UNIVERSITÀ DI PARMA

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI PARMA

DOTTORATO DI RICERCA IN

“PSICOLOGIA”

CICLO XXXVI

The Role of Intergroup Contact, Common Ingroup Identity and Morality in Promoting Collective Action among Advantaged and Disadvantaged Group Members

Coordinatrice:
Chiar.ma Prof. Luisa Molinari

Tutor:
Chiar.mo Prof. Loris Vezzali

Dottoranda: Veronica Margherita Cocco

Anni Accademici: 2020/2021 – 2022/2023

Abstract

Promoting positive intergroup relations and social equality represent goals of paramount importance, particularly in conflict-prone settings. Consequently, identifying ways to encourage collective action intentions aimed at creating a more equitable and inclusive society becomes imperative. While reducing prejudice may appear to be a logical pathway toward social equality, some critics contend that emphasizing positive intergroup relations, by reducing conflict and the salience of intergroup boundaries, could divert individuals' attention from addressing inequality, potentially undermining their motivation for social change. This suggests that the pursuit of one goal can be an obstacle for the other. Nonetheless, perpetuating negative intergroup relations is an impractical approach to achieving a more equitable and fair society, as it is intrinsically linked to the promotion of positive intergroup relations. It is, therefore, of crucial importance to understand how factors that foster positive intergroup relations, such as intergroup contact and inclusive identities, can contribute to the promotion of egalitarian societies. In this regard, the present research project aims to clarify the potential of these strategies in fostering solidarity-based collective action, offering a comprehensive narrative review of existing empirical studies that have explored the association between intergroup contact and collective action, with the aim of determining whether, when, and how such strategy can serve as a catalyst for social change via collective action. Next, five empirical studies that consider the perspectives of both advantaged and disadvantaged groups, including WEIRD and non-WEIRD samples, in various socio-cultural contexts will aim to examine the role of both intergroup contact and common ingroup identity in promoting collective action. In doing so, given the significance of morality emphasized in both contact and collective action literature, the role of morality will be examined as a potential factor able to link these strategies with the emergence of collective action intentions.

Dedication and acknowledgments

I sincerely thank my research group for the warm welcome to the fascinating world of research and the vibrant scientific community of social psychology, whose daily efforts continually advance our understanding of social phenomena and pave the way for future research, so that psychology can be effective, accessible, and concrete in people's lives.

Table of contents

Introduction 1

Chapter 1:

What motivates people to undertake collective action? A brief overview of theoretical models 6

The social identity model of collective action 6

The political solidarity model of social change 11

The encapsulation model of social identity in collective action 12

The dynamic model of engagement in normative and non-normative collective action .. 13

The disidentify, innovate, moralization and energization model 18

Summary of the core mechanisms detected by collective action literature 19

Chapter 2:

Mobilizing or sedative effects? A review of the association between contact and collective action among advantaged and disadvantaged groups 22

Collective action and intergroup contact: overviews 27

Intergroup contact and prejudice reduction 30

Intergroup contact and collective action 31

The current work: a narrative review 35

Review overview 40

Intergroup contact and collective action: overall effects 42

Moderators 43

Moderators associated with the intergroup situation 44

Moderators associated with the outgroup 57

Moderators associated with the ingroup 57

Mediators 59

Mediators associated with the intergroup situation 61

Mediators associated with the outgroup 68

Mediators associated with the ingroup 75

Discussion 77

Chapter 3:

Setting the stage: Studies overview 141

Investigating the associations of positive and negative intergroup contact with normative and non-normative collective action among advantaged group members: The mediating role of common ingroup identity and outgroup morality 146

Method 154
Results 156
Discussion 165
Chapter 4:
A multi-study exploration of the content of common identities to explain the route from intergroup contact to collective action 170
Study 1 177
Method 177
Results 179
Study 2 184
Method 184
Results 185
Discussion 191
Chapter 5:
The pivotal role of moral convictions in driving common ingroup identity effects on collective action: An exploratory study in the Nigerian tribal context 195
Method 202
Results 204
Discussion 209
Chapter 6:
Sport identification, moral perceptions and collective action: A study with young football players 215
Method 222
Results 224
Discussion 226
Chapter 7:
Conclusions 233
Results overview 233
Critical reflections and conceptual challenges for future research 238
Intergroup contact and collective action 238
The role of inclusive identities in shaping intergroup perceptions 242
Morality as a catalyst of social change 245
Practical implications 248
Summary 250
References 251

Introduction

The promotion and consolidation of inclusive and equitable societies are substantial goals to be achieved, frequently threatened by the conflicting nature of intergroup relations. Although society is moving towards increased equality, discrimination continues to persist globally (Mendos, 2019; United Nations DESA, 2016; United Nations Women, 2017). Social change actions, aimed at redressing unfair disparities among groups, imply a questioning of the existing power dynamics and require a significant effort to challenge the established status quo. Advantaged and disadvantaged groups[1], reflecting the dominant and the subordinate level of social hierarchies, generally represent the main actors of this intricate power interplay. Social psychology scholars have often considered disadvantaged groups as the primary drivers of social change and therefore of those actions that are collectively pursued to face societal injustice. However, disadvantaged groups, because of their lower power and influence, often struggle to effectively foster social change and would benefit from the support of advantaged groups who, holding power, have greater chances to promote social change (Subašic et al., 2008). Therefore, social change, as a consequence of collective action efforts, should be considered within a framework of reference that includes and takes into account both advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

One of the demanding aspects of social change processes is represented by the fact that those factors, circumstances, and psychological processes that precede and characterize individuals' willingness to undertake social protests are not easily detectable, limiting our comprehension of this phenomenon and the implementation of successfully applied interventions. This is where researchers come into play with the aim of providing greater knowledge about social change dynamics, uncovering potential paths that may facilitate the promotion of a more equitable society. With this goal in mind, one of the apparently most

[1] In the present doctoral thesis, I will interchangeably use the terms advantaged/disadvantaged groups, majority/minority groups, and high-status/low-status groups.

rational and promising paths to explore in order to advance egalitarian and fair societies refers to advocating for the enhancement of positive relations between advantaged and disadvantaged groups. In this regard, many scholars have directed their attention toward the intergroup contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), as a potential way for social equality goals to emerge. This theory suggests that positive interactions between individuals belonging to different social groups, especially under favourable conditions, can promote positive attitudes between groups. Similarly, researchers often took for granted that intergroup contact, representing one of the most effective strategies for prejudice reduction and promotion of positive intergroup relations (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), should equally foster individuals' willingness to undertake collective action, for themselves and on behalf of others. However, critics have argued that positive intergroup relations are often insufficient and even inadequate to address individual, group, institutional, and structural discrimination (Dixon et al., 2005; Reicher, 2007; Wright, 2003). At the base of this criticism, there is a fundamental paradox represented by the antagonism that exists between contact outcomes, symbolized by harmonious intergroup relations, and collective action triggers that, by contrast, are more likely to be found within conflicting intergroup situations (Dixon et al., 2005). The reason behind this criticism is that contact, by promoting positive intergroup relations, may unintentionally divert groups' attention from injustice, producing an ironic (Saguy et al., 2009) sedative (Cakal et al., 2011) effect on motivation for social change. This means that when people perceive that intergroup relationships are not conflictual, the reasons that push them to fight for social equality may become less salient and, therefore, less urgent. On the other hand, others suggest that intergroup contact, exactly because it allows confrontation between groups, can highlight status differences and increase perceptions of group relative deprivation among disadvantaged group members (Poore et al., 2002), promoting greater awareness of what the disadvantaged group is deprived of and greater recognition of the inequality that exists between groups.

These controversies over the role played by intergroup contact, as well as by any other prejudice reduction strategy, in fostering or dampening collective action intentions make it difficult to establish their implication in the struggle for social change, calling for further research. In the same vein, skepticism applied to intergroup contact has been extended to the role played by the identification with a common ingroup identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), which represents another powerful way to encourage positive intergroup relations (Capozza et al., 2010, 2013; Gaertner et al., 1994). In fact, individuals' perception of being part of the same inclusive group may inhibit the recognition of existing intergroup inequalities and reduce their intention to undertake collective action (Banfield and Dovidio, 2013). However, despite the significant influence of common ingroup identity in enhancing intergroup relations (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), researchers in the field of intergroup contact have rarely investigated its association with collective action. Alongside intergroup contact and inclusive identities, another meaningful factor that has been investigated, both in contact and collective action literatures, is represented by morality. Despite previous research has shown the powerful role of morality in shaping intergroup perceptions (Brambilla & Leach, 2014) and in promoting social change (van Zomeren et al., 2012, 2018), its role in association with both prejudice reduction strategies and collective action is still missing.

Therefore, although both literatures on intergroup contact (and more generally prejudice reduction strategies) and collective action are prolific, at the same time they emerge as fragmentary and disconnected from each other, resulting in an absence of a framework that clarifies how these factors can fit together (Thomas et al, 2022). Against this backdrop, the present dissertation attempts to provide greater knowledge of social change processes by creating a bridge between prejudice reduction strategies and collective action. With the aim of addressing significant limitations of previous research and extending our knowledge of social change processes, throughout the course of this exploration, the

association between intergroup contact and inclusive identities with solidarity-based collective action, that is collective action aimed to benefit disadvantaged groups in the pursuit of social equality, will be investigated. In doing so, morality, which is an emerging key factor that has been emphasized in the collective action literature as a significant trigger of motivation for social change (van Zomeren 2012, 2018), will be explored from different perspectives. In examining such associations, we will consider the effect of both positive (favourable intergroup experiences) and negative contact (hostile intergroup experiences) and their association with both normative (socially acceptable forms of protest) and non-normative collective action (more radical and disruptive actions), distinguishing individuals' intentions to undertake collective action from the support for these actions. Moreover, we will consider the perspectives of both advantaged and disadvantaged groups across different socio-cultural contexts.

Chapters overview

Being aware of the core mechanisms emphasized in the prevailing extensive body of collective action literature to date is an essential prerequisite for understanding the pathway to collective action. In consideration of this, the present dissertation will begin with an overview of the main theoretical model of collective action offered by scholars in this field (Chapter 1). Afterward, with the aim of providing a complementary approach that allows us to obtain a broader perspective on the association between intergroup contact and collective action, the second chapter will delve into a comprehensive literature review of existing empirical findings in this area of research. In the third chapter, I will present a preliminary study, using advantaged group members as the sample group, investigating the association of positive and negative contact with both normative and non-normative collective action. Common ingroup identity and outgroup morality are tested as mediators. In the fourth chapter, I will report a multi-study exploration, across different national contexts, aimed at providing preliminary evidence of the role played by the content of common ingroup

identities in mediating the relationship between contact and collective action. The content of common identities will be operationalized as the relative perception of groups' prototypicality with respect to a variety of superordinate identities among both advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Next, in the fifth chapter, I will focus on a non-WEIRD (Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic; Henrich et al., 2010; Cemalcilar et al., 2021) sample located in the Nigerian tribal context, investigating the association between a meaningful common ingroup identity and collective action, testing the role of moral convictions, outgroup feelings, and attitudes, towards both an advantaged and a disadvantaged tribe, as parallel mediators. In the sixth chapter, I further explore identification with a common identity, adopting a novel approach where identification with a sports identity represents a positive social identity with salient values of equality and social inclusion. I hypothesize an indirect association with solidarity-based collective action via morality perceptions (moral convictions, violation, and obligation). Specifically, we conducted a correlational study amongst young players from the grassroots of an Italian professional football club. Finally, this comprehensive exploration of collective action dynamics will delve into a thorough examination of the potential theoretical reflections, practical implications, and promising future research directions that have emerged from this research project.

Chapter 1

What motivates people to undertake collective action?
A brief overview of theoretical models

Collective action researchers have much to share about social change processes, offering relevant insights, critical reflections, and new research directions that can contribute to our comprehension of the intricate dynamics that drive social change. With the aim of understanding how advantaged and disadvantaged groups can be involved in promoting a more equitable and inclusive society, several promising routes have been explored and examined by researchers over the past decades. Despite the available extensive literature in this area of research, capable of advancing our understanding of social change processes, a comprehensive awareness of this phenomenon, in its entirety, remains a distant goal to achieve, calling for further research. In this regard, a crucial precondition for understanding the pathway to collective action is represented by the focus on core mechanisms that have been emphasized in the existing prolific collective action literature until today. Therefore, with the aim of adopting an integrative approach to previous research and establishing novel pathways to collective action, an overview of the main theoretical models of collective action will be presented and discussed in the current chapter.

The social identity model of collective action

The social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2008) represents one of the most relevant models in this field because it integrates three important socio-psychological perspectives relevant to collective action: perceived injustice, perceived efficacy, and social identification. And, in doing so, it accounts for both their predictive role and their reciprocal relationship. According to van Zomeren et al. (2008), these three key factors can serve as powerful psychological motivators of social protests.

Perceived injustice, perceived efficacy, social identification

SIMCA integrates relative deprivation theory (RDT; Runciman & Runciman, 1966), which assumes that, after an unfavourable intergroup comparison, people may experience an objective state of inequality or a subjective sense of injustice. When a subjective sense of injustice emerges, people are more likely to engage in collective action to reduce this feeling of deprivation. RDT offered two important insights. Firstly, collective action is more likely to occur when people experience group-based rather than individual-based deprivation (Smith & Ortiz, 2002). Secondly, as a result of an examination between perceptions of group-based deprivation (cognitive component) and feelings of group-based deprivation (affective component), it emerged that the affective component was a stronger predictor of collective action (Smith & Ortiz, 2002). Indeed, group-based deprivation can evoke emotions (e.g., group-based anger) that relate to specific tendencies to redress the unfair situation (Frijda, 1986). Therefore, although collective action can be interpreted as a reaction to an objective state of disadvantage, this is not the most powerful reason why people are motivated to take part in social movements. In this regard, the researchers' attention, in studying individuals' engagement in social protests, has gradually shifted from a consideration of the objective state of disadvantage toward a subjective sense of injustice, which can foster collective action intentions. It is only through the integration of both perspectives, structural and psychological, that we can obtain the right frame of reference for understanding the complex phenomenon of collective action.

A further key factor in predicting collective action intentions is represented by group efficacy perception (Bandura, 1995, 1997). When people perceive a high sense of group efficacy, in terms of collective power to achieve the desired results, their motivation to act is more likely to be stronger than when they perceive a low sense of group efficacy (Mummendey et al., 1999; van Zomeren et al., 2004). The more people will believe that a unified effort will make it possible to achieve outcomes, the more likely people will engage in collective action.

Finally, the third psychological perspective, which serves as a powerful social change motivational driver, is the subjective sense of identification that people can experience with a group. This factor originates from social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) according to which, during the course of their lives, people aim to obtain and maintain a positive social identity because it represents an important part of the self-concept. To reach this goal, they need to be members of positively evaluated social groups. The identity value of their memberships depends on the evaluation of the ingroup characteristics, as a result of social comparisons with other groups. When a social comparison results in a lower status position for the ingroup, the competition for positive social identity leads people to opt between two main alternative choices: they can leave the ingroup (in favour of a higher-status group) or they can fight for the ingroup (collective action strategies). The decision taken by people largely depends on the perception of three socio-structural variables: permeability of group boundaries, legitimacy of intergroup relations, and stability of intergroup status differences. A perception of impermeable group boundaries (no exit to join a higher-status group), coupled with a perception of status illegitimacy (unfair intergroup differences) and instability (a change is perceived as possible), can motivate greater identification with the disadvantaged group by encouraging its members to engage in collective action strategies to improve their position as a group (Ellemers, 1993). Furthermore, according to SIMCA, the nature of the social identities considered (social groups target of the identification) is extremely relevant in predicting their impact on collective action, in fact, politicized identity, which occurs when individuals identify with a social movement (Stürmer & Simon, 2004; van Zomeren et al., 2008), can foster collective action better than non-politicized identities which are not specifically action-oriented. Possessing a politicized identity involves a deep change in the identity content, involving a conscious commitment to a power struggle in a given social context (Simon & Klandermans,

2001) promoting a sense of interior obligation to intervene (Stürmer, 2000; Stürmer & Simon, 2004).

In conclusion, as a result of three meta-analyses, which synthesized a total of 182 effects, the authors found evidence for the predictive role on collective action of all these three factors (efficacy, injustice, social identification). Social identification (with a prominent role of politicized identities) has emerged as a bridge predicting collective action, both directly and indirectly, through increased perceptions of efficacy (group power) and injustice (more strongly affective group-based experience of injustice e.g., group-based anger). This model provides other important insights for understanding the pathway to collective action. Firstly, it shows that politicized identity and affective injustice can represent stronger predictors of collective action than non-politicized identity and non-affective injustice. Secondly, social identification can predict collective action against both incidental disadvantages (specific situations of disadvantage associated with events and situations) and structural disadvantages (stable disadvantages associated with the structure of society), while group efficacy and affective injustice can predict collective action against incidental disadvantages better than against structural disadvantages.

An integrative social identity model of collective action

In 2012, van Zomeren et al. proposed moral convictions as a further psychological motivator of collective action. According to the authors, moral convictions, defined as strong and absolute stances on moral issues (Tetlock, 2002), because of their possible strong normative fit with the content of politicized identities (which are action-oriented and based on ideals) could have a powerful impact on collective action intentions and actual behaviour. The reason behind their potential mobilizing role is that the violation of moral convictions, reflecting higher-order principles that should not be violated (with no exception), should work as strong motivational guides to action (Skitka et al., 2005; Skitka & Bauman, 2008) aimed at defending one's convictions. The integrative social identity model of collective

action posits that, if a social identity is oriented toward the realization of a principle, moral convictions, which can directly connect people to higher-order principles (demanding their adherence), may increase the identification with this social identity promoting a normative fit between them and the content of the social identity of reference. For this reason, moral convictions and politicized identities should be strongly associated with each other in fostering collective action. Moreover, the violation of one's convictions should evoke feelings of anger and a need to take action to redress the unacceptable violation (Skitka, Bauman, & Mullen, 2004; Tetlock et al., 2000; van Zomeren & Lodewijkx, 2005) by increasing group efficacy (van Zomeren et al., 2004). After testing their hypotheses in two empirical studies, van Zomeren et al., (2012) found support for the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA, van Zomeren et al., 2008) and new evidence for its integration by providing a new relevant element for understanding the pathway to collective action. This new predictor is therefore represented by moral convictions, an individual difference variable that can promote collective action and the more psychological context-based processes that lead to it (i.e., politicized identification, group-based anger, and group efficacy). The integrative social identity model of collective action reconciles two fundamental bodies of literature (i.e., morality and collective action) providing new important insight for future research on social change.

Further extension of the social identity model of collective action

Van Zomeren et al. (2018) proposed a further extension of SIMCA (van Zomeren et al., 2008, 2012) aimed at integrating a broader set of violated moral beliefs (i.e., moral convictions, values, rights) with the content of politicized identities (identity core motivations). According to the authors, these two additions are closely connected to each other through the notion of normative fit, which can be considered as the degree to which perceived similarities and differences between groups/categories correspond to individuals' expectations of them. This assumption is derived from the self-categorization theory (SCT;

Turner et al., 1987), and it can be adapted to the context of collective action because it reflects the degree to which violated moral beliefs and identity core motivations fit each other. Intentions to take part in collective action strategies to redress the unfair situation should relate to the extent that the core motivations prescribed by a given identity are aligned with individuals' violated moral beliefs. This further integration posits that a normative fit between violated moral beliefs and identity core motivations represents a meaningful trigger of collective action. Violated moral beliefs seems to have a dual mode to foster collective action: they can increase identification with a pre-existing movement, but they can also promote the formation of a new politicized group. At the same time, adherence to a politicized identity may reinforce the core motivations on which the identity is based.

The political solidarity model of social change

The political solidarity model of social change (Subašić et al., 2008) rests on two perspectives: SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and SCT (Turner et al., 1987). SIT focused on the transition from individual to group identity and the role of social identity in shaping relationships between groups. SCT conceives the self as hierarchically organized, consisting of more inclusive categories (reflecting superordinate levels of abstraction) that incorporate less inclusive categories (reflecting subordinate levels of abstraction). The political solidarity model of social change (Subašić et al., 2008), considering that most of the power in society is held by advantaged groups, posits that social change is more likely to occur whenever disadvantaged groups are supported by advantaged groups. This model aims to understand the preconditions that may lead advantaged groups to support disadvantaged group members in the struggle for social change. Therefore, this model finds its main foundation in the creation of political solidarity between low-status and high-status groups as a key driver of social change.

To understand how political solidarity between groups takes place, it is necessary to locate these processes within a triangular context of intergroup power relations constituted

of no less than three parties involved: the advantaged group, the disadvantaged group, and the authority. According to the authors, the alliance between advantaged and disadvantaged group members is the result of a shared social identity between them from which the authority is ruled out and redefined as an outgroup. The formation of a shared social identity becomes possible when the legitimacy of the authority is questioned, as a result of conduct considered inappropriate and not in line with group interests, opening the doors to social change. When this occurs, the authority violates the assumptions behind the group identity shared with the majority and loses its legitimacy, increasing the likelihood of being challenged. When these conditions occur, the possibility of the disadvantaged group being supported by the advantaged group becomes real and a new social identity (shared by both the advantaged and the disadvantaged group) might emerge. Importantly, this shared identity is not meant to obscure intergroup differences but to provide a meaningful context within which subgroups can understand each other.

In conclusion, according to the political solidarity model of social change, the likelihood of achieving social change resides in the ability of the disadvantaged group in promoting the emergence of a shared social identity with the advantaged group. For this to happen, the key element is represented by advantaged group members' perception that the authority, because of its conduct, is violating the values underlying the pre-existing superordinate identity they share. When this happens, the authority is de-legitimized, becoming exposed to the advantaged group's opposition which is exhorted not to remain silent and to act for social change.

The encapsulation model of social identity in collective action

The encapsulation model of social identity in collective action (EMSICA; Thomas et al., 2009, 2012), as per the SIMCA (Van Zoomeren et al., 2008), confers a central role to social identification, efficacy beliefs, and perception of injustice in promoting collective action. However, EMSICA proposes an alternative causal pathway in explaining the commitment

to collective action. Differently from SIMCA, which attributes the leading role in promoting collective action to social identification (directly or indirectly through efficacy beliefs and injustice perception), EMSICA suggests that social identification may represent an outcome rather than an antecedent of perceived injustice and group efficacy. According to the authors, it is more likely that these significant reactions (injustice and efficacy) provide the basis for the emergence of social identity which, by encapsulating the effects of injustice and effectiveness, promotes intentions to engage in actions aimed at social change. However, it is important to note that the authors of EMSICA (Thomas et al., 2009, 2012), do not disagree with the pathway proposed by SIMCA (Van Zoomeren et al., 2008), they rather provide a complementary explanation to SIMCA that can help explain the dynamic nature of social identity in collective action. In order to shed light on the predictive role of these two models, Thomas et al. (2012) tested their assumptions, comparing SIMCA and EMSICA, using multigroup structural equation modelling (SEM) with three different populations. The results that emerged from these studies provided support for both these two conceptualizations of social identity processes in explaining the pathway to collective action. According to the authors, it is plausible that the context determines which of the two paths will take place: in certain situations, group membership will foster perceptions of injustice and efficacy beliefs promoting collective action commitment, while in others such reactions will represent precursors of the emergence of a social identity collective action-oriented. In conclusion, social identification can have facilitating or encapsulating effects on the pathway to collective action. These results invite us to consider these elements as a dynamic system of interconnections which implies the adoption of a broader point of view in investigating how identity processes work.

The dynamic model of engagement in normative and non-normative collective action

A further relevant theoretical model that, by integrating different developments in collective action research, contributes to providing a more dynamic vision of the pathway to collective

action was proposed by Becker and Tausch (2015). The main purpose of this integration was to fill three main gaps in the collective action literature: a lack of understanding of non-normative forms of collective action (more radical and disruptive actions) compared to the more investigated normative forms of actions, a reduced consideration of the dynamic perspective of collective action processes in favour of predictive models and, finally, the lack of comprehension on how to overcome barriers to collective action. In doing so, Becker and Tausch (2015) focused on previous evidence that help explain collective action processes (Becker et al., 2012; Becker et al., 2011a, 2011b; Tausch et al., 2011; Tausch & Becker, 2013) from different points of view. In this regard, a first relevant consideration can be found in Tausch et al. (2011, Study 1-3) where the authors explored both normative (socially acceptable forms of protest) and non-normative collective action (more radical forms of protest), by specifying how these two forms of action can be predicted by different emotions. Indeed, in addition to anger (on which the other models like SIMCA focused), they introduced contempt as a further emotional antecedent of collective action. According to the authors, anger plays a key role in predicting normative collective action, while contempt elicits non-normative collective action intentions. Moreover, these two forms of collective action (normative and non-normative) can be differently predicted by perceived group efficacy: a higher sense of efficacy leads to normative actions, while a low sense of efficacy leads to non-normative actions.

In line with the elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 1999, 2000; Reicher, 1996; Stott & Reicher, 1998), which argues that past collective action participation can affect future empowerment in crowd events, Becker et al. (2011a) proposed that emotions, experienced from participation in collective action, may represent meaningful predictors of future protest intentions. Specifically, the authors assumed that collective action participation can produce positive self-directed emotions (e.g., joy and happiness) and negative outgroup-directed emotions (e.g., anger and

contempt). Their main assumption was therefore that people, after or while engaging in collective action, can experience both positive and negative emotions which can affect future protest participation. Results confirmed their assumption but showed that only negative outgroup-directed emotions (e.g., anger) can positively affect future willingness to undertake collective action.

Tausch and Becker (2013) also explored the motivational role of achievement emotions associated with success (e.g., pride) and failure (e.g., anger) in collective action. The authors found that both feelings of pride (following success) and anger (following failure), predicted greater intentions to take part in collective action strategies. Specifically, anger directly predicted collective action intentions; pride indirectly predicted greater collective action via greater perceived group efficacy.

Becker et al. (2011b), with the aim of providing greater knowledge about the effects of undertaking non-normative collective action on identification with (or disentification from) relevant social identities (or politicized groups), examined these paths considering the role played by perceived ingroup support. As an example of how collective action can shape social identity, Becker et al. (2011b) moved forward the distinction between identification with the broader disadvantaged group (e.g., black people) and identification with a politicized group (e.g., identification with a social movement like Black Lives Matter; Stürmer & Simon, 2004), to understand how and why social movements emerge and split. In so doing, they tested whether engagement in normative and non-normative collective action was associated with activists' identification with the disadvantaged group and politicized identification. Results revealed that participation in non-normative collective action was associated with disidentification from the broader ingroup (disidentification leads to splits within social movements). In contrast, participation in normative collective action did not affect identification with the broader disadvantaged group but enhanced politicized identification. In a following experimental follow-up that examined the effects of imagining

different social situations, results revealed that the disidentification associated with non-normative collective action only occurred with low support by ingroup members (with high support there was no disidentification from the ingroup).

Finally, Becker and Tausch (2015), in their review, focused their attention on two potential barriers faced by disadvantaged group members when deciding whether to engage in collective action. In particular, they highlighted two dilemmas correlated with participation in collective action that are faced by members of disadvantaged groups. The first dilemma concerns the choice of strategies that individuals can use to manage their negative (disadvantaged) social identity. According to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), individuals belonging to disadvantaged groups have at least three alternatives to cope with their social identity. First, if group boundaries are perceived as permeable, they can aim at individual mobility, which implies leaving one's group to join another group which enjoys a better status position (Ellemers, 2001; Wright, 2001). Second, with the aim of not being disadvantaged by the comparison, they can resort to creative management social identity strategies, like identifying new dimensions of comparisons with the advantaged group or changing the comparison dimension. Third, they can remain in their disadvantaged group and engage in collective action to improve their status position. Although social creativity strategies have generally been considered collective strategies (because they do not imply the abandonment of the group), they can bring an additional dilemma since they may paradoxically inhibit the desire for "real" social change. To investigate this hypothesis, Becker (2012b, Study 3), by considering different disadvantaged groups, tested how creative social identity management strategies affect the intention to engage in collective action. In particular, they focused on strategies like changing the dimensions of comparison or changing the group of reference for the comparison, modifying the valence of the attributes relevant to social comparison. The results showed that these strategies, while allowing to

maintain positive group distinctiveness, lead to a reduced perception of relative deprivation and, in turn, a lower interest in engaging in actions for real social change.

A second dilemma emphasized by the authors consists in the possibility that an individual, who belongs to a disadvantaged group, may experience conflicting affective loyalties when he or she has personal contact with members of the advantaged group. Intergroup contact can lead to more harmonious intergroup relationships but, at the same time, it can inhibit social change because it can reduce perceptions of inequality (Dixon et al., 2012; Jackman, 1994), and important antecedents of collective action like anger (Tausch et al., 2015; van Zomeren et al., 2008). Becker and Tausch (2015) hypothesized that the cause of this inhibition can be traced in the strategies implemented by the disadvantaged group member to reduce the level of the experienced cognitive dissonance (due to having an outgroup member as a friend that harms the ingroup). These strategies consist in legitimizing inequality between groups and their situation of disadvantage, relieving the outgroup of responsibility for inequality. The authors thus stressed the powerful role played by legitimacy perceptions, as a function of contact between groups, in inhibiting social change. Becker et al. (2013) explored the impact of cross-group contact on disadvantaged group members' intentions for social change, testing the moderating role played by outgroup perception of legitimacy. In line with their argument, collective action commitment was inhibited when the advantaged group considered the disadvantaged condition faced by the lower-status group as legitimate but not when it was perceived as illegitimate.

In conclusion, Becker and Tausch (2015), with the purpose to integrate these different contributions, proposed the dynamic model of engagement in normative and non-normative collective action which provides greater knowledge on the pathway to collective action giving attention to its dynamic nature. In doing so, the authors shed light on the difference between normative and non-normative collective action, recognized and integrated the role played by intergroup emotions, group efficacy, ingroup support,

(dis)identification, and finally, the detrimental effect of some collective strategies and affective loyalties (as a consequence of cross-group contact) on collective action intentions.

The disidentify, innovate, moralization and energization model

The disidentify, innovate, moralization and energization model, is another relevant model of collective action that has been proposed by Louis and colleagues (DIME; 2020). It aims to explain the divergent reactions to the success and failure of past actions. DIME directs its attention to what happens after collective action, especially if the protests do not achieve their aims. Therefore, this model is in line with the dynamic model of engagement in normative and non-normative collective action proposed by Becker and Tausch (2015) which aimed at promoting greater knowledge of the dynamic nature of social change processes.

The main assumption by DIME is that collective action participation can produce different outcomes on the basis of the results achieved by protesters. If the protest succeeds, people will keep adopting the same strategies used in the past; if the protest fails, people will have three main possible directions to pursue: disidentification and exit, innovation, or moralization/energization. According to the authors, the decisive elements in choosing between these alternatives is represented by the level of identification with the group: low levels of identification should be associated with the first alternative consisting of the disidentification and abundance of the group. By contrast, high levels of identification are more likely to be associated with the second or the third alternative that is innovation (change of strategy), or moralization and energization (increased moral convictions or urgency about the cause and need to redouble tactic efforts to reach the result). In conclusion, the authors conceptualize collective action as a volatile phenomenon because of the mutable and dynamic nature of the processes it involves and the context within which it takes place (e.g., strategies, identities, motivation, leadership, and socio-political structures), and invite other scholars to further develop this direction.

Summary of the core mechanisms detected by collective action literature

Collective action literature has become prolific in the last decades, offering several models aimed at explaining social change processes. In this brief overview, only those that emerged as most relevant to the current research project have been reported and discussed (see also Thomas et al., 2022). Among them, the social identity model of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008) and its integrations (2012, 2018) emerge as the most prominent and cited collective action model used by social psychologists around the world. This success is due to the significant contribution that this model provides through the integration of different psychological perspectives that had been considered rather independently (i.e., social identification, moral beliefs, affective injustice, and efficacy perception). The model rests on four core motivational drivers within which social identification (especially politicized identities) and moral beliefs (especially moral outrage) are invested with a leading role in fostering, directly or indirectly (through efficacy and injustice), collective action. In doing so, van Zomeren et al. (2008, 2012, 2018) integrate cognitive beliefs and affective experiences (more context-based motivators i.e., identification, injustice, and efficacy) with individual difference variables (i.e., moral beliefs) giving rise to fertile ground that opens the way to multiple future lines of research. In a complementary way, the encapsulation model of social identity in collective action (Thomas et al., 2009; 2012) shed light on the dynamic nature of collective action processes showing how social identification can have both facilitative and encapsulating effects (fostered by injustice and efficacy reactions) on the pathway to collective action. However, as done by most models, SIMCA and EMISICA, in dealing with collective action processes, do not account for differences between normative and non-normative forms of collective action and for collective action consequences. Moreover, and most importantly, they do not pay attention to groups' social status (advantaged and disadvantaged groups), neglecting the role played by intergroup power relations and intergroup contact in pursuing social change objectives. The political

solidarity model of social change proposed by Subašić et al. (2008), partially fills these gaps, by placing its main foundation in the creation of political solidarity between low and high-status groups as a core driver of social change. Indeed, by adopting a broader point of view in defining the social system within which collective action protests emerge and take shape, the authors incorporate a triangular perspective. Such perspective identifies three main actors of social change which are represented by the advantaged groups (who hold most of the power in society), the disadvantaged groups (who have a low-power position in society), and the authority (individual or group who has the ability to influence others). The authors argue that the alliance between advantaged and disadvantaged groups is the result of a shared social identity from which the authority is excluded (as a consequence of beliefs, values, norms, and moral violation) and redefined as an outgroup.

Although these models attempt to approach the phenomenon of collective action comprehensively, they still do not consider several factors that might be relevant in understanding the pathway to collective action. For example, they do not mention radical forms of collective action and show no interest in understanding the consequences of collective action on future protest participation (relevant point partly anticipated by the elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour, Drury & Reicher, 1999, 2000; Reicher, 1996; Stott & Reicher, 1998). That is where the model proposed by Becker and Taush (2015) comes in exploring these missing factors, integrating previous evidence, and adding new considerations to understand the dynamic pathway to collective action. Indeed, the dynamic model of engagement in normative and non-normative collective action proposed that emotions, experienced before and/or after collective action participation, may represent meaningful predictors of future protest intentions. In doing so, the authors specified how these two forms of collective action can be predicted by different emotions and different levels of group perceived efficacy. Moreover, they shed light on (dis)identification processes and conflicting affective loyalties emphasizing the moderating role played by perceived

ingroup support and outgroup perception of legitimacy. Finally, giving further attention to the mutable and dynamic nature of collective action processes, the disidentify, innovate, moralization and energization model proposed by Louis and colleagues (2020) tries to explain the divergent reactions to the success and failure of past collective action participation. Basically, the model argues that when people protest and succeed, they continue to adopt the same strategies used in the past. Conversely, when people protest and fail, they disidentify with the group and abandon it or change strategies and redouble their tactical efforts to achieve the result.

These models focus on different paths providing common valuable ingredients to understand the pathway to collective action and, in doing so, they converge in giving a central role to social identification as the beating heart of social change processes. Although collective action represents a strategy to maintain or rebalance power relations between groups, paradoxically these models (with the exception of Becker & Tausch 2015) do not account for the role played by intergroup contact in the struggle for social change. This narrowed perspective is a consequence of the disconnection between the literature on collective action and that on intergroup contact, which are only now beginning to be reconciled by researchers (Thomas et al., 2022). In order to feel these gaps, the next step is represented by the identification of the most relevant ingredients that emerge from the contact and the collective action literature to compose the right recipe to achieve social change and, at the same time, positive intergroup relations. In this regard, in the next chapter, I will present a review of the existing empirical studies that have explored the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action oriented to promote social equality for disadvantaged groups.

Chapter 2

Mobilizing or sedative effects? A narrative review of the association between intergroup contact and collective action among advantaged and disadvantaged groups[1]

Intergroup contact represents one of the most effective strategies for promoting positive intergroup relations (Hodson & Hewstone, 2013; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Vezzali & Stathi, 2021). Although much of the work on intergroup contact has focused on the reduction of prejudice as a measure of movement toward social equity, improving outgroup attitudes may in some cases lead (inadvertently) to reinforcing social hierarchies (Kteily & McClanahan, 2020; Saguy et al., 2017) that contribute to inequalities. It is therefore important, both theoretically and practically, to understand whether, how, and under what conditions contact predicts collective action aimed at achieving social equity. In particular, in this review we define collective action broadly as support for the disadvantaged group, in terms of acts or intentions to benefit disadvantaged-group members (e.g., by expanding their rights and opportunities through individual efforts or policies). Collective action thus represents solidarity-based behavior in support of disadvantaged groups aimed at achieving social equity (see also De Lemus & Stroebe, 2015; Vezzali & Stathi, 2021, Chapter 7).

The present work reviews and synthesizes evidence on the relation between contact and collective action to help delineate a state-of-the art understanding of the research area.

There has been a recent surge of studies investigating the association between contact and collective action, culminating in various theoretical reviews (Dixon & McKeown, 2021; Hassler, Ulug, et al., 2021; MacInnis & Hodson, 2019; McKeown & Dixon, 2017; Saguy et al., 2017; Tropp & Barlow, 2018; Tropp & Dehrone, 2023; Vezzali & Stathi, 2021, Chapter 7). These previous reviews have focused on identifying specific elements of the relationship

[1] I present the article version accepted for publication. Accepted for publication and in press in open access format on Personality and Social Psychology Review.
Article reference: Cocco, V. M., Vezzali, L., Stathi, S., Di Bernardo, G. A., & Dovidio J. F. (2023). Mobilizing or Sedative Effects? A Review of the Association between Contact and Collective Action among Advantaged and Disadvantaged Groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*.

between contact and collective action (e.g., moderating and/or mediating variables; Vezzali & Stathi, 2021) or on proposing specific conceptual models (Hassler, Ulug, et al., 2021). These works have therefore generally been directed in a top-down way by particular models and hypotheses, producing relatively selective reviews of the relevant literature.

Whereas prior reviews on this topic have been hypothesis-driven and confirmatory in their main objectives, we present a narrative review that adopts a "bottom-up" approach, representing a more comprehensive review of the literature on contact and collective action and identifying themes that emerge from our analysis of that literature. Narrative reviews, which are qualitative in their approach, are particularly appropriate when considering studies "that have used diverse methodologies, or that have examined different theoretical conceptualizations, constructs, and/or relationships …. They are a particularly useful means of linking together studies on different topics for reinterpretation or interconnection in order to develop or evaluate new theory" (Siddaway et al., 2019, p. 775).

We view the current approach as complementary to other, recent systematic and focused reviews. As distinguished by Siddaway et al. (2019), in contrast to a narrative review, a systematic review represents an analysis of a clearly articulated question that adheres to previously specified methods to identify, select, and critically appraise relevant research around the question that guided the review. Two recent, related systematic reviews have been performed by Hassler, Ulug, et al. (2021) and by Reimer and Sengupta (2021). Hassler, Ulug, et al. (2021) reviewed the literature on contact and collective action structured as systematic evaluation of a specific model, the integrated contact-collective action model (which we subsequently discuss). Reimer and Sengupta (2021) conducted a preregistered "systematic review and meta-analysis" with the goal "to evaluate the evidence for and against the 'ironic' effects of intergroup contact" (p. 362).

We build on the literatures they consider, integrate many ideas from those and other previous reviews, and organize our review and analysis not with a formal conceptual model

but with a graphical representation intended to map the broader landscape of empirical findings in this area. We pursued a narrative, bottom-up approach instead of a meta-analysis to identify promising but under-researched areas relating to what is not yet known about intergroup contact and collective action.

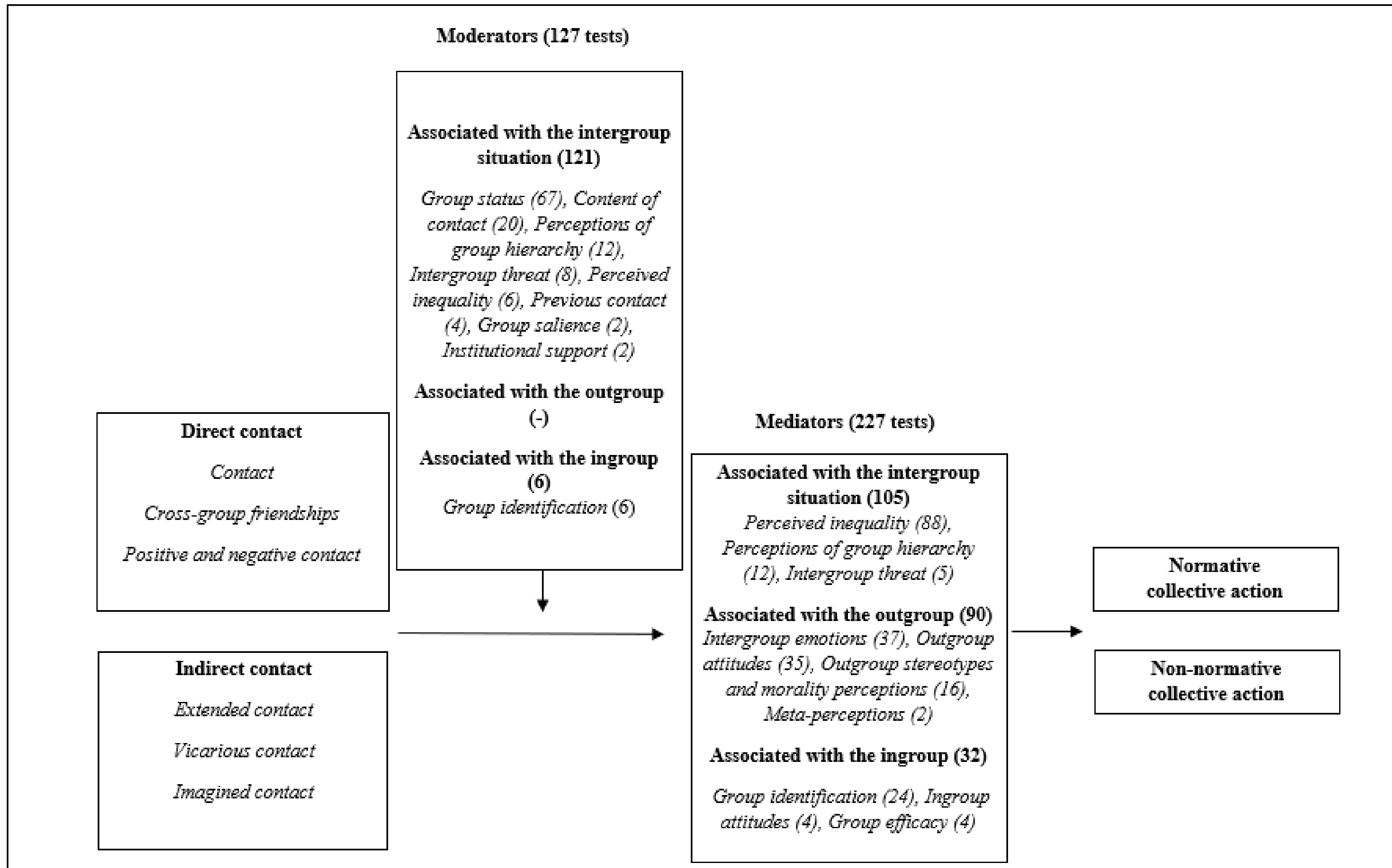
We structured our narrative review around three goals relating to the general relationship of contact to collective action and the factors that shape and underlie that relationship. Our first goal is to answer the question of whether or not intergroup contact promotes collective action – that is whether it has mobilizing effects (i.e., it promotes collective action) or sedative effects (i.e., it inhibits collective action). The second goal is to identify moderating factors to understand when contact will have a mobilizing or a sedative effect. Our third goal is to illuminate mediating processes that explain the pathway between contact and collective action. To systematize research conducted thus far and with the aim of facilitating future research, we group moderators and mediators into overarching categories related to the intergroup situation, the outgroup, and the ingroup. In so doing, we consider forms of intergroup contact that are receiving increasing attention, such as negative contact and indirect contact.

