-analytic studies converge in showing that positive, close contact between groups—such as that typified by cross-group friendships—is especially likely to reduce intergroup prejudice and improve intergroup attitudes, relative to other forms of contact (Binder et al., 2009; Davies et al., 2011; Page-Gould et al., 2008; Pettigrew, 1998; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005a). Related work reveals how pathways involving reduced feelings of intergroup threat and anxiety, and greater experiences of intergroup empathy, help to explain why intergroup contact typically contributes to prejudice reduction (Finlay & Stephan, 2000; Levin et al., 2003; Paolini et al., 2004; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Swart et al., 2011).

Although research in the intergroup contact literature has tended to focus on relations between racial, ethnic, religious, and national groups (see Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), a growing body of research has begun to consider the effects of contact between political groups. In light of increasing polarization and overt hostility between political partisans, particularly in the United States (see Ahler & Sood, 2018; Iyengar et al., 2012; Moore-Berg et al., 2020), a number of studies now show that greater engagement across political group lines can ease affective polarization and lessen partisan animosity (Amsalem et al., 2021; Levendusky & Stecula, 2021; Wojcieszak & Warner, 2020). Similar trends have also

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been observed among opinion-based groups, where sharing personal narratives and experiences relevant to one's political opinions may not only foster greater perceptions of similarity across group lines (Wojcieszak & Warner, 2020), but may also contribute to shifting political attitudes and behavioral intentions related to social issues and policies (see, e.g., Hoskin et al., 2019; Kalla & Broockman, 2020; Römpke et al., 2019).

3. Prejudice Reduction through Common Group Identities

An alternate prejudice reduction strategy involves the introduction of a new common group identity, or enhancing the salience of an existing common group identity, that can include members of the different groups who are present in the intergroup context (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, for a review). Research on this approach is informed by the legacy of scholarship on principles of social categorization, and the role that salient group memberships play in intergroup relations. Generally, this body of work would suggest the more that distinctions between groups are made salient and emphasized in the intergroup context, the more likely it is that members of distinct groups will accentuate group differences and harbor prejudices toward each other, while demonstrating more favorable evaluations and attitudes toward members of their own groups (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987; Turner & Reynolds, 2012).

Growing from these original insights, intergroup researchers have long debated the role of group membership salience in prejudice reduction strategies. Some scholars have proposed that the salience of group membership should be minimized in intergroup contexts, to reduce a focus on group differences and facilitate the ability for members of distinct groups to recognize and come to know each other as differentiated individuals (i.e., *decategorization*; see Brewer & Miller, 1984; Miller, 2002). At the same time, other scholars stressed that it is necessary for group membership to be salient in intergroup contexts, so that any positive encounters or associations people have with individual members of another group will be more likely to generalize and extend to reduced prejudice toward that other group as a whole (i.e., *categorization*; see Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Hewstone & Brown, 1986).

In light of these ongoing debates regarding the role of group membership salience, Gaertner, Dovidio, and their colleagues proposed *recategorization* as a novel prejudice reduction strategy. According to their Common Ingroup Identity Model, members of distinct groups can be encouraged to recognize their shared membership in a larger, superordinate category that can include each group—thereby creating a common group identity (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner et al., 2016). Due to the same processes of social categorization that govern other forms of intergroup bias, attitudes toward former outgroup members would become then more positive, because they are now recognized as part of a common ingroup and afforded the kinds of positive evaluations and attitudes that are typically reserved for fellow ingroup members (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Gaertner, Dovidio, and their colleagues have conducted numerous studies in laboratory and field settings showing the benefits of recategorization for reducing intergroup prejudice and improving intergroup attitudes (e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner et al., 1989; Gaertner et al., 1994; Nier et al., 2001; Riek et al., 2010).

Like the broader intergroup contact literature, research on common group identities has recently been extended to examine its role in regard to political polarization and ideological division. Complementing the earlier work summarized above, recent survey and experimental studies show that inter-party hostility and polarization are weakened when greater emphasis is placed on a common national group identity that can include partisans from different sides of the American political spectrum (see Iyengar et al., 2019; Levendusky, 2018; Warner et al., 2020). Likewise, related studies from Chile and Northern Ireland also suggest that a common national group identity can foster greater empathy and forgiveness between opposing political groups with histories of violent conflict (Noor et al., 2008; González et al., 2011).

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4. Prejudice Reduction Strategies: Challenges and Shortcomings

Though prejudice reduction strategies such as intergroup contact and creating common group identities have yielded many positive outcomes, they are not without challenges and shortcomings. One set of challenges involves the tendency for people to prefer surrounding themselves with similar others (McPherson et al., 2001), and to avoid diverse settings or interactions with diverse others that are often associated with feelings of discomfort, threat, or anxiety (Plant & Devine, 2003; Shelton & Richeson, 2005). Indeed, people often self-select into communities where they share relevant commonalities with others, thereby distancing themselves from people and groups who have largely different perspectives and experiences in society (Iyengar et al., 2019; Krysan et al., 2009; Kye, 2018; Turner et al., 2021; Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). Compounding these individual choices, entrenched patterns of societal inequality and racial and economic segregation further divide social groups in terms of the degree to which they can relate to each other's lived experiences (Massey, 2016; Rothstein, 2017). Together, these relational and structural factors both create considerable obstacles to the prospect of achieving reductions in prejudice and more positive attitudes and relations between groups.