In addition, given their potential social impact, we distinguish between normative and non-normative forms of collective action. Whether collective action is normative or non-normative can be a contentious issue that needs a thorough consideration of multiple sociocultural elements. In this review, following the guidance of Wright et al. (1990) and Becker and Tausch (2015), we refer to normative collective action as socially acceptable behaviors (e.g., distributing leaflets) and to non-normative collective action as behavior that is destructive and violent that deviates from prevailing social norms and is often illegal.

In the next section, we present brief overviews of (a) general models of factors motivating collective action, (b) research on intergroup contact and prejudice reduction, and (c) works currently bridging intergroup contact and collective action. After that, we

introduce a graphical representation (Figure 1) that organizes previous work in a way that maps our systematic review and analysis of the literature. We not only address the general question of whether intergroup contact promotes or inhibits collective action but also examine relevant moderators and mediators. In our concluding section, we offer suggestions for promising directions for future research.

Figure 1. Graphical representation of the moderators and mediators of the relationship between contact and collective action. The numbers in parentheses indicate how many tests for each variable or category are included in the current review and analysis (see Tables 4 and 5).



Collective action and intergroup contact: overviews

Our primary focus is on the impact of intergroup contact on collective action. In this section, we therefore review some of the most prominent and generative psychological theories of collective action and the processes underlying it. Although research on collective action has traditionally emphasized the mobilization of members of disadvantaged groups (Wright & Lubensky, 2009), there is also currently a substantial literature on collective action by advantaged-group members that benefits a disadvantaged group (e.g., Cakal et al., 2021; Dixon, Durrheim, et al., 2010; Vazquez et al., 2020).

Theoretical approaches for understanding the pathway to collective action

Research on collective action has been grounded to varying degrees in three basic processes relating to (a) social identity, (b) perceptions of the causes of disparities, and (c) a group's capacity to address these disparities. The social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; Van Zomeren et al., 2008), for example, recognizes these processes in terms of group identification, perceived injustice, and perceived efficacy as key instigators of collective action.

These processes rest on three main socio-psychological perspectives. The first theoretical perspective relates to social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which places strong emphasis on collective identity and, specifically, on ingroup identification. A form of group identity especially relevant to collective action is that of politicized identity, which is identification with a particular social movement (Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). According to Van Zomeren et al. (2008), social identification (especially, politicized identities) can predict collective action both directly and indirectly through increased perceptions of group efficacy and injustice. The second perspective is relative deprivation theory (Runciman & Runciman, 1966), which proposes that unfavorable intergroup comparisons lead to experiencing injustice and seeking to reduce it by engaging in collective action. Such an experience of injustice has both cognitive (perception that a

group is disadvantaged compared to another group) and affective (intergroup emotions, such us anger, frustration, resentment, and outrage) dimensions. The third theoretical perspective that informs SIMCA highlights the role of perceived group efficacy (Bandura, 1997) as a motivating element to engage in collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2004).

Extending SIMCA, Van Zomeren et al. (2012) directed their attention to the role of moral convictions, defined as "as strong and absolute stances on moral issues" (p. 52). If violated, moral convictions can lead to action to defend them (Van Zomeren & Lodewijkx, 2005). Moral convictions can therefore act as motivators of collective action (Skitka & Bauman, 2008).

Relatedly, Thomas et al. (2009; see also Thomas et al., 2012) proposed the encapsulation model of social identity in collective action (EMSICA), which accords social identity processes a central role in collective action. Unlike SIMCA (Van Zomeren et al., 2008), however, Thomas et al. (2009) considered social identification as an outcome rather than as an antecedent of perceived injustice and group efficacy. Furthermore, the model acknowledges reciprocal paths between group efficacy and perceived injustice, with the two constructs predicting each other.

Becker and Tausch (2015), inspired by SIMCA (Van Zomeren et al., 2008), described a key differentiation between normative and non-normative collective action in their dynamic model of engagement in normative and non-normative collective action. The authors further focused on the role played by emotions in predicting collective action. Specifically, they posited that normative and non-normative collective action are predicted by different emotions: while anger leads to increased normative collective action, non-normative collective action is primarily predicted by contempt. The model suggested by Becker and Tausch (2015) also considers the other relevant constructs hypothesized by SIMCA and specifies when they would be associated with the two forms of collective action. According to that framework, individuals are more likely to engage in normative collective

action when they perceive high efficacy, and in non-normative collective action when perceived efficacy is low. Finally, individuals are more likely to opt for normative collective action when they perceive their social identification as strong, and in non-normative collective action when social identification is perceived as weak.

Turning the focus to collective action by advantaged-group members, the political solidarity model of social change (Subašić et al., 2008) aims to understand the perspective of the advantaged group and the conditions that may lead to an alliance between advantaged and disadvantaged groups. This model incorporates two approaches: SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and self-categorization theory (SCT; J. C. Turner et al., 1987). SIT places importance on the shift from personal to social identity and on the role of social identity in guiding intergroup relations. SCT conceptualizes the self as hierarchically organized, with more abstract categories reflecting higher levels of inclusiveness.

The political solidarity model (Subašić et al., 2008) illuminates how to create political solidarity between groups for the achievement of social equity. The process of political solidarity is explained in a triangular context, where the protagonists are the advantaged group, the disadvantaged group, and the authority. According to the model, the alliance between advantaged and disadvantaged groups is the result of a shared social identity between advantaged and disadvantaged groups, which excludes the authority. In this process, the authority loses its legitimacy, increasing the likelihood of being challenged, suggesting that perceived illegitimacy leads to mobilization against social injustice. Importantly, the shared identity between advantaged and disadvantaged groups is not meant to obscure intergroup differences but to provide a meaningful context within which to understand them.

To summarize, research on collective action has traditionally, but not exclusively, focused on the actions of disadvantaged-group members. This work has identified the key roles of (a) social identification with a group, with a particular politicized identity, or in

relation to authority; (b) perceptions of unfair disadvantage or injustice, (c) feelings of efficacy for making change, and (d) moral convictions. While the research on collective action reveals several common and influential processes, our focus is specifically on the relationship between intergroup contact and intentions for and engagement in collective action.

Intergroup Contact and Prejudice Reduction

Much of the traditional research on intergroup contact has been centered on prejudice reduction as an outcome. Almost seven decades of research have shown that contact is associated with reduced prejudice, even when the optimal conditions originally proposed by Allport (1954) (e.g., equal status, cooperation for common goals, institutional support) are absent (Paluck et al., 2021; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). One limitation of research on intergroup contact is that it has focused to a much greater extent on advantaged-group members than on disadvantaged-group members in terms of how to improve the attitudes of members of advantaged groups toward disadvantaged groups (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). In general, results have shown that contact is more effective at reducing intergroup bias among members of advantaged than disadvantaged groups, with effects among disadvantaged-group members often weaker and sometimes nonsignificant (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005; Vezzali & Stathi, 2021).

The scope of research on intergroup contact has been expanded in recent years, for instance in terms of considering different forms of direct contact (e.g., showing the detrimental effects of negative contact; Graf & Paolini, 2017; Schafer et al., 2021) and including indirect forms of contact. Types of indirect contact, which do not involve face-to-face interaction, include extended and vicarious contact (respectively, knowing or observing an intergroup relationship; Dovidio et al., 2011; Vezzali et al., 2014; White et al., 2021; Zhou et al., 2019), and imagined contact (mentally simulating an intergroup interaction; Crisp & Turner, 2012; Miles & Crisp, 2014; see also White et al., 2021).

While there is considerable consensus in the field that positive intergroup contact generally makes intergroup attitudes more favorable, additional questions remain. Some of these involve the underlying processes that account for the reduction of prejudice. Multiple routes appear to be involved, including lessening intergroup anxiety or increasing empathy (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) as well as changing the ways members of another group are perceived, such as creating more individuated (Wilder, 1986) or personalized (Miller, 2002) perceptions or a greater sense of shared identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Reimer et al., 2022). Other questions involve the durability of the effect of intergroup contact on prejudice reduction (Paluck et al., 2019).

The issues of primary interest in this review are additional ones: how intergroup contact relates to collective action as an outcome, and how many of the processes revealed in the study of contact effects on prejudice reduction reflect or supplement those currently recognized as factors shaping collective action. Although prejudice reduction and collective action may both appear to represent forces promoting intergroup equity, intergroup contact may, at least in some circumstances, produce divergent effects on these two outcomes because of the different ways it influences the dynamics underlying each.

Intergroup contact and collective action

Various scholars have questioned the effectiveness of contact for producing social change and, ultimately, social equity (Dixon et al., 2005). Wright and Lubensky (2009) argued that the mechanisms by which contact improves outgroup attitudes (e.g., reducing ingroup identification, lowering perceptions of injustice) are the very same ones that may inhibit collective action (a sedative effect). Much of the theorizing of the sedative effects of contact has focused on collective action by members of disadvantaged groups (Dixon, Tropp, et al., 2010; Dovidio et al., 2016), for whom positive contact tends to reduce their focus on inequity and to have greater expectations of being treated fairly in the future (Saguy et al., 2009). However, the sedative effects of contact may also apply to members of advantaged groups

in terms of taking actions to benefit disadvantaged groups. The "principle-implementation gap" refers to the finding that positive experiences of contact do not automatically translate into supporting or engaging in collective action (Dixon et al., 2017; Dixon, Durrheim, et al., 2010). Dixon (2017) explained that increasing positive feelings toward the outgroup (a distinctive feature of contact; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) reduces the salience of group boundaries and, consequently, the need to redress inequality toward one specific group, leading to sedative effects of contact (see also Çakal et al., 2011, Study 1). We review relevant theoretical and empirical work with the aim of providing a clearer understanding of the relation between contact and collective action, considering the effects separately for members of disadvantaged and advantaged groups.

Understanding how intergroup contact affects collective action is particularly valuable for integrating work within the area of intergroup relations. Although both collective action and prejudice reduction have attracted significant scholarly attention and produced vibrant literatures in psychology across many years, as noted by Wright and Lubensky (2009), these lines of research traditionally proceeded largely independently. Also, despite the robustness and empirical evidence in support of the models of collective action we previously discussed, it is important to acknowledge that these models have not systematically considered the role of intergroup contact in the pathway to collective action – the issue that is the specific focus of the current work.

We are not alone in our interest in this issue. Several theoretical perspectives have been recently proposed to better understand the relationship between contact and collective action. Hassler, Ulug, et al. (2021) proposed the integrated contact-collective action model (ICCAM), which focuses on understanding when contact will have mobilizing or sedative effects among advantaged or disadvantaged-group members. Among the relevant factors, the authors consider type of contact (including its valence), perception of (il)legitimacy of

group differences, extent to which group-specific needs are satisfied, social categorization, and intergroup ideologies.

Hassler, Ulug, et al.'s model considers important variables identified in contact as well as collective action research, with the aim of proposing relevant factors emerging from the two literatures rather than providing a broad and extensive review of variables specifically identified by research testing the association between contact and collective action. As an example, when discussing social categorization, the authors refer to general literature on the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner et al., 2016) together with research investigating categorization in the context of collective action but unrelated to contact research (Ufkes et al., 2016). While we view the work by Hassler, Ulug, et al. as complementary to our interests, our goals are both broader empirically – providing a more extensive review of the literature – and more focused conceptually – emphasizing the dynamics of contact more specifically.

MacInnis and Hodson (2019) have theorized about when a disadvantaged group will engage in social change. They focus on the importance of contact that can lead to cross-group friendships (which is an especially effective form of contact; Davies et al., 2011). They also highlight the relevance of the content of contact, in particular the importance of discussing group differences and social inequalities (which represents an important variable in the review and analysis that we present).

Vezzali and Stathi (2021, Chapter 7) proposed a sequential mediation to explain the relation of direct and indirect contact with normative and non-normative collective action. In this model, contact predicts socio-structural variables as posited by SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which in turn predict morality convictions. Further mediators include social categorization, and a series of variables, such as intergroup emotions, which have been shown to be associated with collective action (Becker & Tausch, 2015). Vezzali and Stathi

(2021) also identified several moderators, such as content and valence of contact, social dominance orientation (SDO), and prejudice.

Overall, while the current models involving intergroup contact and collective action address many similar dynamics, they do so in different ways, from various perspectives, and with different primary objectives. These models generally highlight particular constructs, for instance, group identification (Hassler, Ulug, et al., 2021), content of contact (MacInnis & Hodson, 2019), and moral convictions (Vezzali & Stathi, 2021). In addition, the models of Hassler, Ulug, et al. (2021) and of MacInnis and Hodson (2019) represent theoretical elaborations that take literature on contact and collective action into consideration, but they do not focus specifically on findings that have emerged from the contact and collective action literature more broadly (including mediators and moderators). Those models have a broader aim: to understand based on available relevant literature when advantaged and disadvantaged groups will engage in collective action. The model introduced by Vezzali and Stathi (2021, Chapter 7), though more strongly rooted in studies on contact and collective action, is mainly aimed at understanding the complex and sequential mediational chains that can underly contact effects. The present work presents a more comprehensive review of contact research that has investigated collective action, building on, extending, and synthesizing the literatures considered in previous reviews. Because the objective of a narrative review is to identify emergent themes and important gaps in the existing literature, the approach to identifying studies is broader and with a less prescribed methodology for narrative reviews than that for systematic meta-analytic efforts that test specific hypotheses (see Siddaway et al., 2019). For the present review, we searched for terms broadly related to collective action and social change (e.g., contact, affirmative action, collective action, polic+, social change, activism, critical action, sedative, mobilize, in different combinations) on the Psychinfo database, with 18th October 2021 as the cut-off date.

Building bottom-up from the empirical literature, we identify and classify both moderators and mediators into broad categories. These categories include and help systematize work guided by existing models, which generally focus selectively on moderators and mediators relevant to a specific conceptual position (e.g., Hassler, Ulug, et al., 2021; MacInnis & Hodson, 2019; Vezzali & Stathi, 2021). We integrate specific constructs, including those representing the focus of previous reviews, into broader categories that may favor understanding of the whole literature on contact and collective action. Next, we introduce a graphical representation of our review and analysis of the literature to help summarize what is known and what is not to identify productive directions for future research in this area.

The current work: a narrative review

In our review of the literature, we pursue questions about whether, when, and why intergroup contact is associated with collective action distinguishing fundamentally between processes for advantaged and disadvantaged groups. The present review also considers the moderators of contact effects as they may relate to collective action and the mediating processes identified by empirical evidence. When relevant, we further distinguish between contact that is direct versus indirect and positive versus negative, as well as collective action that is normative versus non-normative. This approach offers a more thorough and state-of-the-art understanding of collective action as a function of intergroup contact.

Guided by previous research on intergroup relations (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), one of the main goals of the present review is to understand the factors associated with the alliance between advantaged and disadvantaged groups. In line with previous work (e.g., Tausch et al., 2015), we conceptually define advantaged groups as those relatively high in power and/or status in a given social context and that, as a consequence, enjoy a disproportionate number of privileges and social benefits (e.g., greater wealth). We use the term disadvantaged groups to refer to groups that are

relatively low in power and/or status in a particular context and, as a result, suffer a disproportionate amount of resource challenges (e.g., lower wages). Most commonly (in 63% of the studies reviewed), this distinction reflected racial or ethnic group membership. However, it also reflected other types of differences, for example based on religion or citizenship status (see section "Review Overview"). We note that advantaged and disadvantaged group positions can vary substantially by social context: relative group position can depend on a variety of factors, such as citizenship status, current socioeconomic position or sociopolitical influence, or the history of intergroup domination or discrimination based, for instance, on ethnicity or political affiliation.

Operationally, to differentiate advantaged from disadvantaged groups, we primarily relied on how the different groups were conceptualized by the authors of each article, that is, whether the groups were described as advantaged or disadvantaged (or as high or low in status and/or power) in each study. In all cases, the way the authors of study classified groups as advantaged or disadvantaged aligned with how we distinguished the groups as well. To the extent that our focal dependent variable was support for disadvantaged groups, advantaged or disadvantaged group position can also be indirectly inferred from the target benefiting from collective action in each study. For example, in research exploring White participants' support for Black people's rights Black people are the disadvantaged group. In the very few cases where study authors did not directly refer to the relative advantage, status, or power of the groups explored, the authors of the present work coded the groups as advantaged or disadvantaged blindly and were in full agreement of the coding.

We selected articles that included at least one measure or manipulation of contact, and at least one measure of collective action. With respect to contact, we included articles that measured or manipulated at the individual level face-to-face contact, considering different operationalizations of contact, including both quantity

and quality as measures of contact, and we distinguish between these two when critical to the interpretation of the findings with respect to collective action. We also included indirect contact measures or manipulations classically used in literature in the form of extended, vicarious, or imagined contact.

For collective action measures, we adopted a broad definition, as specified at the beginning of the review, focusing on collective action aimed at promoting social equity. Therefore, when addressing the stance of the advantaged group, we refer to solidarity-based collective action benefitting the disadvantaged group. We considered a substantial range of measures, including support of (or opposition to) egalitarian policies and the rights for the disadvantaged group, intentions to engage in collective action on the behalf of the disadvantaged group or, when available, behavioral collective action measures. Resting on the distinction between normative and non-normative collective action presented earlier (see also Becker & Tausch, 2015), we considered as normative collective action non-violent behaviors generally defined as socially acceptable, such as signing petitions, taking part to strikes, supporting egalitarian policies. In contrast, violent and illegal behaviors (like destruction of properties) were included in the category of non-normative collective action. Given that the present review primarily aims to investigate the relationship between contact and collective action, studies that did not include both contact (measured or manipulated) and collective action measures were not considered.

Considering the evaluation of the existing literature on contact and collective action, in line with our bottom-up approach, in Figure 1 we present a graphical representation of our analysis of the literature that strives to produce a state-of-the-art portrait of the field.

We broadly considered mediators and moderators that emerged from the literature. Because of the number and variety of such variables represented in our review of the literature, we then attempted to identify broader categories that could include them to present a more coherent organization for the research. We considered ways to categorize them that

were parsimonious but, at the same time, reflect conceptual distinctiveness among constructs. We reasoned that grouping potential moderating and mediating variables into categories would be an instrumental step toward more systematization of the literature. Our proposed classification of moderating and mediating variables in the literature generally aligned with three categories that researchers in the areas of group processes and of intergroup relations have distinguished, relating to the relation between the ingroup and an outgroup in a particular context, perceptions of the outgroup, and the dynamics within one's group (see Dovidio, 2013). Thus, in Figure 1, with the aim of better representing and interpreting the literature, moderators are differentiated into three categories: moderators associated with the *intergroup situation*, the *outgroup*, or the *ingroup*. With respect to mediators, paralleling the moderator distinction, we denote factors related to the *intergroup situation*, the *outgroup* or the *ingroup*. The inclusion of a construct into one of these three categories was based on the agreement of all authors of the present work; discrepancies in interpretation were resolved by discussions among the authors until consensus. Such categorization currently has primarily a descriptive purpose, with the goal of facilitating a broader understanding of the literature and eventually identifying strengths or gaps.

Moderators or mediators concerning perceptions of the intergroup situation refer to constructs rooted in the simultaneous consideration of both the outgroup and the ingroup. As an example, perceived intergroup inequality implies that some group is advantaged over another group. The relative nature in this example makes perceived inequality an element of the intergroup situation rather than a quality primarily of the outgroup or ingroup in isolation.

Moderators or mediators in the outgroup category involve constructs that primarily can be understood in reference to characteristics of the outgroup, while moderators or mediators in the ingroup category involve constructs primarily pertaining the ingroup and relatively independent from outgroup perceptions. For example, because outgroup attitudes are conceptually independent from ingroup perceptions (Brewer, 2017), outgroup attitudes

as a moderator or mediator were considered as part of the outgroup category. Similarly, because ingroup identification can occur in ways independent of specific outgroups (Brown & Zagefka, 2005), it was included in the category of moderators or mediators referring to the ingroup.

The research we included is presented in Tables 1 to 3, showing experimental, longitudinal, and correlational studies. In organizing the Tables, we present information relevant to the understanding of the empirical evidence in the research. We provide information about where (i.e., in which country) the studies were conducted. For each study, we also specify the sample, whether this represents advantaged or disadvantaged groups (or, in rare cases, equal status/intermediate status groups), and the relevant outgroup (also in this case specifying whether the outgroup is an advantaged or a disadvantaged group). In the case of longitudinal studies, we further specify the number of data-collection waves and the approximate time between them.

Tables also indicate the type(s) of contact under consideration, that is whether contact is direct or indirect (and in the latter case, which type of indirect contact), and whether positive versus negative contact was tested. Two additional columns identify moderators and mediators that were tested in the study (categorized according to our distinction, see "The current work: a narrative review" section). In the column specifying the dependent variable tested, we include information about whether this refers to normative or non-normative collective action. Finally, we include a column reporting whether contact was found to have mobilizing, sedative, or no effects.

In the Tables, we indicated with superscripts the category of each moderator and mediator. This way, the reader can readily navigate the Tables and locate studies using specific categories of moderators and/or mediators.

We also included two summarizing Tables. Table 4 refers to the summary of tests of moderation, differentiated for each moderator category and the specific moderators included

in it (one test is reported for each specific moderator and each sample). Specifically, the Table shows the number of tests indicating mobilization, sedative effects, mixed (both mobilization and sedative, for instance in case one study has two or more collective action dependent variables, and opposite mobilization and sedative effects for these variables are found), null effects.

Similarly, Table 5 reports tests of mediation, showing the number of tests indicating that each category of mediator and each mediator has been shown to allow mobilization, sedative, mixed, or null effects (one test is reported for each specific mediator and each sample). The number of tests is also reported throughout the text while we present the results of the review. Note that Tables 4 and 5 do not provide indications of the direction of the effect. Specifically, Table 4 indicates the number of tests producing the different effects for each moderator, but not whether these effects were produced by high or low levels of the moderator. For instance, it indicates that of six tests of moderation by ingroup identification, two showed sedative effects, but it does not specify whether these effects were found for high or low levels of identification. Similarly, Table 5 does not indicate whether increases or decreases of the mediators produced mobilization, sedative, or mixed effects. For instance, some studies may have found that a decrease in the mediator allowed mobilization, while others may have found that mobilization depended on an increase of the mediator. More detailed information on the direction of the effects can be found in the text and in Tables 1-3. The scope of Tables 4 and 5 is therefore to provide a picture of the relative relevance of each moderator and mediator in the literature review. This way, it is possible to know whether, for each study, each moderator or mediator has produced mobilization, sedative, mixed, or nonsignificant effects.

Review overview

In presenting results that emerged from our analysis, we refer to studies, samples, and tests. Studies represent discrete investigations of the relationship between contact and collective

action. When referring to studies, for example, we indicate the number of investigations in which a specific effect occurred (e.g., the number out of the 134 studies that we included in which mobilization was observed). Samples are sets of participants sharing a common quality of interest as identified by a study's authors (for example, as members of an advantaged group or a disadvantaged group). Tests represent the results for specific samples examined within the context of the studies included. Because many studies examined how a measure of contact relates to collective action for more than one sample of participants, the number of tests overall is higher than number of studies. In addition, a test for a particular measure of contact may consider the relationship of more than one measure of collective action. In such a case, it is possible that one shows a mobilization effect and the other reflects a sedative effect. In that case, we would characterize the result of the test as mixed. Depending on the finding we aim to highlight, we refer to the number of studies and/or tests. Note that for the number of tests, the exact numbers for all variables are presented in Tables 4 and 5.

We identified 134 studies (many of which representing multiple samples), conducted mostly in Europe (50), North (42) and South America (1), Asia (10), Africa (7), and Oceania (5). An additional 10 studies used samples from both Europe and Asia, 1 from Asia and Oceania, and 8 studies used samples from several continents. Not surprisingly, in line with the broader contact research, the number of correlational studies is higher (104) than of experimental (20) and longitudinal studies (10). Most of the studies investigated direct contact (125 of the 134), with a portion of them specifically focusing (only or also) on cross-group friendships (27), which is an intimate form of contact especially effective in reducing prejudice (Davies et al., 2011). Also, of the 125 studies of direct contact, 18 included examinations of negative contact. The recent growth in indirect contact research is not reflected in research on contact and collective action. Indeed, only a small number of studies focused on indirect contact (14, of these 7 were only or also on negative contact), and

specifically on extended (4), vicarious (5), and imagined contact (5). Based on these preliminary numbers, in the following section, we use the term "contact" to refer to direct contact; we specify accordingly when we refer to positive or negative contact or to indirect contact forms.

Of the 134 studies we reviewed, a greater number investigated members of advantaged groups (100 samples appearing in 98 of the studies) compared to disadvantaged groups (58 samples examined in 49 of the studies). Both advantaged and disadvantaged groups were examined in only 19 of the 134 studies. Equal status groups were examined with 10 samples across 6 studies, and intermediate status groups were investigated in 1 sample (in 1 study, which also included one advantaged and one disadvantaged sample). The sum of studies investigating advantaged, disadvantaged, equal status, and intermediate status samples is greater than 134 because some studies included multiple samples. Most of the studies reviewed included intergroup relations defined by race/ethnicity (85), sexual orientation (26), religion (8), gender (4), disability (4), other (7). In addition, of the 134 studies, almost all (132) included measures of normative collective action. The number of studies examining non-normative collective action is small. Non-normative collective action was studied exclusively in 2 studies, and 6 studies examined both normative and non-normative collective action. Given the limited number of studies examining non-normative collective action, in the following section we refer to normative collective action as "collective action" and specify when we refer to non-normative collective action.

Intergroup contact and collective action: overall effects

A primary goal of the current work was to answer the basic question of whether intergroup contact relates to collective action and, more specifically, whether it promotes or inhibits collective action (indicated in the last column in the Tables). As noted, the studies that have addressed this question have varied considerably, for example in the nature of intergroup

relations considered, the status of the groups examined (e.g., including both advantaged and disadvantaged groups in the same study), and the ways collective action has been measured.

In general, findings for the advantaged group are consistent in showing that contact is associated with mobilization – that is, with greater support of the disadvantaged group. Specifically, 90 out of 98 studies revealed mobilization (of these 90 studies, negative contact produced mobilization in 6 studies), and only 16 studies showed sedative effects (but note that in these studies inhibition was related to negative contact in 10 studies). It should be noted that of these 98 studies, mixed mobilization and sedative effects were found in 14 studies (9 of which also involved negative contact). The results also demonstrated mobilization by contact for non-normative collective action (although evidence is limited to 3 studies).

In contrast, results for the disadvantaged group are mixed. Of the 49 studies examining disadvantaged groups, 27 studies (2 studies for negative contact) revealed sedative effects, while 28 reported mobilization (4 studies for negative contact); of these 49 studies, mixed mobilization and sedative effects were found in 10 studies (4 of which also involved negative contact). A noteworthy finding is that mobilization often emerged as a function of moderators, supporting our choice of conducting a narrative review rather than a meta-analysis, with the aim of understanding the conditions that lead to mobilization or to sedative effects.

For a more detailed account of effects for advantaged and disadvantaged groups, see the discussion of Group Status in the section of Moderators associated with the intergroup situation.

Moderators

Because contact can both foster and inhibit collective action, a main question we consider is *when* each effect – the mobilizing versus the inhibiting effect – will emerge. As anticipated, we differentiated three categories to facilitate this: moderators concerning

perceptions of (a) the intergroup situation, (b) the outgroup, and (c) the ingroup. When empirical evidence is available, we outline the moderating factors as a function of advantaged and disadvantaged group status. (This classification and organization are also reflected in the ways mediators are categorized, which are subsequently discussed.)

In order for the reader to locate relevant studies in the Tables, we refer to whether the studies are experimental (Table 1), longitudinal (Table 2), or correlational (Table 3). As explained in the notes for the Tables, the categories of moderators and mediators are referred to with superscripts.

As shown in detail in the next section, the most influential moderators of the contact-collective action relationship are those associated with the intergroup situation (121 tests), with the main role played by group status (158 tests). Note that moderation by group status was based on the effects for advantaged and/or disadvantaged groups reported by study authors. Only a limited number of studies (19) directly included both advantaged and disadvantaged samples and presented results separately for each of the groups considered. Research has also investigated other potentially relevant moderators, all included in the broad category of moderators associated with the intergroup situation, such as content of contact (20 tests), which is important in determining whether contact will have mobilizing or sedative effects. Surprisingly, we did not find any test for moderators referring to the outgroup, like outgroup attitudes (which have, however, been extensively tested as moderators of contact effects in the larger contact-prejudice literature; see R. N. Turner et al., 2020). Finally, evidence for a moderator role by factors associated with the ingroup is scant and weak: moderation by group identification was found only in 2 studies conducted among disadvantaged-group members (note that in the Tables we also coded with the superscript "4*" moderation by socio-demographics for completeness; see section on Limitations and Future Directions in the Discussion).

Moderators associated with the intergroup situation (121 tests)

The intergroup-situation moderators that we examined includes group status, which is a distinction that is also integrated into virtually all of the sections in this review and relates to various facets of intergroup relations. Other potential moderating factors include the content of contact, intergroup threat, group salience, perceived inequality, endorsement of perceptions of social hierarchy, previous contact and institutional support. Moderators included in this category are referred to with the superscript "1*" in the Tables.

(1) Group status (*67 tests*). We evaluated the potential moderating role of group status by considering the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action by members of advantaged groups and members of disadvantaged groups. We identified 67 tests of moderation by group status (see Tables 1-3), that is studies including more than one (advantaged and/or disadvantaged) sample, allowing to detect differences between groups. However, in line with our aim to understand the differential effects for advantaged and disadvantaged groups, the review includes 158 tests (corresponding to the sum of the 100 advantaged samples and the 58 disadvantaged samples) of the association between contact and collective action among advantaged and disadvantaged samples (with most studies only including advantaged or disadvantaged samples). Tests in this case indicate whether in a study mobilization and/or sedative effects emerged for a specific sample. In this section, we refer to this whole set of tests (rather than limiting it to the 67 tests detected in studies including more than one sample), to provide a full picture of the association between contact and collective action in advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

***Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members* (*26 tests*)**. While we found 26 tests from studies including more than one sample (with at least one advantaged group sample), this section broadly refers to 100 tests (corresponding to the 100 advantaged group samples) of the association between contact and collective action that we were able to locate in reviewed studies. As noted earlier, the results of works on contact and collective action among advantaged-group members are extremely consistent: for the 100

advantaged-group tests, mobilization effects emerged in 90 studies. For instance, Rompke et al. (2019, Study 2) found that German university students' contact with refugees is longitudinally associated (six months later) with greater agreement with social policies benefitting the outgroup. Hassler, Ullrich, et al. (2021, Study 3; see also Hassler et al., 2020) found a positive association across different operationalizations of contact and of support for social change in a large sample of ethnic majority adults. 16 studies of the contact-collective action relationship showed sedative effects (but of these, 10 refer to negative contact). As an example, a complex pattern of results emerged in the study by Neumann and Moy (2018): while qualitative forms of contact (quality of contact, cross-group friendships) were positively associated with support for inclusive immigration policies, negative associations emerged for quantity of contact. Supportive (although numerically limited) evidence for mobilization effects is also provided by 10 out of 11 studies on indirect contact (of these 5 were related to negative contact). For example, Prati and Loughnan (2018, Study 2) found that British university students imagining positive contact with a Gypsy person (vs. a condition where they imagined an outdoor scene) revealed increased support for granting human rights to Gypsy people.

Of the studies investigating negative (direct) contact among advantaged-group members (11), the majority of studies (10) revealed sedative effects: not surprisingly, negative contact with a disadvantaged group disrupts the support for its rights. For instance, Reimer et al. (2017, Study 1b) found, in a correlational study among heterosexual university students, that more negative contact was related to lower intentions to engage in actions to promote LGB rights.

Findings also support the role of contact in mobilizing advantaged-group members for non-normative collective action. Saleem et al. (2016) found in 2 studies (1 longitudinal and 1 correlational) that direct contact was associated with lower support for military action in Muslim countries among non-Muslim Americans. Cocco et al. (2022) conducted a

correlational study that considered both normative and non-normative collective action, further differentiating *intentions* to engage in (normative and non-normative) collective action from the (less demanding) attitudinal *support* for such action. These researchers found that more positive contact was positively associated with Italians' support for non-normative collective action favoring immigrants; however, this effect did not extend to intentions to engage in non-normative collective action.

Cocco et al. (2022) also provided the only evidence that we are aware of concerning advantaged-group members' experiences of negative contact with a disadvantaged group and these advantaged-group members' encouragement of non-normative collective action. These researchers found that higher levels of negative contact were associated with advantaged-group members' greater non-normative collective action intentions (direct engagement in illegal actions, such as damaging public property) and support (agreement with extreme illegal actions perpetrated by the disadvantaged group). Although advantaged-group members' greater non-normative intentions and support for the disadvantaged group associated with more negative contact with disadvantaged-group members seems paradoxical, one explanation might be related to strategic issues. Possibly, participants speculated that non-normative collective action would damage the image of the disadvantaged group, ultimately lowering the disadvantaged group's chances of improving its social position (Teixeira et al., 2019). Another possible explanation involves understanding the content of the interaction that made it a negative experience. For instance, a confrontation that sensitizes members of an advantaged group to inequitable treatment and unfair harm being done to the disadvantaged group may be experienced negatively but still be mobilizing for members of an advantaged group. The finding by Cocco et al. (2022) that higher levels of negative contact are associated with strong non-normative support for a disadvantaged group by advantaged-group members, however, needs replication. Attempts

to replicate this result in future research should also be designed to consider the alternative interpretations, or other plausible ones.

***Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members* (*41 tests*)**. While we located 41 tests from studies including more than one sample (with at least one disadvantaged group), as done for advantaged-group members, this section refers to the whole set of tests conducted among disadvantaged-group members (58, corresponding to the 58 disadvantaged group samples). Evidence for the relationship between contact and collective action for the disadvantaged groups (49 studies, 58 samples), as previously mentioned, is mixed. In line with arguments that contact can lower support for collective action (Wright & Lubensky, 2009), evidence for sedative effects emerged in 27 studies. For example, Carter et al. (2019) conducted a correlational study with ethnic minority university students. Their results revealed that cross-group friendships with Whites predicted lower engagement in activism to make their school a more inclusive environment. Similar results were also obtained when considering non-normative collective action (in 3 studies).

However, we also found a substantial number of studies (28) providing evidence of mobilization. For example, Di Bernardo, Vezzali, Birtel, et al. (2021) found in a correlational study an association between positive contact at work with Italians and immigrants' support for social policies benefitting their own group. Note, however, that in some of these studies (10, e.g., Pereira et al., 2017) both sedative and mobilization effects emerged, confirming the inconsistent role that contact can have for disadvantaged groups. Also, when mobilization emerged, the effect was often driven by other moderators (e.g., Droogendyk et al., 2016; Techakesari et al., 2017; see the other factors included in the section "Moderators associated with the intergroup situation").

Two studies that examined indirect contact both showed mobilizing effects. Bagci et al. 2019 (Study 1) conducted an experimental study in Turkey with the imagined contact paradigm, using Kurd adults as the participants (disadvantaged group), and Turks as the

target (advantaged group). Results revealed that imagining a positive conversation with an outgroup person (vs. imagining a trekking trip) increased intentions to engage in action to support ingroup rights. Hassler et al. (2020) found in a correlational study that disadvantaged group's (ethnic minority and LGBTIQ+ individuals) positive contact (also in the form of positive extended contact) with the advantaged group was associated with greater intentions to work in solidarity with the outgroup (but sedative effects also emerged for other measures of collective action, such as support for social policies empowering disadvantaged groups).

In line with the idea that conflict motivates collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2008), negative contact was found to be a relatively consistent mobilizing factor among members of disadvantaged groups, associated with greater collective action in 4 out of 8 studies. For instance, Reimer et al.'s (2017, Study 1a) correlational data revealed that negative contact with heterosexual individuals predicted greater LGBT university students' intentions to support LGB rights and fight LGB discrimination.

(2) Content of contact (*20 tests*). This section of content of contact includes studies that consider what participants discuss during contact, such as explicitly recognizing group differences and inequalities.

***Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members* (*11 tests*)**. Content of contact was examined as a moderator of contact effects in 9 studies, 7 of which revealed significant moderation effects. Vezzali et al. (2017), in a correlational study, investigated with a sample of Italians whether discussing group differences over commonalities would lead to mobilization effects. Previous evidence indicated that a focus on commonalities may produce sedative effects (Saguy et al., 2009). Findings revealed an interaction between cross-group friendships and content of contact: cross-group friendships were associated with greater collective action intentions supporting immigrants when contact was comparatively more focused on differences than commonalities; when contact was more focused on commonalities than differences, the association between contact and

collective action intentions did not reach conventional levels of significance. Becker and Wright (2021) found in 2 experimental studies that advantaged-group members engaged in mobilization only when an outgroup member explicitly delegitimized intergroup inequality and, at the same time, participants felt closer to this outgroup member.

Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members **(*9 tests*)**. Content of contact was tested as a moderator of contact effects in 8 studies, 7 of which revealed significant moderation effects. Droogendyk et al. (2016) found in 2 experimental studies that contact led disadvantaged-group members to greater collective action intentions when advantaged-group members were clearly supporting the disadvantaged group, but not when they were ambiguous about this support. These findings were experimentally replicated by Techakesari et al. (2017) among gay men (but not among lesbians). Complementary results were obtained by Becker et al. (2013), who showed in 2 studies that contact had sedative effects among disadvantaged-group members when the advantaged-group member *legitimizes* or is ambiguous about intergroup inequalities (but this effect did not extend to non-normative collective action, Study 1).

Content of contact, in terms of discussing group differences and being supportive of the instances of the disadvantaged group, appears to lead to mobilization among both advantaged and disadvantaged-group members (see MacInnis & Hodson, 2019; Vezzali & Stathi, 2021, Chapter 7).

Taken together, the results with both advantaged and disadvantaged groups reveal the importance of how the content of intergroup contact frames the nature of disparities between groups on for whether contact gas mobilizing or sedative effects.

(3) Perceptions of group hierarchy (*12 tests*). This section focuses on preference for social hierarchy and political orientation, which relates to how social hierarchy is appraised. In general, stronger political conservatism relates to greater endorsement of social hierarchy.

Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members **(*11 tests*)**. Because of its prominence in the literature and its direct intergroup relevance, in terms of orientation toward social hierarchy, we examined social dominance orientation as a moderator. Social dominance orientation (SDO) is an individual difference variable and an ideological orientation representing preference and support for social hierarchies (Sidanius et al., 2017). People who more strongly endorse this ideology – those higher in SDO – are more committed to maintaining group hierarchies, and they see the world as involving greater zero-sum competition between groups for resources. People who score higher in SDO generally display greater prejudice (Pratto et al., 2006). There is also consistent evidence that contact has stronger prejudice reduction effects for individuals high in SDO (R. N. Turner et al., 2020), although some studies found that contact reduces prejudice when SDO is low (Schmid et al., 2012).

We located only 3 studies, all conducted among advantaged-group members, that tested the moderating role of SDO on contact effects on collective action. Hoskin et al. (2019) and Vezzali, McKeown, et al. (2021, Study 1, considering negative vicarious contact as a strategy to make individuals aware of intergroup inequalities) found that greater contact was associated with greater mobilization among participants who were relatively low in SDO. Specifically, for both studies, indirect effects via greater identification with a politicized identity or via greater anger against injustice, respectively, were only significant at a low, but not at a high, level of SDO. By contrast, Vezzali, McKeown, et al. (2021, Study 2), who introduced an intervention specifically aimed at improving collective action (multiple sessions reading a narrative dealing with collective action from the point of view of disadvantaged-group members vs. a no-reading control condition), found that negative vicarious contact (that is negative encounters between the victimized disadvantaged group and the oppressive advantaged group) led to greater collective action intentions only for individuals high in SDO; effects were nonsignificant at low levels of SDO. These studies

show that SDO is relevant to collective action but, given the mixed results, future research is needed to understand the dynamics of the moderation and reconcile these seemingly contradictory results.

Inconsistent findings are also observed in studies testing moderation by political orientation. In 4 studies (First & Ataca, 2021; Lewis, 2011; Pearson-Merkowitz et al., 2016; Tropp & Ulug, 2019, Study 1), higher levels of contact were related to greater mobilization among left-wing, compared to right-wing, participants. However, another study found stronger mobilizing effects among right-wing individuals (Graf & Sczesny, 2019).

***Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members* (*1 test*).** In the only study that we located, Tropp and Ulug (Study 2) tested political orientation as a moderator of the association between inter-minority contact (between non-Hispanic adult women who attended the 2017 Woman March and Blacks) and self-reported support of protests for racial justice and equality. Moderation was however nonsignificant.

(4) Intergroup threat (*8 tests*). Intergroup threat involves perceptions that another group potentially, and sometimes imminently, poses a danger to the welfare of one's group and the negative affect aroused by those perceptions. These threats can occur through competition over valued resources (realistic threat) or arise when there is a perceived conflict between the values and worldview of an ingroup and outgroup (symbolic threat) (Stephan & Stephan, 2017).

***Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members* (*4 tests*).** Intergroup threat was tested as a moderator in 2 studies. Debrosse et al. (2016) showed in a correlational study that threat can disrupt the mobilizing effects of contact. The authors found with a sample of White South Africans an interaction between contact and numerical threat posed by newcomers: the path from contact with newcomers to support for newcomers' rights was significant under low numerical threat; the association was nonsignificant for high levels of numerical threat. In the study by Ünver et al. (2021), contact

between Turkish (advantaged) and Kurd (disadvantaged) university students was associated for both groups with increased support for the rights of Syrian refugees (a further disadvantaged group) to a greater extent when threat (including realistic and symbolic components) by Syrians was low rather than high.

***Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members* (*4 tests*)**. Evidence for moderation by group threat is provided by 2 studies. Debrosse et al. (2016) also tested a sample of disadvantaged-group members (Black South Africans) and found that greater contact was associated with more support for the rights of newcomers (a further disadvantaged group) only when the outgroup posed low realistic threat, while the association of contact and support for the rights of newcomers was nonsignificant when realistic threat was high (see also the study by Ünver et al., 2021, described earlier).

Overall, perceived intergroup threat dampens the impact of factors that normally produce mobilizing or sedative effects.

(5) Perceived inequality (*6 tests*). Perceived inequality refers to perceptions of the illegitimacy of differences in group status, hierarchy, or resources. Perceptions of discrimination of the disadvantaged groups, highlighting existing inequalities in how advantaged and disadvantaged groups are treated, were also included in this category.

***Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members* (*3 tests*)**. Hassler, Ullrich, et al. (2021) conducted 2 correlational studies using large samples to investigate ethnic majorities (Study 3) and cis-heterosexual participants (Study 4). Results revealed that more favorable contact (assessed with different operationalizations tapping into positive contact and cross-group friendships) was more strongly associated with greater support for social change when perceived illegitimacy of status relations was relatively high than when it was low. However, their Study 4 also revealed moderation effects in the opposite direction, such that in some analyses contact had sedative effects with high perceived illegitimacy. Vázquez et al. (2020, Study 2b) found, experimentally, an interaction

between self-reported contact and condition (salience vs. no-salience of discrimination against women): decomposition of the interaction revealed that men's contact with women was associated with greater collective action intentions only under low salience of discrimination against women. This finding is counter-intuitive, as making injustice salient should have mobilized the advantaged group to a greater extent (Van Zomeren et al., 2008). The authors reasoned that discrimination salience may have been perceived as threatening, inadvertently raising men's defensive reactions.

Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members **(*3 tests*)**. Hassler, Ullrich, et al. (2021) conducted 2 other correlational studies using large samples of ethnic minorities (Study 1) and sexual/gender minorities (Study 2). Various operationalizations of contact, including positive contact and cross-group friendships, were again used. Results were inconclusive. In Study 1, greater contact was associated with less support for social change when perceived illegitimacy of the status relation was high (nonsignificant associations emerged with low perceived illegitimacy). Study 2 replicated this effect, but it also revealed in some analyses a different direction of moderation, with mobilization effects with high perceived illegitimacy. Vázquez et al. (2020, Study 2a), replicating results obtained with the advantaged group, found an interaction between contact and condition (salience vs. no-salience of personal discrimination): women's contact with men led to sedative effects only when salience of group discrimination was low (in the no-salience condition; in the salience condition, the effect of contact was nonsignificant). This finding is consistent with the relevance of awareness of discrimination to obtain mobilizing effects.

Although perceived inequity has been identified as a critical factor in models of collective action (e.g., Van Zomeren et al., 2008), the evidence on how it affects the nature of the contact-collective action relationship is mixed.

(6) Previous contact (*4 tests*). In two studies (direct) contact was tested as a moderator of imagined contact (Lau et al., 2014) and of inter-minority contact (Dixon et al., 2017). In another study, Wilson-Daily et al. (2018) tested outgroup exposure as a moderator of direct contact among advantaged- and disadvantaged-group members; moderation, however, was non-significant.

***Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members* (*2 tests*).**

Lau et al. (2014), using the imagined contact paradigm, found that the mobilization effect of imagined contact (against a control condition where participants were asked to answer questions about the rights of same-sex couples) on Chinese people's support for anti-discrimination laws benefitting sexual minorities was only significant for participants with low contact. These findings support the proposition that imagined contact works best for promoting collective action among advantaged-group members when direct contact experiences are relatively infrequent (Paolini et al., 2014, Study 3).

***Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members* (*2 tests*)**.

Dixon et al. (2017) tested with a correlational design the effects of inter-minority contact, considering Muslims as participants and disadvantaged groups in general in India as outgroups. Results revealed that the indirect association between contact with the disadvantaged groups and collective action intentions via greater group efficacy and shared grievances (indicating mobilization) was only significant among individuals with low direct contact with the Hindu advantaged group. This finding tends to align with the finding for advantaged groups that imagined contact has greater impact on the responses of people who have had more limited direct contact with the relevant outgroup.

(7) Group salience (*2 tests*). Group salience refers to the degree to which individuals attend to group identity or its prominence in the construal of relations between groups. Despite its importance not only for prejudice reduction (R. Brown & Hewstone, 2005) but also for the promotion of collective action (MacInnis & Hodson, 2019; Vezzali & Stathi,

2021, Chapter 7), only 1 study tested moderation by group salience for both the advantaged and the disadvantaged group.

Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members **(*1 test*)**. Di Bernardo, Vezzali, Stathi, et al. (2021) conducted a correlational study that found that Italians' contact (quality) with immigrants was associated with greater collective action intentions via increased perceived legitimacy of group differences only when group salience was high (the effects of contact quantity were unmoderated); the indirect effect of contact was nonsignificant with low group salience. This finding complements results by Vezzali et al. (2017) by showing mobilization effects when individuals discuss to a greater extent group differences than commonalities.

Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members **(*1 test*)**. Di Bernardo, Vezzali, Stathi, et al. (2021) also considered the perspective of immigrants as the disadvantaged group. Findings revealed mobilization effects, unmoderated by group salience. It should be noted, however, that group salience in this context was moderately high; therefore, mobilization effects could be interpreted as driven by chronic group salience.

(8) Institutional support (*2 tests*). Allport (1954) placed importance on institutional support as a key condition for contact to improve intergroup relations (see also Pettigrew, 1998). Institutional support involves perceptions of the orientations of authorities and ingroup norms with respect to relations with members of another group. Only 1 study, however, tested it as a moderator. Earle et al. (2021) conducted a correlational study that examined support for the rights of LGBT and transgender individuals using an impressive sample of over 70,000 participants. (The article does not report participants' gender or sexual orientation but, based on population distributions related to gender and sexual orientation, most participants would likely be members of the advantaged group.) Institutional support was operationalized as the rights of LGBT and transgender people at the country level. The results revealed that greater contact and higher institutional support independently predicted

stronger mobilization (support for the rights of lesbian/gay people, support for the rights of transgender people). An interaction between contact and institutional support also emerged for support for the rights of transgender people. Examination of the interaction effect indicated that in countries with low institutional support (i.e., relatively few LGBT rights), individuals with higher level of contact showed greater support for transgender people's rights more strongly than did participants in countries with high institutional support (i.e., with more LGBT rights). This finding is apparently in contrast with the idea that contact should improve intergroup relations to a greater degree when institutional support is high (Pettigrew, 1998). Although the pattern of the interaction effect may initially appear counterintuitive, it should be noted that institutional support was highly predictive of LGB and transgender people's rights, likely limiting any additional impact of contact on collective support. In other words, the level of institutional support was likely generally high, allowing the positive effects of contact (note that for one measure – support for lesbian/gay people rights – no interaction between contact and institutional support emerged).

Moderators associated with the outgroup (no tests)

We planned to include perceptions of the outgroup and emotions felt toward its members as potential moderators. However, we were unable to locate studies testing these variables as moderators.

Moderators associated with the ingroup (6 tests)

In this section, we consider moderators associated with the ingroup, which are at least partly independent from outgroup perceptions. In the Tables, we refer to the moderators included in this category with the superscript "3*" in the Tables (the superscript "2*" had been ideally reserved to moderators associated with the outgroup, although no studies were identified for this moderator). Group identification is the main moderator associated with the ingroup that has been investigated in multiple studies.

(1) Group identification (*6 tests*). Group identification involves attachment to a group and its members. People who identify more strongly with a group experience greater group belonging, pride, and commitment. We found only 4studies testing moderation by group identification (although there is ample research on group identification as a mediator, see section "Mediators").

***Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members* (*2 tests*).** Only 1 correlational study tested the moderating role of identification on the contact-collective action relationship among advantaged-group members (Wilson-Daily et al., 2018). This study investigated moderation by two types of identification: national and regional identification. The results indicated that, overall, Spanish adolescents' greater quantity of contact with individuals with a different nationality and religion predicted more support for immigrant rights, therefore providing evidence for mobilization. Group identification (both regional and national) did not moderate this effect.

***Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members* (*4 tests*).** Evidence for moderation by group identification was found in 2 studies, both demonstrating that greater contact was related to stronger sedative effects for participants who were low in identification with a superordinate identity shared by the disadvantaged and the advantaged group, while effects were nonsignificant at high levels of identification (Pereira et al., 2017; Politi et al., 2020). For instance, Politi et al. (2020) conducted a correlational study using Kosovo Albanians as the disadvantaged group in Switzerland. Results showed that cross-group friendships (a potent form of intergroup contact) had a negative indirect effect (via reduced ethnic identification) on support for ethnic activism among individuals with low national identification. Note that the effects reported above are not fully consistent with theorizations relating to the sedative effects of identification with the superordinate group, which may reduce the attention to injustice toward the disadvantaged group (Dovidio et al.,

2016; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Further evidence is therefore needed to clarify the moderation role by identification with a superordinate identity.

Mediators

Paralleling the distinctions among moderators, we classified potential mediating mechanisms into three categories (to which we refer to in the Tables 1-3 with the superscript "A*," "B*,", or "C*," respectively), representing those associated with the (a) intergroup situation, (b) the outgroup, or (c) the ingroup. Practically, our decision to distinguish different types of mediators this way is again motivated by the need to be parsimonious in identifying meaningful categories from existing research. Theoretically, these categories highlight three core elements of intergroup relations. Previous research highlights that the dynamics of intergroup relations are significantly influenced by orientations toward the outgroup (Kteily et al., 2016) and the ingroup (Brewer, 2017), as well as by perceptions of the transactions between the outgroup and ingroup.

The appraisal of the intergroup situation is important for understanding how contact shapes perceptions of the broader social system because intergroup relations fundamentally involve exchanges – social, material, and symbolic – between groups. As mediators in this category, we included perceptions of inequality, intergroup threat, and group hierarchy (focusing on broader perceptions of the status hierarchy unrelated to justice concepts). Several models of collective action, described earlier in our review, highlight the importance of injustice in order to achieve social change (Becker & Tausch, 2015; Thomas et al., 2009; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). Perceptions of intergroup threat consistently shape key aspects of intergroup relations (Stephan & Stephan, 2017), and thus potentially collective action. In addition, preferences for and perceptions of group hierarchy influence a wide range of intergroup responses (Sidanius et al., 2017) and may therefore also mediate the relationship between contact and collective action.

Aligning with the contact literature, we also identified a category of mediators for perceptions of the outgroup. These include outgroup stereotypes and morality perceptions, meta-perceptions, intergroup emotions elicited by the outgroup, and attitudes toward the outgroup. These variables involve cognitions and feelings that have been shown to change as a function of intergroup contact (e.g., Brambilla et al., 2013) and include appraisals and affective reactions that may represent pathways concerning how contact influences collective action.

How people think and feel about the ingroup affects processes and outcomes related to intergroup contact (Pettigrew, 1998) and are integral elements of intergroup relations (Brewer, 2017). These orientations thus seem directly relevant to understanding the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action. The mediators associated with the ingroup that we consider are group identification, group efficacy, and ingroup attitudes.

As with the section on moderators, when possible, we outline the mediators with reference to the advantaged and disadvantaged groups separately. This allows to provide a clearer picture of processes that allow (or inhibit) collective action.

Based on the research evidence we reviewed and that will be presented in detail in the next sections, mediators that refer to the intergroup situation, such as perceptions of injustice in line with collective action literature, have been frequently investigated (105 tests). Mediators that refer to the outgroup largely derive from the larger contact literature but are also consistent with collective action accounts (e.g., Becker & Tausch, 2015), pointing to the important role of intergroup emotions. This category of mediators has also been substantially investigated (90 tests). Although mediators that involved orientations toward the ingroup (32 tests) were less numerous, they nonetheless provided critical results, especially when considering the role of group identification.

Our descriptive analysis did not identify different effects (in terms of direction of the effect) based on the mediator category. Rather, the analysis of mediators shows the mixed

effects that improving intergroup relations can have for different groups. The improvement of intergroup relations following contact (which can be inferred by looking at the valence of association between contact and mediator) mobilizes collective action among advantaged-group members. Therefore, although positive contact can hinder attention to inequality (Saguy et al., 2017), it seems nonetheless that positive intergroup relations generally foster motivation to side with the disadvantaged group for achieving greater social equity. However, results also show that the improvement of intergroup relations can be detrimental to the desire to engage in collective action among disadvantaged-group members, a finding that can explain the mixed effects (mobilizing and sedative) shown among disadvantaged-group members.

Mediators associated with the intergroup situation (105 tests)

Mediators included in the intergroup category are referred to with the superscript "A*" in the Tables 1-3.

(1) Perceived inequality (*88 tests*). As noted earlier, inequality refers to perceptions of unfair treatment or outcomes between groups.

***Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members* (*40 tests*)**. There is consistent evidence that greater contact among members of advantaged groups with members of disadvantaged groups relates to stronger perceptions of injustice and of system inequality, which in turn predict larger mobilization effects (23 tests, of these 5 were related to negative contact). Similarly, vicarious contact in the form of witnessing discrimination by others against members of a disadvantaged group increases mobilization in support of the disadvantaged group by increasing awareness of unfair differences in opportunities (privileges) between groups (Ulug & Tropp, 2021).

Consistent with the potential mediating role of perceived inequality, contact that is centered more on injustice more strongly elicits mobilization among advantaged-group members. Tropp et al. (2021; see also Ulug & Cohrs, 2017) found in 2 correlational studies

that more contact was associated with greater discussions over injustice and discrimination, which then related to greater collective action. By contrast, in a classic study, Dixon, Durrheim, et al. (2010) found that when a higher level of White South African's contact with disadvantaged social groups was associated with perceptions of less socio-economic inequality between groups, members of an advantaged group displayed greater opposition to compensatory policies and policies favoring disadvantaged groups.

Injustice perceptions related to intergroup discrimination can also lead to mobilization: 2 studies found that, by fostering perceptions that the disadvantaged group is discriminated against, more contact is positively associated with willingness to engage in collective action (Vázquez et al., 2020, Studies 1b and 2b). For example, a correlational study by Vázquez et al. (2020, Study 1b) revealed that Spanish men's quality of contact with women was associated with stronger perceptions that women are discriminated against in the society and, in turn, greater willingness to engage in actions to support women's rights.

The relationship between greater contact and mobilization by members of advantaged groups appears to occur, at least in part, because of the emotions elicited by contact. Specifically, contact that produces greater anger against injustice is related to stronger mobilization responses (3 studies by Selvanathan et al., 2018, and 2 studies investigating negative vicarious contact by Vezzali et al., 2021). Mobilization effects have also been found to be facilitated by hope for future relations: in the pre-post quasi-experiment by Shani and Bohenke (2017), contact in the form of power discussions between groups (again suggesting the importance of taking content of contact into account) between Jewish and Palestinian adolescents led to greater hope for future relations and, in turn, more support for equal rights and policies among Jewish adolescents.

***Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members* (*48 tests*).** The emerging picture is different with respect to inequality-related mediators when considering the disadvantaged group. Among members of disadvantaged groups, contact

hinders perceptions and emotions related to inequality, therefore producing sedative rather than mobilization effects. Sedative effects mediated by lower perceptions of injustice or inequality were found in 15 tests. For instance, in the study by Carter et al. (2019) described earlier, ethnic minority participants who had more cross-group friendships with Whites perceived that marginalized-group members faced less injustice at school and, in turn, these participants were less involved in activism to make school more inclusive. Other research has revealed that greater contact is associated with less endorsement of conflict narratives (that is, narratives that relate intergroup relations problematic issues to conflicting aspects, like terrorism, low economic development of the disadvantaged group), which then predicts diminished support for social policies benefitting the disadvantaged group (Ulug & Cohrs, 2017).

Relative deprivation, which is another inequity-related factor that can fuel collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2008), also emerged as a mediator of sedative effects by contact. Relative deprivation involves perceptions of the resources that one or one's group possesses in relation to comparable others. Research has demonstrated that more contact was associated with lower perceived relative deprivation among members of disadvantaged groups; a lower level of relative deprivation experienced was associated with reduced collective action intentions and less support for social policies benefitting the disadvantaged group (2 studies; Bagci & Turnuklu, 2019; Cakal et al., 2011, Study 1). Another study (Tausch et al., 2015) similarly showed that a reduction in anger against injustice following greater contact led to sedative effects (but see Reimer et al., 2017, Study 2a, who did not find mediation for either positive or negative contact).

There are 4 studies showing that contact is associated with less perceived personal or group discrimination (another construct indicating perceptions that intergroup relations are unequal), which produces sedative effects on collective action. Among these, Tropp et al. (2012) conducted a 4-wave longitudinal investigation using participants from disadvantaged

groups in United States (Blacks, Asians, Latinx people). Findings revealed that more cross-group friendships with Whites in the first year of university attendance were longitudinally associated with lower perceptions of ethnic discrimination in the university campus students' second and third years; in turn, lower perceived discrimination was associated with lower levels of ethnic activism (among Black and Asian, but not among Latinx participants).

However, the nature of the contact-collective action relationship, mediated by inequality-related perceptions, varies by context. Greater contact can sometimes produce mobilization effects associated with perceptions of greater inequality. Mediation by stronger perceptions of personal and group discrimination emerged in 2 studies that found that contact had mobilization effects (direct contact, Dixon, Durrheim, et al., 2010; imagined contact, Bagci et al., 2019, Study 1). In these studies, contact was associated with higher, rather than lower, perceptions of discrimination. For instance, Bagci et al. (2019, Study 1), adopting the imagined contact paradigm, showed that Kurds' imagined positive contact with a Turkish person (compared to a control condition in which participants imagined an outdoor no-contact scene) was associated with higher levels of personal and group discrimination, which in turn was associated with greater intentions to engage in actions to support own rights. In other words, these findings are consistent in showing that contact leads to sedative effects when it inhibits conflict and to mobilization effects when it exacerbates conflict. Complementing these arguments, 3 studies found that more contact was indirectly associated with greater collective action (also behaviorally; Hayward et al., 2018) via increased perceptions of group discrimination.

Members of disadvantaged groups are also more likely to engage in action to benefit another disadvantaged group as a function of perceived injustice. More positive contact by members of one disadvantaged group with members of another disadvantaged group produces more collective action in support of the other group when they perceive greater

injustices against the other group (Kambery et al., 2017) or have shared historical grievances with the other group (Dixon, Çakal, et al., 2017).

As discussed in the section on Moderators, how contact is focused influences whether contact produces sedative or mobilization effects (a moderation effect). Perceived inequality appears to play a pivotal role in the effect (mediated moderation). For instance, when the context is one in which advantaged-group members are supportive of addressing inequity, more positive contact with advantaged-group members leads to mobilization among members of disadvantaged groups, which is mediated by stronger perceptions of injustice (2 studies, Droogendyk et al., 2016, Studies 1 and 2). In another study (Shani & Bohenke, 2017), greater contact focused on discussions over power inequality was associated with higher Palestinian adolescents' hope for future relations between Arabs and Jews, which in turn related to greater support for more inclusive social policies. Across these studies, more positive contact increased rather than decreased perceptions of inequality and consequently fostered collective action. However, by contrast, in a study in which contact was negative, the association between greater contact and relative deprivation was nonsignificant, therefore relative deprivation did not mediate the effect of negative contact (Bagci & Turnuklu, 2019).

Overall, factors related to inequality are central to directing contact effects and determining whether sedative or mobilizing effects will emerge. The study by Shani and Boehnke (2017) exemplifies their role: contact led the disadvantaged group to sedative effects via perceived equality *and* to greater mobilization via hope for future intergroup relations.

(2) Perceptions of group hierarchy (*12 tests*). In this category, we included individuals' orientations toward the status hierarchy, namely SDO. Although SDO was considered as a moderator because it is a (rather) stable individual difference, people's orientations toward group hierarchy, as reflected in this measure, also changes with contact

experience (Meleady et al., 2020). The group hierarchy category also includes broad operationalizations of perceptions of social categorization, including both group representations perceptions (such as common identity, which is hypothesized to blur status distinctions) and perceptions related to how the status hierarchy is perceived (in terms of stability and permeability). We found that constructs included in this category were considered in 5 studies for the advantaged and 4 studies for the disadvantaged group.

***Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members* (*8 tests*).** Meleady and Vermue (2019) found mobilization effects mediated by SDO in 2 correlational studies. Their results showed that more favorable contact was associated with lower SDO, which in turn was associated with greater collective action. These studies also showed parallel sedative effects for negative contact: more negative contact was indirectly associated with lower collective action via higher SDO. Finally, neither perceptions of status stability nor of permeability of group boundaries played a mediation role for contact when tested (Di Bernardo, Vezzali, Stathi, et al., 2021).

Despite theorizations that common ingroup identity would prevent the emergence of collective action (e.g., Hassler, Ulug, et al., 2021), in a correlational study that directly tested common identity as a mediator of the contact-collective action relationship, Cocco et al. (2022) showed that more contact with immigrants was associated with Italians' greater collective action intentions (including non-normative forms of collective action) via higher perceptions of belonging to a superordinate group. The authors argued that the way common identity was assessed allowed for the recognition of subgroups, therefore permitting a dual identity (in which both shared identity and distinct subgroup identities are simultaneously salient). Manipulations of group identity directly reveals that whereas a solely superordinate identity can inhibit collective action because it obscures differential treatment of subgroups, a dual identity can facilitate collective action by maintaining subgroup distinctions while enhancing connections between members of different groups (Banfield & Dovidio, 2013).

Because greater contact may make people aware of both commonalities and differences between groups, it is thus likely to foster perceptions of dual identities.

***Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members* (*4 tests*)**. The evidence of mediation of the relationship between contact and collective action by perceptions of group hierarchy is sparse and inconclusive. Evidence for mediation by perceptions of permeability was not provided by 2 studies (Di Bernardo, Vezzali, Stathi, et al., 2021; Tausch et al., 2015); intentions for individual mobility as a construct closely related to perceptions of permeability also did not mediate contact effects in Tausch et al.'s (2015) study. Finally, no evidence for mediation of contact effects by status stability emerged in the study by Di Bernardo, Vezzali, Stathi, et al. (2021).

(3) Intergroup threat (*5 tests*). Whereas pre-existing levels of perceived intergroup threat were considered as a moderator in an earlier section, intergroup contact also systematically affects feelings of intergroup threat (Aberson, 2019), including "classic" realistic and symbolic threat. Thus, here we consider the effects of contact on perceptions of intergroup threat as a mediator of the effect of intergroup contact on collective action.

***Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members* (*3 tests*)**. Results showed that improving intergroup relations with contact, in this case by lowering threat, enhances the advantaged group's engagement in collective action. Specifically, more contact was indirectly associated with grater mobilization via reduced intergroup threat (realistic, symbolic, or both) in 2 studies (Dixon, Durrheim, et al., 2010; Sarrasin et al., 2012, using cross-group friendships). In the previously described study by Dixon, Durrheim, et al. (2010), higher quality of contact with disadvantaged racial groups was associated with lower perception of group threat (a measure including both realistic and symbolic component); lower threat than predicted less opposition to compensatory and preferential policies to benefit disadvantaged groups. Note that similar effects were also found in equal-status groups, showing parallel sedative effects of negative contact following increases in

intergroup threat (Dixon et al., 2020; see also Rupar & Graf, 2019, demonstrating mobilization effects for extended contact). In contrast, in the study conducted by Shani and Bohenke (2017), contact did not change threat perceptions among either the advantaged or disadvantaged group; therefore, threat perceptions did not account as a mediator of contact effects in that study.

***Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members* (*2 tests*).** Of the 2 studies that tested mediation by intergroup threat (including both realistic and symbolic components), 1 showed that reduction in intergroup threat following cross-group friendships was associated with less collective action intentions by members of disadvantaged groups. Specifically, Çakal et al. (2016, Study 2) conducted a correlational study with a Kurdish sample in the context of relationships between Turks and Kurds. Greater cross-group friendships were associated with lower threat (including both realistic and symbolic components); reduced threat was, in turn, associated with lower intentions to engage in actions to support their own disadvantaged condition. The study by Shani and Bohenke (2017) described earlier did not find evidence of mediation by threat.

It is possible that the inconsistent effects of threat as a mediator for members of disadvantaged groups may be due to the multiple elements associated with threat. For example, when intergroup threat is low, members of disadvantaged groups may perceive greater group efficacy (Van Zomeren et al., 2008) and/or hope for future intergroup relations (Shani & Boehnke, 2017), which predict more collective action but may lead to greater perception of the benevolence of the other group (Saguy et al., 2009), which can contribute to sedative effects. Thus, future research considering intergroup threat as a mediator of the contact-collective action relationship might consider the nature as well as the level of threat in particular intergroup contexts.

Mediators associated with the outgroup (90 tests)

In the Tables 1-3, mediators included in this category have been assigned the superscript "B*."

(1) Intergroup emotions (*37 tests*). Intergroup emotions theory (Iyer & Leach, 2008; Mackie et al., 2016) posits that intergroup behavior is driven by specific affective experiences (e.g., contempt, fear) aroused by exposure to another group and associated with particular action tendencies (e.g., approach or avoidance). This framework has been applied to understand a range of responses to another group, including support for intergroup aggression (Halperin et al., 2013), as well as for collective action (Tausch et al., 2011).

***Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members* (*23 tests*).** Consistent with the larger contact literature (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Vezzali & Stathi, 2021), intergroup emotions are among the most investigated mediators in the relationship between contact and collective action. In general, greater positive and/or less negative emotions associated with the outgroup mediate the relationship between more contact and mobilization effects among members of advantaged groups. Specifically, the relationship between more contact and greater collective action is mediated by greater empathy (Selvanathan et al., 2018, Studies 1-3), trust (Çakal et al., 2021, Studies 1-3), and other positive intergroup emotions (Kamberi et al., 2017; Visintin et al., 2017), as well as by lower intergroup contempt (Kotzur et al., 2019, Study 2), anxiety (Çakal et al., 2021, Studies 2-3; Turoy-Smith et al., 2013), and other negative emotions (Saleem et al., 2016, Studies 1 and 2, with Study 2 also showing mediation on non-normative collective action; Visintin et al., 2017). Mediation of contact effects leading to mobilization were also found for perspective-taking, representing the cognitive side of empathy, in 4 studies (Çakal et al., 2021, Studies 1-3, Schulz & Taylor, 2018). Conversely, Visintin et al. (2017) found in a correlational study that a reduction in positive and an increase in negative intergroup emotions following negative contact led to sedative effects.

***Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members* (*14 tests*).**

Results for the disadvantaged group are more mixed and based on a smaller number of studies than is the evidence for the advantaged group. Consistent with theorizations that intergroup harmony created by contact can inhibit collective action among disadvantaged-group members (Wright & Lubensky, 2009), there is some evidence that a sedative effect of contact on collective action occurs because contact reduces negative affect associated with the advantaged group. Hayward et al. (2018) found in a correlational study featuring Black and Latinx people as the disadvantaged groups that lower anger directed at the outgroup following greater direct positive contact with Whites was associated with reduced collective action intentions and behavior (self-reported past engagement in actions to support one's group rights).

However, as we have previously emphasized, the content of contact is an important determinant. In this case, it can influence the outgroup emotions experienced, which then predicts orientations toward collective action. Shani and Bohenke (2017) found in a pre-post quasi-experiment that direct contact with Jews focused on discussions over power inequality led to Palestinians' greater intergroup empathy and, in turn, more support for socially inclusive policies, suggesting mobilization. In addition, when the nature of the contact situation exacerbates conflict, more contact increases anger toward the outgroup (Hayward et al., 2018) and other negative intergroup emotions (Visintin et al., 2017) and reduces positive intergroup emotions (Visintin et al., 2017), which account for the mobilization effect of such negative intergroup contact.

(2) Attitudes toward the outgroup (*35 tests*). Attitudes toward the outgroup represent the most investigated variable in contact research, both as a dependent variable (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and also as a mediator (Vezzali, Di Bernardo, et al., 2021). They have also frequently been examined as a mediating variable in research on contact and collective action.

***Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members* (*19 tests*)**.

The studies of advantaged-group members that we reviewed are consistent in showing that more contact improves outgroup attitudes, which then leads to mobilization. This effect was obtained in 9 out of 11 studies testing mediation of the contact-collective action relationship by outgroup attitudes (1 of which used imagined contact and employed dehumanization as the attitude measure; Prati & Lougnan, 2018). For instance, a correlational study using British participants by Meleady et al. (2017) found that more positive contact was associated with improved attitudes toward immigrants, which related to weaker intentions to vote for Brexit. A complementary finding was that greater negative contact led to less favorable outgroup attitudes, and less favorable attitudes predicted less support for and engagement in collective action in 4 studies. As an example, Visintin et al. (2017) showed with correlational data that greater Bulgarian adults' and Bulgarian Turkish adults' (high-status disadvantaged group) negative contact with Roma people (a low-status disadvantaged group) was associated with worsened outgroup attitudes (via reduced positive and increased negative emotions), which predicted lower support for social policies favoring Roma. Taken together, these findings reveal that a consistent way that contact facilitates the advantaged group's engagement in actions that support the disadvantaged group is by creating more favorable outgroup attitudes.

***Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members* (*16 tests*).** The mediating effects of outgroup attitudes were less consistent for the disadvantaged group. Specifically, of the 10 studies examining mediation by outgroup attitudes, only 4 revealed significant mediation. Two studies demonstrated that improving outgroup attitudes with contact produces sedative effects (Albzour et al., 2019, showing effects on a measure we classified as non-normative collective action; Tausch et al., 2015, using a measure of cross-group friendships). For instance, Tausch et al. (2015) found in a correlational study that Latinx university students who had more cross-group friendships with Whites had more positive outgroup attitudes, and more favorable outgroup attitudes predicted (via reduced

anger referred to their ingroup being disadvantaged) lower willingness to engage in actions to change their disadvantaged position. No effects emerged for negative contact (Reimer et al., 2017, Studies 1a and 2a) or indirect contact (imagined contact: Bagci et al., 2019, Study 1). Conversely, though, Visintin et al. (2017) found that the improvement of outgroup attitudes led to mobilization when positive contact was the predictor, and sedative effects when the predictor was represented by negative contact. In this study, however, the disadvantaged group (Bulgarian Turkish people in Bulgaria) were considered higher in status in Bulgaria than the minority group (Roma people) that would benefit from their collective action (see Unver et al., 2021 for another study showing mobilization and sedative effects by positive and negative contact, respectively).

(3) Outgroup stereotypes and morality perceptions (*16 tests*). Stereotypes represent characteristics associated with a group. Core dimensions underlying specific stereotypic qualities are the perceived warmth and competence of a group (Fiske, 2012), as well as morality (Brambilla & Leach, 2014). Note that, although morality is a stereotype component, it also represents a broader concept. Specifically, the literature has identified morality convictions – that is, convictions that stances on a specific issue reflect beliefs about what is right and what is wrong – as relevant predictors of collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2018). Therefore, in describing mediators, in this review we use different labels to refer to outgroup stereotypes and morality.

Outgroup stereotypes and morality perceptions have been tested as mediators both among advantaged (11 studies) and disadvantaged groups (2 studies). In presenting the studies, we refer to the stereotype dimension when available (the extent to which groups are perceived as competent, warm/sociable, or moral), and their valence (positive or negative).

***Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members* (*12 tests*).** Reflecting the fundamental role of outgroup morality on intergroup judgments compared to the roles of sociability and competence (Brambilla & Leach, 2014), Brambilla et al. (2013)

showed in a correlational study that greater contact of Italians with immigrants was associated with stronger collective action intentions via higher attributions of morality to the outgroup, but not via warmth or competence stereotypes (see also Kotzur et al., 2019, for nonsignificant mediation by warmth or competence stereotypes). Mediation by outgroup morality leading to mobilization was also found by Cocco et al. (2022): more positive contact related to greater attribution of moral traits to outgroup members, which predicted stronger intentions to engage in collective action on their behalf. This study also found that mobilizing effects of outgroup morality were limited to normative collective action; they did not extend to non-normative collective action. In addition, outgroup morality mediated the sedative effects of negative contact, such that negative contact was associated with lower morality attributed to the outgroup and, in turn, to lower collective action intentions by advantaged-group members to benefit the disadvantaged group.

In line with the importance of reducing the potential for intergroup conflict, at least from the advantaged group's perspective, Saleem et al. (2016, Study 2) found in a correlational study that greater contact was associated with lower perceptions that outgroup members were aggressive. These perceptions related to greater support for normative collective action and lower support for non-normative collective action against the disadvantaged group (with the latter effect being moderated by reliance on media).

In addition to affecting how it influences the way the outgroup is perceived on stereotypic dimensions, greater contact, because it can elicit greater personalization (Miller, 2002), can diminish the extent to which members of an outgroup are perceived to possess stereotypic traits generally. Evidence for mobilization effects facilitated by higher contact being associated with lower endorsement of more generic stereotypes associated with the outgroup was provided by 3 further studies (Di Bernardo, Vezzali, Birtel, et al., 2021; Kamberi et al., 2017; Vezzali & Giovannini, 2011). For instance, Di Bernardo, Vezzali, Birtel, et al. (2021) showed in a correlational study that more positive contact at work was

associated with a reduction in Italians' negative stereotypes of immigrants; lower negative stereotypes were, in turn, associated with greater support for social policies benefitting the immigrant group.

Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members **(*4 tests*)**. Changes in the way members of disadvantaged groups stereotype an advantaged group as a function of contact were shown to facilitate mobilizing effects of contact in 2 studies (Di Bernardo Vezzali, Birtel, et al., 2021; Kamberi et al., 2017). In the study by Di Bernardo, Vezzali, Birtel, et al. (2021) presented earlier (where reduction of Italians' stereotypes on immigrants following contact allowed mobilization effects), more positive workplace contact was indirectly associated, via reduction in negative stereotypes attributed to Italians, with higher support for social policies promoting the rights of the immigrant group. In Kamberi et al. (2017), who examined inter-minority contact, contact of Albanian and Turkish adolescents (disadvantaged groups) with Roma people (a further disadvantaged group) in the Republic of North Macedonia was associated with a reduction in negative stereotypes toward Roma people, which predicted greater support for social policies benefitting Roma people.

(4) Meta-perceptions (*2 tests*). Meta-perceptions are beliefs about how members of another group perceive one's ingroup. Meta-stereotypes are a form of meta-perceptions that specifically represents the perception of shared characteristics (i.e., stereotypes) that members of another group have about members of one's own group. Meta-perceptions and meta-stereotypes have been shown both to contribute to intergroup conflict (Kteily et al., 2016; Vorauer et al., 2000) and to be key factors for the improvement of intergroup relations (Shelton et al., 2006; Vezzali, 2017). We did not find studies that specifically examined the mediating role of the contact-collective action relationship among members of advantaged groups. Meta-perceptions were tested by 2 studies using disadvantaged-group members as the participants (Bagci et al., 2018) and expectations of how fairly the advantaged group will

treat the disadvantaged group (Saguy et al., 2009, Study 2). No mediation of contact effects emerged within these studies.

Mediators associated with the ingroup (32 tests)

We used the superscript "C*" to refer to mediators included in this category in the Tables 1-3.

(1) Group identification (*24 tests*). Although group identification is often conceived of as a relatively stable orientation toward the ingroup (and thus can represent a moderator), it also varies as a function of intergroup experiences and context. Thus, consistent with the literature, we also examined it as a mediator of the relationship between contact and collective action. Note that studies have tested identification both with the ingroup (being it advantaged or disadvantaged), with the outgroup (in the case of advantaged-group members identifying with the disadvantaged group), or with a politicized identity, which has its aim in defending and promoting the rights of the disadvantaged group (Stürmer & Simon, 2004). We located 6 studies of identification as a mediator for the advantaged group and 12 studies for the disadvantaged group.

***Contact and collective action among advantaged-group members* (*8 tests*).**

Group identification represents a key variable in collective action models, particularly in terms of how identification is shaped by contact and, in turn, contributes to collective action. It has been proposed that contact is likely to have mobilizing effects when it increases identification with the disadvantaged group and/or produces a politicized identity (Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). Consistent with this position, 4 studies found that contact fostered the adoption of a politicized identity, leading to mobilizing effects (Hoskin et al., 2019; Reimer et al., 2017, Study 1b; Vazquez et al., 2020, Studies 1b and 2b). For instance, Reimer et al. (2017, Study 1b), in a study presented earlier, found that more positive contact with LGBT individuals was associated with stronger identification with the LGBT movement, which predicted greater intentions to engage in behaviors to support the

LGBT group. Similarly, using a two-wave longitudinal design, Rompke et al. (2019, Study 2) showed that higher quantity of contact with foreigners was associated with greater identification with humanity (an inclusive ingroup identity) six months later, which then predicted greater support for social policies benefitting refugees. In a complementary way in Study 1b by Reimer et al. (2017), negative contact had opposite effects compared to positive contact: more negative contact with LGBT individuals was indirectly associated with lower movement identification (sedative effect) via reduced identification with the LGBT movement.

Contact and collective action among disadvantaged-group members **(*16 tests*)**. Confirming the importance of ingroup identification for the disadvantaged-group members' willingness to engage in collective action, 5 studies revealed sedative effects of contact mediated by reduced ingroup identification (i.e., with the disadvantaged group). For instance, Tausch et al. (2015) showed that more cross-group friendships among Latinx participants were associated with lower ingroup identification with Latinx people as a group, which predicted lower collective action intentions. Two studies also demonstrated sedative effects when greater contact was associated with reduced politicized identification (Vázquez et al., 2020, Studies 1a and 2a). In contrast, Reimer et al. (2017, Study 1a) found that more negative contact of sexual minority university students with heterosexual people was associated with greater identification with the LGBT people, which led to stronger collective action intentions. Contact also showed mobilization effects via ingroup identification in 3 studies (Bagci et al., 2019, Study 1, considering imagined contact; Bagci et al., 2018, considering cross-group friendships and using collective self-esteem as the identification measure; Techakesari et al., 2017): in this case, higher contact was associated with increased identification. Thus, whether contact has mobilizing or sedative effects depends on whether it increases or decreases identification with the disadvantaged group or with a politicized identity.

(2) Ingroup attitudes (*4 tests*). Ingroup attitudes refer to the evaluation of the ingroup by its members. Vázquez et al. (2020) tested in 2 experimental and 2 correlational studies (2 with advantaged and 2 with disadvantaged groups) mediation by ingroup attitudes, which involves how favorably people evaluate their own group. This work considered gender relations from the perspective of both men and women. However, they did not find mediation of contact effects neither for advantaged nor for disadvantaged groups.

(3) Group efficacy (*4 tests*). Given the major role of group efficacy, which involves perceptions of how effective and successful a group will be in its efforts, in collective action models such as the SIMCA framework (Van Zomeren et al., 2008), it is surprising that the investigation of group efficacy as a mediator of the contact-collective action relationship is very limited.

We only found 3 studies testing this role of group efficacy (Çakal et al., 2011, Studies 1 and 2; Dixon, Çakal, et al., 2017). Significant mediation of contact effects only emerged in Dixon, Çakal, et al. (2017), who considered Muslim students as the disadvantaged group and tested whether contact with other disadvantaged groups (inter-minority contact) would lead to support for them. Results revealed that more contact was associated with greater collective action intentions toward these disadvantaged groups via higher perceptions of efficacy deriving from alliance among disadvantaged groups. In the 2 studies by Cakal et al. (2011), contact was not associated with group efficacy (Study 1), and group efficacy was not associated with the collective action measure (Study 2).

Discussion

The present review aimed to illuminate whether, when, and how contact may affect collective action. Our analysis is related to previous reviews of intergroup contact and of collective action, which included many of the same predictors, moderators, and mediators that we consider. However, our work is distinctive from reviews of these two topic areas in its focus on a particular phenomenon of interest: how contact *relates to* collective action. We

consider a broad range of factors identified by collective action research but that have not necessarily been tested or sufficiently considered in research on contact *and* collective action (Hassler, Ulug, et al., 2021; MacInnis & Hodson, 2019; Radke et al., 2020; Tropp & Barlow, 2018).

Adopting a bottom-up strategy, in which we summarize the results of relevant research and identify emerging themes, allowed us to describe and synthesize the broad landscape of work on the relationship between intergroup contact (direct and indirect) and collective action (normative and non-normative) and complement more focused reviews evaluating specific models (Hassler, Ulug, et al., 2021) or examining particular subsets of studies (Reimer & Sengupta, 2021). As depicted in Figure 1, we represented this literature by classifying moderators and mediators into distinct categories associated with the intergroup situation, with the outgroup, and with the ingroup. The most commonly studied moderators in this area were those associated with the intergroup situation rather than with the outgroup or ingroup specifically (see Figure 1, Table 5). Among the intergroup moderators, although studies testing the relationship between contact and collective action were frequently tested among members of advantaged groups and among members of disadvantaged groups, studies directly testing moderation by group status are still surprisingly limited. Among the mediators, those referring to the intergroup situation and to the outgroup were most commonly studied (see Figure 1, Table 5).

Main findings

Our review and analysis revealed several consistent themes and suggested promising new directions of research to fill in key gaps in the literature.

Distinguishing investigations of the effects of contact for advantaged-group and disadvantaged-group members appears to be critical for understanding how contact relates to whether people engage in collective action and the dynamics leading to the decision to engage. Overall, contact has mobilizing effects among advantaged-group members: 90 out

of the 98 studies (with 14 studies, 9 of which also involving negative contact, revealing mixed effects with both mobilizing and sedative effects) showed that contact produces mobilizing effects (of these 90 studies, 6 also involved negative contact). We believe this result is especially noteworthy.

The collective action literature and social-psychological theories have moved from the traditional implicit assumption that disadvantaged-group members should be primarily motivated to engage in collective action (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Van Zomeren et al., 2008) to a broader understanding of the important role of advantaged groups in taking action to achieve social equity. In fact, many more studies that we reviewed examined the relationship between contact and collective action among members of advantaged groups (98 studies, 100 samples) than among members of disadvantaged groups (49 studies, 58 samples). To the extent that advantaged-group members have the resources and the power to significantly impact and alleviate social inequalities (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), they represent a potent force, possibly the most important, to achieve meaningful social change toward equity. Our review suggests that positive contact generally constitutes a motivating factor, leading advantaged-group members to promote the rights of disadvantaged groups. This finding leads to partially optimistic conclusions in terms of the alliance between advantaged and disadvantaged groups toward greater social equity.

However, bringing groups together may be complex, as suggested by the mixed results for the disadvantaged group, revealing that contact has both mobilizing and sedative effects. Of the 49 studies examining disadvantaged samples, about half, 27, revealed evidence of sedative effects (of these 2 were related to negative contact), while 28 reported mobilization (of these 4 were related to negative contact). Mixed effects (both mobilization and inhibition) were found in 10 of these studies 49 studies (4 of these 10 studies also involved negative contact). These results were similar among studies with correlational, longitudinal, or experimental designs (see Tables 1, 2, and 3). In terms of intergroup

alliances, it is therefore important to understand the factors and psychological processes associated with contact that can bring advantaged and disadvantaged groups together to align their efforts to promote social justice and achieve change toward social equity.

Although the limited number of studies precludes definitive conclusions, the current evidence suggests that (a) the results for indirect contact are similar to those of direct contact (but the impact of indirect contact is more pronounced when direct contact is lower), (b) the impact of contact is comparable for non-normative and normative collective action, and (c) the results of negative contact are the reverse of those for positive contact: more negative contact relates to greater inhibition of collective action among advantaged-group members, and the majority of studies of negative contact with disadvantaged-group members showed mobilization effects.

The moderators and mediators of the effects of contact for members of advantaged groups implicate in converging ways key processes that underlie the contact-collective action relationship. One core theme is that advantaged-group members are more likely to engage in collective action on behalf of another group when they perceive that members of that group have been unfairly disadvantaged. In terms of moderators, contact that focuses on differences of experiences between members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups and/or draws more attention to injustices that underlie these different experiences relates to stronger mobilization effects among members of advantaged groups. Conversely, mobilization among advantaged-group members as a function of contact tends to be lower among those who perceive group hierarchy as more legitimate (i.e., those higher in SDO). With respect to mediation, contact produces mobilization effects to a greater degree when it leads stronger perceptions of injustice, arouses negative emotions (e.g., anger) associated with perceptions of unfair treatment, or produces views of members of the other group as less deserving of negative treatment (e.g., by reducing negative stereotypes or improving

attitudes toward the group or by reducing levels of SDO among advantaged-group members).