In light of deeply rooted social divisions due to segregation and inequality, several scholars have also questioned whether prejudice reduction should ultimately be our primary goal; instead, they suggest that greater emphasis needs to be placed on achieving broader social change toward intergroup equality (see, e.g., Cikara & Paluck, 2013; Dixon et al., 2012; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Importantly, as noted by McConahay (1978), "amicable relations among racial and ethnic groups can exist alongside grossly unjust inequalities" (p. 77). Moreover, with its stated goal of prejudice reduction, this literature has tended to focus on shifting prejudiced attitudes among members of dominant and historically advantaged groups—an approach that is likely to focus research efforts on attitudes and social relations between members of different groups, rather than on the structural inequalities that shape the nature and contours of intergroup relations (Dixon et al., 2017). Moreover, given their relatively privileged position in the status hierarchy, members of dominant groups are less likely to see or experience the structural disadvantages that exist in society relative to members of minoritized groups, who are more directly affected by them (Eibach & p. 1067 Ehrlinger, 2006; ↳ Knowles et al., 2014; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In turn, members of dominant groups may be inclined to see societal inequalities as being rooted mostly in social attitudes and relations, rather than in terms of institutional structures and systems that perpetuate intergroup disparities (Rucker et al., 2019; Salter et al. 2018).

Paralleling these views, Wright and Lubensky (2009) argue that "when efforts to reduce prejudice focus exclusively on getting dominant group members to think nicer thoughts and feel positive emotions about the disadvantaged group, they may not necessarily increase support for broader structural and institutional changes" (p. 18). At the same time as they acknowledge that "efforts to reduce rampant antipathy, overt expressions of hostility, and active denigration of other groups would need to be part of a scheme to improve many intergroup relations," Wright and Baray (2012) also add that it "appears reasonable to consider the limitations of a focus on prejudice reduction, and recognize that it may actually directly conflict with another important means by which positive social change occurs" (p. 242). And as stated particularly forcefully by Dixon et al. (2012), "we need to ask ourselves if prejudice reduction deserves its status as the preeminent framework through which we approach the problem of 'improving' relations between groups within historically unequal societies" (p. 425). In the paragraphs that follow, we discuss in more depth how these concerns associated with the prejudice reduction approach relate to the specific strategies of intergroup contact and common group identities.

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Intergroup contact.

Given the central role that group status plays in shaping relations between groups (Bobo, 1999; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), intergroup contact research over the last twenty-five years has identified a number of asymmetries in experiences of intergroup contact among members of dominant and minoritized groups. While both are likely to feel anxious and apprehensive about engaging in intergroup contact (Plant & Devine, 2003; Shelton et al., 2006), their anxieties are likely to be based in different concerns: members of dominant groups are likely to experience anxiety about being perceived as prejudiced, whereas members of minoritized groups are more likely to be anxious about being targeted by prejudice (Devine & Vasquez, 1998). Correspondingly, members of dominant groups typically seek reassurance of their moral integrity (e.g., that they are "liked" and seen as "good people"), while members of minoritized groups instead tend to seek respect and desire to feel empowered (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Shnabel et al., 2009). Members of dominant groups also prefer to avoid discussions of group differences during contact, whereas members of minoritized groups typically prefer to address structural inequalities directly and discuss differences in status and power relations between the groups (Kteily et al., 2013; Saguy & Dovidio, 2013).

Newer generations of contact research have also uncovered notable asymmetries in the effects of intergroup contact among members of dominant and minoritized groups. On average, the beneficial effects of contact on prejudice reduction tend to be weaker among members of minoritized groups, relative to the effects typically observed among members of dominant groups (Binder et al., 2009; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005b)—a finding due in part to the pervasiveness of discrimination faced by minoritized groups in their relations with the dominant group (Tropp, 2007). At the same time, growing evidence suggests that while greater intergroup contact typically corresponds with greater awareness of inequality, greater support for social change, and greater participation in efforts to promote social change toward equality among members of dominant groups, greater intergroup contact tends to be associated with lower perceptions of discrimination, less support for social change, and lower levels of participation in efforts to promote social change toward equality p. 1068 ↳ among members of minoritized groups (e.g., Cakal et al., 2011; Dixon et al., 2010a; 2010b; Hässler et al., 2020; Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2018).

Common group identities.

Some parallel asymmetries in preferences and perspectives of members of dominant and minoritized groups have been observed in relation to common group identities. Due to status differences in the larger society, members of dominant racial groups (e.g., White Americans) tend to be viewed as more representative and prototypical of the common group as a whole (e.g., "Americans") as compared to minoritized racial groups in the same society (e.g., Asian Americans, Black Americans; see Devos & Banaji, 2005). The norms, values, and standards of the dominant group are also more likely to be projected onto the common group as a whole, relative to those of minoritized groups (see Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Wenzel et al., 2003). As a consequence, members of minoritized groups are more likely to feel their distinct subgroup identity is merely being subsumed within the larger superordinate category, while wanting to ensure their distinct subgroup identity is valued and acknowledged, in spaces where diverse groups are brought together as part of a larger whole (Crisp et al., 2006; Eggins et al., 2002; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). Indeed, considerable work now suggests that dominant groups tend to prefer singular representations of common group identities, where all parties are merely regarded as part of a single, shared superordinate category (i.e., one group representations); by contrast, members of minoritized groups prefer representations that highlight both their distinct subgroup identities and their inclusion in the superordinate category (i.e., dual group representations; Dovidio et al., 2000, 2008).

Relatedly, these preferences for group representations within common group identities correspond with group members' ideological orientations and conceptions of diversity (see Berry, 2001; Dovidio et al., 2009; Rattan & Ambady, 2013). Paralleling their preferences for one group representations, members of dominant

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groups typically favor colorblind ideologies that align with assimilationist perspectives, in that they downplay group differences and focus on commonalities across all within the larger whole. Instead, and in line with their preferences for dual group representations, members of minoritized groups tend to favor multicultural ideologies that align with perspectives highlighting diversity, by emphasizing and valuing group differences that exist within the larger whole (Dovidio et al., 2016; Plaut et al., 2009; Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Ryan et al. 2010). Importantly, these asymmetries in ideological orientations also carry broader societal implications: one group representations of common group identities may help to maintain the group status hierarchy by deflecting attention from group-based disparities and masking inequalities that exist between the groups included therein (Dovidio et al., 2016; Neville et al., 2013); moreover, presenting one group representations of common group identities may in turn lead people to perceive less inequality between groups, and therefore less of a need for social change to promote equality (Dovidio et al., 2016; Ufkes et al., 2016).

5. Addressing Structural Inequalities in Prejudice Reduction Strategies

Many of the key shortcomings of prejudice reduction approaches summarized above may be aided through p. 1069 addressing structural inequalities directly when groups are brought together ↳ to interact or as part of a common group identity. Emerging research on intergroup contact and common group identities has purposely pursued these precise issues, to identify pathways and mechanisms through which these prejudice reduction approaches can serve both to improve attitudes and relations between groups and to promote ever-greater levels of societal equality.

A growing body of evidence demonstrates that intergroup contact need not undermine minoritized group members' support for social change toward equality when the contact includes explicit acknowledgment of group differences in status or power—such as communicating respect for the minoritized group (Glasford & Johnston, 2018) and empowering the minoritized group (Hässler et al., 2021), as well as having minoritized group members receive confirmation from dominant group members that status inequalities are illegitimate (Becker et al., 2013), and/or that they support efforts to promote intergroup equality (Droogendyk et al., 2016; see also Louis et al., 2019). Among both dominant and minoritized groups, greater intergroup contact is also associated with greater willingness to work in solidarity across group lines to promote social change toward equality (Hässler et al., 2020). These tendencies are likely to be strengthened further the more members of these groups communicate about group differences in status and power during their contact (Tropp et al., 2021; Hassler et al., 2021). Conversations about structural inequalities with minoritized groups can also afford dominant groups with greater insights into and awareness of their own relative privilege (Nagda & Gurin, 2007; Nordstrom, 2015), which in turn can foster their greater motivation to take action for social equality (Tropp et al., 2021). Along with the efforts of minoritized groups, support and motivation for social equality among dominant groups has often been regarded as integral for creating successful social movements and sustainable social change to promote equality, because of their greater access to societal resources and their lesser potential to encounter resistance from others in the dominant group as they work to achieve more equitable societal outcomes (Dovidio et al., 2016; Glasford & Johnston, 2018; Hässler et al., 2021; Subašić et al., 2008; see also Craig and Phillips, Chapter 23, this volume).

Parallel trends have also been observed with respect to how common group identities are framed and represented. Recent studies show that dual identity representations—where group members identify strongly with both the common group (e.g., national group) and their distinct subgroup (e.g., ethnic group) —encourage members of minoritized groups to sustain commitment to social change to promote equality (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011; Ufkes et al., 2016; van Stekelenburg and Gaidyte, Chapter 26, this volume), even

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after experiencing positive contact with the dominant group (Pereira et al., 2017). At the same time, we recognize that members of dominant groups tend to prefer one group representations to dual group representations of common identities (Dovidio et al., 2000), likely because "recognizing both difference and commonality may be less comfortable than emphasizing only common identity, colorblindness, and assimilation" (Dovidio et al., 2016, p. 133). Yet recognizing both differences and commonalities through dual group representations could potentially yield benefits for dominant and minoritized groups alike (see Banfield & Dovidio, 2013), and particularly when dominant group members feel that their own subgroup identities are recognized and valued as part of a larger multicultural entity (see Plaut et al., 2011).

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6. Addressing Methodological Issues in Prejudice Reduction Research

Beyond conceptual critiques of prejudice reduction strategies, there have also been a number of methodological critiques leveled at the research literature on prejudice reduction. Particularly in reference to research on intergroup contact, some critiques have focused on the preponderance of cross-sectional survey studies that only examine patterns of associations among relevant variables and provide little interpretive insight regarding possible causal effects in prejudice reduction (see Christ & Wagner, 2013; O'Donnell et al., 2021). Newer generations of contact research have responded directly to these concerns by conducting long-term, and often multi-year, longitudinal studies that allow for assessments of how changes in contact correspond with changes in intergroup attitudes over time (e.g., Binder et al., 2009; Levin et al., 2003; see also Christ et al., 2012). Focused mostly on racial and ethnic relations, such studies suggest that both causal paths are in operation: greater contact with other racial and ethnic groups typically reduces prejudice over time, and people who are initially more prejudiced tend to avoid contact with other racial and ethnic groups.

Longitudinal studies in this area have continued to grow more methodologically rigorous and sophisticated in recent years. By incorporating latent change models and social network models into longitudinal designs, researchers can examine within-individual variability in contact and prejudice scores and the degree to which changes in individuals' levels of intergroup contact are associated with changes in their levels of prejudice over time (see, e.g., Bracegirdle et al., 2022; Christ & Wagner, 2013; O'Donnell et al., 2021; Wölfer et al,. 2016). This work has revealed considerable within-individual variability in the degree to which associations between contact and prejudice change over time (Dhont et al., 2012), as well as showing that greater contact may also shift individuals' propensities to be prejudiced over time, as indicated by change in their social dominance scores (Dhont et al., 2014).