A second consistent theme that emerges from research with advantaged-group members is that the more threatening the other group is perceived to be in relation to the advantaged group – in terms of pre-existing level of threat (a moderator) or as a consequence of contact (a mediator) – the less willing advantaged-group members are to engage in collective action to benefit the disadvantaged group. Higher pre-existing perceptions of threat dampen the impact of experiences during contact that generally produce mobilization effects, and the greater threat aroused as a function of contact inhibits collective action by advantaged-group members.

The inconsistent effects of contact for members of disadvantaged groups –sometimes showing a mobilizing effect and other times a sedative effect – suggests that this is a fruitful area for investigating additional moderator variables. Identifying relevant moderators can clarify when either of these two patterns will occur. We believe that the content of contact, beyond whether the contact is positive or negative, is an especially relevant variable to consider. Even when an intergroup interaction is positive, the exchange could focus on a range of topics, including discussions about group-based power differences, intergroup injustice, or discrimination. Making factors such as these salient can facilitate collective action not only by disadvantaged-group members but also for advantaged-group members (when in some way the advantaged group recognizes intergroup disparities; Droogendyk et al., 2016, Study 2). For instance, intergroup interactions with a focus on group differences and disparities facilitate collective action more than does a focus on what groups have in common, which can produce sedative effects (Saguy et al, 2009). Carter et al. (2019) found that when disadvantaged-group members had cross-group friendships with members of advantaged groups that produced greater perceptions of intergroup injustice, these perceptions predicted more collective action. Further exploring processes that mediate the

relationship between contact and collective action could offer promising insights to the seemingly complex dynamics of the contact-collective action among members of disadvantaged groups.

Our review and analysis of the literature indicates that factors related to intergroup relations may be particularly important. Similar to work on the engagement of members of advantaged groups in collective action, the results of studies of mediation among members of disadvantaged groups show that intergroup contact that increases perceptions of injustice and associated negative emotions facilitate collective action. Perceptions and experiences of intergroup threat that occur in the process of intergroup contact generally inhibit disadvantaged-group members' engagement in collective action.

However, the results involving perceptions and feelings about the outgroup, such as improved outgroup attitudes, are less consistent. With respect to outgroup attitudes, out of 10 studies exploring outgroup attitudes as a mediator of the relationship between contact and collective action by members of disadvantaged groups, only 4 revealed significant effects, with some showing mobilization and other sedative effects (see Table 5).

The research on moderating factors of the contact-collective action relationship also yields less consistent results for disadvantaged-group members than for advantaged-group members. Some authors have argued that the ironic effects of contact, in which contact produces intergroup harmony and leads to sedative effects among members of a disadvantaged group, may characterize historically unequal societies (Dixon, Tropp, et al., 2010). However, our findings point not to differences among societies that vary in level of inequality but rather to the importance of other moderating factors that can determine the direction of contact effects (i.e., in terms of facilitating or inhibiting collective action).

Similar to the effects for advantaged-group members, several studies indicate that structural aspects of the intergroup contact context that highlight intergroup injustice can mobilize members of disadvantaged groups for collective action, whereas aspects that

legitimize the intergroup hierarchy produce sedative effects. Along these lines, the content of contact appears to be one of particularly relevant factors affecting the relationship between contact and collective action. For example, mobilizing effects occurred when the discussion in the interaction was focused on group differences (Vezzali et al., 2017) or when advantaged-group members expressed support for disadvantaged-group members by not legitimizing their own privileged position (Droogendyk et al., 2016). Other researchers have found that content of contact is mobilizing when it is focused on the delegitimization of intergroup inequalities (Becker & Wright, 2021) or it involved explicit support for the disadvantaged group (Droogendyk et al., 2016; Techakesari et al., 2017). However, some studies investigating the salience of injustice showed different effects for members of disadvantaged groups than for members of advantaged groups. For instance, Hassler, Ullrich, et al. (2021) found that greater contact was associated with less support for social change among ethnic minority group members when perceived illegitimacy of the status relation was high.

One reason why more inconsistent results may occur for disadvantaged-group members than for advantaged-group members is that members of these groups bring different perspectives to these interactions. Members of disadvantaged groups are more vigilant for cues of duplicity and mistreatment and are particularly attuned to power-related aspects of these exchanges (Demoulin et al., 2009). Thus, a focus on intergroup injustice may cue not only perceptions of injustice but also make salient the power differential between the groups that enforces group hierarchy and therefore elicits threat. As the findings for mediators reveal, whereas experiences of injustice promote collective action, experiences of intergroup threat inhibit it. The future research can consider how various intergroup contexts or particular elements of contact affect core perceptions and emotional responses in potentially different ways for disadvantaged- and advantaged-group members, which can help illuminate the dynamics of the contact-collective action relationship more fully.

As noted earlier, we chose to review the literature narratively to understand both inconsistent and consistent findings in the literature, using a bottom-up analysis to develop insights for future research from areas that have only limited empirical findings to date, and detect important gaps in the current literature. We view our narrative approach as complementary to meta-analytic investigation that test a limited number of targeted hypotheses. While a quantitative analysis can provide an effect size of contact effects and evaluate specific hypotheses, we sought to understand and systematize a wide range of moderation and mediation processes in a review of areas in which only a few studies, sometimes quite different in methodology, are available. Nevertheless, consistent with our position about the complementary nature of qualitative and quantitative approaches, our review and the work of Reimer and Sengupta (2022), who conducted a meta-analysis considering over 200,000 disadvantaged-group members, reveal quite variable findings for members of disadvantaged groups. Reimer and Sengupta (2022) found that whereas the majority of studies of disadvantaged groups showed that greater contact predicted less support for collective action (a sedative effect), almost one-third of the studies found positive associations between contact and collective action (a mobilizing effect). They also found, on average, small negative associations of contact with factors considered in the present research, like collective action and support for reparative policies (rs = -.06 and -.07, respectively) and perceived injustice ($r = -.07$), but also high levels of heterogeneity for each of these relationships.

In the next section, we consider several promising directions for future research, building on robust findings from our analysis and/or others' reviews of current work on contact and collective action but also directed at filling important gaps in the literature, accounting for heterogeneous findings, and reconciling seemingly contradictory results in the literature.

Limitations and future directions

Our analysis, graphically represented in Figure 1 and with the main results summarized in Tables 4 and 5, allowed us to identify several important gaps in the literature on contact and collective action generally and limitations of our review and analysis more specifically. Recognizing the gaps and acknowledging limitations in the current work can suggest promising directions for future research.

One general issue involves the way group status – a major moderator of the way contact relates to collective action – has traditionally been studied. Currently, the vast majority of work on contact and collective action investigates the relationship for advantaged-group members or for disadvantaged-group members, but not for both groups in the same study. Only 19 out of 134 studies concerning contact and collective action that we reviewed simultaneously included advantaged and disadvantaged samples. Intergroup relations involve the ways groups respond relative to each other and the reciprocal reactions they have. This dynamic is of paramount importance in the study of the relation between contact and collective action. Given that an intergroup alliance is often needed to achieve social change, it is of critical importance that moderators and mediators are tested in both types of groups within the same intergroup context to isolate factors that can lead *both groups* to mobilization in favor of social equity.

Regarding this point, note that our distinction between advantaged and disadvantaged groups largely rests on how groups were conceptualized in each article, with disadvantaged groups being relatively low in power or status and consequently suffering from discriminatory treatment and outcomes (e.g., restricted civil rights). However, the definition of which group is in an advantaged or disadvantaged position can be fluid; it can vary among contexts and also within the same context depending, for instance, on the period in which the study was conducted. In addition, perceptions of advantage or disadvantage can vary based of the perspectives of members of different groups. The principle of social creativity in social identity theory (Tajfel,

1982) suggests that members of different groups often focus on different dimensions when evaluating their relative advantage or disadvantage, typically emphasizing (within realistic constraints) a dimension on which their group has more positive standing. Future reviews may further consider the implications of a contextual definition of social (dis)advantage, for example in situations in which the group's position can change according to the perspective of the different groups or observers involved.

Another general direction for future research to consider involves the methodologies employed to test the relationship between contact and collective action. Of the studies we reviewed, only 20 employed experimental designs, 10 used longitudinal designs, and the vast majority, 104, had cross-sectional correlational designs. Although the results were generally convergent across these three empirical approaches, greater reliance on experimental designs would be especially informative because of the particular value of testing moderation to reconcile divergent findings of the association of contact with collective action among members of disadvantaged groups. Tighter control over the context of contact can also help disentangle the impact of contact on factors that may promote collective action (e.g., salience of injustice) or inhibit collective action (e.g., intergroup threat), which may vary in salience in ways that cannot be reliably detected when contact is reported retrospectively. It would be especially important to conduct experimental interventions in the field, which though rare in research on contact and collective action (for an exception, see Vezzali, McKeown, et al., 2021; see also Paluck et al., 2019, 2021), are critical for understanding the potential of contact to promote social change.

Also important is the use of longitudinal designs, which can offer valuable insights into how contact experiences shape collective action over time and the durability of these effects across prolonged periods. While experimental designs can illuminate causal factors in ways that longitudinal designs cannot, longitudinal designs provide critical

complementary information about the dynamics of change. MacInnis and Page-Gould (2015), for instance, illuminated how while intergroup interactions may initially heighten stress and lead to avoidance, more frequent contact and interpersonally closer interactions (e.g., in relationships that develop over time) reduce intergroup anxiety and promote more positive intergroup relations. Similarly, longitudinal research on the effects of intergroup contact and collective action can identify processes, which may take time to emerge, that can trigger intra-individual change that can critically shape if, when, and how contact affects collective action. Moreover, because key aspects of interpersonal and intergroup relations often develop over time (MacInnis & Page-Gould, 2015), longitudinal designs often have more ecological validity – which is particularly relevant to the study of collective action – than are studies that limit interactions to relatively brief sessions.

While longitudinal designs can be particularly valuable for capturing individual-level changes, multi-level research designs can consider structural factors and variables related to the macro-context that may be important to understand changes toward social equity. Moreover, multi-level modelling analyses can distinguish between individual-level and aggregate-level effects. For instance, in a study of the effects of contact on intergroup attitudes, Christ et al. (2014) found that greater personal intergroup contact related to more positive intergroup attitudes (individual-level) and also that in areas in which there was more positive intergroup contact people had more positive intergroup attitudes (a context-level effect). It is further possible that context-level effects can moderate individual-level effects – an effect implicated by findings we discussed earlier. Droogendyk et al. (2016) showed that in contexts in which advantaged groups supported actions to reduce inequity, members of disadvantaged groups exhibited higher levels of collective action as contact with members of advantaged groups increased, reducing the sedative effect of contact. This finding shows the importance of considering the macro context as a key element for understanding how members of disadvantaged (or advantaged) groups interpret norms and/or anticipate support

for or resistance to collective action. Using research designs that consider both context-level and individual-level factors may be especially valuable for theoretically integrating seemingly divergent findings that currently show that positive contact sometimes facilitates and sometimes inhibits collective action by members of disadvantaged groups.

Related to these methodological considerations, we advocate for more complex designs that can more fully illuminate the dynamics of the relationship between contact and collective action to achieve social equity. As an example, moderated mediation designs involving both advantaged and disadvantaged groups could increase understanding of the reciprocal actions between the groups that could effectively produce an intergroup alliance. While studies have typically focused on one group – an advantaged or a disadvantaged group – at a time, more complex designs could help identify processes and moderators the affect how these groups align in their perspectives and actions. For instance, contact may be shown to be associated with greater collective action via recognition of injustice among both groups primarily when group-based differences are discussed. (For a discussion on the methodological limitations of research on contact and collective action, see also Ulug et al., 2022).

Our review and analysis of the literature also suggests potential shifts in the focus of research to identify novel and particularly potent elements of the contact-collective action relationship specifically. Research on the effects of intergroup contact has traditionally examined outgroup attitudes as the main outcome of interest and has generally identified orientations toward the outgroup, such as feelings of empathy or anxiety associated with the outgroup (e.g., Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005) as mediators. We note that, by contrast, the effects of contact on collective action are generally mediated by perceptions of the intergroup situation (see Figure 1, Table 5). This finding is consistent with the idea that outgroup prejudice is conceptually different from collective action, which directly changes the social hierarchy and thereby impacts both advantaged and disadvantaged groups in reciprocal ways

and the society more generally. Thus, while further work on the influence of orientations toward the outgroup and toward the ingroup separately still merit further attention, additional research on intergroup factors that shape the relationship between contact and collective action seems particularly promising.

As discussed earlier, a factor that has emerged as influential in shaping the nature of the relationship between contact and collective action but not comprehensively examined or fully understood is the content of contact. For instance, as we explained, while contact that potentially draws attention to inequities between groups generally mobilizes collective action by advantaged-group members to improve equity for a disadvantaged group (Vezzali et al., 2017), the impact of this content on members of disadvantaged groups is more mixed. For a more comprehensive understanding of the role of content of contact, further research might thus identify specific elements of content that are key for facilitating collective action (e.g., recognition of unfair treatment, delegitimization calling into play moral rather than cognitive or affective aspects) and for inhibiting collective action (e.g., expectations that such action will be unsuccessful) that may differentially influence the responses of members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

Beyond this focus on when and how the content of contact moderates advantaged- and disadvantaged-group members' separate decisions about whether to engage in collective action, the content of contact qualifies as one of the factors that can lead to the development over time of a true intergroup alliance between advantaged and disadvantaged groups, making them united in action against intergroup inequalities. That is, shared recognition and opposition to injustice may represent a superordinate goal, which requires the cooperation of both groups to fully achieve (Sherif et al., 1961), and can produce a more inclusive identity between the groups that can establish an enduring alliance for change (Gaertner et al., 2000). Currently, work on the dimensions involved in how the content of contact influences collective action is relatively sparse, often employs interventions involving multiple features

simultaneously, uses heterogeneous measures of contact, and rarely considers impacts over time. Disentangling critical dimensions in the content of contact, contextual factors that could moderate the effect, and longitudinal effects not only for specific actions but also on the relationship between advantaged and disadvantaged groups can provide important information about the contextual, group, interactional, and developmental influences that can determine whether and how contact has sedative or mobilizing effects on collective action.

Another valuable, underexplored aspect of work on contact and collective action is non-normative collective action. Non-normative collective action does not simply represent a “stronger” form of action compared to normative collective action; it is a qualitatively different form of action. Although we based our distinction between normative and non-normative collective action on definitions in the relevant literature (Becker & Tausch, 1990; Wright et al., 1990), this distinction may benefit from refinement that includes reconsideration of potential key factors. What is normative or non-normative can vary depending not only on the intergroup context but also on the group perspective. Based on the current definition of non-normative collective action as actions that are violent or illegal (recognizing that what is illegal is generally defined by the advantaged group), we categorized “revolutionary resistance” studied by Alzour et al. (2019) as non-normative in our review. However, in the context of that work – the responses of Palestinian participants in the West Bank about Palestinian-Israeli relations – such responses may be viewed as normative. As Alzour et al. explained, “In Palestine, revolutionary resistance implies a variety of actions aimed at dismantling the settler colonial structure (i.e., the socio-political and economic institutional structure that underpins the occupation), which can be violent or peaceful, and implemented collectively (e.g., collective protests, institutional boycott) or individually (e.g., internet advocacy, boycotting Israeli products)” (p. 979).

Becker and Tausch (2015) identify different predictors of normative and non-normative collective action. Non-normative collective action aims to challenge the existing social system. Importantly, it necessitates arousing at least some degree of conflict with the advantaged, high-status group. For instance, Teixeira et al. (2019) found that engaging in non-normative collective action can damage the ingroup's image, therefore inhibiting its use (see also Stathi et al., 2019). This aspect of non-normative collective action is relevant to a core finding of our review. One of our most robust results was that, among members of advantaged groups, positive orientations toward and relations with members of the disadvantaged group mobilized collective action on their behalf. Also, supporting the potentially important distinction between the types of collective action on the contact-collective action relationship, in our review although in some cases effects for non-normative collective action align with findings obtained for normative collective action (e.g., Albzour et al., 2019; Saleem et al., 2016, Study 1), in other cases results diverge (e.g., Becker et al., 2013, Study 1; Cocco et al., 2022). Understanding more fully the dynamics of non-normative compared to normative collective action in the contact-collective action relationship can thus offer valuable new insights in this area.

With respect to our current review of the literature, we note however that there was only a limited number of studies that had measures that we categorized as non-normative collective action based on the definition that has been traditionally used in the psychological collective action literature. We report these results for descriptive purposes, and we acknowledge that these findings should be interpreted cautiously. In future research, to be more context-sensitive in the classification of collective actions and to provide more insight into roles of cultural context and different group perspectives, we encourage researchers studying the relationship between contact and different forms of collective action to include direct measures assessing respondents' perceptions of whether particular actions are normative or non-normative as an integral aspect of data collection.

We examined literature that has focused on a particular assumed direction of causality, studying the hypothesized effect of intergroup contact on support for or intended engagement in collective action. We acknowledge, though, that the relationship between contact and collective action is likely bi-directional: experiences with collective action can affect with whom one has contact and can ultimately influence social identity. Based on the body of literature we reviewed, the measures of collective action typically focused on the actions of individuals (e.g., the degree to which a participant endorsed collective action). However, collective action is a social phenomenon that brings people together; it thus involves immediate and often sustained social contact. This contact associated with participation in collective action, especially when it is successful, can elicit a sense of collective empowerment that reinforces collective identities underlying the movement (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). Once established, a sense of collective identity can stimulate a wide range of responses in the service of the group (Dovidio & Schellhaas, 2017). For instance, collective identity also shapes the quality and intensity of group members' emotional responses, notably eliciting feelings of anger and moral outrage about shared grievances, such as when important group goals are violated (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Future research on contact and collective action would therefore benefit by investigating further how collective action can affect contact and social networks. Such research might also directly examine the dynamic, reciprocal relationship between contact and collective action.

For both conceptual and practical reasons, additional work on the effects of indirect versus direct contact on collective action would be informative. Practically, various forms of indirect contact, which are not necessarily constrained geographically or financially, are becoming increasingly prevalent and influential forms of intergroup contact. Theoretically, indirect contact is not a replacement for direct contact; rather, it complements direct contact and has particular characteristics that make it especially relevant for collective action. As we

have shown, the relationship between indirect contact and collective action was stronger when direct contact was lower. The indirect contact studies we reviewed also indicated that extended, vicarious, and imagined contact stimulate mobilization effects through factors related to perceived injustice (Ulug & Tropp, 2021).

Because various forms of indirect contact (such as extended or vicarious contact) operate more strongly than direct contact through perceptions of social norms (White et al., 2021), a promising issue to consider in future research is how and when indirect contact changes perceptions of norms about the treatment of disadvantaged groups – particularly in ways that promote responsiveness to social injustices – and its impact (along with associated mediators) on collective action. A similar point was made by Tropp and Dehrone (2023), who noted that because intergroup contact is linked with normative processes and policies, social norms can work in conjunction with contact to foster collective action. Influencing perceptions of social norms via intergroup contact toward condemning social inequalities may thus be a decisive step in motivating both advantaged and disadvantaged groups to engage in efforts that support social change. Note that this argument is consistent with various collective action models (see Vezzali & Stathi, 2021, Chapter 7). For example, Van Zomeren et al. (2018) proposed that violation of moral convictions, rather than moral convictions per se, is key to collective action. Subašić et al. (2008) similarly argued that advantaged-group members should side with the disadvantaged group when the authority (which supports hierarchical distinctions) is perceived as unjust. Particular attention might be devoted to the impact of social media, which affects a range of intergroup orientations (Amichai-Hamburger & McKenna, 2006; Imperato et al., 2021; White et al., 2020), on collective action. As the Black Lives Matter and the #MeToo movements demonstrate, social networks and media communication can have profound, broad impact in motivating members both of disadvantaged and of advantaged groups for action.

The present review also spotlights the limited research on negative contact and collective action, despite the fact that negative contact is increasingly considered in research on contact more generally (Dixon & McKeown, 2017). We reviewed studies showing that negative contact can inhibit collective action among advantaged-group members while mobilizing collective action among disadvantaged-group members. However, negative and positive contact can interact with one another. For instance, negative contact can enhance the effects of positive contact, and positive contact can buffer the effects of negative contact (Árnadóttir et al., 2018). It may therefore be possible that the combination of positive and negative contact boosts collective action among advantaged-group members. That is, both harmony and conflict may be simultaneously required to promote true allyship. Harmony produced by contact sets the stage for intergroup alliances; conflict that highlights the violation of moral convictions or social norms of justice (Van Zomeren et al., 2018) can then provide a reason for collective action to occur. For instance, within a relationship between ingroup and outgroup members characterized by positive contact, disadvantaged-group members can feel free to disclose their perceptions and feelings and become in these occasions conflictual, transforming the contact experience from positive to negative in this circumstance (and again, tapping on the relevance of content of contact). The coexistence of positive and negative contact within the same intergroup relation may increase feelings of injustice for the situation faced by the disadvantaged group but also positive feelings, like intergroup empathy, which can mediate the effects of contact on greater collective action.

It is worth noting that our bottom-up approach was aimed at identifying the most relevant factors in the relation between contact and collective action rather than proposing a new theoretical model. A new model can however benefit from our analysis. As an example, our findings point to the key role played by factors associated with intergroup relations such as the need to maintain intergroup harmony while at the same time highlighting intergroup inequalities. As can be seen from Figure 1 and Tables 4 and 5, factors associated with

intergroup relations have been the most frequently investigated factors in the studies reviewed. However, this empirical focus should not translate into downplaying the potential relevance of factors associated with the outgroup or the ingroup (and therefore to devoting less attention to them in a theoretical model). Rather, our review highlights gaps that can be filled. Amongst these, we believe that fruitful future research might investigate more deeply moderators associated with the outgroup, which were totally absent in our review. As an example, while research has investigated the role of initial prejudice, generally finding that contact has stronger effects when initial prejudice is high (R. N. Turner et al., 2020), we were unable to identify such a test with collective action as the outcome. As another example, advantaged-group members with more positive meta-stereotypes may be more willing to consider and react to the disadvantaged situation of the outgroup (for evidence of the effects of positive meta-stereotypes, see Vezzali, 2017); in contrast, holding negative meta-stereotypes may raise a barrier against acting on behalf of disadvantaged-group members (Vorauer et al., 2000).

Future research might also explore more fully mediators associated with the ingroup. As an example, Pettigrew (1998; see also Lucarini et al., 2023; Verkuyten et al., 2022) introduced the concept of deprovincialization: contact can lead to a view of the ingroup (and outgroups), such that ingroup norms and practices can be seen as just one way of many legitimate ways to manage the world. Reconceptualizing how individuals perceive the ingroup, not in isolation but within a socio-political context that includes both advantaged and disadvantaged groups, can be valuable for fostering actions that redress intergroup inequalities.

Research on contact and collective action has dedicated only limited attention to the potential effects of socio-demographic factors beyond reflecting advantaged or disadvantaged status in a particular intergroup context. We consider demographics such as age, gender, socio-economic status, race, political orientation in Tables 1-3 in terms of

potential moderating factors. When these variables were included in the analyses of the studies we reviewed, they were generally treated as control variables rather than as independent variables of theoretical significance. While the effects of these demographic were generally nonsignificant, the limited number of studies precluded a definitive interpretation.

In our review, we defined advantaged and disadvantaged groups primarily by differences in power and status as specified by study authors in the research context. However, this distinction typically coincided with racial/ethnic, gender, or other demographic differences. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that demographic factors may have influences beyond their relationship with the advantaged-disadvantaged distinction. We suggest that studying demographic influences that relate to the ways intergroup relations are perceived is a potentially productive direction for future research. For instance, research reveals that both the nature and degree of stigma vary across cultures as a function of national group- or individual-oriented social dimensions (Shin et al., 2013). With respect to political ideology, Graham et al. (2009) reported that individuals who identify as liberal rely particularly on issues of harm/care and fairness/reciprocity in their social judgments, whereas those who identify as conservative also consider ingroup/loyalty, authority/respect, and purity/sanctity. To the extent that the association between contact and collective action likely depends upon the socio-political context (as suggested by the relevance of factors associated with the intergroup situation in the present review), political ideology may be a particularly promising factor to consider further, both empirically and as an additional element in theoretical models.

In addition to the specific directions for future research that we identify, we believe that integrating work on collective action and contact with broader theoretical frameworks would help achieve a more comprehensive understanding of intergroup relations. Although research on contact and collective action draws on elements of social identity theory (Tajfel

& Turner, 1979), social dominance theory (Pratto et al., 2006; Sidanius et al., 2017), and system justification theory (Jost et al., 2015), these attempts have been generally isolated (e.g., Di Bernardo et al., 2021). Not only would greater consideration of the structural, intergroup, and individual-level processes featured to varying degrees in these broader frameworks expand and enhance research on contact and collective action, but also findings on the contact-collective action relationship can help advance general intergroup theory by highlighting the dynamics of different outcomes. Such work might also expand the perspective of current theory. For instance, while research has used the binary distinction of advantaged-disadvantaged groups, it is important to go beyond relations between two groups and take full advantage of the complexity of the status hierarchy (Caricati, 2018; Dixon et al., 2020) as well as consider more fully the ways multiple groups relate in social systems (including relations between members of different disadvantaged groups). Action for social change does not happen in a vacuum, and it is only with an examination of the complex vertical and horizontal relations within a social hierarchy that we can fully understand how to promote collective action.

Citations statement

While our criteria for inclusion of studies in our review were intentionally broad in order to be representative of the psychological literature on contact and collective action, we note that about two-thirds of the studies that we cited focused on the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action in North America and Europe. About a third investigated the relationship in Asia, Africa, and Oceania, Relatedly, most of the scholars cited in our work are located in North America and Europe, which may affect the nature of the intergroup relations they examined, as well as limit the scholarly perspectives of research in this area of inquiry, and ultimately in our article.

Constraint on generality statement

The major proportion of papers studying contact and collective action in North America and Europe also constrains the generalizability of our findings. As noted by Henrich et al. (2010), 80% of psychological research findings is based on responses from WEIRD samples—samples from Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic societies, yet populations from WEIRD regions constitute only 12% of the world's population. Moreover, even within the studies conducted within WEIRD regions, the frequent reliance on convenience samples (e.g., involving college student participants or participants who "opt-in" using online platforms such as MTurk or Prolific) produces samples that generally are younger and more highly educated than the populations from the national contexts from which these samples are drawn. Non-representativeness, in terms of both the global regions included in the body of psychological research on contact and collective action and the degree to which the samples in the studies considered in this review reflect the population in their national context, limits the generalizability of our findings and interpretations. Future research on this topic would thus benefit from studying contact and collective action in a broader range of contexts, particularly in non-WEIRD regions, and within these contexts by employing representative sampling techniques.

Positionality statement

The current research was conducted and the article was written by scholars who have studied intergroup relations, generally, and intergroup contact and collective action, more specifically. In past and the current work, we use theory and research in psychology to understand the processes that produce social inequality, and we apply these principles and findings to address unfairness at the level of the individual and society. While there is diversity in age, experience, and nationality among the authors and each of us has multiple identities, we all possess aspects of our identities that represent membership in a socially advantaged group. As our research amply shows, identifying as a member of an advantaged, compared to a disadvantaged, group affects what we perceive, how we interpret it, our

motivation, and ultimately our perspective – including our scientific perspective. For example, as we explained, it determines what is defined as normative versus non-normative collective action. We acknowledge these influences and caution readers to consider how they may affect the conduct of our work, our analyses, and our interpretations.

Policy implications

The research considered in the present review focuses on how intergroup contact influences collective action, which represents support for the disadvantaged group, in terms of actions, intentions or supportive attitudes for rights or policies that benefit disadvantaged-group members. We believe that our findings also have implications for *formal* actions involving official policies that also have the goal of achieving social equity through initiatives that benefit disadvantaged groups and their members. Such policies may involve the redistribution of wealth (e.g., tax policies), engagement in specific activities (e.g., gender-equity policies in athletics), and equitable representation in mass media. One prominent example of such a policy is affirmative action, which promotes the equitable inclusion of members of traditionally disadvantaged groups through opportunities in areas such as employment and education. Affirmative action policies or laws currently exist in countries in North America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America.

While research in the area of intergroup relations has substantially emphasized that members of advantaged groups generally attempt to maintain and protect their privileged status in a variety of ways, ranging from subtle social forces (e.g., system-justifying ideologies; Jost, 2020) to officially enforced oppression (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), our findings reveal the critical role of intergroup contact in motivating advantaged-group members to support and engage in actions for social change toward greater equity. One of major and most consistent findings is that more positive intergroup contact mobilizes members of advantaged groups to take collective action to achieve social equity. With respect to policy implications, we note that more positive intergroup contact also predicts

greater support for affirmative action by members of advantaged groups (Reimer et al., 2022).

Our findings about how the *content* of intergroup contact can critically affect the mobilization of members of the advantaged group for action toward social equality – for instance, by making unfair differences in treatment or outcomes salient – also provide insight into when they may support formal social policies for change. Son Hing et al. (2002) demonstrated that people who more strongly endorsed the principle that rewards, and opportunities should be determined by individual merit generally opposed affirmative action more strongly. However, when they perceived that unfair discrimination was a barrier for members of disadvantaged groups, those who more strongly endorsed the merit were more supportive of affirmative action. Of particular relevance for engaging the support of members of advantaged groups to support policies to achieve social equity by benefitting members of disadvantaged groups, we note that positive contact does not necessarily have to involve personal interaction to be effective; it can involve indirect forms of contact (e.g., through various media). Thus, while members of advantaged groups may generally engage in actions to support the status quo of intergroup hierarchy (Sidanius et al., 2017), positive intergroup contact can be an important vehicle for mobilizing their collective action and support for policy aimed at achieving social equity.

Our review of the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action for members of disadvantaged groups also offers insights into the psychological dynamics that have implications for social policy. For instance, because of the influence of self- and group-interest, members of disadvantaged groups generally support policies to achieve social equity, such as affirmative action, more than do members of advantaged groups (DeBell, 2017). Nevertheless, our results concerning collective action suggest that intergroup contact can have complex impacts on support for social policies to achieve equity. Whereas more positive contact predicts greater mobilization for collective action for members of

advantaged groups, the relationship between contact and collective action for members of disadvantaged groups were mixed: 55% of the time sedative effects occurred and 57% of the time mobilization effects were observed. Our analyses of moderators and mediators helped reconcile these seemingly divergent effects of contact. These insights can also be applied to understand how, when, and why the existence of diversity-promoting policies in organizations (including affirmative action) can affect the experiences and performances of members of disadvantaged groups in the organization and how inequities within an organization may be obscured or legitimatized (Dover et al., 2020). Moreover, research on the various influences that policies to promote social equity can have on members of disadvantaged groups whom the groups are intended to benefit (e.g., the experience of stereotype threat; Van Laar et al., 2008) can further inform work on contact and collective action. And, as discussed earlier, a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics underlying the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action (e.g., making injustice more salient) can help guide the development of social policies design to improve social equity and the way these policies are described to make members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups allies for change to create a society that is fairer and more stable in ways that benefit all its members.

Conclusions

In conclusion, scholars still have a long way to go before understanding how groups can work together to achieve social equity. However, research fuels optimism regarding the potential of intergroup contact to allow and facilitate social equity via collective action. We therefore argue that, building on existing findings, a future ambitious and creative examination of this area is an important endeavor both theoretically and practically.

Table 1. Experimental studies evaluating the relation between contact and collective action.

Study	Participants and groups	Outgroups	Country	Type of contact	Mediator(s)	Moderator(s)	Dependent variable(s)	Contact effect
Bagci et al. (2019, Study 1)	Disadvantaged: 80 Kurd adults	Advantaged: Turks	Turkey	Imagined contact	Perceived discrimination (personal and group discrimination)[A*] Ingroup identification[C*] Relative deprivation (no effect)[A*] Outgroup attitudes (no effect) [B*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct and indirect effect)
Becker & Wright (2021, Study 1)	Advantaged: 89 students from a German university	Disadvantaged: members of another German university	Germany	Direct contact	/	Outgroup member's legitimization/illegimitization of intergroup inequality[1*] Interpersonal closeness[1*]	Collective action intentions (normative collective action) Behavioral collective action (normative collective action)	Mobilization (effect for delegitimization of intergroup inequality coupled with high interpersonal closeness, for collective action intentions only)
Becker & Wright (2021, Study 2)	Advantaged: 192 students from a German university	Disadvantaged: members of another German university	Germany	Direct contact	/	Outgroup member's legitimization/illegimitization of intergroup inequality[1*] Interpersonal closeness[1*]	Collective action intentions (normative collective action) Behavioral collective action (normative collective action)	Mobilization (effect for delegitimization of intergroup inequality coupled with high interpersonal closeness, for collective action intentions only)
Becker et al. (2013, Study 1)	Disadvantaged: 267 sexual minority adults	Advantaged: heterosexual people	United States	Direct contact (recalling a	/	Outgroup friend's legitimization/ill	Public protest (normative collective action)	Sedative (direct effect of legitimization of intergroup

				personal acquaintance)		egimitization of intergroup inequality[1*]	Private protest (normative collective action) Violent protest (non-normative collective action)	inequality, for public protest only)
Becker et al. (2013, Study 2)	Disadvantaged: 81 university students	Advantaged: university students of a higher-status university	Canada	Direct contact	/	Outgroup member's ambiguity about/legitimization/illegimitization of intergroup inequality[1*]	Collective action intentions (normative collective action) Behavioral collective action (normative collective action)	Sedative (direct effect of ambiguity about and legitimization of intergroup inequality)
Broockman & Kalla (2016)	Advantaged: 501 adults	Disadvantaged: transgender people	United States	Direct contact promoting perspective-taking	/	Political affiliation[1*] (no effect)	Support for laws benefitting transgender people (normative collective action)	Mobilization
De Carvalho-Freitas & Stathi (2017, Study 2)	Advantaged: 138 Brazilian workers	Disadvantaged: individuals with disability	Brazil	Imagined contact	Outgroup attitudes (beliefs in people's with disability' work performance level)[B*]	Type of disability[4*] (no effect)	Support for rights of people with disability within the workplace (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct and indirect effect)
Droogendyk et al. (2016, Study 1)	Disadvantaged: 138 international university students	Advantaged: domestic university students	Australia	Direct contact (recalling a personal acquaintance)	Ingroup identification (no effect)[C*] Perceived injustice[A*]	Support or ambiguity of support for international students[1*]	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct and indirect effect for supportive contact)
Droogendyk et al. (2016, Study 2)	Disadvantaged: 203 immigrants	Advantaged: Canadians	Canada	Direct contact	Perceived injustice[A*]	Support-anger, support-guilt, or ambiguity of support for immigrants[1*]	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct and indirect effect for supportive contact)

Fung et al. (2021)	Advantaged: 535 Asian adults	Disadvantaged : Individuals with mental illness	United States	Direct contact	/	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	No effect
Kotzur et al. (2019, Study 2)	Advantaged: 74 German university students	Disadvantaged : asylum seekers	Germany	Direct contact	Outgroup warmth (no effect) [B*] Outgroup competence (no effect) [B*] Intergroup emotions (pity, envy, contempt, admiration) (effect only for contempt)[B*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (indirect effect) No effect (nonsignificant direct effect)
Lau et al. (2014)	Advantaged: 850 Chinese adults	Disadvantaged : sexual minorities	China	Imagined contact (manipulated) Direct contact (measured)	/	Direct contact[1*]	Support for anti-discrimination laws for sexual minorities (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect for direct and imagined contact; effect for imagined contact among those with no direct contact)
Prati & Loughnan (2018, Study 2)	Advantaged: 53 British university students	Disadvantaged : Gypsies	UK	Imagined contact	Dehumanization (uniquely human traits/human uniqueness)[B*]	/	Support for Gypsy human rights (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct and indirect effect)
Prati & Loughnan (2018, Study 3)	Equal status: 70 adults living in Italy	Equal status: Japanese people	Italy	Imagined contact	Dehumanization (human nature traits)[B*]	/	Support for Japanese human rights (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct and indirect effect)
Shani & Bohenke (2017)	Advantaged: 217 Jew adolescents Disadvantaged: 281 Palestinian adolescents	Disadvantaged : Palestinians Advantaged: Jews	Israel	Direct contact (focused on discussions over power inequality)	Intergroup empathy[B*] Intergroup hatred (no effect) [B*] Hope for future relations[A*]	Group[1*]	Support for equal rights (administered to Jews) or for social inclusion policies (administered to Palestinians) (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect for both groups, indirect effect except indirect effect via perceived equality for Palestinians and via intergroup empathy for Jews)

					Intergroup threat (realistic and symbolic) (no effect)[A*] Perceived equality [A*]			Sedative (indirect effect via perceived equality for Palestinians)
Techakesari et al. (2017)	Disadvantaged: 96 gay men Disadvantaged: 100 lesbians	Advantaged: heterosexual people	Australia	Direct contact (recalling a personal acquaintance)	LGBTIQQ identification [C*]	Degree of contact supportive of LGBTIQQ rights[1*] Group[1*]	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect for gay men stronger with strongly supportive contact, indirect effect for gay men) Sedative (direct effect for lesbians stronger with moderately supportive contact, indirect effect for lesbians)
Ulug & Tropp (2021, Study 3)	Advantaged: 258 White adults	Disadvantaged : Blacks	United States	Negative vicarious contact (videos on racial discrimination)	Perceived injustice [A*]	/	Collective action intentions for the Black Lives Matter movement (normative collective action)	Mobilization (indirect effect) No effect (nonsignificant direct effect)
Vazquez et al. (2020, Study 2a)	Disadvantaged: 305 Spanish female adults	Advantaged: men	Spain	Direct contact	Perceived personal discrimination [A*] Fusion with the feminist movement (politicized identity) [C*] Outgroup attitudes (no effect) [B*]	Salience of personal discrimination as a woman[1*]	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Sedative (negative correlation with contact for quality but not quantity of contact, indirect effect for quality with low salience of personal discrimination)
Vazquez et al. (2020, Study 2b)	Advantaged: 225 Spanish male adults	Disadvantaged : women	Spain	Direct contact	Ingroup attitudes (no effect)[C*] Perceived outgroup discrimination [A*]	Salience of group	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (positive correlation with contact, indirect effect for quality of

					Fusion with the feminist movement (politicized identity) [C*] Outgroup attitudes (no effect)[B*] Ingroup attitudes (no effect)[C*]	discrimination as women[1*]		contact with low salience of outgroup discrimination)
Vezzali et al. (2021, Study 2)	Advantaged: 89 Italian adolescents	Disadvantaged: immigrants	Italy	Negative vicarious contact	Anger against injustice[A*]	Social dominance orientation[1*]	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (indirect effect among individuals high in social dominance orientation) No effect (nonsignificant correlation with negative vicarious contact)

Note. The study by Shani and Bohenke (2017) is a pre-post quasi experiment. In the column “Moderator(s)” we also included variables that were not formally tested with statistical moderation analyses (e.g., we included “Group” as a moderator also when studies simply ran separate analyses for groups, finding different results). The superscript for moderators indicates inclusion in the categories of: (1*) moderators associated with the intergroup situation, (2*) moderators associated with the outgroup, (3*) moderators associated with the ingroup, (4*) moderators concerning socio-demographics. In the column “Mediator(s)” the superscripts indicate inclusion in the categories of: (A*) mediators referred to the intergroup situation, (B*) mediators referred to the outgroup, (C*) mediators referred to the ingroup. In the column “Contact effect,” where we refer to effects for the outcome variable, we specify whether contact lead to mobilization (contact associated with higher collective action) or sedative effects (contact associated with lower collective action) and indicate which types of effects emerged, in case there are more effects available; if only mobilization or sedative effects are mentioned without further specifications, only a direct effect emerged (when a direct effect was not presented, we reported the correlation whenever available).

Table 2. Longitudinal studies evaluating the relation between contact and collective action.

Study	Waves	Participants and groups	Outgroups	Country	Type of contact	Mediator(s)	Moderator(s)	Dependent variable(s)	Contact effect
Herek & Capitanio (1997, general sample)	2 waves at a distance of 1 year	Advantaged: 382 adults	Disadvantaged: Individuals with HIV/AIDS	United States	Direct contact	/	/	Support for social policies against individuals with HIV/AIDS (normative collective action)	No effect
Herek & Capitanio (1997, oversample)	2 waves at a distance of 1 year	Disadvantaged: 420 adults	Disadvantaged: Individuals with HIV/AIDS	United States	Direct contact	/	/	Support for social policies against individuals with HIV/AIDS (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Hoskin et al. (2019)	2 waves at a distance of 1 year	Advantaged: 265 Australian adults	Disadvantaged: individuals from developing countries	Australi a	Direct contact	Ingroup identification (politicized identification)[C*]	Social dominance orientation[1*]	Self-reported collective action behavior (normative collective action) Behavioral collective action (normative collective action)	Mobilization (indirect effect for low levels of social dominance orientation) No effect (nonsignificant correlation with contact)
Lopez (2004)	2 waves at a distance of 9 months	Advantaged: 480 European-American university students Disadvantaged: 165 Asian-American university students Disadvantaged: 92 African-	Disadvantaged: Asian-Americans, for the other two groups; African-Americans, for the other two groups Advantaged: European-Americans, for the other two groups	United States	Direct contact	/	Group[1*]	Support for educational policies aimed to achieve ethnic diversity and equity within universities (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect only for European-Americans' contact with African-Americans)

Northcutt Bohmert & DeMaris (2015)	4 waves at a distance of approximately 1 year	American university students Advantaged: 305 White university students	Disadvantaged: ethic minority groups	United States	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	/	/	Support for affirmative action (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Reimer et al. (2017, Study 2a)	2 waves at a distance of approximately 7 months	Disadvantaged: 361 sexual minority university students	Advantaged: heterosexual people	UK and Germany	Positive and negative direct contact	Ingroup identification (solidary and centrality components) (no effect)[C*] Perceived group discrimination [A*] Perceived personal discrimination (no effect)[A*] Outgroup attitudes (no effect) [B*] Anger against injustice (no effect) [A*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (negative contact: indirect effect) No effect (negative contact: nonsignificant direct effect; positive contact: nonsignificant direct and indirect effect)
Reimer et al. (2017, Study 2b)	3 waves at a distance of approximately 3 to 5 months	Advantaged: 729 heterosexual and cisgender university students	Disadvantaged: LGBT people	UK and Germany	Positive and negative direct contact	/	/	Collective action intentions for gay people (normative collective action) Collective action intentions for transgenders (normative collective action)	Mobilization (positive contact: effect only for gay people) No effect (negative contact)

Rompke et al. (2019, Study 2)	2 waves at a distance of six months	Advantaged: 242 German university students	Disadvantaged: foreigners	Germany	Direct contact	Identification with humanity C*	/	Support for social policies benefitting refugees (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct and indirect effect)
Saleem et al. (2016, Study 1)	3 waves at a distance of 3 weeks	Advantaged: 219 non-Muslim university students (mostly Whites)	Disadvantaged: Muslims	United States	Direct contact	Negative intergroup emotions B* Outgroup stereotypes (aggressive) (no effect)B*	Reliance on media1* (no effect)	Support for civic restrictions for Muslims (normative collective action) Support for military action in Muslims' countries (non-normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact for both outcome variables, indirect effect (only for support for civic restrictions))
Tropp et al. (2012)	4 waves at a distance of 1 year, with waves 2 and 3 combined	Disadvantaged: 417 Asian university students Disadvantaged: 82 Latino university students Disadvantaged: 72 Black university students	Advantaged: Whites	United States	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	Perceived discrimination (personal and group discrimination)A*	Group1*	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Sedative (correlation with contact for Latinos and Blacks, indirect effect for Blacks) No effect (nonsignificant correlation with contact for Asians, nonsignificant indirect effect for Asians and Latinos)

Note. In the column "Moderator(s)" we also included variables that were not formally tested with statistical moderation analyses (e.g., we included "Group" as a moderator also when studies simply ran separate analyses for groups, finding different results). The superscript for moderators indicates inclusion in the categories of: (1*) moderators associated with the intergroup situation, (2*) moderators associated with the outgroup, (3*) moderators associated with the ingroup, (4*) moderators concerning socio-demographics. In the column "Mediator(s)" the superscripts indicate inclusion in the categories of: (A*) mediators referred to the intergroup situation, (B*) mediators referred to the outgroup, (C*) mediators referred to the ingroup. In the column "Contact effect," where we refer to effects for the outcome variable, we specify whether contact lead to mobilization (contact associated with higher collective action) or sedative effects (contact associated with lower collective action) and indicate which types of effects emerged, in case there are more effects available; if only mobilization or sedative effects are mentioned without further specifications, only a direct effect emerged (when a direct effect was not presented, we reported the correlation whenever available).

Table 3. Correlational studies evaluating the relation between contact and collective action.

Study	Participants and groups	Outgroups	Country	Type of contact	Mediator(s)	Moderator(s)	Dependent variable(s)	Contact effect
Albzour et al. (2019)	Disadvantaged: 159 Palestinian adults	Advantaged: Israelis	West Bank	Direct contact	Support for normalization of the relation with the advantaged group (normative collective action and outgroup attitudes)[B*]	/	Motivation and willingness to engage in revolutionary resistance (non-normative collective action)	Sedative (correlation with contact and indirect effect)
Bagci & Turnuklu (2019)	Disadvantaged: 151 Kurd university students	Advantaged: Turks	Turkey	Positive and negative direct contact	Perceived discrimination (personal and group discrimination) (no effect)[A*] Ingroup identification[C*] Relative deprivation[A*] Collective self-esteem[C*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Sedative (positive direct contact: indirect effect) No effect (nonsignificant correlation for both positive and negative direct contact, nonsignificant indirect effect for negative contact)
Bagci et al. (2018)	Disadvantaged: 269 physically adults with disability	Advantaged: individuals without disability	Turkey	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	Perceived advantaged group's attitudes (meta-perceptions) (no effect)[B*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact and indirect effect)
Barth & Parry (2009)	Advantaged (possibly including some members of the disadvantaged group): 760 adults	Disadvantaged: gay people	United States	Direct contact	/	/	Support for a range of policies benefitting the rights of gay people (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Barth et al. (2009)	Advantaged (possibly including some	Disadvantaged: gay people	United States	Direct contact	/	/	Support for a referendum against the rights of gay people	Mobilization

	members of the disadvantaged group): 760 adults						(normative collective action)	
Berg (2009)	Advantaged: 708 White adults	Disadvantaged: immigrants	United States	Direct contact	/	/	Support for social policies favoring immigrants (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Brambilla et al. (2013)	Advantaged: 146 Italian adults	Disadvantaged: immigrants	Italy	Direct contact	Outgroup morality [B*] Sociability (no effect) [B*] Competence (no effect)[B*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact and indirect effect)
Brannon (2018, Study 1)	Advantaged: 998 White university students Disadvantaged: 959 Asian university students	Disadvantaged: ethnic minority groups	United States	Direct contact (including a measure of cross-group friendships)	/	/	Support for university commitment to racial and ethnic diversity (normative collective action)	Mobilization (only cross-group friendships)
Brannon (2018, Study 2)	Advantaged: 1075 White university students Disadvantaged: 249 Asian university students	Disadvantaged: ethnic minority groups	United States	Direct contact (including a measure of cross-group friendships)	/	/	Support for affirmative action (normative collective action) Support for university commitment to racial and ethnic diversity (multicultural vs. colorblind approach) (normative collective action)	No effect
Brown et al. (2003)	Advantaged: 375 White university students	Disadvantaged: Black people, ethnic minority groups	United States	Direct contact	/	/	Support for social policies benefitting Black people (normative collective action)	No effect (for support for social policies benefitting Black people)

							Support for university policies benefitting ethnic minority groups (normative collective action)	Mobilization (for support for university policies benefitting ethnic minority groups)
Cakal et al. (2021, Study 1)	Advantaged: 336 Turkish Cypriot adults	Disadvantaged: immigrants	Cyprus	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	Intergroup anxiety (no effect)[B*] Intergroup trust[B*] Perspective-taking[B*]	/	Support for immigrants' engagement in collective action (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact, indirect effect)
Cakal et al. (2021, Study 2)	Advantaged: 197 Romanian university students	Disadvantaged: Hungarian immigrants	Romania	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	Intergroup anxiety[B*] Intergroup trust[B*] Perspective-taking[B*]	/	Support for Hungarians' engagement in collective action (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact, indirect effect)
Cakal et al. (2021, Study 3)	Advantaged: 240 Israeli Jew university students	Disadvantaged: Israeli Palestinians	Israel	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	Intergroup anxiety[B*] Intergroup trust[B*] Perspective-taking[B*]	/	Support for Israeli Palestinians' engagement in collective action (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact, indirect effect)
Cakal et al. (2016, Study 2)	Disadvantaged: 209 Kurdish adults	Advantaged: Turks	Turkey	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	Intergroup threat (realistic and symbolic)[A*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Sedative (correlation with contact, indirect effect)
Cakal et al. (2011, Study 1)	Disadvantaged: 488 Black South African university students	Advantaged: White South Africans	South Africa	Direct contact	Ingroup relative deprivation[A*] Ingroup efficacy (no effect)[C*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action) Support for social policies benefitting South Africans (normative collective action)	Sedative (for both outcome variables: correlation with contact, indirect effect)

Cakal et al. (2011, Study 2)	Advantaged: 244 White South African university students	Disadvantaged: Black South Africans	South Africa	Direct contact	Ingroup relative deprivation (no effect)[A*] Ingroup efficacy (no effect)[C*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action) Support for social policies benefitting South Africans (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact)
Calcagno (2016)	Advantaged: 85 heterosexual adults	Disadvantaged: gay people	United States	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	/	Gender[4*] (no effect)	Collective action intentions (normative collective action) Collective action intentions to fight bullying toward gay people (normative collective action)	Mobilization (for both outcome variables)
Carter et al. (2019)	Advantaged: 1,021 White university students Disadvantaged: 110 ethnic minority university students	Disadvantaged: ethnic minorities Advantaged: Whites	United States	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	Perceived injustice[A*]	Group[1*]	Engagement in activism to foster university inclusiveness (normative collective action)	Mobilization (for Whites: direct and indirect effect) Sedative (for ethnic minority: direct and indirect effect)
Celebi et al. (2016)	Advantaged: 337 Turkish university students Disadvantaged: 288 Kurdish university students	Disadvantaged: Kurds Advantaged: Turks	Turkey	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	/	Group[1*]	Support for Kurdish language rights (normative collective action)	Mobilization (for Turks: direct effect) No effect (for Kurds: nonsignificant direct effect)
Cernat (2019)	Disadvantaged: 604 Hungarian adults	Advantaged: Romanians	Romania	Direct contact (with the advantaged	/	Group[1*]	Support for non-specific social policies for Hungarians	Sedative (contact with majority was associated with lower support for pro-

	Disadvantaged: 602 Roma adults	Disadvantaged: Roma (for Hungarians), Hungarians (for Roma)		group, and with the other disadvantaged group (interminority contact)			(normative collective action) Support for specific social policies for Hungarians (normative collective action) Support for non-specific social policies for Roma (normative collective action) Support for specific social policies for Roma (normative collective action)	disadvantaged policies, especially specific policies) No effect, Sedative (interminority contact was not associated with support for pro-ingroup policies, except Roma's contact with Hungarians which was associated with lower specific pro-ingroup policies) Mobilization, Sedative (interminority contact was associated with greater support for non-specific outgroup policies, but lower support for specific outgroup policies among Hungarians; it was associated with greater support for both types of outgroup policies among Roma)
Cocco et al. (2022)	Advantaged: 391 Italian adults	Disadvantaged: immigrants	Italy	Positive and negative direct contact	One-group perceptions [A*] Outgroup morality [B*]	/	Collective action intentions (measures of normative and non-normative collective action) Collective action support (measures of normative and non-normative collective action)	Mobilization (positive contact: direct effect on normative collective action intentions and support, and on non-normative collective action support; indirect effect on normative collective action intentions and support) Mobilization (negative contact: direct effect on non-normative collective action intentions and support)

								Sedative (negative contact: direct and indirect effect on normative collective action intentions and support) No effect (positive contact: nonsignificant direct effect on non-normative collective action intentions; nonsignificant indirect effect on non-normative collective action intentions and support) No effect (negative contact: nonsignificant indirect effect on non-normative collective action intentions and support)
Debrosse et al. (2016)	Advantaged: 458 White South African adults Disadvantaged: 2,496 Black South African adults	Disadvantaged: newcomers	South Africa	Direct contact	/	Group[1*] Realistic threat[1*] (effect for Blacks) Numeric threat[1*] (effect for Whites) Newcomer category (race)[4*]	Support for the rights of different categories of newcomers (temporary workers, refugees, illegal immigrants) (normative collective action)	Mobilization (Blacks: direct effect, mobilization for some newcomer groups with low realistic threat) No effect, Mobilization (Whites: nonsignificant direct effect, mobilization for some newcomer groups with low numeric threat)
Di Bernardo, Vezzali, Birtel, et al. (2021)	Advantaged: 163 Italian adults Disadvantaged: 129 immigrant adults	Disadvantaged: immigrants Advantaged: Italians	Italy	Direct contact	Outgroup stereotypes[B*]	Group[1*]	Support for social policies benefitting the immigrant group (normative collective action)	Mobilization (advantaged: positive correlation with contact, indirect effect; disadvantaged: indirect effect) No effect (disadvantaged: nonsignificant correlation with contact)

Di Bernardo, Vezzali, Stathi, et al. (2021)	Advantaged: 392 Italian adolescents Disadvantaged: 165 immigrant adolescents	Disadvantaged: immigrants Advantaged: Italians	Italy	Direct contact	Status illegitimacy [A*] Status stability (no effect) [A*] Permeability of group boundaries (no effect) [A*]	Group[1*] Group salience[1*] (for Italians) Focus on differences vs. similarities[1*] (no effect)	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (Italians: positive correlation with contact, indirect effect, effects of contact quality significant for high group salience) Mobilization (immigrants: positive correlation with contact, indirect effect for contact quantity)
Dixon et al. (2017)	Disadvantaged: 149 Muslim university students	Disadvantaged: disadvantaged people in general	India	Direct contact with disadvantaged groups (interminority contact) Direct with the advantaged Hindus group	Group efficacy [C*] Shared grievances [A*]	Direct contact with the advantaged Hindus group[1*]	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (contact with disadvantaged groups: positive correlation with contact, indirect effect, indirect effect for low direct contact with the advantaged Hindus group) No effect (contact with the advantaged group: nonsignificant correlation with collective action, nonsignificant indirect effect)
Dixon et al. (2015)	Disadvantaged: 185 Indian South African adults	Disadvantaged: individuals from informal settlements	South Africa	Direct contact (interminority contact)	Perceived group discrimination[A*] Intergroup empathy (no effect) [B*]	/	Support for social policies benefitting residents of informal settlements (normative collective action) Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact for both outcome variables, indirect effect only for collective action intentions)
Dixon et al. (2007)	Advantaged: 361 White South African adults	Disadvantaged: Black South Africans	South Africa	Direct contact	/	Group[1*]	Support for social policies benefitting Black South Africans	Mobilization (White South Africans)

	Disadvantaged: 1,556 Black South African adults	Advantaged: White South Africans				Blacks' socio-economic status[4*] (no effect)	(normative collective action)	Sedative (Black South Africans)
Dixon, Durrheim, et al. (2010)	Advantaged: 794 White South African adults	Disadvantaged: disadvantaged racial groups	South Africa	Direct contact	Intergroup threat (realistic and symbolic)[A*] Outgroup attitudes (only for support for preferential policies)[B*] Perceived injustice[A*]	/	Opposition to compensatory social policies benefitting disadvantaged racial groups (normative collective action) Opposition to preferential social policies benefitting disadvantaged racial groups (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact, indirect effect, effects for contact quality)
Dixon et al. (2020)	Equal status: 242 Catholic adults Equal status: 246 Protestant adults	Equal status: Protestants, for Catholics; Catholics, for Protestants	Northern Ireland	Positive and negative direct contact	Realistic threat [A*] Symbolic threat (no effect)[A*]	Group[1*] (no effect)	Support for Government's decision to remove peace walls (normative collective action)	Mobilization (positive contact: correlation with contact, indirect effect) Sedative (negative contact: correlation with contact, indirect effect)
Du Toit & Quayle (2011)	Advantaged: 64 South African adults mostly White with good socio-economic status	Disadvantaged: disadvantaged racial groups	South Africa	Direct and extended contact with multiracial families	/	/	Resistance to social policies benefitting disadvantaged racial groups (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct contact) No effect (extended contact)
Earle et al. (2021)	Advantaged: 71,991 adults (for analyses on lesbian/gay rights support); 70,056 adults (for analyses on	Disadvantaged: LGBT people	77 Countries including all Continents	Direct contact	/	Institutional support (Gay/lesbian rights at the Country level)[1*] (no effect)	Support for lesbian/gay people rights (normative collective action) Support for transgender people rights	Mobilization (effect of contact stronger when institutional support is low)

	transgender rights support)					Transgender rights at the Country level (institutional support)[1*]	(normative collective action)	
Ellison et a. (2011)	Advantaged and disadvantaged: approximately 1,100 White and Black adults	Disadvantaged : Latinos	United States	Direct contact	/	/	Support for social policies benefitting immigrants from Latin America (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Fasoli et al. (2016)	Advantaged: 125 heterosexual people	Disadvantaged : LGBT people	Italy	Direct contact	/	/	Support for social policies benefitting gay people (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Fingerhut (2011)	Advantaged: 202 heterosexual people	Disadvantaged : LGBT people	United States	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	/	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Firat & Ataca (2022)	Advantaged: 210 Turkish Muslim adults	Disadvantaged : Syrians	Turkey	Direct contact	Perceived cultural distance[A*]	Political orientation[1*]	Support for refugee rights (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact, indirect effect, indirect effect for left-wing participants)
Flores et al. (2015)	Advantaged: 1,006 adults	Disadvantaged : LGB individuals, transgenders	United States	Direct contact	Support for LGB rights (normative collective action) [A*]	/	Support for LGB rights (normative collective action) Support for transgender rights (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect of LGB contact; nonsignificant direct effect of transgender contact; direct effect LGB contact on support for transgender rights-secondary transfer effect; indirect effect of LGB contact)
Gerbert et al. (1991)	Advantaged: approximately 2,000 adults	Disadvantaged : people with AIDS	United States	Direct contact	/	/	Support for social policies denying people with AIDS their rights to work (normative collective action)	Mobilization

Gorska et al. (2017)	Advantaged: 27,409 heterosexual people	Disadvantaged: LGB people	28 European countries	Direct contact	/	/	Support for LGB rights (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect both at the individual and at the societal level)
Graf & Sczesny (2019)	Advantaged: 471 Swiss university students	Disadvantaged: immigrants	Switzerland	Positive and negative direct contact	Outgroup attitudes [B*]	Political orientation[1*]	Intended financial support to a Swiss NGO helping migrants (normative collective action)	Mobilization (positive direct contact: correlation with contact, stronger indirect effect for right-wing individuals) Sedative (negative direct contact: correlation with contact, stronger indirect effect for right-wing than center individuals, no effect for left-wingers)
Hassler et al. (2020)	Advantaged: 3,216 ethnic majority group adults Advantaged: 4,898 cis-heterosexual adults Disadvantaged: 1,000 ethnic minority adults Disadvantaged: 3,883 LGBTIQ+	Disadvantaged: ethnic minorities Disadvantaged: LGBTIQ+ people Advantaged: ethnic majorities Advantaged: cis-heterosexual people	69 Countries including all Continents	Positive and negative direct and extended contact	/	Group[1*]	High-cost and low-cost collective action intentions for the two disadvantaged groups (normative collective action) Support for social policies empowering the two disadvantaged groups (normative collective action) Intentions to work in solidarity with the two disadvantaged groups (normative collective action)	Mobilization (advantaged group: positive contact) Sedative (advantaged group: negative contact) Mobilization (disadvantaged group: negative contact; positive contact for the measure of intentions to work in solidarity) Sedative (disadvantaged group: positive contact)
Hassler, Ullrich, et al. (2021, Study 1)	Disadvantaged: 689 ethnic minority adults	Advantaged: ethnic majorities	Chile, Germany, Kosovo,	Direct contact (five different operationalizations including	/	Supportive contact[1*]	Support for social change (five different operationalizations)	Sedative (direct effect, stronger effect for high perceived illegitimacy)

			UK, United States	measures of positive contact, cross-group friendships)		Perceived illegitimacy[1*]	(normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect, stronger effect for high supportive contact)
Hassler, Ullrich, et al. (2021, Study 2)	Disadvantaged: 3,883 LGBTIQ+	Advantaged: cis-heterosexual people	18 Countries	Direct contact (five different operationalizations including measures of positive contact, cross-group friendships)	/	Supportive contact[1*] Perceived illegitimacy[1*]	Support for social change (five different operationalizations) (normative collective action)	Sedative (direct effect, stronger effect for high perceived illegitimacy) Mobilization (direct effect, stronger effect for high supportive contact, stronger effect for high perceived illegitimacy)
Hassler, Ullrich, et al. (2021, Study 3)	Advantaged: 2,937 ethnic majority group adults	Disadvantaged: ethnic or religious minorities	Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Germany, Israel, Kosovo, Poland, Serbia	Direct contact (five different operationalizations including measures of positive contact, cross-group friendships)	/	Supportive contact[1*] Perceived illegitimacy[1*]	Support for social change (five different operationalizations) (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect, stronger effect with high perceived illegitimacy) Sedative (stronger effect with high supportive contact)
Hassler, Ullrich, et al. (2021, Study 4)	Advantaged: 4,203 cis-heterosexual adults	Disadvantaged: LGBTIQ+ people	19 Countries	Direct contact (five different operationalizations including measures of positive contact, cross-group friendships)	/	Supportive contact[1*] Perceived illegitimacy[1*]	Support for social change (five different operationalizations) (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect, stronger effect with high supportive contact, stronger effect with high perceived illegitimacy) Sedative (stronger effect with high supportive contact, stronger effect with high perceived illegitimacy)
Hayes & Dowds (2006)	Advantaged: 781 majority citizens	Disadvantaged: immigrants	Northern Ireland	Direct contact	/	/	Support for social policies benefitting immigrants (normative collective action)	Mobilization

Hayward et al. (2018)	Disadvantaged: 195 Black adults Disadvantaged: 170 Latino adults	Advantaged: Whites	United States	Positive and negative direct contact	Perceived group discrimination[A*] Intergroup anger[B*]	Group[1*]	Self-reported collective action behavior (normative collective action) Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect of negative contact on both outcome variables for both groups; direct effect of positive contact on collective action intentions for Blacks; indirect effect of negative contact via perceived discrimination (not for collective action behavior for Latinos) and anger (not for collective action intentions for Latinos) for both groups) Sedative (indirect effect of positive contact via anger (except for Latinos for collective action intentions) and via perceived discrimination (for collective action intentions for Latinos)
Hong & Peoples (2020, student sample)	Advantaged: 214 White university students	Disadvantaged: Blacks	United States	Direct contact	/	/	Behavioral collective action – Participation in the Black Lives Matter movement (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Hong & Peoples (2020, general sample)	Advantaged: 108 White adults	Disadvantaged: Blacks	United States	Direct contact	/	/	Behavioral collective action – Participation in the Black Lives Matter movement (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Horne et al. (2017)	Advantaged: 139 heterosexual university students	Disadvantaged: LGB people	Russia	Direct contact	/	/	Support for LGB civil rights (normative collective action)	No effect

Huić et al. (2016)	Advantaged: 997 heterosexual people	Disadvantaged : gay people	Croatia	Direct and extended contact	/	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Jackman & Crane (1986)	Advantaged: 1,648 White adults	Disadvantaged : Blacks	United States	Direct contact	/	/	Support for social policies benefitting Blacks (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Kamberi et al. (2017)	Advantaged: 211 Macedonian adolescents Disadvantaged: 214 Albanian adolescents Disadvantaged: 202 Turkish adolescents Disadvantaged: 187 Roma adolescents	Disadvantaged : Roma people	Republic of North Macedonia	Direct contact (with Roma, for non-Roma participants; with Macedonians, for Roma participants)	Perceived injustice (only for Turkish and Albanian people)[A*] Negative outgroup stereotypes (except for Roma)[B*] Positive intergroup emotions (except for Roma)[B*]	Group[1*]	Support for social policies benefitting Roma people (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct and indirect effect for all non-Roma groups) No effect (Roma people, nonsignificant direct and indirect effect)
Kauff et al. (2016, Study 1a)	Advantaged: 39,907 ethnic majority individuals Disadvantaged: 1,660 ethnic minority individuals	Disadvantaged : ethnic minorities	21 Countries and Israel	Majority's positive direct contact	/	/	Support for anti-discrimination laws (normative collective action)	Mobilization (ethnic majority: direct effect both at the individual and at the societal level; ethnic minority: direct effect at societal level of majority's positive contact)
Kauff et al. (2016, Study 1b)	Advantaged: 731 ethnic majority individuals Disadvantaged: 269 ethnic	Disadvantaged : ethnic minorities	Switzerland	Majority's positive direct contact	/	/	Support for immigrant rights (normative collective action)	Mobilization (ethnic majority: direct effect both at the individual and at the societal level; ethnic minority: direct effect at societal level of majority's positive contact)

	minority individuals							
King et al. (2009)	Advantaged: 856 Chinese people	Disadvantaged: transgender people	China	Direct contact	/	/	Support for equal opportunities for transgenders (normative collective action) Support for transgender civil rights (normative collective action) Support for anti-discrimination laws for transgenders (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Kokkonen & Karlsson (2017)	Advantaged: initial sample of 9,725 elected political representatives	Disadvantaged: immigrants, women, blu-collar workers, youths, pensioners	Sweden	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	/	/	Self-reported support for or advancement of political proposals to support the disadvantaged groups (normative collective action)	Mobilization (in favor of all groups except for women, for whom no effect emerged)
Lewis (2011)	Advantaged: 38,910 adults	Disadvantaged: LGB people	United States	Direct contact	/	Political orientation[1*] Education[4*] Gender[4*] (no effect) Race[4*] (no effect) Religion type[4*]	Support for LGB rights (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect; effect stronger for liberals, low educated, evangelical vs. Protestants)
Lowinger et al. (2018)	Advantaged: 291 non-Asian	Disadvantaged: Asians	United States	Direct contact	Social norms[A*]	/	Support for affirmative action policies at	Mobilization (correlation with contact, indirect effect)

	university students				Attitudes toward affirmative action (no effect)[A*] Outgroup attitudes (no effect)[B*] Intergroup competition (no effect)[A*]		university benefitting Asians (normative collective action)	
McKeown & Taylor (2017)	Equal status: 85 Catholic university students Equal status: 67 Protestant university students	Equal status: Protestants, Catholics	Northern Ireland	Direct contact	Realistic threat (no effect)[A*] Symbolic threat[A*]	Group[1*]	Engagement in initiatives to support own group (normative collective action) Support for own group's violent collective action (non-normative collective action)	No effect (engagement in initiatives to support own group: nonsignificant direct effect) Sedative (support for violent action: direct effect, effect weaker for Protestants, indirect effect only for Protestants) Mobilization (engagement in initiatives to support own group: indirect effect via symbolic threat only for Protestants)
McLaren (2003)	Advantaged: 8,124 adults	Disadvantaged: immigrants	17 European Countries	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	/	/	Support for social policies benefitting immigrants (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Meleady et al. (2017)	Advantaged: 417 British adults	Disadvantaged: immigrants	UK	Positive and negative direct contact	Outgroup attitudes [B*]	/	Voting intentions for the Brexit referendum (normative collective action)	Mobilization (positive contact: direct and indirect effect) Sedative (negative contact: direct and indirect effect)
Meleady & Vermue (2019, Study 1)	Advantaged: 202 White British university students and from	Disadvantaged: Black people	UK	Positive and negative direct contact	Social dominance orientation[A*]	/	Support for the Black Lives Matter movement and collective action	Mobilization (positive contact: direct and indirect effect)

	the general population						intentions (normative collective action)	Sedative (negative contact: indirect effect) No effect (negative contact: nonsignificant direct effect)
Meleady & Vermue (2019, Study 2)	Advantaged: 275 British university students and from the general population	Disadvantaged : immigrants	UK	Positive and negative direct contact	Social dominance orientation [A*]	/	Support for protests aimed to sustain immigrants' rights as a consequence of Brexit and collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (positive contact: direct and indirect effect) Sedative (negative contact: direct and indirect effect)
Mirete et al. (2020)	Advantaged: 245 university students	Disadvantaged : Individuals with intellectual disability	Spain	Direct contact	/	/	Support for the rights of individuals with intellectual disability (normative collective action)	No effect
Neumann & Moy (2018)	Advantaged: 37,623 European respondents	Disadvantaged : immigrants	20 European Countries	Direct contact (including a measure of cross-group friendships)	/	Intergroup context homogeneity (of neighbourhood)[1*]	Support for social policies benefitting immigrants (normative collective action)	Mobilization (especially for contact quality and cross-group friendships) Sedative (direct effect of contact quantity, and for contact quantity in homogeneous neighbourhood)
Pearson-Merkowitz et al. (2016)	Advantaged: 923 non-Latino adults	Disadvantaged : Latinos	United States	Direct contact	/	Political orientation[1*]	Support for allowing citizenship to illegal immigrants (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect, effect stronger for Democrats)
Pereira et al. (2017)	Disadvantaged: 320 Roma people	Advantaged: Bulgarians	Bulgaria	Contact (single scale including direct and extended contact)	Ethnic identification [C*]	National identification[3*]	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect) Sedative (indirect effect among low national identifiers)

Pettigrew (1997)	Advantaged: 3,806 ethnic majority adults	Disadvantaged: immigrants	4 European Countries	Direct contact (including a measure of cross-group friendships)	/	/	Support for social policies benefitting immigrants (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect, stronger for cross-group friendships)
Piumatti & Salvati (2020)	Advantaged: 5,544 Italian adults	Disadvantaged: gay people	Italy	Direct contact	/	/	Support for gay people rights (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Politi et al. (2020)	Disadvantaged: 154 Kosovo Albanian adults	Advantaged: Swiss people	Switzerland	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	Ethnic identification [C*]	National identification[3*]	Support for ethnic activism (normative collective action)	Sedative (indirect contact effect significant only for low national identification) No effect (nonsignificant direct effect)
Reimer et al. (2017, Study 1a)	Disadvantaged: 233 sexual minority university students	Advantaged: heterosexual people	UK	Positive and negative direct contact	Ingroup identification [C*] Perceived group discrimination [A*] Perceived personal discrimination [A*] Outgroup attitudes (no effect) [B*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	No effect (positive contact: nonsignificant direct and indirect effect) Mobilization (negative contact: direct and indirect effect)
Reimer et al. (2017, Study 1b)	Advantaged: 241 heterosexual university students	Disadvantaged: LGBT people	UK	Positive and negative direct contact	Ingroup identification (no effect) [C*] Movement identification (politicized identity) [C*] Perceived group discrimination (no effect)[A*] Outgroup attitudes [B*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (positive contact: direct and indirect effect) Sedative (negative contact: direct and indirect effect)
Reimer et al. (2022)	Advantaged: 104 General Caste	Disadvantaged: Scheduled Caste and	India	Positive and negative direct contact	/	Group[1*] (no effect)	Support for social policies benefitting the different groups in	No effect

	university students Intermediate status: 143 Other Backward Class university students Disadvantaged: 54 Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe university students	Scheduled Tribe individuals Intermediate status: Other Backward Class individuals Advantaged: General Caste individuals, Muslims		(including a measure of cross-group friendships)			higher education (normative collective action)	
Rupar & Graf (2019)	Equal status: 278 Croat university participants Equal Status: 267 Bosniak university participants	Equal status: Bosniaks, Croats	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Positive and negative direct contact Positive and negative extended contact before, during and after war	Realistic threat (for negative direct contact) [A*] Symbolic threat (for positive direct and extended contact, negative direct contact) [A*]	Group[1*] (no effect)	Support for reparation acts (apology, financial compensation) in favor of the outgroup (normative collective action)	Mobilization (positive direct contact: positive correlation with contact, indirect effect; negative direct contact: positive correlation with contact; positive extended contact: positive correlation with contact, indirect effect; negative extended contact: positive correlation with contact) Sedative (negative direct contact: indirect effect)
Saab et al. (2017)	Disadvantaged: Syrian refugees	Advantaged: Lebanese people	Lebanon	Direct contact	/	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action) Support for violent collective action (non-normative collective action)	Sedative (for both forms of collective action)

Saguy et al. (2009, Study 2)	Disadvantaged: 175 Israeli Arab university students	Advantaged: Jewish people	Israel	Direct contact	Outgroup attitudes (no effect)[B*] Status illegitimacy [A*] Perceived outgroup fairness (meta-perceptions) (no effect) [B*]	/	Support for social change (normative collective action)	Sedative (indirect effect) No effect (nonsignificant correlation with contact)
Saleem et al. (2016, Study 2)	Advantaged: 351 adults (mostly Whites)	Disadvantaged: Muslims	United States	Direct contact	Negative intergroup emotions [B*] Outgroup stereotypes (aggressive) [B*]	Reliance on media[1*]	Support for civic restrictions for Muslims (normative collective action) Support for military action in Muslims' countries (non-normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact (only for support for military action), indirect effect for both outcome variables via negative emotions for high reliance on media and via outgroup stereotypes for low reliance on media)
Sarrasin et al. (2012)	Advantaged: 1,711 Swiss adults	Disadvantaged: immigrants	Switzerland	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	Intergroup threat (realistic and symbolic) [A*]	/	Opposition to anti-racism laws (normative collective action)	No effect (nonsignificant direct effect) Mobilization (indirect effect)
Schultz & Taylor (2018)	Equal status: 218 Catholic adults Equal status: 160 Protestant adults	Equal status: Protestants, Catholics	Northern Ireland	Direct contact	Perspective-taking[B*] Outgroup attitudes [B*]	/	Support for Syrian resettlement (normative collective action) (secondary transfer effect)	Mobilization (correlation with contact, indirect effect)
Selvanathan et al. (2018, Study 1)	Advantaged: 273 White adults	Disadvantaged: Black people	United States	Direct contact	Intergroup empathy [B*] Anger against injustice [A*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action) Support for Black Lives Matter (normative collective action)	No effect (nonsignificant direct effect for both outcome variables) Mobilization (indirect effect for both outcome variables)

Selvanathan et al. (2018, Study 2)	Advantaged: 240 White adults	Disadvantaged : Black people	United States	Direct contact	Intergroup empathy [B*] Anger against injustice [A*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action) Support for Black Lives Matter (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect, only for collective action intentions; indirect effect for both outcome variables)
Selvanathan et al. (2018, Study 3)	Advantaged: 308 White adults	Disadvantaged : Black people	United States	Direct contact	Intergroup empathy [B*] Anger against injustice [A*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action) Support for Black Lives Matter (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect, only for collective action intentions; indirect effect for both outcome variables)
Sengupta & Sibley (2013)	Disadvantaged: 1,008 Maori adults	Advantaged: NZ Europeans	Australia	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	Support for equality as meritocracy [A*]	/	Support for the ownership of foreshore and seabed by Maori (normative collective action)	Sedative (indirect effect) No effect (nonsignificant correlation with contact)
Skipworth et al. (2010)	Advantaged: 1,090 adults	Disadvantaged : gay people	United States	Direct contact	/	Religion type[4*] Race[4*] Political orientation [1*] (no effect) Gender[4*] (no effect)	Support for social policies benefitting gay people (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect, significant among Whites, stronger in the general population vs. White Southern evangelical) Sedative (for Black evangelical)
Tausch et al. (2015)	Disadvantaged: 112 Latino university students	Advantaged: Whites	United States	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	Outgroup attitudes [B*] Ingroup identification [C*] Perceived ingroup disadvantage (no effect) [A*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Sedative (correlation with contact, indirect effect)

					Anger against injustice [A*] Permeability of group boundaries (no effect) [A*] Intentions for individual mobility (no effect) [A*]			
Tee & Hegarthy (2006)	Advantaged: 151 university students	Disadvantaged: sexual minorities	UK	Direct contact	/	/	Opposition to civil rights of transexuals (normative collective action)	Sedative
Tropp & Ulug (2019, Study 1)	Advantaged: 296 non-Hispanic White adult women	Disadvantaged: Blacks	United States	Direct contact	/	Political orientation[1*]	Intentions to support the Black Lives Matter movement (normative collective action) Actual self-reported support of the Black Lives Matter movement (normative collective action)	Mobilization (direct effect for both outcome measures, effect for more liberal and moderate participants)
Tropp & Ulug (2019, Study 2)	Disadvantaged: 305 non-Hispanic White adult women who attended the 2017 Women's March	Disadvantaged: Blacks	United States	Direct contact	/	Political orientation [1*] (no effect)	Intentions to support protests for racial justice and equality (normative collective action) Actual self-reported support of protests for racial justice and equality (normative collective action) Actual self-reported support of protests for	Mobilization (direct effect only for intentions to support protests for racial justice and equality)

							gender justice and equality (normative collective action) (secondary transfer effect)	
Tropp et al. (2021, Study 1)	Advantaged: 259 White adults	Disadvantaged: Blacks	United States	Direct contact	Communication about power group differences [A*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact, indirect effect)
Tropp et al. (2021, Study 2)	Advantaged: 267 Turkish from the general population	Disadvantaged: Kurds	Turkey	Direct contact	Communication about power group differences [A*] Communication about cultural group differences (no effect) [A*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact, indirect effect)
Turoy-Smith et al. (2013)	Advantaged: 114 Australian adults	Disadvantaged: refugees, Indigenous Australians	Australia	Direct contact	Intergroup anxiety [B*] Outgroup attitudes [B*]	/	Support for legislation benefitting refugees or Indigenous Australians (normative collective action) Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation of contact, only for support for legislation for both target groups, and only for contact quality but not quantity, indirect effect for both outcome variables for both target groups only for contact quality but not quantity)
Ulug & Cohrs (2017)	78 Advantaged: Turks from the general population Advantaged: 307 Turks' protesting subgroup from the general	Disadvantaged: Kurds Advantaged: Turks	Turkey	Direct contact	Terrorism narrative (for the Turkish politicized subgroup and Kurds) [A*] Economic narrative (for the Turkish politicized subgroup and Kurds) [A*]	Group[1*]	Support for social policies benefitting Kurds (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact for the two Turkish samples, indirect effect for the Turkish politicized subgroup) Sedative (indirect effect for Kurds)

	population (Turks with politicized identity) Disadvantaged: 105 Kurds from the general population				Democracy and Islam narrative (no effect) [A*] Democracy and rights narrative (for Kurds) [A*] Independence narrative (for the Turkish politicized subgroup and Kurds) [A*]			No effect (nonsignificant correlation with contact for Kurds, nonsignificant indirect effect for the Turkish sample)
Ulug & Tropp (2021, Study 1)	Advantaged: 581 White adults	Disadvantaged : Blacks	United States	Negative vicarious contact (witnessing racial discrimination)	Perceived injustice [A*]	/	Collective action intentions for the Black Lives Matter movement (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact, indirect effect)
Ulug & Tropp (2021, Study 2)	Advantaged: 99 White activists	Disadvantaged : Blacks	United States	Negative vicarious contact (witnessing racial discrimination)	Perceived injustice [A*]	/	Collective action intentions for the Black Lives Matter movement (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact, indirect effect)
Ünver et al. (2021)	Advantaged: 300 Turkish university students Disadvantaged: 127 Kurd university students	Disadvantaged : Kurds Advantaged: Turks	Turkey	Positive and negative direct contact	Outgroup attitudes toward primary outgroup [B*] Outgroup attitudes toward Syrian refugees (secondary outgroup) [B*]	Group[1*] (no effect) Intergroup threat toward Syrian refugees (secondary outgroup) (realistic and symbolic)[1*]	Support for the rights of Syrian refugees (secondary transfer effect) (normative collective action)	Mobilization (positive contact: correlation with contact, indirect effect, effect stronger when group threat is low) No effect (negative contact: nonsignificant correlation) Sedative (negative contact: indirect effect, effect stronger when group threat is low)

Vazquez et al. (2020, Study 1a)	Disadvantaged: 635 Spanish female university students	Advantaged: men	Spain	Direct contact	Perceived ingroup discrimination (no effect) [A*] Perceived outgroup discrimination (no effect)[A*] Perceived personal discrimination [A*] Fusion with the feminist movement (politicized identity) [C*] Outgroup attitudes (no effect) [B*] Ingroup attitudes (no effect) [C*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Sedative (negative correlation with contact for quality but not quantity of contact, indirect effect for quality but not quantity of contact)
Vazquez et al. (2020, Study 1b)	Advantaged: 384 Spanish male university students	Disadvantaged : women	Spain	Direct contact	Perceived ingroup discrimination (no effect) [A*] Perceived outgroup discrimination [A*] Perceived personal discrimination (no effect)[A*] Fusion with the feminist movement (politicized identity)[C*] Outgroup attitudes (no effect)[B*] Ingroup attitudes (no effect)[C*]	/	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact, indirect effect for contact quality)

Vezzali, Andrighetto, Capozza, et al. (2017)	Advantaged: 195 Italian university students	Disadvantaged: immigrants	Italy	Direct contact (cross-group friendships)	/	Content of contact (focus on differences vs. commonalities)[1*]	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact, effect stronger when contact is focused more on differences than commonalities)
Vezzali, Andrighetto, Di Bernardo, et al. (2017)	Advantaged: 113 Italian earthquake survivors	Disadvantaged: immigrants	Italy	Negative direct contact	Support for social policies benefitting immigrant earthquake survivors (normative collective action) [A*]	/	Support for social policies benefitting immigrant earthquake survivors (normative collective action) Support for social policies immigrants (normative collective action)	Sedative (correlation with contact, indirect effect)
Vezzali & Giovannini (2011)	Advantaged: 78 Italian enterprise owners	Disadvantaged: immigrants	Italy	Direct contact	Outgroup stereotypes [B*]	/	Support for social policies immigrants (normative collective action)	Mobilization (correlation with contact, indirect effect)
Vezzali et al. (2021, Study 1)	Advantaged: 211 White adults	Disadvantaged: Blacks (US subsample), refugees (UK subsample)	UK and United States	Negative vicarious contact	Anger against injustice [A*]	Social dominance orientation[1*]	Collective action intentions (normative collective action)	Mobilization (indirect effect among individuals low in social dominance orientation) No effect (nonsignificant correlation with vicarious contact)
Visintin et al. (2017)	Advantaged: 516 ethnic Bulgarian adults Disadvantaged: 274 Bulgarian Turkish adults (high-status ethnic minority)	Disadvantaged: Roma people	Bulgaria	Positive and negative direct contact	Outgroup attitudes [B*] Positive intergroup emotions [B*] Negative intergroup emotions [B*]	Group[1*] (no effect)	Support for social policies benefitting Roma people (normative collective action)	Mobilization (positive contact: direct and indirect effect for both groups) Sedative (negative contact: direct and indirect effect for both groups)

Wilson-Daily et al. (2018)	Advantaged: 1,219 Spanish adolescents Disadvantaged: 379 immigrant adolescents	Disadvantaged: immigrants Advantaged: Spanish people	Spain	Direct contact	/	Outgroup exposure[1*] (no effect) Group[1*] (no effect) Regional identification[3*] (no effect) National identification[3*] (no effect) Socio-economic status[4*] (no effect)	Support for immigrant rights (normative collective action)	Mobilization
Yustisia et al. (2020)	Equal status: 66 Islamic terrorist detainees	Equal status: individuals from other religious groups	Indonesia	Direct contact	Perceived injustice [A*] Ingroup efficacy [C*] Intergroup threat (realistic and symbolic) [A*] Identification with the jihadist group (politicized identity) [C*]	/	Support for Islamist terrorism (non-normative collective action)	Sedative (correlation with contact, indirect effect)

Note. In the column "Moderator(s)" we also included variables that were not formally tested with statistical moderation analyses (e.g., we included "Group" as a moderator also when studies simply ran separate analyses for groups, finding different results). The superscript for moderators indicates inclusion in the categories of: (1*) moderators associated with the intergroup situation, (2*) moderators associated with the outgroup, (3*) moderators associated with the ingroup, (4*) moderators concerning socio-demographics. In the column "Mediator(s)" the superscripts indicate inclusion in the categories of: (A*) mediators referred to the intergroup situation, (B*) mediators referred to the outgroup, (C*) mediators referred to the ingroup. In the column "Contact effect," where we refer to effects for the outcome variable, we specify whether contact lead to mobilization (contact associated with higher collective action) or sedative effects (contact associated with lower collective action) and indicate which types of effects emerged, in case there are more effects available; if only mobilization or sedative effects are mentioned without further specifications, only a direct effect emerged (when a direct effect was not presented, we reported the correlation whenever available).

Table 4. Summary of tests of moderation for advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

Moderators associated with the intergroup situation (121 tests) 1	Number of mobilization effects	Number of sedative effects	Number of mixed effects (mobilization and sedative)	Number of null effects
Group Status (67 tests)	**26**	**13**	**8**	**20**
Advantaged (19 tests)	14	-	-	5
Disadvantaged (32 tests)	6	9	8	9
Advantaged (7 tests, with negative contact)	-	4	-	3
Disadvantaged (9 tests, with negative contact)	6	-	-	3
Content of contact (20 tests)	**11**	**5**	**1**	**3**
Advantaged (11 tests)	6	2	1	2
Disadvantaged (9 tests)	5	3	-	1
Perceptions of group hierarchy (12 tests)	**9**	**-**	**-**	**3**
Advantaged (8 tests)	6	-	-	2
Disadvantaged (1 test)	-	-	-	1
Advantaged (3 tests, with negative contact)	3	-	-	-
Intergroup threat (8 tests)	**4**	**2**	**-**	**2**
Advantaged (3 tests)	2	-	-	1
Disadvantaged (3 tests)	2	-	-	1
Advantaged (1 test, with negative contact)	-	1	-	-
Disadvantaged (1 test, with negative contact)	-	1	-	-
Perceived inequality (6 tests)	**2**	**2**	**2**	**-**
Advantaged (3 tests)	2	-	1	-

Disadvantaged (3 tests)	-	2	1	-
Previous contact (4 tests)	**2**	**-**	**-**	**2**
Advantaged (2 tests)	1	-	-	1
Disadvantaged (2 tests)	1	-	-	1
Group salience (2 tests)	**1**	**-**	**-**	**1**
Advantaged (1 test)	1	-	-	-
Disadvantaged (1 test)	-	-	-	1
Institutional support (2 tests)	1	-	-	1
Advantaged (2 tests)	1	-	-	1
Disadvantaged (0 tests)	-	-	-	-
Moderators associated with the outgroup (-) **2**	**Number of mobilization effects**	**Number of sedative effects**	**Number of mixed effects**	**Number of null effects**
-	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**
Moderators associated with the ingroup (6 tests) **3**	**Number of mobilization effects**	**Number of sedative effects**	**Number of mixed effects**	**Number of null effects**
Group identification (6 tests)	**-**	**2**	**-**	**4**
Advantaged (2 tests)	-	-	-	2
Disadvantaged (4 tests)	-	2	-	2

Note. In the table we report the number of tests of moderation for the studies included in the review. Specifically, for each study we report whether the moderator(s) for a specific sample has allowed mobilization effects of contact, sedative effects, mixed effects (that is, both mobilization and sedative effects), null (nonsignificant) effects. Therefore, since some studies included more than one sample and/or more than one moderator, the number of tests is greater than the number of studies: the number of tests is equal to the number of samples included in a study, for each contact measure (that is, a study with two samples and one contact measure will have two tests for each moderator; a study with two samples and two contact measures will have four tests for each moderator). The Table does not provide indications on the direction of the effect of the moderator (that is, whether the mobilization, sedative, or mixed effect emerged for high or low values of the moderator).