Combining elements of longitudinal and cross-sectional research designs, cross-sequential studies have also begun to clarify how associations between contact and prejudice may vary due to both processes of human development and the psychological processes through which attitudes are formed and transformed over time. As one notable example, Wölfer et al. (2016) recruited four cohorts of Swedish youth (aged 13, 16, 20, and 22 years at the start of the study, $N = 3815$) for a four-wave, multi-year longitudinal study of changes in intergroup contact and intergroup attitudes. In line with earlier research, these authors observed that greater contact was associated with more positive intergroup attitudes across all cohorts. Latent growth curve models also showed that contact yielded particularly strong effects in shaping intergroup attitudes among the younger cohorts of adolescents, as compared to the effects of contact observed among the older cohorts of young adults whose intergroup attitudes had begun to crystallize. Thus, the authors conclude that early contact experiences may not only be important drivers of youth's developing intergroup attitudes, but these early experiences may also increase their willingness to engage in future intergroup contact as they enter into adulthood (see also Sears & Brown, Chapter 3, this volume).

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p. 1071 Other methodological critiques specify that experimental research designs in field settings should be favored (e.g., Paluck et al., 2021), due to their ability "to assess causal relationships" and "whether an intervention's effects emerge and endure among the cacophony of real-world influences including larger political and economic changes and proximal social pressures and distractions" (Paluck & Green, 2009, p. 357). We agree that more experimental studies conducted in field settings—with diverse populations of participants from different societal contexts around the world (see, e.g., Littman et al., 2021; Mousa, 2020)—have unique strengths that can contribute meaningfully to the prejudice reduction research literature. Still, we believe that valuable information may be gained through a variety of research methods, and their synthesis (see Brewer & Hunter, 2006), such that many approaches should be harnessed to study a phenomenon as complex and multifaceted as prejudice reduction. As stated by Paluck et al. (2021), it would be fruitful "to pull from all corners of behavioral science to develop feasible, transportable, and sustainable ways to end prejudice" (p. 555).

We also wish to highlight that outcomes may vary not only in relation to the prejudice reduction strategies used (e.g., contact, common group identity), how they are implemented (e.g., dosage, time scale), and how studies are designed to evaluate them (e.g., experimental, longitudinal), but also in relation to the nature of the intergroup context and how relevant outcomes are assessed. On the whole, greater degrees of societal inequality, instability, and/or violence should naturally present greater challenges to detecting prejudice-reducing effects, as such features of the context typically provoke and sustain heightened levels of intergroup threat (Kende et al., 2018; Tropp, 2015; Wagner & Hewstone, 2012), which can reinforce long-standing narratives of conflict between groups (Bar Tal, 2007). At the same time, although prejudice reduction is often conceptualized as a single process, it may actually involve several related psychological processes, such that it may involve reducing initial feelings of intergroup threat or anxiety in order to allow space for the possibility of having positive intergroup attitudes eventually emerge (see, e.g., Page-Gould et al., 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011; Reimer et al., 2021; Swart et al., 2011). Thus, depending on levels of pre-existing intergroup hostility or conflict in a given context, it is possible that prejudice reduction efforts may yield less overt hostility between groups without full intergroup trust or inclusion (e.g., Dehrone et al., 2021; Tropp & Mallett, 2011), or more positive feelings toward individual members of other groups without broader generalization of intergroup attitudes (e.g., Mousa, 2020). We therefore advise researchers and practitioners to attend closely not only to the prejudice reduction strategies and methodologies they intend to use, but also to consider what types of prejudice reduction outcomes are realistic in light of the social and political contexts in which prejudice reduction strategies are being implemented and evaluated (see also Pettigrew, 2021; Tropp, 2015; Wagner & Hewstone, 2012).

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7. Social Change

Rather than pursuing the goal of prejudice reduction, other scholars would instead encourage greater emphasis on promoting social change (e.g., Cikara & Paluck, 2013; Dixon et al., 2012); yet, somewhat disparate literatures on social change currently exist in social and political psychology. A considerable amount of research has considered factors that p. 1072 ↳ motivate people to become involved in collective efforts to promote social change toward equality (see, e.g., Klandermans, 1997; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). Originally, research in this area focused on the perspectives and motivations of historically disadvantaged and minoritized groups who sought to improve their position, or the position of their group, with the existing status hierarchy. This work has stressed the importance of identification with the disadvantaged group and recognition of the group's disadvantaged position as motivating forces for collective action in response to social inequality (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Wright & Tropp, 2002; Pérez and Vicuña, Chapter 25, this volume). Other driving factors include group members' perceptions of the permeability, legitimacy, and stability of the status hierarchy (Shuman et al., 2016; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), as well as their moral convictions and beliefs about the likelihood of the group's success in effecting change (Van Zomeren et al., 2008; 2012). More recently, the scope of research in this area has also been extended to consider factors that might motivate dominant groups to support change toward greater equality. Although dominant groups are generally motivated to maintain and support the status quo from which they benefit (Bobo, 1999; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), emerging research suggests that members of dominant groups can become activated to promote social equality due to their moral convictions (e.g., Van Zomeren et al., 2011), as well as through meaningful contact experiences with members of minoritized groups (e.g., Cakal et al., 2021; Craig and Phillips, Chapter 23, this volume; Hässler et al., 2020; Selvanathan et al., 2018; Tropp & Uluğ, 2019).

While these perspectives have shed great light on the motivating factors that propel people to support social change at the individual level, they do not yet specify strategies through which broad-scale social change might be achieved. Other branches of the social science research literature have instead examined factors that contribute to changes in public opinion and behaviors in civic life, including indicators of equality and inclusion as established through broad social policies (*institutional context*; see, e.g., Sullivan et al., 1985; Weldon, 2006), as well as perceived norms for intergroup relations in particular communities or social contexts (*social norms*; see, e.g., Blinder et al., 2013; Sechrist & Stangor, 2005).

8. Social Change through Institutional Context

Scholarship on institutional context highlights ways in which societal and political institutions—and particularly those established through relevant laws and government policies—contribute to shaping public attitudes toward various groups (Weldon, 2006). Within a given institutional context, societal and political institutions, and the influential actors within them, define rules, policies, and standards for conduct that shape the nature of public discourse and narratives regarding how groups are to be treated (Weldon, 2006), as well as how people from different groups are expected to relate to each other (Pettigrew, 1991). These policies and standards may be framed in relatively exclusionary or inclusionary terms, such that they deny or provide certain opportunities or resources to designated constituents, and in turn serve as cues regarding whether certain groups should be excluded or included (Jiménez et al., 2021; see also Huddy, Chapter 21, this volume).

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Recent studies from across Europe and North America indicate how the institutional context of a given society can shape public attitudes toward minoritized groups in that society (see de la Sablonnière et al., 2020; Huo et al., 2018; Ofosu et al., 2019; Schlueter et al., 2013). As one illustrative example, Schlueter et al.

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(2013) linked ratings of immigrant integration policies at the national level from the 2016 Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX, see Huddleston et al., 2017) to individual-level survey data gathered through the Eurobarometer (2009, 25 countries) and the European Value Study (2008–2009). In both cases, multi-level models revealed that more inclusionary immigrant integration policies corresponded with lower reported perceptions of threat posed by immigrants among members of the host societies. Similar associations were observed between MIPEX ratings of national immigrant integration policies and public attitudes toward Muslims assessed through the European Social Survey (2014–2015); more inclusionary integration policies were associated with less negative attitudes toward Muslims, an effect that persisted even when statistically controlling for the proportion of Muslim residents in the national context (Schlueter et al., 2020).

In another line of research examining how institutional context can shape individuals' attitudes, Ofosu and colleagues (2019) gathered responses to implicit and explicit measures of anti-gay prejudice from approximately 1 million individuals who completed these measures via Project Implicit over a 12-year period (https://implicit.harvard.edu/). By geo-locating these individuals and tracking the dates of their responses, the authors were able to examine scores on measures of anti-gay prejudice before and after legislation passed legalizing same-sex marriage in each state. Overall, the authors observed that both implicit and explicit forms of anti-gay prejudice tended to decrease in recent years. However, their results also showed steeper decreases in anti-gay prejudice following legalization of same-sex marriage at the state level—a finding the authors replicated using a nationally representative sample from the United States (based on data from the American National Election Studies, www.electionstudies.org).

9. Social Change through Social Norms

Alongside policies established by the institutional context, considerable research suggests that people's expressed attitudes and behaviors toward other social groups may also be shaped through social norms (see Crandall et al., 2002; Pettigrew, 1991; Sherif, 1936). Norms involve socially shared perceptions of the ways in which people typically behave or should behave (see Miller et al., 2000; Paluck, 2009). Whereas a person may be subject to legal reprimands if they fail to follow established policies, the repercussions of a person's failure to follow social norms are more likely to be based in forms of social disapproval than formal censure (Young, 2008).

Social norms pertaining to intergroup relations can be communicated and absorbed through a variety of means. Intergroup norms relevant to public opinion may be inferred in response to established social policies (e.g., de la Sablonnière et al., 2020; Schlueter et al., 2013; Tankard & Paluck, 2017). Normative messages about intergroup relations can also be transmitted through media sources (e.g., Bilali et al., 2017; Hameiri et al., 2016; Paluck, 2009), and people may perceive norms of approval or disapproval regarding intergroup ↳ relations in their immediate social environments, based upon the expressed attitudes and observed behaviors of others (e.g., Blanchard et al., 1994; Stangor et al., 2001, Tankard & Paluck, 2016).

Complementing the research on institutional context described above, an experimental study by Huo et al. (2018) suggests how perceived norms regarding state-level policies may shape individuals' attitudes toward particular groups. Ostensibly as part of a study on news reporting (Study 1), White US citizens were asked to read and rate several headlines, including one that was varied randomly across experimental conditions to suggest that residents of their state supported proposed legislation that would either encourage local immigration (welcoming condition) or discourage local immigration (unwelcoming condition). After reading the news headlines, participants indicated their attitudes toward a variety of social groups, including Whites, Americans, Latinos, and legal immigrants, among others. While no significant differences in attitudes toward Whites or Americans were observed across experimental conditions, White American

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participants who were exposed to a headline indicating that legislators and residents of their state would welcome local immigration reported more positive attitudes toward legal immigrants and Latinos, as compared to those exposed to a headline indicating that legislators and residents of their state would not welcome local immigration. Thus, the authors conclude that perceived support for immigration from state legislators and local residents can shape White Americans' inclinations to be more or less favorable toward groups associated with immigration in their home communities.

Research by Murrar et al. (2020) provides another notable research example. These authors developed professional-quality posters representing data they had gathered previously to convey the norm that most students at their university value diversity. In one study (Study 2), university classrooms were randomly assigned to have several of these posters present (social norms condition) or not present (control condition) during the first 5 weeks of the academic semester. Near the end of the semester (weeks 10–12), students enrolled in courses that took place in these classrooms were then asked to complete measures concerning their own attitudes toward diversity. Results showed that students in classrooms with posters representing pro-diversity social norms early on in the semester reported significantly more supportive attitudes toward diversity toward the end of the semester, as compared to students in classrooms where no such posters were present. Thus, the presence of normative messages demonstrating support for diversity among others within the institution contributed to shaping students' own attitudes toward diversity.