Table 5. Summary of tests of mediation for advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

Mediators associated with the intergroup situation (105 tests) **A**	**Number of mobilization effects**	**Number of sedative effects**	**Number of mixed effects (mobilization and sedative)**	**Number of null effects**
Perceived inequality (88 tests)	**37**	**16**	**-**	**35**
Advantaged (33 tests)	18	-	-	15
Disadvantaged (39 tests)	9	15	-	15
Advantaged (7 tests, with negative contact)	5	1	-	1
Disadvantaged (9 tests, with negative contact)	5	-	-	4
Perceptions of group hierarchy (12 tests)	**3**	**3**	**-**	**6**
Advantaged (5 tests)	3	-	-	2
Disadvantaged (4 tests)	-	-	-	4
Advantaged (3 tests, with negative contact)	-	3	-	-
Intergroup threat (5 tests)	**2**	**1**	**-**	**2**
Advantaged (3 tests)	2	-	-	1
Disadvantaged (2 tests)	-	1	-	1
Mediators associated with the outgroup (90 tests) **B**	**Number of mobilization effects**	**Number of sedative effects**	**Number of mixed effects**	**Number of null effects**
Intergroup emotions (37 tests)	**25**	**6**	**-**	**6**
Advantaged (21 tests)	18	-	-	3
Disadvantaged (10 tests)	5	2	-	3
Advantaged (2 tests, with negative contact)	-	2	-	-
Disadvantaged (4 tests, with negative contact)	2	2	-	-

Outgroup attitudes (35 tests)	13	11	-	11
Advantaged (13 tests)	10	-	-	3
Disadvantaged (11 tests)	3	2	-	6
Advantaged (6 tests, with negative contact)	-	6	-	-
Disadvantaged (5 tests, with negative contact)	-	3	-	2
Outgroup stereotypes and morality perceptions (16 tests)	**9**	**1**	**-**	**6**
Advantaged (11 tests)	6	-	-	5
Disadvantaged (4 tests)	3	-	-	1
Advantaged (1 tests, with negative contact)	-	1	-	-
Meta-perceptions (2 tests)	**-**	**-**	**-**	**2**
Advantaged (0 tests)	-	-	-	-
Disadvantaged (2 tests)	-	-	-	2
Mediators associated with the ingroup (32 tests) C	**Number of mobilization effects**	**Number of sedative effects**	**Number of mixed effects**	**Number of null effects**
Group identification (24 tests)	**9**	**8**	**-**	**7**
Advantaged (6 tests)	5	-	-	1
Disadvantaged (13 tests)	3	7	-	3
Advantaged (2 tests, with negative contact)	-	1	-	1
Disadvantaged (3 tests, with negative contact)	1	-	-	2
Ingroup attitudes (4 tests)	**-**	**-**	**-**	**4**
Advantaged (2 tests)	-	-	-	2
Disadvantaged (2 tests)	-	-	-	2

Group efficacy (4 tests)	**1**	**-**	**-**	**3**
Advantaged (1 test)	-	-	-	1
Disadvantaged (3 tests)	1	-	-	2

Note. In the table we report the number of tests of mediation for the studies included in the review. Specifically, for each study we report whether the mediator(s) for a specific sample has allowed mobilization effects of contact, sedative effects, mixed effects (that is, both mobilization and sedative effects), null (nonsignificant) effects. Therefore, since some studies included more than one sample and/or more than one mediator, the number of tests is greater than the number of studies: the number of tests is equal to the number of samples included in a study, for each contact measure (that is, a study with two samples and one contact measure will have two tests for each mediator; a study with two samples and two contact measures will have four tests for each mediator). The Table does not provide indications on the direction of the effect of the mediator (that is, whether the mobilization, sedative, or mixed effect emerged because of a relative increase or decrease of the mediator).

Chapter 3

Setting the stage: Studies overview

Promoting solidarity-based collective action, which entails actions aimed at benefiting disadvantaged groups, represents a crucial goal in the pursuit of a fairer and more inclusive society. The narrative review presented in this project provides relevant information about the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action, emphasizing the powerful impact of intergroup contact on collective action engagement. However, defining when it energizes or inhibits collective action represents a challenging task for social psychologists. As suggested by the effects observed among advantaged and disadvantaged group members, group status appears to play a key role. Among advantaged group members, intergroup contact emerges as strongly associated with greater intentions to undertake collective action. Among disadvantaged group members mixed results, showing both mobilizing and sedative effects, suggest that bringing groups together may sometimes be problematic. These findings support the importance to further explore intergroup contact as a means for the emergence of social equality goals and pave the way for future research outlining multiple ways of approaching intergroup contact and collective action. In this regard, in order to advance our understanding of social change processes and introduce additional elements that can shed further light on the relationship between contact and collective action, the empirical studies I will present as part of this project will concentrate on the analysis of intergroup contact and other key factors that may potentially promote solidarity-based collective action. In particular, drawing from the literature on both intergroup contact and collective action, inclusive identity and morality qualify as significant factors deserving further investigation. The decision to emphasize intergroup contact, social identification, and morality stems from the goal of reconciling different bodies of literature that are pertinent to advancing social equality. These distinct factors have the potential to improve intergroup relations and establish a foundation for intergroup alliances. Intergroup contact stands out as one of the

most influential strategies for advancing social equality on a global scale (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Social identification lies at the core of intergroup dynamics, as it is through social identification that intergroup relations take form and are shaped (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social identification serves as the fundamental driving force behind the intentions for societal change that are emphasized in the extensive body of literature on collective action (e.g., Subašić et al., 2008; Thomas et al., 2009, 2012; van Zomeren et al., 2008, 2012, 2018). In particular, this research project aims to explore the role of social identification with inclusive identities (superordinate identities within which both advantaged and disadvantaged groups are included, Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), which represent another potent means of encouraging positive intergroup relations (Capozza et al., 2010, 2013; Gaertner et al., 1994). Inclusive identities, providing a suitable context for the evolution of intergroup relations, may potentially set the stage for the promotion of social equality goals among group members (Subašić et al., 2008), offering a promising direction for intergroup alliance. Finally, morality, which consists of a core driver of both intergroup judgments (Brambilla & Leach, 2014; Pacilli et al., 2016) and collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2012, 2018), also implied in contact effects (Vezzali et al., 2020), emerges as a potential linking factor between prejudice reduction strategies (i.e., intergroup contact and common ingroup identity) and collective action that is still largely unexplored in relation to prejudice reduction and is worthy of further investigation.

Study 1

The first study included in this work, involving members of an advantaged group (*N* = 391), examines the relationship of positive and negative intergroup contact with both normative and non-normative collective action intentions and support. Specifically, this study investigates the relationship between Italians and foreigners, considering a sample of Italian adults. In exploring such relationship, common ingroup identity and outgroup morality are tested as potential sequential mediators. This study provides preliminary

evidence of the role played by contact, common ingroup identity, and morality, in promoting collective action. Considering the controversies questioning the role of common ingroup identity in promoting collective action (e.g., Hassler et al., 2021), to successfully understand its role in social change processes, it is relevant to investigate this relationship more closely. With this goal in mind, the upcoming chapter will delve deeper into the connection between common identity and collective action, specifically exploring its content in relation to various types of common identities.

Study 2 and Study 3

The following examinations consist of two correlational studies conducted in different national contexts, with both advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Study 1, United Kingdom: British population $N = 169$, Eastern European immigrants $N = 158$; Study 2, Italy: Italians $N = 255$, immigrants $N = 190$). The main goal of these studies is to take a step forward by exploring the content of common ingroup identity, operationalized as the relative perceived prototypicality of subgroup identities in relation to multiple inclusive identities of reference, as a potential mediator of the relationship of positive and negative intergroup contact with normative collective action. These studies confirm the positive role played by common ingroup identity in promoting collective action, as well as the importance of considering its content. In the subsequent study, the goal is to replicate the effects of common group identity in a different context with a non-WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic) sample. Moreover, in testing the association between common identity and collective action, morality will be investigated as a potential mediator (against competitive mediators from the collective action literature) that can drive common identity effects on collective action.

Study 4

The fifth chapter presents a correlational study conducted in the Nigerian tribal context, focusing on the Yoruba tribe ($N = 200$), one of the most prominent tribes in Nigeria. The

study aims to examine the role of social identification with the national identity of Nigerians (a common identity) in promoting collective action in favor of both an advantaged (the Igbo tribe) and a disadvantaged group (the Edo tribe). This study tests moral convictions, outgroup attitudes, and outgroup feelings as potential mediators. This research builds upon previous findings, highlighting the importance of common ingroup identity and morality in promoting collective action intentions and it raises interest about the role of morality in linking prejudice reduction strategies with collective action intentions. Continuing along this line, the final study delves deeper into morality by concurrently examining various types of moral perceptions that have been deemed relevant in previous literature (Sabucedo et al., 2018, van Zomeren et al., 2018).

Study 5

The fifth study presents a research that explores the role of different types of moral perceptions in promoting collective action for social change. This study focuses on male youth football players from a professional Italian football club (N = 111) and investigates the connection between their identification with a sports social group and their willingness to engage in collective action on the behalf of disadvantaged individuals. It examines moral convictions, moral violation, and moral obligation as potential mediators. This study highlights the significant role of social identification in driving collective action intentions and extend this perspective to a social identity which has not been explored in the context of collective action, specifically, the category of sports people. Additionally, the study underscores the importance of morality in explaining the link between social identities and collective action, particularly highlighting the central role of moral obligation.

This research project concludes with a synthesis of the results of these studies and an in-depth exploration of the potential theoretical insights, practical applications and promising future research directions that have emerged from this work. Throughout this process, special attention is paid to the central role played by the three core elements of this

research: intergroup contact, inclusive social identities, and morality. By linking the findings of these studies to established theoretical frameworks, this research project aims to bridge the gaps between different bodies of literature suggesting that both intergroup contact (Allport, 1954) and inclusive identities (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) can serve as central drivers of solidarity-based collective action. Moreover, it emphasizes their close connection with morality as a leading motivational driver for action (van Zomeren et al., 2012, 2018). Moreover, these findings open new perspectives and potential applications with real-world implications that can inspire future research efforts in promoting a more equitable and inclusive society.

Investigating the associations of positive and negative intergroup contact with normative and non-normative collective action among advantaged group members: The mediating role of common ingroup identity and outgroup morality[1]

There is consensus among social psychologists that intergroup contact represents an effective strategy for the reduction of prejudice (Hodson & Hewstone, 2013; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, various researchers have questioned the relevance of contact in promoting social equality, raising doubts about whether it can promote collective action that benefits the disadvantaged group (Dixon et al., 2005; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Given that advantaged groups are generally defined by greater numerosity and power compared with disadvantaged groups, understanding when they will ally with the disadvantaged group in the pursuit of social equality is of primary relevance.

In the present study, we focus on the perspective of the advantaged group by addressing important limitations of previous research. First, research on contact and collective action has neglected the investigation of 'harsher' forms of collective action, namely non-normative collective action, which we define as violent and destructive actions, often violating the law and prevalent social norms (see also Becker & Tausch, 2015). In contrast, normative collective action refers to behaviors that are generally seen as socially acceptable, such as taking part in marches or distributing leaflets, aimed at improving the status of a group. In the present article, we refer to normative or non-normative collective action that involves actions aimed at promoting the interests of the disadvantaged group. Second, despite growing research investigating the consequences of negative contact, to date only few studies have considered the association between negative contact and collective

[1] I present the article version accepted for publication. Published in open access format on Testing, Psychometrics, Methodology in Applied Psychology, within the Special Issue "Understanding the psychological processes driving collective action to achieve social equality."
Article reference: Cocco, V. M., Di Bernardo, G. A., Stathi, S., & Vezzali, L. (2022). Investigating the associations of positive and negative intergroup contact with normative and nonnormative collective action among advantaged group members: The mediating role of common ingroup identity and outgroup morality. *TPM - Testing, Psychometrics, Methodology in Applied Psychology*, *29*, 141-157.
https://doi.org/10.4473/TPM29.1.10

action. Third, despite the key role of common ingroup identity on the improvement of intergroup relations (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), contact scholars have overlooked the investigation of one-group perceptions in relation to collective action. Fourth, research has shown that morality plays a role in shaping intergroup perceptions (Brambilla & Leach, 2014) and in mediating several contact effects (Vezzali et al., 2020); there has been no investigation however of outgroup morality perceptions as the underlying process explaining the relationship between contact and collective action.

To address the above limitations of previous research, we conducted a correlational study with a sample of Italian adults, and with immigrants as the outgroup. First, we included measures of both positive and negative contact to explore whether and how they associate with collective action. Second, we included measures of both normative and non-normative collective action to provide a more nuanced examination of contact outcomes. We further distinguished, for the first time in intergroup contact research, individuals' intentions to engage in collective actions from a more generic support for such actions. Finally, we explored common ingroup identity and morality perceptions as potential mediators of the contact effects.

Intergroup contact and collective action

Wright and Lubensky (2009) argued that intergroup contact is largely at odds with promoting collective action. While collective action is fueled by conflict between advantaged and disadvantaged groups, contact has generally been intended as a strategy that reduces conflict and promotes harmony between groups. So based on the principle-implementation gap, individuals may approve of social equality (possibly as a result of contact with the outgroup), but they may reject concrete actions that aim to promote it (Dixon et al., 2017). Consistently, some studies revealed that in the case of advantaged group members the effects of contact on collective action can be weaker than corresponding effects on prejudice (Jackman & Crane, 1986). However, although effects may sometimes be relatively weak, a growing

number of studies reveals that contact is positively associated with collective action among advantaged group members (Reimer et al., 2017, Studies 1b and 2b; Selvanathan et al., 2018; Tropp et al., 2021; Vezzali & Giovannini, 2011). For instance, Di Bernardo et al. (2021) showed that Italian high-school students' contact with immigrants was positively associated with greater intentions to take part in actions that promote immigrants' right. This association was mediated by greater perceptions that the advantaged position of Italians is illegitimate.

Research on the detrimental effects of negative contact is rapidly growing (Schafer et al., 2021). Surprisingly, the role of negative contact has been overlooked in research on contact and collective action. It is important to highlight the scarce research investigating the effects of negative contact on collective action among advantaged group members. Hassler et al. (2020), considering advantaged group members based on ethnicity and sexual orientation, found cross-sectionally that negative contact had a sedative effect, being associated with lower intentions to engage in a series of high- and low-cost collective action behaviors as well as lower support for social policies benefitting the disadvantaged groups. Sedative effects on collective action were also found in cross-sectional studies by Meleady et al. (2017), Meleady and Vermue (2019, Studies 1 and 2), Reimer et al. (2017, Study 1b), Vezzali et al. (2017), Visintin et al. (2017). In contrast, Reimer et al. (2017, Study 2b) did not find significant longitudinal associations between negative contact and collective action. These evidence however, are scarce compared with the overwhelming majority of studies investigating the associations between positive or non-valenced contact and collective action, calling for further research. In general, findings are rather consistent, showing that negative contact has demobilizing effects on the advantaged group's intentions to engage in actions supporting the disadvantaged group.

The literature reviewed above focused on normative forms of collective action. A further important issue that requires attention is the almost total lack of evidence for the

potential association between contact and non-normative collective action. We were able to locate only two studies tangentially examining the association of contact and non-normative collective action from the perspective of advantaged group members. Saleem et al. (2016) conducted two studies in the United States using adults (mostly Whites) as participants and Muslims as the outgroup. In the first, longitudinal study, contact was associated with lower support for civic restrictions for Muslim Americans, and lower support for military action in Muslim countries; an indirect effect via lower negative intergroup emotions was significant only for the measure of support for civic restrictions. In the second, correlational study, contact was negatively associated only with support for military action in Muslim countries; indirect effects on lower support for both actions via lower negative intergroup emotions and negative outgroup stereotypes emerged for both variables. Note however that, while support for civic restrictions can be considered as a form of normative collective action, support for military action is not necessarily a form of non-normative collective action as it is framed within the context of a public policy. Furthermore, it is debatable whether opposing military action against an outgroup is a measure of supporting said outgroup's rights.

Common ingroup identity and morality perceptions

There is ample evidence that common ingroup identity stemming from contact is associated with more positive outgroup evaluations (Capozza et al., 2010, 2013; Gaertner et al., 1994). However, there are indications that one-group perceptions may inhibit the advantaged group's engagement in collective action. Examining the perspective of advantaged group members (Whites), Banfield and Dovidio (2013) found that subtle (but not blatant) discrimination against Black people was not recognized when a common identity was salient (Americans); in addition, only a dual identity (racial/ethnic groups within the American identity) fostered willingness to protest against discrimination of Blacks. In this case, it is likely that focusing on the American identity obscured differences and the recognition of intergroup inequality between groups at lower levels of categorization, preventing the

mobilization for defending the interests of the disadvantaged group. Other studies did not find evidence for an association between inclusive identities and collective action (Reimer et al., 2020).

However, there also is preliminary evidence that a common identity can promote advantaged group members' engagement against intergroup inequality. Bikmen and Sunar (2013) showed that Turks (advantaged group) were more likely to engage in discussing power differences in imagined conversations with a disadvantaged group (Kurds) with which they shared a common identity (Muslims), but not with a disadvantaged group (Armenians) with which they did not share such common identity. Therefore, common identity can promote the engagement for disadvantaged groups included in this identity. Importantly, common identity should allow to recognize differences between groups included in it (Dovidio et al., 2007).

Surprisingly, despite the potential relevance of common identity in collective action processes, we have not found studies investigating contact and common identity in the context of collective action. Similarly, despite the recent surge of studies investigating negative contact, evidence for the association between negative contact and common identity is lacking (for an exception, see Reimer et al., 2020). Thus, exploring the potential role of common identity can provide further evidence into the key processes that explain the contact-collective action path.

As a further mediator we considered morality perceptions. Contact research has generally neglected the role of morality. This is most surprising given that morality perceptions have been shown to be important in determining intergroup perceptions (Brambilla & Leach, 2014; Pacilli et al., 2016). The few studies conducted however, consistently showed that contact interacts with morality considerations (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2020), or is indirectly associated with reduced prejudice via greater perceptions that the outgroup is moral (Brambilla et al., 2013; Vezzali, Brambilla et al., 2017; Vezzali et al.,

2020). Models that highlight instigators of collective action, such as the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; Van Zomeren et al., 2008, 2012; see also Becker & Tausch, 2015) have also conceptualized morality as a key factor driving intentions to engage in collective action. That is, if moral stances are violated, individuals can engage in reparative actions. However, despite the theorizing and research on the role of morality in collective action research, we are aware of only one contact study taking into account the role of morality perceptions in collective action processes. Brambilla et al. (2013) found that Italians' (advantaged group) contact with immigrants (disadvantaged group) was indirectly associated with collective action intentions via increased perceptions that immigrants are moral. We thus seek to extend knowledge in this area by exploring the role of outgroup morality as a mediator of the path between both negative and positive contact and collective action intentions and support.

In the present study, we test both common identity and outgroup morality as mediators of contact on collective action. Importantly, we hypothesize sequential mediation, with common identity preceding outgroup morality. Being part of the same group can be considered a precondition for attributing moral characteristics to the outgroup and give them sufficient importance to drive outgroup perceptions (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Indeed, individuals typically attribute morality to ingroup members as a form of self-enhancement (Ellemers, 2017), use morality to derive the ingroup self-concept (Leach et al., 2007), and use it as the basis for ingroup evaluations (Brambilla et al., 2021). Therefore, including outgroup members in a (superordinate) ingroup is importance in order to attribute them moral qualities and use them to evaluate (former) outgroup members. Other studies have found that perceptions of being part of the same group, as a consequence of contact, precedes intergroup outcomes, such as intergroup emotions (Capozza et al., 2013).

The present research

We conducted one correlational study to investigate the association of positive and negative contact with normative and non-normative collective action among advantaged group members. Participants were Italians and the outgroup was immigrants. We also tested common identity and outgroup morality perceptions as potential mediators.

Teixeira et al. (2019) showed that advantaged group members are likely to perceive that non-normative collective action damages the advantaged group's social image, which supersedes the potential benefits it might have for improving the position of the disadvantaged group. In other words, the motivation to protect ingroups image is stronger compared with the motivation to help the disadvantage outgroup. Based on this finding and in line with previous literature, positive contact should be associated with greater and negative contact with lower normative collective action. In contrast, positive contact should be related to lower non-normative collective action: participants with positive contact may fear that non-normative collective action is scarcely effective, damages ingroup image, and disrupts positive intergroup relations. Negative contact should be associated with lower normative collective action; but we predict a nonsignificant association with non-normative collective action: even if negative contact had a sedative effect, this should not extend to the point of favoring actions that may disrupt the advantaged group's image, or that may favor the interests of the disadvantaged group (albeit in a non-normative way).

As we argued above, a common identity that obscure group differences can prevent collective action. In contrast, when a common identity allows recognition of group differences, it can promote collective action. For this reason, we included a common ingroup identity measure that simply referred to the extent to which participants believed that Italians and immigrants were included in a common group, rather than specifying an assimilative identity such as "Italians." With respect to outgroup morality perceptions, we used an established measure that has been used to assess outgroup morality as a mediator of contact effects (Brambilla et al., 2013).

As anticipated in the previous section, common identity and outgroup morality should sequentially mediate contact effect. In line with the larger contact literature, and extrapolating from literature on negative contact, we expect a positive association between positive contact and common identity, and an association of opposite valence for negative contact. In turn, the fact of being part of the same group (at a superordinate level) should be associated with greater attribution of positive moral qualities to outgroup (now ingroup) members. Finally, greater perceptions of outgroup morality should be positively associated with actions aimed at supporting the outgroup, namely with normative collective action. Non-normative collective action can be defined in terms of its contrast with prevalent social norms. Hence, to the extent that the outgroup is perceived as moral, it should be less likely to engage in immoral action. Based on this rationale, we anticipate a negative association between morality and non-normative collective action.

In addition to including measures of intentions to engage in normative and non-normative collective action, we also included measures of support of normative and non-normative collective action. We believe that the distinction between intentions and support is especially relevant to non-normative collective action. In fact, individuals may be unwilling to engage in anti-social and illegal behaviors (or they may be reluctant to admit it due to social desirability). However, they may be willing to declare that they agree (or disagree) to some extent with others engaging in such actions. Therefore, although we do not anticipate differential effects of contact on normative collective action, we contemplate the possibility of stronger and more consistent associations of contact with support for non-normative collective action rather than intentions to engage in it.

We therefore hypothesize the following:

H1a: positive contact should be positively associated with normative collective action; conversely, negative contact should be negatively associated with normative collective action.

H1b: positive contact should be negatively associated with non-normative collective action; the association should be nonsignificant for negative contact.

H2a: positive contact should be indirectly associated with greater normative collective action intentions and support, via higher common identity and, in turn, outgroup morality perceptions; in contrast, lower common identity and in turn lower outgroup morality should explain the indirect effects of negative contact on lower normative collective action intentions and support.

H2b: positive contact should be indirectly associated with lower non-normative collective action intentions and support, via higher common identity and, in turn, outgroup morality perceptions, which should be negatively associated with the two non-normative collective action measures; negative contact should be indirectly associated with higher non-normative collective action intentions and support, via lower common identity and, in turn, outgroup morality perceptions, which should be negatively associated with the two non-normative collective action measures.

An a-priori power analysis, indicated about 400 participants as an adequate sample to test a structural equation model with eight latent variables and 16 observed indicators with a power of .80 for detecting a small to medium effect size (see, e.g., Westland, 2010).

Method

Participants and procedure

A total of 412 participants took part in the study. In line with the focus of the study, after preliminary inspection of the sample, we discharged 21 respondents who declared having at least one foreign parent. The final dataset included 391 Italian participants (231 females, 159 males, 1 other), ranging from 18 to 79 years of age ($M_{age} = 35.42$, $SD = 13.99$). Concerning education, the majority declared having a high-school degree or lower (65.5%), 18.7% indicated a Bachelor's degree, while 15.9% held a Master's degree. 70.8% of participants

were employed, 22% were students or working students, and 7.2% indicated "other" occupation status.

An online questionnaire was shared by trained university students via e-mail, messaging applications, or social networks. After completing the survey, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

Measures

Unless otherwise reported, measures were administered using a 5-step scale ranging from 1 = "not at all" to 5 = "very much".

Positive and negative contact. Contact with immigrants has been assessed using 10 items from Hayward et al. (2018). For each item, participants were asked to what extent they experienced positive or negative experiences: five items concerned positive experiences (positive/pleasant/good/friendly/enjoyable), the other five items reflected negative experiences (negative/unpleasant/bad/unfriendly/unenjoyable). The response scale ranges from 1 (none) to 5 (very much). Responses were averaged in two composite scores of positive and negative contact (alphas = .93 and .91, respectively).

Common identity. Two items, adapted from Capozza et al. (2013), measured the perception that Italians and immigrants are members of a superordinate group ("To what extent do you see Italians and immigrants as members of a common group?"; "To what extent do you identify with the group of people that includes Italians and immigrants?"). The two items were merged in a single index of common identity ($r = .72$, $p < .001$).

Outgroup morality. Perceptions of morality attributed to the outgroup were assessed using four traits (Brambilla et al., 2011). Specifically, participants had to rate how much they evaluated immigrants as "honest," "trusting," "sincere," and "moral." The four items were averaged in a composite score of outgroup morality (alpha = .92).

Normative collective action intentions. Four items, adapted from general literature on collective action (e.g., Reimer et al., 2017), assessed participants' willingness to take part

in normative actions for promoting immigrants' rights (e.g., "Would you participate to a demonstration against the unequal treatment of immigrants?"). Items were combined in a reliable index of normative collective action intentions (alpha = .88).

Normative collective action support. Participants responded to three items adapted from Renger et al. (2020) measuring endorsement for normative collective action (e.g., "In general, I have sympathy for immigrants sometimes resorting to demonstration against the unequal treatment to enforce equal treatment"). We computed a reliable index of normative collective action support by averaging the items (alpha = .91).

Non-normative collective action intentions. Three items, adapted from Becker et al. (2013), measured respondents' intentions in participating in non-normative actions aiming at improving the rights of immigrants (e.g., "Would you damage public property to protest against laws that disadvantage immigrants?"). Items were averaged in a composite score of non-normative collective action intentions (alpha = .91).

Non-normative collective action support. We used three items adapted from Renger et al. (2020) assessing support for non-normative collective action (e.g., "I can understand when immigrants fight for equal treatment without regard to losses"). An index of non-normative collective action support was calculated by averaging the items (alpha = .74).

A CFA with latent variables was conducted to ensure that collective action intentions and support measures were empirically distinct. The CFA showed an excellent adaptation to the data, $\chi^2(14) = 19.26$, $p = .15$, RMSEA = .03, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 0.99, SRMR = .02. It emerged that the two factors were distinct, since the 95% CI intervals did not include 1. Therefore, the correlations were different from the perfect association, supporting the distinction between the constructs investigated.

Results

Introductory analyses

Means, standard deviations, and correlations between constructs are reported in Table 1. As can be seen, positive contact was more frequent than negative contact, $t(390) = 9.89$, $p < .001$. Non-normative collective action support was higher than non-normative collective action intentions, $t(390) = 12.15$, $p < .001$; similarly, normative collective action support was also higher than normative collective action intentions, $t(390) = 15.87$, $p < .001$.

Positive contact correlated positively with common identity and outgroup morality; correlations were negative for negative contact. The two expected mediators in turn were positively associated with normative collective action intentions and support. In contrast, nonsignificant correlations emerged between the two mediators and non-normative collective action intentions and support, except from a positive correlation between outgroup morality and non-normative collective action support. Normative collective action intentions and support were strongly correlated; a strong albeit apparently weaker correlation also emerged between non-normative collective action intentions and support.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and correlations between variables (*N* = 391).

Variable	Mean	*SD*		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Positive contact	3.19	0.93		-							
2. Negative contact	2.48	0.86		-.29***	-						
3. Common identity	3.17	1.01		.58***	-.31***	-					
4. Outgroup morality	3.07	0.75		.59***	-.42***	.54***	-				
5. Normative collective action support	3.53	1.08		.54***	-.36***	.59***	.59***	-			
6. Normative collective action intentions	2.93	1.13		.55***	-.35***	.57***	.55***	.77***	-		
7. Non-normative collective action support	1.78	0.83		.13**	.07	.09	.14**	.12*	.24***	-	
8. Non-normative collective action intentions	1.36	0.73		.01	.18***	.02	.03	-.07	.11*	.62***	-

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

Main analyses

Associations of positive and negative contact with collective action

The hypothesized relationships were investigated with a structural equation model with latent variables with the Mplus Software (version 8.3; Muthen & Muthen, 2017). Positive and negative contact were the independent variables; the four collective action measures were the dependent variables. For each latent variable, two parcels were created following the "item-to-construct balance" approach (Little et al., 2002). Model adaptation to the data was assessed using the indexes suggested by Hu and Bentler (1999): a nonsignificant chi-square, RMSEA smaller than .06, CFI and TLI higher than .95, and SRMR less than .08, indicate a good fit.

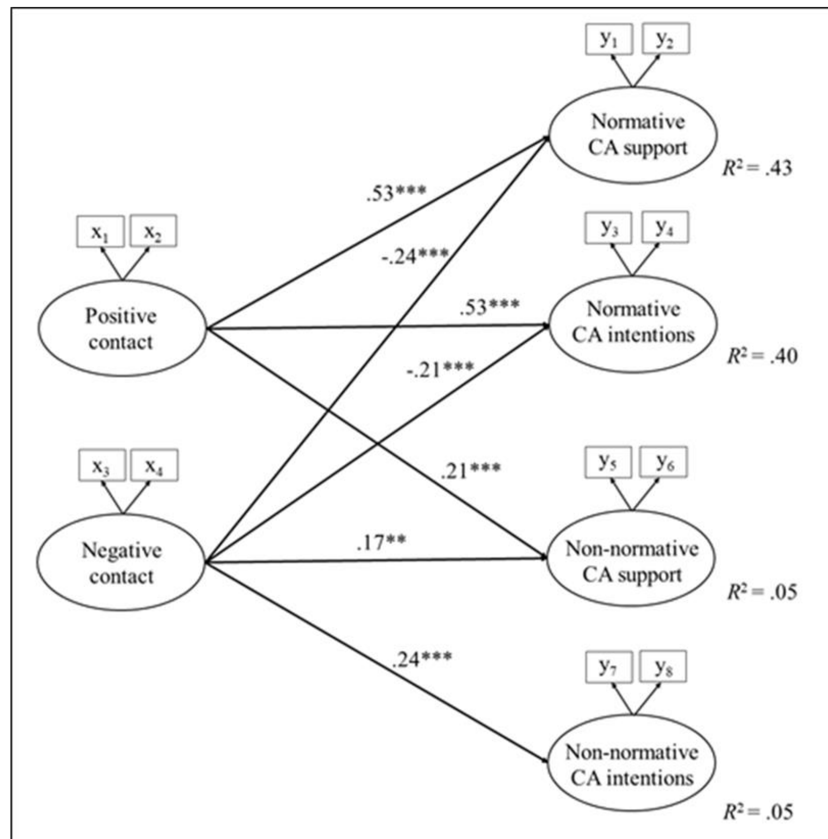
Fit indexes turned out to be excellent, $\chi^2(39) = 43.65$, $p = .28$, RMSEA = .02, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.00, SRMR = .02. Results are presented in Figure 1. As can be seen, fully supporting H1a, positive contact was positively associated with both normative collective action intentions and support, while these associations were negative in the case of negative contact.

We did not find support for H1b. First, positive contact was positively associated with non-normative collective action support; the association with non-normative collective action intentions was nonsignificant. Second, positive associations emerged between negative contact and both forms of non-normative collective action investigated.

To further explore these associations, differences between coefficients were tested employing the method suggested by Cummings (2009). Coefficients are significantly different if the respective 95% confidence intervals overlap by less than 50%. We first focused on normative collective action. First, we found that positive contact was associated with similar strength with normative collective intentions and support; similar findings emerged for negative contact. Second, we compared positive and negative contact with respect to their associations with the different forms of collective action. Results revealed

that positive contact had stronger associations than negative contact with both normative intentions and support.

Figure 1. Structural equation model of the direct effects of contact on the outcome variables (N = 391). Only significant standardized coefficients are reported. *p < .05. ***p < .001.



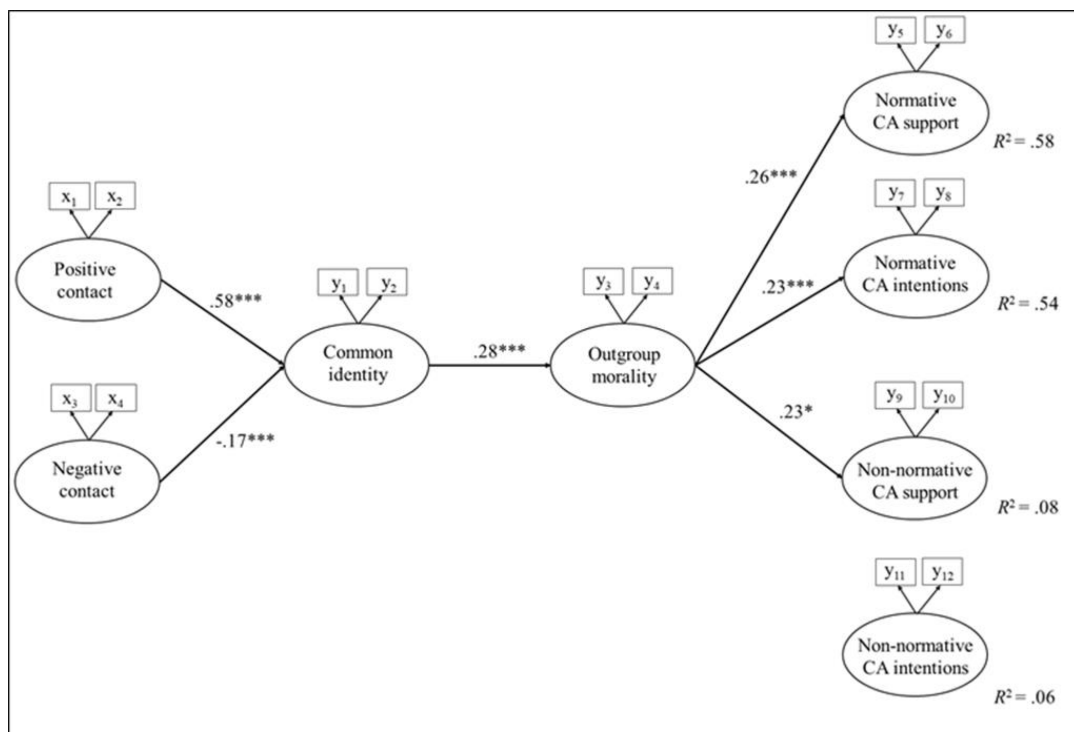
Then, we explored the strength of associations with respect to measures of non-normative collective action. No differences between positive and negative contact emerged when considering non-normative collective action support; however, negative contact had a stronger relation than positive contact with non-normative collective action intentions (the relation between positive contact and non-normative collective action intentions was nonsignificant). Second, replicating findings obtained for normative collective action, the association of positive contact with non-normative collective action and support were of similar magnitude; similar results emerged for negative contact.

For all the latter significant differences, $p < .05$.

Underlying processes

The hypothesized relationships were investigated with a further structural equation model with latent variables employing Mplus Software (version 8.3; Muthen & Muthen, 2017). In addition to using parcels created when testing the model presented in Figure 1, we also created two parcels following the "item-to-construct balance" approach (Little et al., 2002); the two items composing the measure of common identity were used as observed indicators for the latent variable of common identity.

Figure 2. Structural equation model of the effects of contact on the outcome variables via common ingroup perceptions and outgroup morality ($N = 391$). Only significant standardized coefficients are reported. *$p < .05$. ***$p < .001$.



Positive and negative contact represented the independent variables; common identity was the first-level mediator; outgroup morality was included as second-level mediator; the four forms of collective action measures were the dependent variables. Direct effects from the independent variables and the first-level mediator to the criterion variables, along with the paths from contact measures to second level mediator, were estimated. Same-level factors correlations were added to the model.

The model showed an excellent adaptation to the data, $\chi^2(76) = 88.17$, $p = .16$, RMSEA = .02, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.00, SRMR = .02. As can be seen in Figure 2 (see also Table 2 for residual direct effects and correlations between same-level variables), positive contact was positively associated with common identity, while this association was negative for negative contact. In turn, common identity was positively associated with outgroup morality perceptions. Finally, outgroup morality was positively associated with normative collective action intentions and support. An unexpected positive association also emerged between outgroup morality and non-normative collective action support.

Bootstrapping analyses are reported in Table 3. H2a was fully supported by the results. As predicted, positive contact was indirectly associated, via hypothesized mediators, with greater normative collective action intentions and support, while negative indirect effects emerged for negative contact. In contrast, we did not find support for H2b. Contrary to predictions, in fact, none of the indirect effects was significant.

Table 2. Significant direct effects and correlations between same level variables in the hypothesized model ($N = 391$)

Variable 1		Variable 2	Beta
Positive contact	→	Outgroup morality	.38***
Positive contact	→	Normative collective action support	.15*
Positive contact	→	Normative collective action intentions	.17**
Negative contact	→	Outgroup morality	-.24***
Negative contact	→	Normative collective action support	-.11*
Negative contact	→	Normative collective action intentions	-.10†
Negative contact	→	Non-normative collective action support	.23**
Negative contact	→	Non-normative collective action intentions	.28***
Common identity	→	Normative collective action support	.40***
Common identity	→	Normative collective action intentions	.38***
Variable 1		Variable 2	r
Positive contact	↔	Negative contact	-.32***
Normative collective action support	↔	Normative collective action intentions	.73***
Non-normative collective action support	↔	Non-normative collective action intentions	.74***
Normative collective action intentions	↔	Non-normative collective action intentions	.17***
Normative collective action support	↔	Non-normative collective action intentions	-10*
Non-normative collective action support	↔	Normative collective action intentions	.22***

Note. †$p < .06$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Table 3. Indirect effects in the hypothesized model ($N = 391$).

Predictor	First level mediator	Second level mediator	Dependent variable	Mean bootstrap estimate	Percentile confidence interval (95%)
Positive contact	Common identity	Outgroup morality	Normative collective action support	**0.043**	**[0.016, 0.069]**
Positive contact	Common identity	Outgroup morality	Normative collective action intentions	**0.38**	**[0.011, 0.066]**
Positive contact	Common identity	Outgroup morality	Non-normative collective action support	0.038	[-0.001, 0.077]
Positive contact	Common identity	Outgroup morality	Non-normative collective action intentions	0.025	[-0.010, 0.061]
Negative contact	Common identity	Outgroup morality	Normative collective action support	**-0.012**	**[-0.023, -0.001]**
Negative contact	Common identity	Outgroup morality	Normative collective action intentions	**-0.11**	**[-0.021, -0.001]**
Negative contact	Common identity	Outgroup morality	Non-normative collective action support	-0.011	[-0.024, 0.002]
Negative contact	Common identity	Outgroup morality	Non-normative collective action intentions	-0.007	[-0.018, 0.003]

Note: Mean bootstrap estimates are based on 5,000 bootstrap samples. Boldface indicates a significant indirect effect.

Discussion

We conducted one correlational study investigating the association of positive and negative contact with collective action in a sample of advantaged group members. Specifically, we considered the relationship between Italians and immigrants from the perspective of Italians. We further investigated common identity and outgroup morality as potential mediators. Importantly, departing from most previous research, we considered both normative and non-normative forms of collective action, while differentiating between intentions to engage in such actions and mere support for them. Results of a CFA showed that the intentions and support are independent, albeit correlated constructs. We believe this distinction is important, especially in light of social desirability concerns that may occur to individuals when rating intentions to engage in non-normative collective action.

There is growing research investigating positive and negative contact, with mixed findings about which of the two forms has stronger effects on prejudice (Árnadóttir et al., 2018; Barlow et al., 2012; Huang et al., 2020; Zingora et al., 2020). Research on negative contact and collective action is surprisingly scarce, although it is generally consistent in revealing sedative effects of negative contact among advantaged group members (Hassler et al., 2020; Reimer et al., 2017, Study 1b). The present study builds on this literature, replicating the mobilizing effect of positive contact and the sedative effect of negative contact. But it also extends the literature, providing the first comparison between the effects of positive and negative contact. We found that positive contact is associated with higher normative collective action intentions and support to a greater extent compared to the negative associations that emerged for negative contact.

Results are however less clear when taking non-normative collective action into account. In contrast with our predictions, positive contact was positively associated with non-normative collective action support, whereas its association with non-normative collective action intentions was nonsignificant. It is possible that participants perceived non-

normative collective action as an effective way to favor the disadvantaged group's rights. At the same time, given that the association only emerged for support for non-normative collective action, they may have reasoned that actions where the advantaged group is not directly involved would not damage the advantaged ingroup's image (Teixeira et al., 2019). This finding also provides confidence in our distinction between intentions and support, which we argued would be especially relevant for non-normative collective action, and calls for further studies investigating when and why positive contact will be associated positively or negatively with it.

Results for non-normative collective action are however more contentious in the case of negative contact. Negative contact was in fact positively associated with non-normative collective action intentions, therefore with the most counter-normative support for immigrants' rights (but note that, when investigating relative magnitude, negative contact was similarly associated with non-normative collective action intentions and support; similar results emerged for positive contact). Reversing for the result regarding normative collective action, this association (but not that on support) was comparatively stronger for negative than for positive contact. This is a finding that requires further investigation, Possibly, negative contact highlighted relevant social inequalities that, despite negative personal experience with the outgroup, needed to be addressed with strong actions. Alternatively, perhaps participants reasoned that their negative contact experiences were driven by the lower status of the disadvantaged group, and that disruptive action would be more effective in addressing its disadvantage. Despite these speculations, a more reliable response can be provided by future studies that investigate the content of contact: understanding what individuals discuss and therefore what may be perceived as negative contact may allow a more in-depth understanding of what they judge to be their course of action, and why.

It should be noted that the effects that emerged for normative collective action were in line with predictions and rather strong, as indicated by the high proportion of variance explained.

Instead, the findings on non-normative collective action were in contrast with predictions and weak, with a negligible proportion of variance explained. Future research should focus more on non-normative collective action and understand the factors leading advantaged group members to support or oppose such forms of collective actions. In so doing, research may capitalize on the role of intergroup emotions, which we did not consider in this study. For example, in their model, Becker and Tausch (2015) pointed on the importance to consider intergroup emotions as predictors of non-normative collective action, and to distinguish their effect. For instance, while anger may be more relevant to normative collective action, contempt can be a predictor of non-normative collective action (Becker & Tausch, 2015).

We argue that some critical outcomes of our study relate to the hypothesized mediators. Our findings suggest that common ingroup identity can have mobilizing effects among advantaged group members (limited to normative collective action). Therefore, a common identity that does not imply assimilation of the disadvantaged group into the advantaged group at the expense of group differences, but that instead allows the emergence of these differences, can allow recognition of intergroup inequalities and actions to enhance equality. A limitation of our study is that we investigated the degree to which participants referred to Italians and immigrants as a single group, without specifying what this single group is. Therefore, we did not provide direct evidence that all participants referred to a common identity where subgroup differences (in line with a dual identity conceptualization; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) were salient. Future studies can investigate different types of common identities in the context of collective action, focusing more precisely on their content and how this allows the emergence of subgroup differences.

The above argument is consistent with the premises of the political solidarity model of social change (Subašić et al., 2008), which recognizes the importance of a shared categorization including the advantaged and the disadvantaged group, where group

differences are not obscured, but are instead recognized because of the higher-order unity. Similarly, Wright and Lubensky (2009) argued that a shared categorization can allow to identify the oppressor, such as an authority (cf. Subašić et al., 2008), and provide the basis for cross-group solidarity.

A further relevant finding concerns the mediating role of perceived outgroup morality. In addition to adding to scarce previous research investigating the interplay between contact and morality (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2020), and of outgroup morality as mediator of contact effects (Brambilla et al., 2013), this study extends research by showing that outgroup morality can have a role in explaining contact effects on normative (but not non-normative) collective action. This finding is not surprising, in light of theorization on the role of moral convictions in collective action research (Van Zomeren et al., 2012). However, research on contact and collective action has surprisingly neglected the investigation of moral convictions. This study represents a first step toward demonstrating the relevance of this factor when considering intergroup contact. Future research may build on these findings to provide a broader understanding of the role that moral convictions play, together with contact, in the promotion of collective action.

In this study we did not investigate moderators of contact effects. However, considering that contact effects on collective action may be weak (Jackman & Crane, 1986), it is important to define the conditions that favor the engagement in collective action. Various authors theorized the importance of taking into account the content of contact and the awareness of group differences (MacInnis & Hodson, 2019; Vezzali & Stathi, 2021, Chapter 7). Vezzali et al. (2017) demonstrated that advantaged group members' contact with the disadvantaged group was more strongly associated with collective action intentions when contact was more focused on group differences than on commonalities. Similarly, Di Bernardo et al. (2021) found that the indirect effects of quality of contact on advantaged group members' willingness to engage in collective actions were significant only when

group differences during contact were salient. Future studies should include the investigation of further potential moderators, which strengthen or inhibit the effects of contact on collective action.

As the main limitation of this research, we note that the data obtained are correlational. This is especially problematic since we proposed a complex causal chain, where common identity and outgroup morality act as sequential mediators. Despite that our choice was grounded on major theoretical models, future studies should use experimental and/or longitudinal approaches to provide validity for this causal order. Furthermore, we only considered the perspective of the advantaged group, and it would be important to explore a reciprocal path that tests the disadvantaged group's stance. Also, although measures of collective action support did not explicitly refer to direct engagement of participants, they did not explicitly exclude it either. Therefore, some participants may have interpreted them in terms of intentions, causing some overlap with the collective action intentions measure. This may explain at least in part some of the associations that emerged (e.g., for non-normative collective action).

In conclusion, positive and negative contact are important drivers of collective action in the case of the advantaged group's willingness to support, or actively engage in, actions that enhance the rights of the disadvantaged group. This is partly due to the association of contact with common ingroup and outgroup morality, that sequentially predict collective action. These factors should be further investigated by scholars who are interested in understanding how to promote the fight against social inequality.

Chapter 4

A multi-study exploration of the content of common identities to explain the route from intergroup contact to collective action

The cross-sectional study presented in the previous chapter provides preliminary evidence on the association between intergroup contact, common identity, morality, and collective among advantaged group members. Although these results highlight the meaningful role played by these factors in explaining the pathway to collective action, there is a need for further research exploring, step-by-step, how these processes occur and take shape. In doing so, a first step could be represented by the isolation of the paths between intergroup contact, common identity, and collective action with the aim of investigating the role of different types of common ingroup identities, highlighting their content and functioning, in association with contact and collective action. A second step could consist of the examination of the paths, between common identity, morality and collective action by exploring different dimensions of morality that provide a broader understanding of the implications of morality in affecting social change processes. Therefore, with the aim to further exploring the role played by prejudice reduction strategies in promoting social change, in the present set of two studies we examine the association between positive and negative intergroup contact, common ingroup identity, and collective action, by taking a step forward. In fact, in exploring such associations we attempt to shed light on the content of inclusive identities which, in the context of the present studies, has been operationalized as the relative perception of groups prototypicality with respect to a variety of superordinate identities, including both advantaged and disadvantaged groups. From our point of view, disentangling these underlying processes should help us explain the route from intergroup contact to collective action providing greater knowledge on how inclusive identities work in promoting social change. To achieve this goal, we performed two cross-sectional studies

across different national contexts; in the UK (Study 1) and in Italy (Study 2), by considering the perspective of both advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

Intergroup contact, prototypicality and collective action

As pointed out in the previous chapters, an extensive line of research has shown the influential role played by intergroup contact in promoting positive relationships between groups (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The beneficial effects of intergroup contact on prejudice reduction largely depend on its ability in dampening intergroup differences by promoting perceptions of similarity between groups which encourages and stimulates harmonious intergroup relations (Tajfel et al., 1979). This influence on intergroup perceptions, which favours similarities at the expense of differences, can promote a conceptual changeover in groups' cognitive representation implying a switch from "us" versus "them" toward a more inclusive "we," which fuels the emergence of a common ingroup identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). This new perception benefits intergroup relations by extending the positive implications associated with the common inclusive identity, usually reserved only for the ingroup, to former outgroup members (Gaertner et al., 1996). Then, this shared perspective of common belonging can represent a powerful catalyst for promoting social equality goals (Wenzel, 2000) by engaging in collective action strategies (Bikmen & Sunar, 2013; Cakal et al., 2016; Rompke et al., 2019). However, research on the association between contact, common ingroup identity, and collective action is still in its infancy and results are conflicting, providing evidence for both sedative and mobilizing effects.

A preliminary step that needs to be taken to further explore the role played by common ingroup identity in explaining the path from contact to collective action is represented by the investigation of its underlying processes by bringing out its potential content (Becker & Wagner, 2009; Mikolajczak et al., 2022; Stathi et al., 2019; Van Zomeren et al., 2018). Building on the main assumptions provided by self-categorization theory (SCT,

Turner et al., 1987), which highlights the primary mechanisms of social categorisation, individuals' definition of themselves or others as group members relies on the ratio between relative perceived intragroup similarities and intergroup differences among them. The more perceived similarity among some individuals will be greater than the perceived dissimilarity among them (with respect to other salient groups of individuals used as elements of reference in a given social context), the greater the likelihood that they will be categorized as belonging to the same group rather than to different groups. In turn, the more an individual will be similar to ingroup members (low intracategorical differences) and, at the same time, different from outgroup members (high intercategorical differences), the more he/she will be prototypical of that group. This process, defined as "metacontrast principle" (SCT, Turner et al., 1987), informs us about the crucial role played by the perception of prototypicality in determining social categorisation processes and, in our view, may represent the beating heart of common ingroup identities. In fact, social comparison can only occur within a frame of reference that in the case of intergroup relations is represented by more inclusive identities that include both subgroups (Wenzel et al., 2007). In line with the ingroup projection model (IPM; Mummendey & Wenze, 1999), which considers prototypicality as the relative perceived similarity of ingroup and outgroup with respect to a salient superordinate category, intergroup evaluations are strongly contingent on this relative perceived similarity between groups with respect to a more inclusive identity that emerges as salient in a given social context (Waldzus et al., 2003; Waldzus et al., 2004; Wenzel et al., 2007). Therefore, the gradient of prototypicality between ingroup and outgroup members does not exist outside common ingroup identities; it is only by keeping both of these factors in the spotlight that it is possible to examine how, and under what conditions, intergroup recognition and understanding can develop. The exploration of such relative differential perceptions, between advantaged and disadvantaged group members, may provide relevant information about groups' intentions to undertake collective action for their own benefit (in the case of

the disadvantaged group) or alongside the disadvantaged group (in the case of the advantaged group). For example, it can inform us about the extent to which advantaged group members (e.g., an ethnic majority) recognise and attribute value to the disadvantaged group membership (e.g., an ethnic minority) within a meaningful superordinate identity (e.g., human beings), pointing out important disclosures about their potential willingness to take part in reparative action alongside the disadvantaged group. Thus, the reason behind this assumption, which considers relative perceived prototypicality as the content of common ingroup identity, relies on its revealing function in explaining how subgroups' identities are conceived within more inclusive identities. This new awareness may provide key insights about whether and when common belonging perceptions can energise collective action participation.

Individuals, as suggested by social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), with the aspiration of being invested by a positive self-concept, are inclined to positively distinguish their ingroup from outgroups by means of social comparison. This favouritism for one's own group affects individuals' cognitive perceptions, producing an image of the ingroup as more prototypical than the outgroups. Therefore, individuals seem to be affected by an egocentric perspective showing a tendency to project the ingroup's features to the inclusive identity that leads to perceiving their ingroup as more prototypical than the outgroup. This process, known as "ingroup projection," implies that the greater the perceived prototypicality of the ingroup, the higher the perception that the outgroup diverges from the prototype of the more inclusive identity concurring in producing detrimental effects on outgroup evaluations (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999). In this context, intergroup contact, by fostering positive intergroup relations and diminishing differences in favour of commonalities (Gaertner et al., 2016), is expected to mitigate the ingroup's egocentric perspective. In turn, this condition of common belonging shared by ingroup and outgroup members should potentially symbolize a fertile ground within which mutual comprehension

might evolve stimulating the emergence of social change goals aimed at favouring the new inclusive "we" (Subašić et al., 2008).

Hypotheses

For both advantaged and disadvantaged groups, we assume that positive contact will be associated with greater relative perceived prototypicality of the disadvantaged with respect to the advantaged group. By contrast, negative contact will be associated with lower relative perceived prototypicality of the disadvantaged with respect to the advantaged group. In turn, for both groups, greater relative perceived prototypicality of the disadvantaged with respect to the advantaged group should be associated with mobilising effects on collective action participation (i.e. intentions, as we assessed it). Reversely, lower relative perceived prototypicality of the disadvantaged with respect to the advantaged group should be associated with sedative effects on collective action.

Advantaged group

For the advantaged group, this hypothesis is consistent with the idea that positive contact should actively alter the egocentric perspective of the advantaged group by decreasing the bias associated with the evaluation of the disadvantaged group, allowing its recognition within the superordinate identity. Following the same process, negative contact should also alter the egocentric perspective of the advantaged group but instead of being reduced, this egocentric perspective should be reinforced by fuelling the bias associated with the evaluation of the disadvantaged group, resulting in the denial of recognition within the superordinate identity. Finally, the recognition or denial within the superordinate identity should, positively or negatively (rsspectively), be associated with the intention to take part in collective action on the behalf of the disadvantaged group (Subašić et al., 2008). These assumptions are also in line with the construct of deprovincialization (Bagci et al., 2021; Boin et al., 2020; Pettigrew, 1998; Verkuyten et al., 2022), according to which positive contact should evoke a less ingroup-centric worldview, encouraging a common perception

of belonging and openness to other cultures and groups. Therefore, intergroup contact, depending on its valence (positive or negative), is supposed to act as a facilitator/inhibitor of mutual recognition and intergroup understanding. In other words, when contact is positive it should reduce the egocentric perspective of the advantaged group in defining the prototype of the superordinate identity as similar to itself. This change in prototype definition should automatically imply an alteration of the criteria for evaluating disadvantaged group prototypicality which becomes less restrictive (Platt, 2014).

Disadvantaged group

While providing hypotheses for the advantaged group is easier, for disadvantaged groups it is more critical. In fact, literature on the association between contact and collective action has shown mixed and relatively weak effects, making the formulation of hypotheses for them more uncertain (Dixon et al., 2017; Dixon et al., 2005; Wright & Lubensky, 2009; cf. Chapter 3 of the present thesis). A premise to make predictions on disadvantaged groups relies on a preliminary consideration of the effects of historical structural disadvantages in society which, by privileging advantaged groups, confers them the power to define the prototype of superordinate identities. This established privilege suggests to disadvantaged groups that the only way to be part of these groups is to conform to the prototype definition provided by the advantaged group, implying assimilative processes. Therefore, disadvantaged groups should be inclined to perceive themselves as systematically less prototypical of inclusive identities than advantaged groups. In our view, positive contact between the advantaged and the disadvantaged group should suggest a form of endorsement toward the disadvantaged group that should encourage the latter to feel entitled to recognition and value (Dovidio et al., 2016) gradually enhancing ingroup prototypicality perception with respect to the advantaged group. In other words, positive contact should promote disadvantaged group members’ perception that the definition of the prototype can be negotiable, providing them the space needed to project ingroup features onto the

prototype of the superordinate identity. In turn, this increase in ingroup prototypicality perception should highlight their value and foster their intention to undertake collective action to redress the social imbalance between groups in society. By contrast, the effects of negative intergroup contact should be the reverse of those of positive contact. Indeed, negative contact should reinforce the prototype definition provided by the advantaged group, discouraging the disadvantaged group from projecting their features onto the superordinate identity. This denied recognition, which reflects a lack of power, should demotivate the disadvantaged group from taking part in collective action strategies to challenge the status quo. However, as previously anticipated, providing assumptions for disadvantaged groups is more contentious. Indeed, following criticism about the paradoxical effects exerted by intergroup contact on disadvantaged group members' collective action participation (Dixon et al., 2017; Reimer & Sengupta, 2023), we can advance an alternative hypothesis. According to these critics, contact, by favouring similarities at the expense of differences between groups, can divert attention from inequalities, producing a sedative effect on collective action participation. Therefore, it is also possible that when members of the disadvantaged group perceive that they are prototypical of the inclusive identity, as a result of positive contact with the advantaged group, this improved social status (apparently approved by the advantaged group) may divert attention from injustice, producing sedative effects on their intention to challenge the status quo.

The present studies

We realised two cross-sectional studies in the UK (Study 1) and in Italy (Study 2) with the aim of providing new insights into the relationship between intergroup contact, common identity, and collective action. To achieve this aim, we explored the association between positive and negative contact with collective action intentions by testing the mediating role of relative perceived prototypicality between advantaged and disadvantaged group members. In doing so, with explorative purposes, we tested a variety of alternative common identities

characterized by different levels of inclusiveness, from more proximal levels (superordinate identities based on context) to more distal levels (superordinate identities based on value and humanity), which may allow us to detect potential differences among them in eliciting collective action intentions. The intergroup relation considered in the present studies was based on ethnicity and was constituted of ethnic majorities (Britons in Study 1 and Italians in Study 2) and ethnic minorities (Immigrants in both Study 1 and Study 2).

Study 1

Method

Participants and procedure

Study 1 was conducted in the United Kingdom and participants were enrolled online via the Prolific Academic online participant panel, with 195 Britons and 187 immigrants taking part in the study. To acquire robust data, those who took less than 300 seconds to complete the questionnaire (26 British, 32 immigrants) were removed from the final sample. Finally, 1 participant from the advantaged group and 1 participant from the disadvantaged group were excluded because of missing data on the variables considered. The final sample was composed of 168 Britons (M_{age} = 32.11, age-range 18 to 73 years) *SD* = 11.50; 47 males, 116 females, 5 other) and 154 immigrants (M_{age} = 21.44, age-range 18 to 42 years), *SD* = 3.96; 99 males, 54 females, 1 other).

Measures

All measures were assessed with Likert scales (1 = *not at all* to 5 = *very much*)

Positive and negative contact. Positive and negative contact were measured with six items adapted from Hayward et al. (2018). Participants were asked to rate to what extent their contact with the outgroup was positive, friendly, and pleasant; or negative, hostile and unpleasant. Responses were combined in two indexes providing a general measure of positive and negative contact (alphas = .95 and .87, respectively, for the advantaged sample, and alphas = .85 and .80, respectively for the disadvantaged sample).

Relative perceived prototypicality. Relative perceived prototypicality of the disadvantaged group with respect to the advantaged group was measured with two single items and was operationalized by asking participants to what extent they perceived Britons (the advantaged group) as similar to each of the inclusive identities considered (people living in the UK, people sharing the same values of humanity, human beings). At the same time, participants were asked to rate to what extent they perceived immigrants (the disadvantaged group) as similar to each of these inclusive identities. To obtain a measure of relative perceived prototypicality, the index of disadvantaged group similarity was divided by the index of advantaged group similarity for each of the common identities considered providing three scores ranging from 0.20 to 5 (higher scores reflected greater relative perceived prototypicality of the disadvantaged compared with the advantaged group). This operationalization of relative perceived prototypicality is the result of a combination of the main assumptions provided by the SCT (Turner et al., 1987), which suggests that group prototypicality can only originate within a comparative context, and the IPM (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999) according to which subgroups' prototypicality reflects the relative similarity of ingroup and outgroup to a more inclusive category. This combination allows us to simultaneously detect the attributional and the comparative process of perceived similarity and dissimilarity between ingroup and outgroup members, providing a measure of perceived relative prototypicality.

Collective action. Participants' intention to take part in collective action strategies aimed at improving the current condition faced by the disadvantaged group in the United Kingdom was measured with four items (adapted from Van Zomeren et al., 2011): "Would you participate in a demonstration against the unequal treatment of immigrants?"; "Would you donate money?"; "Would you sign a petition?"; "Would you vote for a political candidate supporting immigrants' rights?". Responses were combined into a single index

providing a general measure of collective action intentions (alphas = .82 and .74, for advantaged and disadvantaged group members, respectively).

Results

Main analyses

Means, correlations, and standard deviations are presented, for both samples, in Table 1. To verify the potential mediator role of relative perceived prototypicality in explaining the path from intergroup contact and collective action, we ran three mediation models using PROCESS macro for SPSS (Model 4; Hayes, 2016), one for each of the measures of prototypicality examined (people living in the UK, human beings, people sharing the same values of humanity). For each model, positive and negative contact were the independent variables, relative perceived prototypicality was the mediator, and collective action was the dependent variable. To assess indirect effects, we used bootstrapping procedures based on 5,000 resamples.

Table 1. Means, correlations, and standard deviations (Study 1).

Britons | $N = 168$						
Variables	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
1. Positive Contact	-					
2. Negative Contact	-.12	-				
3. P.P. of people living in the UK	.30***	-.03	-			
4. P.P. as human beings	.15	.05	.26***	-		
5. P.P. of people sharing the same values of humanity	.25***	-.16*	.24**	.37***	-	
6. Collective Action	.36***	-.08	.26***	.24**	.28***	-
M	3.62	1.60	.95	1.05	1.04	3.25
SD	1.03	.63	.23	.21	.27	.97
Immigrants | $N = 154$						
Variables	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
1. Positive Contact	-					
2. Negative Contact	.01	-				
3. P.P. of people living in the UK	-.07	-.07	-			
4. P.P. as human beings	.03	-.13	-.08	-		
5. P.P. of people sharing the same values of humanity	-.01	.12	-.21**	.28***	-	
6. Collective Action	.13	.03	-.12	.11	.08	-
M	3.55	1.96	1.23	1.01	1.01	3.30
SD	.76	.63	.58	.20	.25	.83

Note. P. P. = Perceived prototypicality. The response scale for the measures of relative perceived prototypicality ranges from 0.20 to 1; all the other measures range from 1 to 5. *$p \leq .05$. **$p \leq .01$. ***$p \leq .001$.

Britons (advantaged group)

Linear regressions testing the associations of positive and negative contact and hypothesized mediators with collective action can be found in Table 2a. Positive contact emerged as positively associated with relative perceived prototypicality with respect to the three common identities considered. By contrast, no associations with the relative perceived prototypicality of the three common identities considered emerged for negative contact. All three variables of relative perceived prototypicality were positively associated with collective action. Positive significant indirect effects between positive contact and collective action were found via the relative perceived prototypicality of the inclusive identity of "people living in the UK" (point estimate = .05, CI [.0086, .1134]) and of "people sharing the same values of humanity" (point estimate = .04, CI [.0106, .1001]).

Immigrants (disadvantaged group)

No direct or indirect associations emerged for the disadvantaged group (Table 2b).

Additional Analyses

We performed an additional mediation model by including the three measures of prototypicality simultaneously, with the aim of investigating the relative strength of the different levels of inclusiveness that characterized the common identities considered.

Britons (advantaged group)

When including all the hypothesized mediators simultaneously (Table 2a last column), the association between positive contact and collective action was mediated only by relative perceived prototypicality of the common identity of "people sharing the same values of humanity" (point estimate = .03, CI [.0022, .0825]).

Immigrants (disadvantaged group)

As can be seen in the last column of Table 2b, no significant associations emerged for the disadvantaged group.

Table 2a. Linear regressions testing the associations of positive and negative contact and hypothesized mediators with collective action (N = 168) - (Study 1).

Independent variable	Britons						
	P. P. of people living in the UK	P. P. as human beings	P. P. of people sharing the same values of humanity	Collective action	Collective action	Collective action	Collective action
Positive Contact	.07***(.02)	.03*(.02)	.06**(.02)	.28***(.07)	.30***(.07)	.29***(.07)	.25***(.07)
Negative Contact	.00(.03)	.02(.03)	-.06(.03)	-.06(.11)	-.08(.11)	-.02(.11)	-.05(.11)
P. P. of people living in the UK	-	-	-	.70*(.32)	-	-	.48(.32)
P. P. as human beings	-	-	-	-	.89**(.33)	-	.57(.36)
P. P. of people sharing the same values of humanity	-	-	-	-	-	.71**(.27)	.47(.28)
F	8.32***	2.15	7.37***	9.99***	10.90***	10.81***	7.79***
R^2	.09	.03	.08	.15	.17	.17	.19

Note. P. P. = Perceived prototypicality. Unstandardized regression coefficients are presented (standard errors in parentheses). *$p \leq .05$. **$p \leq .01$. ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 2b. Linear regressions testing the associations of intergroup contact (positive and negative) and relative perceived prototypicality (with respect to three different superordinate identities) with collective action (N = 154) - (Study 1).

Independent variable	Immigrants						
	P. P. of people living in the UK	P. P. as human beings	P. P. of people sharing the same values of humanity	Collective action	Collective action	Collective action	Collective action
Positive Contact	-.05(.06)	.01(.02)	-.00(.03)	.14(.09)	.14(.09)	.14(.09)	.13(.09)
Negative Contact	-.06(.07)	-.04(.03)	.05(.03)	.02(.11)	.05(.11)	.02(.11)	.03(.11)
P. P. of people living in the UK	-	-	-	-.16(.12)	-	-	-.14(.12)
P. P. as human beings	-	-	-	-	.48(.34)	-	.40(.36)
P. P. of people sharing the same values of humanity	-	-	-	-	-	.28(.27)	.12(.29)
F	.75	1.32	1.06	1.57	1.60	1.28	1.31
R^2	.01	.02	.01	.03	.03	.03	.04

Note. P. P. = Perceived prototypicality. Unstandardized regression coefficients are presented (standard errors in parentheses). $^*p \leq .05$. $^{**}p \leq .01$. $^{***}p \leq .001$

Study 2

With the aim of replicating the effects that emerged in Study 1, we performed a second cross-sectional study in Italy with a larger sample. In so doing, we explored the association between positive and negative contact with collective action by testing the mediating role of relative perceived prototypicality with respect to a variety of common identities which reflect, as in Study 1, different levels of inclusiveness. In this case, we considered four inclusive identities: people living in Italy, people living in Europe, people sharing the same values of humanity and human beings.

Method

Participants and procedure

Participants were 255 (M_{age} = 34.91, age-range 18 to 76 years, *SD* = 14.17; 90 males, 165 females) and 190 immigrants (M_{age} = 28.25, age-range 18 to 64 years, *SD* = 10.73; 90 males, 99 females, 1 other). Participants were enrolled in the study through online communication channels (e.g., e-mail, social media, and messaging applications).

Measures

All measures were assessed with Likert scales (1 = *not at all* to 5 = *very much*)

Positive and negative contact. Positive and negative contact were measured with the same six items adapted from Hayward et al. (2018) used in Study 1. Responses were combined in two indexes providing measures of positive and negative contact (alphas = .92 and .91, respectively, for the advantaged sample, and alphas = .88 and .86, respectively for the disadvantaged sample).

Relative perceived prototypicality. Relative perceived prototypicality of the disadvantaged group with respect to the advantaged group was measured and calculated with the same type of items and process used in Study 1. In the case of Study 2, with explorative purposes, we included four different common identities with different levels of inclusiveness (people living in Italy, people living in Europe, people sharing the same values of humanity,

human beings). As in Study 1, the index of disadvantaged group similarity was divided by the index of advantaged group similarity for each of the common identities considered, providing three scores of relative perceived prototypicality ranging from 0.20 to 5 (higher scores reflected greater relative perceived prototypicality of the disadvantaged compared with the advantaged group).

Collective action. Participants' collective action intentions intention aimed at improving the current condition faced by the disadvantaged group in Italy was measured with the same four items used in Study 1 (adapted from Van Zomeren et al., 2011). Responses were combined into a single index providing a general measure of collective action intentions (alphas = .88 and .82 for advantaged and disadvantaged group members, respectively).

Results

Main analyses

Means, standard deviations, and correlations are presented for both samples in Table 3. As in Study 1, to verify the potential mediator role of relative perceived prototypicality in explaining the path from contact to collective action, we ran four mediation models using PROCESS macro for SPSS (Model 4; Hayes, 2016), one for each of the measures of prototypicality examined (people living in Italy, people living in Europe, people sharing the same values of humanity, human beings). For each model, positive and negative contact were the independent variables, relative perceived prototypicality was the mediator, and collective action was the dependent variable. To assess indirect effects, we used bootstrapping procedures based on 5,000 resamples.

Table 3. Means, correlations, and standard deviations (Study 2).

Italians | $N = 255$							
Variables	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
1. Positive Contact	-						
2. Negative Contact	-.45***	-					
3. P. P. of people living in Italy	.19**	-.07	-				
4. P. P. of people living in Europe	.22***	-.15*	.17**	-			
5. P. P. as human beings	.02	-.03	.15*	.12	-		
6. P. P. of people living sharing the same values of Humanity	.18**	-.26***	.16**	.27***	.32***	-	
7. Collective action	.44***	-.35***	.25***	.31***	.11	.32***	-
M	3.29	2.37	.85	1.02	1.04	1.02	3.07
SD	.87	.83	.27	.35	.24	.31	1.15
Immigrants | $N = 190$							
Variables	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
1. Positive Contact	-						
2. Negative Contact	-.29***	-					
3. P. P. of people living in Italy	-.03	-.04	-				
4. P. P. of people living in Europe	-.14*	.11	-.01	-			
5. P. P. as human beings	.12	-.09	-.01	.05	-		
6. P. P. of people living sharing the same values of humanity	-.08	.10	-.07	.16*	.06	-	
7. Collective action	.05	.07	-.17*	-.01	-.02	.18**	-
M	4.21	2.01	1.00	1.10	1.03	1.05	3.62
SD	.66	.76	.48	.53	.41	.38	1.03

Note. P. P. = Perceived prototypicality. The response scale for the measures of relative perceived prototypicality ranges from 0.20 to 1; all the other measures range from 1 to 5. *$p \leq .05$. **$p \leq .01$. ***$p \leq .001$.

Italians (advantaged group)

Linear regressions testing the associations of positive and negative contact and hypothesized mediators with collective action can be found in Table 4a. Positive contact emerged as positively associated with relative perceived prototypicality with respect to the common identities of people living in Italy and in Europe. For negative contact, a significant negative association emerged with respect to the common identity of people sharing the same values of humanity. All variables of relative perceived prototypicality (except for the common identity of human beings) were positively associated with collective action. Positive significant indirect effects were found between positive contact and collective action via the relative perceived prototypicality of the inclusive identity of people living in Italy (point estimate = .05, CI [.0119, .0988]) and of people living in Europe (point estimate = .06, CI [.0102, .1264]). For negative contact, an indirect effect of opposite valence emerged via relative perceived prototypicality of the inclusive identity of people sharing the same values of humanity (point estimate = -.07, CI [-.1398, -.0189]).

Immigrants (disadvantaged group)

In the case of the disadvantaged group, no significant associations were found between positive and negative contact and relative perceived prototypicality. However, we found significant associations between relative perceived prototypicality and collective action. Specifically, we found a positive significant association with respect to the common identity of people sharing the same values of humanity and a negative association with respect to the common identities of people living in Italy. Results can be found in Table 4b.

Additional analysis

As in Study 1, with the aim of investigating the relative strength of the different common identities considered, we performed an additional mediation model by including all four variables of prototypicality simultaneously.

Italians (advantaged group)

Positive contact emerged as positively associated with collective action via relative perceived prototypicality of the inclusive identity of people living in Italy (point estimate = .03, CI [.0072, .0800]) and of people living in Europe (point estimate = .04, CI [.0051, .1052]). As emerged in our main analyses, negative contact was negatively associated with collective action via relative perceived prototypicality of the inclusive identity of people sharing the same values of humanity (point estimate = -.05, CI [-.1215, -.0089]). Results are detailed in Table 4a (last column).

Immigrants (disadvantaged group)

No significant associations emerged for the disadvantaged group. Results are detailed in Table 4b (last column).

Table 4a. Linear regressions testing the associations of intergroup contact (positive and negative) and relative perceived prototypicality (with respect to four different superordinate identities) with collective action ($N = 255$) - (Study 2).

Independent variable	Italians								
	P. P. of people living in Italy	P. P. of people living in Europe	P. P. as human beings	P. P. of people living sharing the same values of humanity	Collective action	Collective action	Collective action	Collective action	Collective action
Positive Contact	.06**(.02)	.08**(.03)	.00(.02)	.03(.02)	.41***(.08)	.40***(08)	.46***(.08)	.44***(.08)	.37***(.08)
Negative Contact	.01(.02)	-.03(.03)	-.01(.02)	-.08***(.02)	-.28***(.08)	-.25**(.08)	-.27**(.09)	-.21*(.09)	-.21**(.08)
P. P. of people living in Italy	-	-	-	-	.71***(.23)	-	-	-	.53*(.23)
P. P. of people living in Europe	-	-	-	-	-	.72***(.18)	-	-	.54**(.19)
P. P. as human beings	-	-	-	-	-	-	.46(.26)	-	.05(.27)
P. P. of people living sharing the same values of humanity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.83***(.21)	.60**(.22)
F	4.93**	6.95***	.15	9.70***	27.79***	6.95***	25.06***	30.32***	18.48***
R^2	.04	.05	.00	.07	.25	.27	.23	.27	.31

Note. P. P. = Perceived prototypicality. Unstandardized regression coefficients are presented (standard errors in parentheses). $*p \leq .05$. $**p \leq .01$. $***p \leq .001$.

Table 4b. Linear regressions testing the associations of intergroup contact (positive and negative) and relative perceived prototypicality (with respect to four different superordinate identities) with collective action (N = 190) - (Study 2).

Independent variable	Immigrants								
	P. P. "Italy"	P. P. "Europe"	P. P. "Human beings"	P. P. "Humanity Values"	Collective action	Collective action	Collective action	Collective action	Collective action
Positive Contact	-.03(.06)	-.10(.06)	.06(.05)	-.03(.04)	.11(.12)	.12(12)	.06(.05)	.14(.12)	.13(.12)
Negative Contact	-.04(.05)	.05(.05)	-.03(.05)	.04(.04)	.11(.10)	.12(.10)	-.03(.04)	.10(.10)	.09(.10)
P. P. of people living in Italy	-	-	-	-	-.34*(.16)	-	-	-	-.32*(.16)
P. P. of people living in Europe	-	-	-	-	-	-.03(.14)	-	-	-.07(.14)
P. P. as human beings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.05(.19)	-	-.08(.18)
P. P. of people living sharing the same values of humanity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.48**(.19)	.47*(.20)
F	.38	2.40	1.61	1.29	2.26	.64	.65	2.68*	2.14*
R^2	.00	.03	.02	.01	.04	.01	.01	.04	.07

Note. P. P. = Perceived prototypicality. Unstandardized regression coefficients are presented (standard errors in parentheses). *$p \leq .05$. **$p \leq .01$. ***$p \leq .001$.

Discussion

The multi-study exploration presented in this chapter aimed to provide preliminary evidence of the role played by the content of common identities, operationalized as the relative perception of groups' prototypicality with respect to a variety of superordinate identities, in explaining the path from positive and negative contact to collective action. To achieve this aim, we performed two cross-sectional studies in different national contexts, in the United Kingdom, and in Italy, shedding light on the relationship between ethnic majorities (Britons and Italians) and ethnic minorities (immigrants). Our hypotheses, for both advantaged and disadvantaged groups, were based on the assumption that intergroup contact, depending on its valence (positive or negative), would relate to the attribution of relative perceived prototypicality (with respect to a variety of superordinate identities) between advantaged and disadvantaged groups, favouring mobilizing or sedative effects on collective action. As can be seen from the results provided by Study 1 and Study 2, our predictions are generally supported among advantaged groups. In fact, among advantaged group members, we found energizing effects on collective action for positive contact (in both Study 1 and Study 2) and sedative effects for negative contact (in Study 2). These associations were mediated by the differential attributions of relative perceived prototypicality with respect to both more proximal and more distal levels of inclusiveness of the common identities considered (significant indirect effects emerged for all common identities considered except for the common identity of human beings). Therefore, as postulated, contact emerged as a facilitator (when it was positive) or as an inhibitor (when it was negative) of the degree of prototypicality of disadvantaged group members as perceived by advantaged group members. In turn, perceived group members' prototypicality was significantly associated with collective action intentions. These results integrate previous empirical evidence on the association between contact and collective action providing further knowledge on potential underlying processes able to explain their association. Specifically, in exploring this

association, the present studies shed light on the mediating role of common ingroup identities bringing out their content that, in our view, is represented by the level of relative perceived prototypicality between advantaged and disadvantaged group members. Our approach to the content of common identities is the result of the integration between SCT (Turner et al., 1987) and IPM (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999) perspectives and consists of taking into consideration both the attributional and comparative processes of social categorization. This double perspective on prototypicality provides key elements in understanding the basis for the adoption of common group identities, revealing its function in explaining how subgroups' identities are conceived within more inclusive identities. Another key element emerging from these studies is the preliminary evidence they provide on the potential differences between superordinate identities in affecting collective action intentions. Indeed, in examining common ingroup identity, a common practice among researchers is not to pay attention to the distinction among the variety of salient social identities existing in a given social context but rather focus on one of them or on a general sense of common belonging. For this reason, we opted for the inclusion of different types of superordinate identities that could allow us to detect potential differences in eliciting collective action intentions. As can be seen from the results that emerged within and between Study 1 and Study 2, the superordinate identities examined revealed different patterns of associations that suggest the relevance of this distinction. These findings have shown that both proximal and distal levels of inclusiveness work as mediators but also that they can do it in different ways. Indeed, despite we did not find a significant difference between more proximal levels of identification (superordinate identities based on context) between Study 1 and Study 2, we found meaningful differences between more distal levels of identification (superordinate identities based on values and humanity) between the two studies. For example, the common identity based on humanity was positively associated with both positive contact and collective action in Study 1 but not in Study 2. Moreover, in Study 1, the common identity

based on values emerged as positively associated with both positive contact and collective action revealing its mediating role in explaining the path from positive contact to collective action. By contrast, in Study 2, we found that the common identity based on values worked as a mediating variable in explaining the negative association between negative contact and collective action. These results suggest that different identities can play a different role in intergroup relations and that positive and negative contact may exert their mobilizing or sedative effects on collective action through different routes. As regards the disadvantaged groups, no significant effects emerged for the role played by relative perceived prototypicality in explaining the path from intergroup contact to collective action. However, in Study 2 we found two interesting associations between the perception of prototypicality with respect to the common identity of people living in Italy and people sharing the same values of humanity. While the common identity of people living in Italy was positively associated with collective action, the common identity of people sharing the same values of humanity emerged as negatively associated with collective action. These results are in line with both our main and alternative hypotheses for disadvantaged groups. In fact, the positive association between the common identity of people sharing the same values of humanity and collective action may reflect our main hypothesis that a greater perception of prototypicality among members of the disadvantaged group may highlight their value by making them feel worthy of recognition and promote a greater intention to participate in collective action strategies aimed at challenging the status quo. At the same time, the negative association between the common identity of people living in Italy and collective action may reflect the paradoxical effect that may be caused by an increased perception of similarities between groups which, by reducing the distance between advantaged and disadvantaged groups, may divert attention from injustice, producing sedative effects on collective action intentions.

In conclusion, these findings are in line with the broader literature on intergroup contact and collective action which shows mobilizing effects for positive contact and

sedative effects for negative contact among advantaged group members. These results also add relevant key understanding factors to the current literature by providing a preliminary examination of the content of common ingroup identities which reveals how relative perceived prototypicality may represent a meaningful factor in explaining how subgroups' identities are conceived within more inclusive identities. In doing so, these results suggest that applying a distinction between superordinate identities matters and that different identities may represent alternative routes between positive and negative contact in exerting their effect on collective action. However, our assumptions are based on correlational data which do not allow us to make causal inferences on the association between intergroup contact, relative perceived prototypicality, and collective action. Therefore, future studies should replicate this exploratory examination by adopting experimental methods and, possibly, including a wider range of common ingroup identities and forms of collective action to provide a more comprehensive understanding of these processes.

Chapter 5

The pivotal role of moral convictions in driving common ingroup identity effects on collective action: An exploratory study in the Nigerian tribal context[1]

The multi-study exploration discussed in the fourth chapter provides meaningful information about the relationship between intergroup contact, common identity, and collective action, showing how positive and negative contact can exert different effects on collective active action among advantaged group members. It also shows how differential attributions of relative perceived prototypicality, with respect to a variety of inclusive identities of reference, emerge as relevant in explaining the path from contact to collective action. With the aim of further investigating meaningful social identities and exploring the role played by morality in collective action processes, the study that I am going to present in this chapter will consist of an examination of the path from common identity to collective action. In doing so, moral convictions, which represent a powerful motivational guide to action, strongly associated with both social identification and collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2012, 2018), will be tested as a potential mediating factor. Outgroup feelings and attitudes, representing factors strongly implied by both common identity and collective action, will be tested as further parallel mediators (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990).

The context of reference is the Nigerian tribal context, an under-investigating setting characterized by multiple coexisting tribes dealing with a variety of meaningful conflicting social identities. Given the results obtained in the previous studies (see Chapter 4), which have evidenced the meaningful role played by context-based identities in promoting collective action across different national contexts, and reasoning about a potential common

[1] A complementary version of this chapter has been published in Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, within the Special Issue: Moral and ethical conduct (and their absence) in groups, politics, and society. This chapter represents a re-elaboration of the article, since it has not been published in open access.
Article reference: Cocco, V. M., Vezzali, L., Kola-Daisi, T. I., & Çakal, H. (2023). The role of common ingroup identity in promoting social change among tribes in Nigeria. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*. https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302231162038

identity able to accommodate all the tribal, ethnic, and religious identities existing in this kind of context, we opted for the Nigerian national identity. Participants who took part in the study were adults from the Yoruba tribe (one of the tribes that hold most of the power in Nigerian society) and we investigated the role of social identification with the Nigerian identity in fuelling solidarity-based collective action toward other Nigerian tribes included within this superordinate identity. In examining social change processes (Dixon et al., 2020), with the aim of avoiding a binary perspective, we explored solidarity-based collective action, not only within the dyadic relationship constituted of a majority and a minority group but also toward a further majority group, providing greater knowledge about collective action dynamics toward a variety of social groups characterized by different social statuses. Moreover, relying our exploration on a non-WEIRD (Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic; Henrich et al., 2010; Cemalcilar et al., 2021) sample offers an opportunity to confirm and, at the same time, further develop current research on this topic providing a broader standpoint on social change processes in these under-investigated contexts.

Social identity processes and common ingroup identity benefits

As postulated by social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), social identification processes imply a transformative process in individuals' perceptions, affecting both the way they think about themselves and the way they think about others. Group membership plays an important role in defining individuals' self-concept and strongly affects self-esteem. For this reason, individuals aim to obtain and maintain a positive evaluation of the groups of which they are members. When social identification with a group occurs, a stereotypical definition of the group and, consequently, of its members become salient (Hogg & Terry, 2000) generating a series of prototypical attributes that characterize it and, at the same time, distinguish it from other groups. Group membership involves a perception of similarities between members and a sense of interchangeability between them that makes individuals more inclined to positively evaluate those who are included in the group, becoming more

sensitive to their needs (Buttelmann & Bohm, 2014). Individuals' perception to share a common group with others represents the basis for the emergence of a common ingroup identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, 2012) which, as a result of the transformative process it implies, can have great potential in attenuating intergroup bias and promoting positive relationships. Inclusive identities can serve as superordinate categories of reference that include different groups within the same boundaries. The main assumption provided by the common ingroup identity model (CIIM; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, 2012) is that when a common ingroup identity is salient, a result that can be obtained as a consequence of positive contact between groups (Capozza et al., 2013), who is included in that group (regardless of the pre-existing group memberships they may have) should be perceived as an ingroup member. This recategorization of outgroup members as ingroup members brings many beneficial effects in terms of intergroup relations. Under this different conceptualization of reciprocal group positions, intergroup understanding and mutual help (even in conflicting contexts) should become possible. In fact, a perception of common belonging should allow a generalization of ingroup favouritism (normally limited to the ingroup) to former outgroup members, promoting a positive perception and evaluation of them. This one-group perception, as will be discussed below, can represent a key factor in triggering social change intentions.