By learning and subscribing to norms that are operating in one's local environment, people can gain a greater sense of belonging and avoid social rejection or disapproval (Tankard & Paluck, 2016). People are also especially likely to attend to normative information from influential others (Hogg & Van Knippenberg, 2003; Paluck & Shepherd, 2012). In intergroup contexts, people will attend closely to the norms enacted or espoused by members of their own groups, whose expressed attitudes and behaviors serve as influential guides for their own attitudes toward and social relations with members of other groups (e.g., Abrams et al., 1990; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Terry & Hogg, 1996). Thus, people's willingness to express intergroup prejudice closely tracks the social norms they perceive from fellow group members, and the extent to which they deem prejudice against certain groups to be socially acceptable (Crandall et al., 2002; Durrheim et al., 2016). Additional research in diverse intergroup contexts also shows that people may attend to cues from p. 1075 both ↳ members of their own group and other groups, as both can serve as useful sources of information for guiding intergroup relations (e.g., Gómez et al., 2011; Wout et al., 2014; Tropp & Bianchi, 2006).

10. Social Change Strategies: Challenges and Shortcomings

While institutional and normative approaches to promoting social change can be quite influential, there are also some challenges and limitations associated with their use. One set of challenges pertains to the fact that social norms are constantly in the process of changing (Crandall et al., 2002). Particularly when nations and communities are in the midst of major transformations, such as those involving rapid demographic shifts (Craig et al., 2018), emergent social movements (Crutchfield, 2018), or political polarization (Kingzette et al., 2021), there may not be widespread consensus regarding what prevailing norms are or should be, and attempts to establish one clear, standard set of norms is likely to be contested (Pettigrew, 1991). In the words of Sherif (1936), "such a delicate, unstable situation is the fertile soil for the rise of doubts concerning the existing norms, and a challenge to their authority" (p. 86).

In the absence of normative consensus, urging people to comply with norms to which they do not subscribe can also incite backlash (Legault et al., 2011), and may even provoke feelings of anger and resentment (Pettigrew, 1991; Plant & Devine, 2001). As one illustrative example, Legault et al. (2011) presented non-Black participants with one of three versions of a brochure that were randomly assigned across experimental conditions; one version encouraged compliance with non-prejudiced norms (norm

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compliance condition), one version described the importance and value of being non-prejudiced (prejudice reduction condition), and one version simply provided participants with a definition of prejudice (control condition). After reading through the brochure, each participant then completed measures tapping their reported prejudice toward Black people and their motivation to be non-prejudiced. Results showed that participants in the norm compliance condition reported significantly greater prejudice toward Black people than participants in either the control condition or the prejudice reduction condition, along with showing motivations to be non-prejudiced comparable to participants in the control condition. Together with other work (e.g., Devine et al., 2002), these findings suggest that norms encouraging people to be non-prejudiced can unintentionally reinforce some people's willingness to express prejudice, to maintain a sense of autonomy or personal control (see also Legault et al., 2007).

Furthermore, if and when any consensus emerges regarding norms and standards for conduct concerning relations between groups, there may still not be broad agreement or shared understandings about whether and how those norms and standards are being followed or enacted. Members of dominant and minoritized groups often have quite divergent views regarding what "equality" looks like, or what it might ultimately take to be achieved (Lewis, 2021). Relatedly, groups in conflict tend to differ in their views about what realizing peace should entail, and their perceptions can vary depending on their relative positions of power: groups high in power are typically more inclined to conceptualize peace in terms of intergroup harmony, p. 1076 whereas groups low in power are more inclined ↳ to conceptualize peace in terms of achieving justice or receiving fair treatment (Leshem & Halperin, 2020; Saguy et al., 2013). Corresponding to their power and status positions, groups may also vary in how they see and evaluate progress toward social change, such that dominant groups with greater power typically perceive greater progress toward social equality than groups with less power who have been minoritized in society (Kteily & McClanahan, 2020; Richeson, 2020).

11. Prejudice Reduction and Social Change: Points of Connection and Integration

Given that strengths and challenges are associated with common strategies used to foster both prejudice reduction and social change, we seek to highlight ways in which merits of these approaches can complement and bolster each other. Like other scholars (e.g., Jones & Dovidio, 2018; Hässler et al., 2021), rather than framing prejudice reduction and social change as incompatible goals, we subscribe to a "both-and" approach that incorporates contributions afforded by these (and other) frameworks, toward the dual goals of improving attitudes and relations between groups and achieving ever-greater levels of social equality and justice. Working toward these joint goals will necessarily involve multiple dimensions of social life and multiple levels of analysis, ranging from the attitudes and motivations held by individuals, to their interactions with others as members of social groups, to social norms and structures that shape the spaces in which diverse groups live and engage with each other (see Jones & Dovidio, 2018; Pettigrew, 2021). In turn, the strategies and interventions we devise to address these challenges will necessarily require efforts at both individual and societal levels (Lewis, 2021; Richeson 2018), such that we must begin to envision how approaches typically used to promote prejudice reduction and social change relate to and can inform each other.

At the interface of these approaches, some scholars suggest that a great deal of work has focused on how social norms shape individuals' attitudes and behaviors, yet more attention should be granted to understanding how individual-level attitudes help to create and sustain norms that can foster social change (Durrheim et al., 2016). Others propose that these processes may occur on varying time scales, such that implementing changes in the normative climate can serve as an effective and efficient way to shift individuals' attitudes and behaviors in the short term, and that such changes at the individual level carry the potential of changing ways in which people will be socialized in the longer term (Crandall et al., 2002). More

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broadly, these efforts suggest that the fields of social psychology and political psychology are ripe for greater empirical and theoretical integration of scholarship on prejudice reduction and social change.

A number of researchers have embarked on such integrative investigations in recent years, linking normative processes and policies to individuals' contact experiences and intergroup attitudes (see, e.g., Christ et al., 2014; Green et al., 2020; Kende et al., 2018; Pettigrew, 2021; Rosenfield, 2017). Some of this p. 1077 work has specified a "contextual effect" of intergroup contact. ↳ Through multilevel analyses across seven large-scale surveys (five cross-sectional and two longitudinal), Christ and colleagues (2014) have shown that greater positive intergroup contact not only predicts lower levels of prejudice at the individual level, but also uniquely contributes to predicting more tolerant norms at the context level. As described by the authors, "prejudice is a function not only of whom you interact with, but also of where you live" in that "contact also affects prejudice on a macro-level, whereby people are influenced by the behavior of others in their social context" (Christ et al., 2014, p. 3999).

Other studies point to ways in which societal norms and institutional contexts might moderate prejudice reduction effects (Green & Staerkle, Chapter 28, this volume). For instance, Kende et al. (2018) linked country-level scores on measures of egalitarianism and support for hierarchy (Schwartz, 1992) to effect sizes reported in a large-scale meta-analysis of associations between intergroup contact and prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). With data from 660 samples in 36 cultural contexts, the authors observed that studies in contexts that scored higher in egalitarianism typically revealed stronger contact-prejudice associations, whereas studies in contexts that scored higher on support for hierarchy tended to show weaker contact-prejudice associations. Relatedly, Green et al. (2020) examined how the inclusiveness of country-level migrant integration policies (as determined by the Migrant Integration Policy Index, https://www.mipex.eu/) shape associations between everyday contact experiences and perceptions of intergroup threat as observed in the European Social Survey (Round 7). Based on responses from 32,093 citizens in 20 European countries, Green et al. (2020) found that everyday contact with people from other racial and ethnic backgrounds was generally associated with lower perceptions of intergroup threat; moreover, the links between everyday contact and reduced threat were stronger in countries with more tolerant migration policies (high MIPEX scores) as compared to the contact-threat links observed in countries with less tolerant migration policies (low MIPEX scores).

Some quasi-experimental studies have also examined boundary conditions for contact effects, by testing whether and how contact-based interventions might reduce prejudice in contexts where prejudice toward minoritized groups is normative, blatant, and commonplace—such as anti-Roma prejudice in Hungary (see Kende et al., 2017a; Orosz et al., 2018). In collaboration with the Living Library program sponsored by European Youth Center Budapest (Council of Europe), Orosz et al. (2016) studied Hungarian participants' responses to facilitated conversations with members of minoritized groups who were willing to share their experiences with prejudice, discrimination, and social exclusion. In some cases, program participants engaged with a member of the Roma community, and in other cases, program participants engaged with members of other minoritized groups (e.g., LGBT). Surveys administered before and after participation in the program assessed Hungarian participants' own attitudes toward Roma people, and how much they believed their friends would be willing to accept and engage in contact with Roma people, as an indicator of perceived peer norms. Results showed that pre-program attitudes toward Roma people were comparable among Hungarians who did or did not engage with a member of the Roma community; however, Hungarians who engaged with a Roma person reported significantly less prejudice toward Roma people after participating in the program, as compared to Hungarians who did not engage with a Roma person during the program. Moreover, these patterns of effects were consistent irrespective of whether participants perceived their friends to be more or less accepting of Roma people.

p. 1078 In another quasi-experiment, and given the extreme underrepresentation of Roma students at their university, Kende et al. (2017b) gave Hungarian students an opportunity to meet with a Roma student at

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their university outside of regular academic hours. Recruited from randomly selected sections of undergraduate psychology courses, 64% of the Hungarian students enrolled agreed to participate, and their initial attitudes toward Roma people did not significantly differ from those who chose not to participate (means scores of 2.49 and 2.54 on a 5-point scale). Students who elected to participate were then paired with a Roma student for a 60-minute conversation, during which they took turns asking and responding to questions designed to foster closeness and mutual self-disclosure (see Aron et al., 1997). Both participating and non-participating students were once again asked to report their own attitudes toward Roma people, as well as their perceptions of institutional support for minimizing anti-Roma prejudice (at the classroom, university, and state levels). Results indicated that students who engaged in conversation with a Roma partner reported significantly more positive attitudes toward Roma people in general after this experience, while there was no significant difference in attitudes toward Roma people among students who did not engage in conversation with a Roma partner. Perceived institutional support also moderated effects of this contact intervention, such that the prejudice-reducing effect was especially pronounced among participants who perceived stronger institutional norms countering anti-Roma prejudice.

These contact-based interventions were short in duration, and little is known regarding whether their effects would persist over time. However, multi-level analyses of panel data from nearly 900 Hungarian adolescents provides further insight regarding these trends (Váradi et al., 2021). Váradi and colleagues observe that greater contact with Roma people is generally associated with less anti-Roma prejudice. At the same time, Hungarian adolescents also perceive that anti-Roma prejudice is normative among their classmates and teachers, and over time, many students adjust their attitudes to what they perceive to be the classroom norm.

Taken together, findings from this emerging body of work highlight many points of connection between processes associated with prejudice reduction and social change. As suggested by Durrheim et al. (2016), the “space” between individuals’ prejudices and social norms “is a site of genuine interaction…between people who define and contest the nature of prejudice” and “where expressions and definitions of prejudice can help to make or break norms” (p. 21). Viewed in this light, it becomes more natural to envision ways in which insights from the literatures on prejudice reduction and social norms can function in tandem to maximize our potential for fostering social inclusion and realizing social change toward greater equality.

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12. Prejudice Reduction and Social Change: Bridging Differences in Perspective

Nonetheless, and despite the great potential for further conceptual and empirical integration in research on p. 1079 prejudice reduction and social change, there have been some differences ↳ in perspective and emphasis in these literatures that should not be overlooked. One point of divergence involves what is determined to be the goal of any given strategy or intervention to be implemented. Scholars focused on social norms tend to emphasize changing people's perceptions of others' attitudes and behaviors, so that they may be motivated to engage in behaviors that correspond with those perceived norms (e.g., Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Paluck et al., 2021; Tankard & Paluck, 2016). Scholars in the prejudice reduction tradition have instead tended to focus on how people experience and respond to relations with different others, so that they may be motivated to change how they think about, feel, and behave toward members of other groups (e.g., Allport, 1954; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew, 1998; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005a). In this sense, from the perspective of many prejudice reduction researchers, the goal is not simply to change people's evaluations of another group, but rather to reconfigure their construals and understandings of relations between groups *in relationship with each other* (Frey & Tropp, 2006; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). As such, rather than thinking about prejudice reduction merely as an instance of attitude change toward any given attitude object (e.g., recycling; see Tankard & Paluck, 2016), prejudice reduction strategies are inherently relational in nature, such that they may not only spark change in how people relate to and feel toward other groups, but they may also transform how people see themselves and their own groups in relation to other groups (see Brewer, 2008; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Pettigrew, 1997; Tropp & Barlow, 2018).

This difference in perspective points to another potential point of divergence between the literatures on prejudice reduction and social change as they currently exist—namely, how they regard adherence to, versus internalization of, prevailing social norms (see Crandall et al., 2002; Kelman, 1958). Among many researchers who study norms, observing adherence to without private acceptance or internalization of prevailing social norms is not inherently problematic, provided that this adherence to norms produces the desired behavior. However, this presumed lack of internalization may not sit well with many researchers who study prejudice and prejudice reduction, who often desire to foster "an internalized, personal commitment to egalitarianism" (Kunstman et al., 2013, p. 443; see also Plant & Devine, 1998), and who acknowledge that people's motivations may be questioned, or their behaviors may be regarded merely as performative, without some evidence of sustained commitment or internalization (see, e.g., Morris, 2020).

What, then, might help to make further integration of perspectives on prejudice reduction and social change as useful and generative as possible? At the very least, we must articulate the goals and intended outcomes of our research and interventions clearly (are we seeking only to reduce prejudice? only to produce behavior change? or might other outcomes also be relevant?), while specifying the level(s) of analysis at which we seek to effect change. Rather than conflating discussions of strategies and levels—such as presuming that prejudice reduction studies are only relevant to individual-level processes, and social change studies are only relevant to societal-level processes—we should remain open to and explore the possibility that these approaches may involve multiple social and psychological processes and have impacts at multiple levels (see also Jones & Dovidio, 2018; Pettigrew, 2021).

Here, it might be particularly useful for researchers to consider the time scales within which intended effects are expected to occur. As stated by Jones and Dovidio (2018), "in order for both-and solutions to be found, the time frame may need to be expanded…taking a long view may open up possibilities that a short p. 1080 view is unable to envision" (p. 33). ↳ Researchers in the prejudice reduction and social change traditions have both suggested ways in which the processes they study may be shaped or influenced by the passage of time. For instance, what initially emerges through compliance to social norms may eventually become internalized due to repeated feedback and continued socialization from fellow group members in response

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to one's expressed attitudes and behaviors (Crandall et al., 2002; Sherif, 1936). Interactions between strangers from different groups may initially be threatening and stress-provoking (MacInnis & Page-Gould, 2015), but these tendencies can attenuate over time as people gain greater experience, familiarity, and comfort engaging with others across group lines (Page-Gould et al., 2008; Tropp, 2021). Highlighting group differences can also enhance perceptions of threat and competition between groups—thus, reducing the salience of group differences during the early stages of contact may help to curb the escalation of intergroup competition and conflict, with an understanding that group differences must be addressed at later points of the intergroup relationship to address structural inequalities that exist between groups (see, e.g., Dovidio et al., 2016; Hässler et al., 2021; Pettigrew, 1998). Considering issues of timing and sequence may help us to gain purchase on the nature and roles of social and psychological processes in our ongoing efforts to dismantle prejudice and promote social change.

Along with considering temporal dimensions of the processes we study, we must also attend closely to the social and political contexts in which we study prospects for prejudice reduction and social change. Rather than being inclined to make wholesale claims about the effectiveness (or lack of effectiveness) of varied strategies, such an approach may help to ensure that we learn how these social and psychological processes may manifest and function similarly or differently across contexts (see Pettigrew, 2021). For example, people may be more or less willing to engage in intergroup contact, or to exhibit long-lasting attitude change as a result of intergroup contact, depending on the intensity and/or severity of conflict, violence, segregation, and inequality between groups in their communities (e.g., Kende et al., 2018; Knowles & Tropp, 2018; Mousa, 2020; Wagner & Hewstone, 2012). Alternatively, people may be more or less inclined to endorse or promote social change depending on normative expectations, opportunity structures, and repressive systems in their local environments (e.g., Corcoran et al., 2011; Uluğ et al., 2021). As stated eloquently by Dixon et al. (2017), framing prejudice reduction and social change merely as in opposition to each other could be "potentially as limiting as the presumption that the two models of change are simply compatible...the deeper challenge will be to explore how the relationship between these two models of change plays out within particular social contexts and to specify the conditions under which interventions based on these models are effective, ineffective, or even counterproductive in creating a more just society" (p. 495).

13. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have endeavored to review the vast, and often disparate, research literatures on prejudice reduction and social change, while highlighting how scholarship in these areas might bolster each other and become more interconnected in future work. Rather than framing prejudice reduction and social change as goals that are inherently incompatible or in opposition to each other, we firmly believe that it could prove useful—both p. 1081 ↳ for new empirical and theoretical developments, and for the interventions informed by our work—to envision ways in which the goals of prejudice reduction and social change may be pursued in tandem. We hope the reflections provided here encourage new collaborations and generative research directions that support joint efforts toward realizing greater social equality while improving attitudes and relations between social groups.

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