One-group perceptions and solidarity-based collective action

Social identification dynamics emerge as strongly implicated in social change processes representing a key element in promoting group willingness to undertake collective action (e.g., Van Zomeren et al., 2008, 2012, 2018). When group members perceive their situation as illegitimate, unstable and they do not see a way out to join another group with a better social status (or they do not want to consider a way out), it is more likely that they will engage in collective action strategies aimed at challenging the status quo (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Who we are (our identity) is strongly connected with what we strive for (our beliefs

and moral convictions that motivate our behaviour), providing relevant information about our willingness to engage in social protests (Van Zomeren et al., 2018). Collective action literature has given large attention to social identification (Becker & Tausch, 2015; Subašić et al., 2008; Thomas et al., 2012; Van Zomeren et al., 2008, 2012, 2018), and therefore to the subjective experience of affiliation with a group, showing its potential role in promoting collective action. Extensive attention has been paid to subordinate identities (e.g., identification with a minority group) and politicized identities (identification with a social movement, e.g., "Black Lives Matter"), which seems to have a stronger impact on collective action than non-politicized identities (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Stürmer & Simon, 2004). Despite the potentially significant role that common ingroup identities (identities that include both advantaged and disadvantaged groups within the same categorization) may exert in promoting intergroup alliance (because of the cognitive transformation they imply that leads to perceiving outgroup members as ingroup members; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, 2012), research on their association with collective action is scarce and mixed. However, there are reasons to believe that identification with a meaningful superordinate identity, within which both groups perceive themselves as affiliated, may represent an effective strategy for fostering collective action intentions (Bikmen & Sunar, 2013; Cakal et al., 2018; Cocco et al., 2022; Rompke et al., 2019). Bikmen and Sunar (2013) found that, in a context of an imaginary conversation between an advantaged group (Turks) and two disadvantaged groups (Kurds and Armenians), advantaged group members were more willing to discuss status/power differences with the disadvantaged group with whom they shared a common religious identity (Kurds) rather than with the other disadvantaged group with whom they did not share any common identity (Armenians). Cakal et al. (2018), found that the identification with a common identity (national identity) was positively associated with collective action intentions among both advantaged and disadvantaged groups across several national contexts. There is also evidence that, under certain circumstances, a more inclusive

identity within which both subgroups and superordinate identities are salient (groups categorization defined as "dual identity," Banfield & Dovidio, 2013; Ukfes et al., 2016) is more likely to promote greater collective action compared when only the superordinate level is salient. Therefore, the inclusive nature of common ingroup identities can sometimes obscure differences between identities of subgroups and thus inhibit awareness of intergroup disparities. The assumption that inclusive identities can serve as a powerful vehicle for encouraging intergroup alliance is something that also pertains to collective action models. According to the political solidarity model of social change (PSMSC; Subašić et al., 2008), political solidarity between advantaged and disadvantaged groups can be achieved as a result of a shared identity between them, which provides the appropriate context for the emergence of intergroup understanding and thus fosters the intention to challenge the status quo from a unified front. Along these lines, the study presented in this chapter will focus on the link between an inclusive common identity (the Nigerian identity), which potentially incorporates, without obscuring, subgroup identities (tribal identities living in Nigeria), and collective action. In doing so, moral convictions, outgroup feelings, and outgroup attitudes will be tested as potential mediators to explain such relationship.

Mediating processes: moral convictions, outgroup feelings and attitudes

According to the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2012, 2018), moral convictions can represent a powerful trigger of social change. Indeed, moral convictions, which can be defined as absolute and inviolable beliefs on moral issues (van Zomeren et al., 2011), can serve as motivational guides to action able to foster individuals' intentions to protect them via collective action. Therefore, when people perceive that their beliefs on moralized issues are undermined, they reasonably feel the need to intervene in their defense (Skitka & Bauman, 2008; Skitka et al., 2005). For example, van Zomeren et al. (2011) explored the role of moral convictions between Muslim and non-Muslim Dutch people and found that moral convictions against inequality were positively

associated with greater intentions of collective action in favour of Muslim Dutch. Further evidence has shown the powerful link between moral convictions, meaningful social identities, and both collective action intentions and actual behaviour (van Zomeren et al., 2012). De Cristofaro et al. (2021), in a variety of national and cultural contexts, found that women with strong moral convictions against gender inequality revealed greater identification with the ingroup and, in turn, greater intention to engage in collective action strategies aimed at redressing their disadvantaged situation, regardless of system justification beliefs. Therefore, moral convictions emerge as strongly associated with both social identities and collective action. In fact, despite research on the association between moral convictions and collective action is relatively underdeveloped, it supports the assumption that moral convictions may constitute a core factor in explaining collective action processes (Skitka & Bauman, 2008; Skitka et al., 2005; Zaal et al., 2011). From our point of view, strong moral convictions about the relevance of fair conditions in Nigeria (equal opportunities for all Nigerians) may represent a relevant underlying process able to explain the link between common ingroup identity and the willingness to take part in collective actions aimed at redressing the disadvantaged condition faced by groups included in this identity. In other words, this inclusive identity (within which both advantaged and disadvantaged groups are included) should promote moral convictions of fairness about the treatment of each subgroup included in this identity and serve as a motivational guide to action that stimulates participation in collective action.

With the aim of testing such association, we reasoned that the inclusion of further variables strongly implied with both common identity and collective action should allow us greater confidence in interpreting the role played by moral convictions. In fact, in the present study, both outgroup attitudes and outgroup feelings will be tested as parallel mediators. On the one hand, research on intergroup contact has shown that inclusive identities can encourage positive attitudes and feelings toward outgroup members (Gaertner et al., 1994).

Capozza et al. (2013), among advantaged group members, found that common identity emerged as positively associated with empathy and negatively associated with anxiety, and in turn, with an increased humanization of the outgroups (disadvantaged group members). On the other hand, outgroup attitudes and feelings emerged as antecedents of collective action (Becker & Tausch, 2015; Thomas et al., 2012) and as a mediator between factors that foster harmonious relations (e.g., intergroup contact) and collective action. For example, Ünver et al. (2022), among advantaged group members, have shown the meaningful role that positive attitudes toward a primary outgroup can have in explaining the association between contact and support of a further minority group (see also Graf & Sczesny, 2019). In conclusion, moral convictions, outgroup attitudes, and outgroup feelings emerge as relevant factors, both in contact and collective action research, and may help explain the relationship between common identity and collective action. We assume that the identification with the Nigerian identity should be positively associated with greater collective action intentions toward both groups (a majority and a minority group) via greater moral convictions and more positive attitudes and feeling toward the outgroups.

The present study

The present study aims to examine the link between common ingroup identity and collective action by testing moral convictions, outgroup attitudes and outgroup feelings as parallel mediators to explain the relationship between common identity and collective action. The study has been conducted in Nigeria, specifically in Lagos, a city in southwestern Nigeria, with a non-WEIRD sample represented by the tribe of Yoruba. The Yoruba tribe is one of the most prominent tribes in Nigeria, that hold most of the power in Nigerian society. Our intention was to examine the association between identification with the national identity of Nigerians and the willingness to undertake collective action in favour of two outgroups. This can help understand the potential role played by such inclusive identity in fostering moralized beliefs, positive attitudes, and feelings toward outgroup members, as a potential

way to achieve social equality among groups. The outgroups considered were the Igbo tribe (a further advantaged group) and the Edo tribe (a disadvantaged group), which are tribal groups concentrated in southwest Nigeria. The Nigerian context is an under-investigating setting characterized by multiple coexisting tribes dealing with a variety of meaningful conflicting social identities (in terms of political parties, religions, ethnic and tribal groups). In southwestern Nigeria, compared to northern areas, the religious component is less prominent, so we based our research on a different dimension by focusing our attention on tribal groups. To investigate the role of common ingroup identity, we chose to rely our investigation on the Nigerian identity because it has the potential to embed all Nigerian subgroups' identities, favouring the salience of one-group perceptions. In fact, by considering Yoruba, Edo and Igbo tribes, we are focusing on an ethnic/tribal dimension that can be incorporated within the social identity of Nigerians. The consideration of more than one outgroup, which differ from each other (not only in terms of group membership but also in terms of the social status they hold in Nigerian society), represents an opportunity to avoid a binary logic within which only dyadic relationships are considered (Dixon et al., 2020). This inclusive approach should allow us to obtain a broader perspective on intergroup dynamics. Considering that exposure to outgroup members can exert positive effects on intergroup relations (Zebrowitz et al., 2007), we opted for the inclusion of a measure of diversity perceptions, intended as exposure to outgroup members, as a control variable. Partialling out the role played by outgroup exposure should allow us greater confidence in interpreting the unique role played by common ingroup identity. We anticipate that identification with the common ingroup identity of Nigerians will be indirectly associated with greater solidarity-based collective action intentions toward both the advantaged and the disadvantaged group, via stronger moral convictions of equality about Nigerians, greater positive feelings and attitudes toward the outgroups.

Method

Participants and procedure

To test a mediation model with five predictors (common identity, perceived diversity, moral convictions, outgroup attitudes, and outgroup feelings), a sample size of about 200 was indicated by an a priori power analysis. Specifically, 189 participants were the number of participants required to detect a small to medium effect size (f=.07; Faul et al., 2007) with a power of .80. A total of 200 members of the Nigerian Yoruba tribe took part in the study (M_{age}=29.86, 18-66 years, *SD*=10.75; 88 males, 107 females, five missing data); they were asked to fill out a paper-and-pencil or an online questionnaire (at social venues located in the city of Lagos or through online communication channels). Finally, after filling the questionnaire, participants were thanked and informed about the purpose of the study.

Measures

Unless otherwise reported, measures were administered using a 7-step scale ranging from 1 = “strongly disagree” to 7 = “strongly agree”.

Common ingroup identity. Five items, adapted from literature (e.g., Jetten et al., 2001, 2003; Spears et al., 1997), were used to assess participants’ identification with the national identity of Nigerians (e.g., “I have a strong sense of belonging to the Nigerian community,” “Being Nigerian is an important part of my identity”). Responses were combined onto a single index providing a general measure of common ingroup identity (alpha = .84). Higher scores reflect greater levels of identification with the common ingroup identity of Nigerians.

Moral convictions. Moral convictions were measured using five items (adapted from van Zomeren et al., 2011) that specifically assess moral beliefs of equality with respect to the treatment of Nigerians (e.g., “My opinion about improving the current condition of all Nigerians is important to me,” My opinion about improving the current condition of all Nigerians is an important part of my moral norms and values”). Responses were combined onto a single index providing a general measure of moral convictions (alpha = .97). Higher scores reflect favourable moral convictions toward Nigerians.

Outgroup attitudes. Four bipolar items (from Wright et al., 1997), were used to assess participants' attitudes toward the Igbo tribe and the Edo tribe (1 = cold-warm, 2 = positive-negative, 3 = friendly-hostile, 4 = suspicious-trusting). Responses, coded with higher values representing more positive outgroup perceptions, were combined onto a single index providing a general measure of outgroup attitudes for each group ($alpha_{Edos}$ =.86; $alpha_{Igbos}$ =.80). Higher scores reflect favourable attitudes toward the outgroups.

Outgroup feelings. Participants' feelings toward the Igbo tribe and the Edo tribe were assessed through a single item, a feeling thermometer characterized by a response scale varying from 0 (extremely cold) to 100 (extremely warm). Higher scores reflect positive feelings toward the outgroups.

Collective action. Participants' intention to take part in collective action strategies aimed at improving the current condition of the Edo and the Igbo tribes in Nigeria was measured with four items (e.g., "I would be willing to sign a petition to improve the current situation of Edos/Igbos in Nigeria," "I would be willing to become a member of an organization that supports the equal rights of Edos/Igbos in Nigeria"). Responses were combined onto a single index providing a general measure of collective action for each group ($alpha_{Edos}$ =.92; $alpha_{Igbos}$ =.92). The higher the score, the greater the willingness of participants to undertake collective action in favour of the outgroups.

Perceived diversity. The exposure of participants to outgroup members was assessed by three items aimed at detecting the perceived amount of Edos and Igbos in their area/district, city, and in general in Nigeria. Responses were combined onto a single index providing a general measure of perceived diversity for each group ($alpha_{Edos}$ =.84; $alpha_{Igbos}$ =.78). The higher the score, the greater the perception of resident Edos and Igbos.

Results

Means, correlations, and standard deviations are presented in Table 1. To verify our assumptions, we ran a mediation model for each of our dependent variables (i.e., collective action aimed at supporting the Igbo tribe and the Edo tribe) using PROCESS macro for SPSS (Model 4; Hayes, 2016). For both models, common ingroup identity as Nigerian was tested as an independent variable; moral convictions, outgroup feelings, and outgroup attitudes were introduced as parallel mediators, and perceived diversity was included as a covariate.

Table 1. Means, standard deviations, and correlations among variables ($N = 200$).

Variables	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*
1. Common identity	-									
2. Moral convictions	.25***	-								
3. Outgroup feelings toward Edos	.19**	.12	-							
4. Outgroup feelings toward Igbos	.10	.06	.51***	-						
5. Outgroup attitudes toward Edos	.17*	.13	.58***	.47***	-					
6. Outgroup attitudes toward Igbos	.12	.18**	.39***	.62***	.68***	-				
7. Collective action intentions toward Edos	.18**	.27***	.22**	.18**	.14*	.13	-			
8. Collective action intentions toward Igbos	.20**	.20**	.18**	.23***	.14*	.14*	.86***	-		
9. Perceived diversity toward Edos	.19**	.10	.25***	.11	.17*	.05	.09	.07	-	
10. Perceived diversity toward Igbos	.15*	.16*	.08	.18**	.18**	.12	.14*	.11	.57***	-
M	5.31	5.61	71.40	68.00	5.30	5.32	4.25	4.34	3.58	4.68
SD	1.28	1.70	21.31	19.87	1.12	1.04	1.67	1.65	1.32	1.22

Note. Response scale from 1 to 7 except for “Outgroup attitudes” (0 to 100). *$p \leq .05$. **$p \leq .01$. ***$p \leq .001$.

Linear regressions exploring the relationship between common ingroup identity, mediators, and collective action are reported in Table 2. Starting from the disadvantaged outgroup, represented by members of the Edo tribe, we found that greater identification with the common group of Nigerians was associated with greater moral convictions, outgroup attitudes, and outgroup feelings. In turn, moral convictions and outgroup feelings were positively associated with collective action (the association between outgroup attitudes and collective action was non-significant). To assess indirect effects, we used bootstrapping procedures based on 5,000 resamples; positive significant indirect effects emerged between common ingroup identity and collective action via greater moral convictions (point estimate = .07, 95% CI [0.0188, 0.1637]) and outgroup feelings (point estimate = .03, 95% CI [0.0016, 0.0929]). With regard to the advantaged outgroup, represented by members of the Igbo tribe, greater identification with the common ingroup identity of Nigerians was associated with greater moral convictions. By contrast, no significant associations emerged between common ingroup identity and outgroup feelings and attitudes. In turn, moral convictions and outgroup feelings were positively associated with collective action (the association between outgroup attitudes and collective action was non-significant). Positive significant indirect effects emerged between common ingroup identity and collective action toward Igbos only via greater moral convictions (point estimate = .04, 95% CI [0.0027, 0.1214]).

Table 2. Linear regressions testing the predictive role of common ingroup identity and mediators (moral convictions, outgroup attitudes, and feelings) on collective action toward both groups ($N = 200$).

Independent variable			Edo tribe				Igbo tribe	
	Moral convictions	Outgroup attitudes	Outgroup feelings	Collective action intentions	Moral convictions	Outgroup attitudes	Outgroup feelings	Collective action intentions
Common identity	.32***(.09)	.12*(.06)	2.37*(1.16)	.11(.09)	.31***(.09)	.09(.06)	1.10(1.10)	.18*(.09)
Moral convictions	-	-	-	.22***(.07)	-	-	-	.15*(.07)
Outgroup feelings	-	-	-	.01*(.01)	-	-	-	.02**(.01)
Outgroup attitudes	-	-	-	-.01(.12)	-	-	-	-.09(.14)
Perceived diversity	.07(.09)	.12*(.06)	3.61**(1.13)	.01(.09)	.17(.10)	.09(.06)	2.78*(1.15)	.05(.09)
F	6.82***	4.80**	8.83***	5.01***	8.20***	2.60	3.86*	4.58***

Note. Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported (standard errors in parentheses). *$p \leq .05$. **$p \leq .01$. ***$p \leq .001$.

Discussion

By considering the Nigerian tribal context, which represents an under-investigating setting characterized by a multitude of coexisting tribes dealing with several conflicting social identities, the present study aimed to examine the role played by a meaningful common ingroup identity in eliciting collective action intentions benefitting different groups included in this identity. In doing so, as a sample of reference, we focused our attention on advantaged group members from the tribe of Yoruba, who represent one of the most prominent tribes in Nigeria that potentially holds enough power to promote social change in such a context. In parallel, with the aim of avoiding a binary logic in investigating social change processes, we examined collective action intentions not only toward a minority group (Edo tribe) but also toward a further majority group (Igbo tribe). This broader perspective, which examines collective action intentions of a rare non-WEIRD sample toward further groups varying in social status, can allow us to obtain greater knowledge of social protest dynamics, providing a different approach to examine such associations. In doing so, we also considered potential mediating variables that could help us explain the pathway from common ingroup identity to collective action. In this study, we examined the role of moral convictions, outgroup feelings, and outgroup attitudes toward both an advantaged and a disadvantaged tribe, as parallel mediators. Results have shown that identification with the common ingroup identity of Nigerians was indirectly associated with greater intentions to undertake collective action in favour of both the Edo and the Igbo tribes. For both outgroups, this relationship was mediated by stronger egalitarian moral convictions in favour of Nigerians. Instead, only for the disadvantaged tribe (Edos), more positive outgroup feelings mediated the relationship between common ingroup identity and collective action, while no-significant mediating effects emerged for outgroup attitudes.

This research allows us to reconcile significant factors that have been separately investigated. In fact, despite the energizing effect of common ingroup identity in improving

intergroup relations is well known (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), its role in the context of collective action processes is under-investigated, showing few and mixed results. These results support the beneficial role that a meaningful inclusive identity, among advantaged group members, can have in fostering social equality goals toward both advantaged and disadvantaged groups. We argue that the reasons behind the mixed evidence of the role of common ingroup identities in promoting collective action intentions can be a consequence of both the lack of research on their association and the kind of common ingroup identity under investigation. Subašić et al. (2008), in their political solidarity model of collective action, assume that common ingroup identities may represent a powerful way to promote alliance among groups. However, to achieve this goal, it might be important to preserve subgroup identities in order to avoid assimilation processes and, instead, promote the recognition of mutual differences within this inclusive context. In the same vein, Dovidio et al. (2016) postulated that factors able to promote positive intergroup relations may undermine social change intentions as a consequence of their inhibiting role on group distinctiveness. In this study, we investigated Nigerian tribes, which are defined by high levels of loyalty and affiliation to one's group (Clark et al., 2019), as subgroup identities of reference. From our point of view, these identities should be difficult to suppress, especially within the context provided by the superordinate identity of Nigerians, which can incorporate these different subgroups within the same hierarchical system and, at the same time, as a consequence of the conflicting nature of these relationships in Nigeria, make them salient. However, since in the present study we did not expressly measure the salience of relative subgroups, future research should specifically examine the role played by the salience of subgroup identities in determining the effects of superordinate identities on collective action intentions. Moreover, these findings point out the prominent role of moral convictions in explaining the association between common ingroup identity and collective action. This result is in line with SIMCA (van Zomeren et al., 2012, 2018), according to which moral

beliefs (serving as motivational guides to action) can foster greater intentions to undertake collective action. Social identities imply several norms, values, and moral beliefs to which members tend to conform; who we are is strongly associated with what we strive for (van Zomeren et al., 2018). Therefore, we reasoned that such egalitarian moral convictions toward Nigerians should be probably embedded in and prescribed by the common identity of Nigerians investigated in this study. Future research should further examine this link, testing different types of moral convictions reflecting different levels of association with the specific inclusive identity of reference. Moreover, with the aim of fully understanding the role played by morality in driving collective action intentions and obtaining a broader perspective on social change processes, it would be relevant to test different operationalizations of this construct, for example including moral convictions, moral violation (van Zomeren et al., 2018) and moral obligation (Sabucedo et al., 2018) as potential mediators. This distinction could be highly informative and could also be tested in relation to different social identities and motivations for social protests, considering both normative and non-normative forms of collective action which could be fostered by different types of moral dimensions.

SIMCA (van Zomeren et al., 2008), mainly focused on minority group members, informs us about meaningful predictors of individuals' willingness to undertake collective action (such as social identification, group efficacy, and perceived injustice) and its latest integration pointed out the powerful role of moral convictions, and their violation, in promoting social change (van Zomeren et al., 2012, 2018). The study presented in this chapter supports this model and expands it providing evidence for the beneficial role played by moral convictions in promoting collective action on behalf of multiple groups of different social status. Moral beliefs seem to play a crucial role in motivating actions for social equality within a larger social system within which various subgroups coexist, such as the tribes considered in this study. By including different groups, it becomes possible to overcome binary thinking, which tends to oversimplify the complexity of society hiding the

true nature of intergroup relations (Dixon et al., 2020). Based on the evidence provided in contact literature which shows that common ingroup identity can affect outgroup attitudes and feelings (Gaertner et al., 1994), as well as the findings from collective action research emphasizing their role in social change processes (Graf & Sczesny, 2019; van Zomeren et al., 2008, 2012), we examined these variables as additional parallel mediators. Surprisingly, our results revealed that outgroup feelings only acted as mediators for collective action toward the minority group, while outgroup attitudes did not show any significant indirect effects, emphasizing the influential role of moral convictions in motivating collective action intentions. It is important to consider that attitude measurement can greatly vary depending on the context in which they are assessed (Schwarz, 1999). Therefore, we suggest that the context in which the data were collected may account for these findings. In fact, when considering Tables 1 and 2, it is possible to observe that participants held generally positive attitudes and feelings toward both outgroups. It is worth noting that the study was conducted in Lagos (which is the largest city in terms of both the Nigerian context and the African context in general), where different tribes coexist, and it is likely that the observed positive attitudes and feelings toward both groups stem from a context of aggregation rather than segregation among tribes. Future research could further investigate these associations in contexts where segregation plays a more prominent role, providing a comparative understanding of these dynamics. However, although this study helps reconcile two distinct literatures, it only represents an initial step in understanding the driving role of meaningful common identities in promoting collective action. It is important to acknowledge that the results of the present study may primarily pertain to normative forms of collective action, as assessed in our research. These findings may not capture the dynamics involved in non-normative forms of collective action, which deviate from societal norms or expectations, and may present unique challenges and considerations that were not directly addressed in our study. Further research is needed to explore the factors and processes that influence the

mobilization of groups via non-normative collective action, as they may differ from those involved in normative forms of collective action.

While our findings offer novel insights, it is crucial to interpret them cautiously, considering certain limitations. Like many studies in this field, one relevant limitation is the correlational nature of the data, which prevents us from establishing causal relationships. Future studies should aim to investigate this association using longitudinal and/or experimental designs to provide a stronger basis for causal claims. However, it is worth noting that the relations tested in our study are grounded in established psychological models, such as the CIIM, which have provided evidence for causal effects in previous research (e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) and, therefore, potentially supports the plausibility of causal interpretations of the theoretical framework that was tested in this study. Another relevant point as a possible future research direction is that in this study we did not assess the content of identity, such as its complexity or the values and moral traits associated with it. These aspects of identity could play a significant role in understanding how it relates to collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2018). For example, the metacontrast principle (Turner et al., 1987) could offer a potential explanation for the central role of common identification in driving collective action efforts. This principle can be used to measure the degree of perceived prototypicality (Di Bernardo et al., 2023) of different subordinate identities. It is plausible that individuals, when focusing on a broader social identity, are more inclined to engage in collective action for highly prototypical subgroups. Exploring the interplay between identity content, prototypicality, and collective action could shed further light on the underlying mechanisms involved in collective action processes. Additionally, we acknowledge that our study employed a convenience sample, which may limit the generalizability of our findings. Future research should aim to utilize representative samples to enhance the external validity and ensure broader applicability of the results. By employing diverse and representative samples, we can obtain a more comprehensive understanding of

these dynamics. In conclusion, our findings suggest that a common identity, which probably does not overshadow the distinctiveness of subgroups included in it, can serve as a catalyst of egalitarian collective action intentions aimed at enhancing the well-being of other advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Moreover, our research highlights the pivotal role played by moral convictions in driving this process. Finally, we believe that the characteristics of the context and intergroup relations investigated in this study, which include intricate intergroup dynamics and complex identities, offer valuable insights for a greater understanding of social change processes, representing an initial step towards a more inclusive and democratic social psychology which transcends the limitations imposed by binary logics.

Chapter 6

Sport identification, moral perceptions and collective action: A study with young football players[1]

Research has highlighted the central role that social identity plays in predicting collective action (Thomas et al., 2012; Van Zomeren et al., 2018). To fully understand predictors of collective action aimed at favouring social equality by improving the position of disadvantaged groups, the focus has been both on disadvantaged groups, who may strive to improve their status, and on advantaged groups, who possess higher status and power and may contribute to effectively change status relations (Radke et al., 2020). Scholars have however concentrated on understanding the roles of advantaged and disadvantaged groups directly embedded in the status hierarchy under examination (i.e., they have examined predictors of collective action amongst advantaged and disadvantaged ethnic groups on the same status hierarchy, such as White and Black people in relation to Black people's rights). In this study, we adopt a different perspective, investigating the extent to which identifying with a sport social group, as a positive social identity with salient values of equality and social inclusion, motivates individuals to engage in collective action favouring disadvantaged group members[2].

Additionally, research on collective action has placed attention on morality constructs, such as morality convictions and violations (Van Zomeren et al., 2012), as mechanisms allowing collective action. However, research has rarely considered the predictive power of different forms of morality simultaneously. This is important as it can

[1] I present the article version accepted for publication. Published in open access format on the Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, within the Special Issue: Sport for the community: Psychological and sociomoral benefits of sport participation in youth and adult communities.
Article reference: Cocco, V. M., Bisagno, E., Cadamuro, A., Rubichi, S., Stathi, S., & Vezzali, L. (2023). Sport identification, moral perceptions and collective action: A study with young football players. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2715

[2] Throughout the article, we use the term 'collective action' to refer to solidarity-based collective action, unless otherwise specified.

shed light on the more pertinent morality component when considering the path to collective action. In this study, drawing on recent theorizing (Sabucedo et al., 2018; Van Zomeren et al., 2018), we consider three conceptually distinct types of morality perceptions, that is morality convictions, violation and obligation, evaluating them as mediators of the path from social identity to collective action.

Finally, while research has mainly concentrated on examining predictors of normative collective action, we exploratively investigate the associations of social identity and morality constructs with both normative and nonnormative collective action (i.e., radical forms of actions often based on the use of violence). This will enhance our understanding of factors that may be relevant to the far less explored field of non-normative collective action.

We conducted a correlational study amongst young players from the grassroots of a professional football club in Italy. Results contribute theoretical knowledge on the relevant social identities and underlying processes driving different forms of collective action. Furthermore, the study provides applied considerations by defining a social identity that can be instrumentally used to promote a more equal society.

Social identity and collective action

According to the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; Van Zomeren et al., 2008), identification with a relevant social group, together with perceptions of group-based injustice and efficacy beliefs, are key predictors of intentions to engage in collective action. The importance of social identity for collective action is also at the core of other collective action models. For instance, the encapsulation model of the social identity of collective action (Thomas et al., 2012) posits that social identity can work as a proximal predictor of collective action. The political solidarity model of social change (Subašić et al., 2008) states that advantaged group members can adopt a shared identity with the disadvantaged group that excludes an illegitimate authority and engage together in actions to restore social equality.

These models have their roots in social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (SCT; Turner et al., 1987), which place importance on social identity as central to intergroup behaviour. According to SIT, individuals from disadvantaged groups are likely to engage in collective action when group boundaries are impermeable and status differences are perceived as illegitimate and unstable. Predictions are less clear for advantaged group members, who may decide to favour the disadvantaged outgroup and engage in collective action when their moral image is threatened because of the unfair status situation. SCT also places importance on group identity and norms as the determinant of behaviour: when individuals are depersonalised (i.e., when their social identity is salient), they self-define in terms of the attributes defining the social group and adopt the social norms that characterise such identity (Turner et al., 1987). It follows that, if a social identity is defined by values of acceptance and respect, and therefore the moral principle is to support disadvantaged individuals or groups, perceiving the intergroup situation as unjust can motivate advantaged group members to act in support of the disadvantaged group (cf., Di Bernardo et al., 2021).

There is large empirical evidence supporting the key role of social identification in driving collective action. Social identification has been shown to foster collective action in favour of one's own group amongst both disadvantaged (Simon & Klandermans, 2001) and advantaged group members (Bagci & Turnuklu, 2019). But social identification can also foster solidarity-based collective action amongst advantaged group members. There is evidence that in some cases identification with a superordinate group, or perceiving advantaged and disadvantaged group members as belonging to a common group, can motivate collective action amongst members of the advantaged group (Bikmen & Sunar, 2013; Cocco et al., 2022; Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Van Zomeren et al., 2018).

The value of a sport identity

In the present study we explore the usefulness of sport identity as a type of social identity potentially able to mobilize collective action. Group identification can help young people reduce uncertainties and favour their well-being (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Rutland & Killen, 2015). A sport identity can be especially beneficial: sport teams allow personal contact and intimacy with peers as well as a sense of group membership (Allen, 2003).

A sport identity is usually superordinate and characterised by values such as social inclusion, respect, fairness, equality and provides the ground for educating young people to responsible citizenship (UNESCO, 2021). In line with SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), SCT (Turner et al., 1987) and the developmental intergroup perspective, which emphasises group processes across development (Abrams et al., 2017; Bigler & Liben, 2007), we can speculate that individuals highly identified with a sport social group will commit to its values and adopt a normative-consistent behaviour. Indeed, to the extent that individuals' social identity is characterised by values of (for instance) social inclusion and respect, they should commit to think, feel and act consistently with them (Turner et al., 1987). Sport values are inconsistent with observing injustice against groups (e.g., lower rights attributed to people from disadvantaged groups) and failing to act to address such injustice. Therefore, to the extent that individuals are committed to a relevant sport identity characterised by values linked to justice and fairness, they are expected to act consistently, addressing such injustice whenever they are aware of it and have the chance of behave against it. In other words, we anticipate that youth participants displaying a higher identification with their sport social group will be more inclined to act in support of marginalized individuals, that is individuals from disadvantaged groups.

Research examining the effects of sport identification on moral development and behaviour amongst youth is scarce, and largely focused on prosocial or antisocial behaviour within the sport context (Bruner et al., 2018). We aim to provide first evidence that a sport identity can have beneficial effects that go beyond the sport context, and specifically that

sport identification will be associated with willingness to support disadvantaged groups by engaging in collective action. Importantly, we predict an indirect effect between sport identification and collective action, via morality perceptions.

Morality perceptions as mediators

The initial formulation of SIMCA was later extended to include morality perceptions as an additional predictor of collective action, allowing a better understanding of why people engage in collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2012). Specifically, Van Zomeren et al. (2012) introduced the construct of moral convictions, that is, 'strong and absolute stances on moral issues' (p. 52), which allows to connect people to higher-order principles on moral issues, requiring adherence to these principles. They argued that morality considerations about what is right and what is wrong are intertwined with group identity in predicting collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2018). When a meaningful social
identity is salient, moral beliefs associated with this identity can serve as a motivational guide to action (Skitka & Bauman, 2008; Skitka et al., 2005).

Van Zomeren et al. (2018) also argued that an operationalization of moral perceptions only in terms of moral convictions may be too restrictive to capture the broad array of moral motivations that can drive collective action. Individuals may be especially sensitive to violations of their moral convictions, which may lead to attempts to protect them (Skitka, 2010). Therefore, moral violation may be an especially strong trigger for collective action, since violation of moral values can increase social identity salience (and therefore, conformity to this identity and its norms). When this happens, individuals are likely to be motivated to protect identity relevant values under threat (Van Zomeren et al., 2018; see also Radke et al., 2020). Research has consistently shown that moral violation can lead to increased collective action, also in its more radical, non-normative forms (Pauls et al., 2022).

We consider a third type of moral perceptions, that is moral obligation, defined as 'a motivational force toward a certain action that later could end in a decision to execute a

behavior' (Sabucedo et al., 2018, p. 2). One characteristic of moral obligation is that it induces a sense of commitment; failing to behave consistently with one's perceived duties would create a discrepancy between beliefs and behaviour, resulting in cognitive distress (Festinger, 1957; Higgins, 1987). In addition, people who feel moral obligation may also be concerned with personal sacrifice, prioritizing obligations over personal costs (Sabucedo et al., 2018). Sabucedo et al. (2018) showed in three studies that moral obligation was a better predictor of both normative and non-normative collective action than moral convictions, and that its effects held over and above other variables related to collective action, such as group identification (for additional evidence, see Ayanian et al., 2021; Milesi & Alberici, 2018).

Our prediction is that sport identification will be associated with increased perceptions of the three types of morality constructs considered (moral convictions, violation, obligation) and, in turn, greater collective action. As explained above, research has already provided evidence for the association between these morality constructs and collective action. To justify the association between sport identification and morality perceptions, we refer to the importance of the congruence between social identity content and behaviour. Research on collective action has found that attributes defining the group are an important part of the ingroup identity, motivating collective action (Reicher et al., 2006). We argue that the values characterising sport identity relate to moral considerations relevant to collective action. The sport identity refers to a superordinate category imbued with positive values, such as acceptance and respect for equality, and characterised by prosocial norms, such as helping and supporting disadvantaged individuals to enhance social inclusion (UNESCO, 2021). Therefore, individuals highly identified with a social group characterised by these values are more likely to consider social inclusion of disadvantaged individuals a relevant moral issue, be sensitive about its violation, and feel obligated to defend it. Since values and social norms characterising the ingroup category determine what individuals perceive as fair and appropriate behaviour (Turner et al., 1987), being highly identified with

a social category that values respect for and social inclusion of disadvantaged individuals should be associated with moral perceptions consistent with these values.

The present research

We conducted a study to investigate whether sport identification would be associated with collective action, while exploring the mediating role of distinct types of moral perceptions (moral convictions, violation, obligation). We included two types of collective action (normative and non-normative) to allow a better understanding of factors that may be pertinent to both. Participants were young football players from the grassroots of a professional club located in Northern Italy. We decided to focus on young people because, as explained in the introduction, sport identity is key for youth development. We also argue that engaging with sports can have educational and societal functions, and we aim to examine whether these functions are influential beyond the immediate sport context. This study will therefore allow us to illuminate the role of sport identity on moral perceptions, with specific reference to collective action in support of disadvantaged groups. We focused on young football players from a professional club because we reasoned that, given widespread popularity and relevance of football in Italy and the competitiveness of being selected to play in the grassroots of a professional football team, sport identity would be especially distinctive and salient to our participants.

As dependent variables, we included measures of both normative and non-normative collection. There is ample research on factors associated with normative collective action. Considering that empirical findings regarding morality perceptions and non-normative collective action are mixed, with some studies showing effects of morality perceptions only on normative collective action (e.g., Cocco et al., 2022) and others on both collective action forms (e.g., Pauls et al., 2022), we do not make a-priori predictions. As explained earlier, we predict that group identification with a sport social group will be indirectly associated with greater collective action intentions, via stronger moral convictions, moral violation and

moral obligation. Considering that all three types of morality perceptions have been individually associated with collective action, we expect that they will all be relevant mediators. However, given the lack of prior research simultaneously testing all three morality factors, we do not make hypotheses for differential mediating effects.

Method

Participants and procedure

Participants were 111 male football players from the grassroots of a professional football club from a Northern Italian region, playing in the Italian third league (Serie C). Ages ranged from 9 to 18 years (M_{age} = 13.17 years, *SD* = 2.41). Participants were provided with a link to the online questionnaire by trained research assistants. Before their training session, they completed the questionnaire individually on their mobile phone, while research assistants remained present to answer eventual questions, for instance on the meaning of some words or items. Finally, participants were thanked and debriefed.

Measures

All measures used a five-step scale (ranging from 1 = not at all to 5 = very much). Participants were told that with the term ‘disadvantaged individuals’ in this study we referred to people from a broad range of backgrounds who suffered of social disadvantage, such as individuals with disability, with foreign origins and so forth.

Sport identification. To assess participants' identification with their sport social group, we used three items adapted from Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, and Manstead (1998): ‘I see myself as a member of the group of sportsmen’; ‘Being a member of the group of sportsmen occurs naturally to me’; ‘I identify with members of the group of sportsmen.’ Items were combined in a reliable index of identification (alpha = .75).

Morality perceptions. We used nine items, three for each morality dimension. To assess moral convictions we used three items adapted from Van Zomeren et al. (2012): ‘My opinion on the importance of the social inclusion of disadvantaged individuals’ was followed

by the items: ‘is an important part of my moral norms and values’; ‘reflects an important part of who I am’; ‘is based on (is strictly associated with) moral convictions which everybody should respect.’ Since excluding items did not lead to an increase in reliability (alpha = .53), we merged the three items; however, considering the low reliability of this measure, caution should be used in interpreting results. Moral violation was assessed with the following items adapted from Van Zomeren et al. (2018): ‘What I believe is violated when I see disadvantaged persons who are excluded and/or oppressed’; ‘My moral principles are violated when I realize that unfair actions against disadvantaged individuals are used’; ‘I perceive the social exclusion of disadvantaged individuals as a violation of the moral principles in which I believe’ (alpha = .80). Finally, the following three items (adapted from Sabucedo et al., 2018; Vilas & Sabucedo, 2012) were used to assess moral obligation: ‘I feel morally forced to take part into protest acts against social exclusion of disadvantaged individuals’; ‘I feel the moral obligation to defend the rights of disadvantaged individuals with respect to social exclusion’; ‘I feel morally obligated to take part into protest acts that favour the social inclusion of disadvantaged individuals’ (alpha = .86). Given that reliabilities for the latter two constructs were satisfactory, we created two indices of moral violation and obligation by merging respective items.

Collective action. Three items, adapted from larger collective action literature (e.g., Reimer et al., 2017; Van Zomeren et al., 2012), assessed willingness to engage in normative collective action to support disadvantaged individuals: ‘Would you sign a petition to defend the rights of disadvantaged individuals?’; ‘Would you vote for somebody who wants to contrast the oppression of disadvantaged individuals?’; ‘Would you participate to a legal demonstration to defend the rights of disadvantaged individuals?’. Excluding the second item increased the reliability of the measure (alpha increased from .58 to .70), therefore we combined the first and the third item to obtain an index of normative collective action. Three items adapted from Corcoran, Pettinicchio, and Young (2015) were used to tap on intentions

to engage in non-normative collective action: ‘Would you join a boycott to contrast the oppression of disadvantaged individuals?’; ‘Would you take part in unofficial (illegal) strikes to defend the rights of disadvantaged individuals?’; ‘Would you occupy buildings or factories to contrast the oppression of disadvantaged individuals?’. We averaged the items in an index of non-normative collective action (alpha = .69).

Results

Means, standard deviations, and correlations amongst variables are presented in Table 1. As can be seen, sport identification was positively associated with the three types of moral perceptions. The three types of moral perceptions were positively associated with both normative and non-normative collective action. Normative and non-normative collective action were also positively correlated.

To test the hypothesized relationships, we conducted mediation analyses using the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Model 4; Hayes, 2016). Predictor was social identity; the three types of moral perceptions were entered as parallel mediators; normative and non-normative collective action were the dependent variables. The model was run twice, one for each dependent variable. Results are presented in Table 2. As can be seen, when both sport identification and the three hypothesized mediators were simultaneously entered in the regression equation, both moral convictions and moral obligation were positively associated with normative collective action. When non-normative collective action was the dependent variable, only the association between moral obligation and non-normative collective action emerged as significant.

Table 1. Means, standard deviations and zero-order correlations among variables (N = 111).

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Sport identification	-					
2. Moral convictions	.28**	-				
3. Moral violation	.28**	.62***	-			
4. Moral obligation	.24*	.52***	.57***	-		
5. Normative collective action	.02	.32***	.19*	.36***	-	
6. Non-normative collective action	−.00	.30**	.21*	.39***	.33***	-
M	4.56	4.24	3.98	3.69	3.94	3.11
SD	0.55	0.58	0.86	0.95	0.89	1.09

Note. The response scale for all measures ranged from 1 to 5. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 2. Linear regressions testing the associations of social identity and morality perceptions with collective action (N = 111). Unstandardized regression coefficients are presented (standard errors in parentheses).

	Mediators			Dependent variables	
Independent variables	Moral convictions	Moral violation	Moral obligation	Normative collective action	Non-normative collective action
Sport identification	.29**(.10)	.44**(.14)	.42*(.16)	.-.15(.15)	-.24(.18)
Moral convictions	-	-	-	.41*(.18)	.37(.22)
Moral violation	-	-	-	-.13(.13)	-.12(.15)
Moral obligation	-	-	-	.30**(.10)	.43***(.13)
F	9.37**	9.54**	6.68*	5.60***	6.02***
R^2	.08	.08	.06	.17	.18

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

Inspection of indirect effects, assessed with bootstrapping procedures (5000 resamples), revealed that moral obligation mediated the associations of sport identification with both normative (point estimate = .12, 95% CI [.0197, .3344]) and non-normative collective action (point estimate = .18, 95% CI [.0417, .3957]). Moral convictions mediated the association of sport identification with normative collective action (point estimate = .12, 95% CI [.0069, .3017]), but not with non-normative collective action (point estimate = .11, 95% CI [.0001, .3081]). Finally, moral violation did not mediate the effects of sport identification neither for normative (point estimate = .06, 95% CI [.2337, .1128]) nor for non-normative collective action (point estimate = .05, 95% CI [.2505, .1209])[3].

Discussion

We conducted a study investigating whether sport identification is indirectly associated with solidarity-based collective action intentions via morality perceptions (moral convictions, violation, and obligation), using a sample of young football players from the grassroots of a professional club. Results revealed that sport identification was indirectly associated with greater normative collective action intentions towards individuals from disadvantaged groups via moral convictions, and with both collective action intentions forms via moral obligation.

The key finding of this research is that sport identification was indirectly associated with willingness to support disadvantaged groups. This finding is important as it highlights the positive role of a social identity that has not been explored in the context of collective action before. The social identity we considered, that is the category of sportspeople, is not embedded on the typical social hierarchy where disadvantaged individuals (such as those with disability or from foreign origins) are the low-status group. As such, social identities that are seemingly unrelated to the relevant social hierarchy can contribute to the pursuit of

3 Results did not change when entering age as a covariate, with one exception: moral convictions did no longer predict normative collective action (b = .34, SE = .22, p = .124), and the indirect effect by moral convictions was no longer significant (point estimate = .11, 95% CI [.0100, .3026]).

social equality; intentions to engage in collective action may have represented a means to express one's group identity and the values characterising it (Turner-Zwinkelz & Van Zomeren, 2021).

Importantly, such identity may motivate partly different pathways to collective action, compared with a social identity embedded in the social hierarchy (e.g., identification with being White, or with a social movement supporting Black people's rights, in the social hierarchy that includes White and Black people). Advantaged group members can, in some cases, perceive that their moral image is under threat when faced with the disadvantaged situation of lowerstatus groups (Shnabel & Ullrich, 2013), or they may experience guilt about their advantaged social position (Adra et al., 2020), leading to support collective action to restore a positive moral image for their advantaged group identity. Along the same lines, Tajfel and Turner (1979) argued that advantaged group members can dissociate (also psychologically) from their ingroup when the threat to group image is too pronounced. In other words, their advantaged position may make advantaged group members especially sensitive to justice concerns, recognition of outgroup disadvantage, likelihood to experience moral outrage for a situation that also their ingroup is partially responsible for. By contrast, we argue that a disembedded positive identity, for example a sport identity, is less concerned with a potentially fragile ingroup image, and more likely to foster action because of adherence to and consistency with values and prosocial norms that characterise it. Future research can test mediators such as moral outrage and recognition of outgroup disadvantage, to empirically differentiate the different paths that sport identity and other social identities (e.g., politicized identities) can take in promoting collective action.

It is worth noting that, by not investigating specific disadvantaged groups, but by broadly referring to supporting individuals from disadvantaged groups in general, we did not limit the range of potentially affected disadvantaged groups. Indeed, while sport may generally favour the inclusion of individuals from disadvantaged groups like, for instance,

ethnic minorities or individuals with a disability, our rationale potentially extends to all groups suffering some disadvantage. Future research may however investigate the limits of the potential of a sport identity to foster collective action towards different types of disadvantaged groups.

A further relevant finding is that effects occurred via morality perceptions, and specifically via moral obligation both in the case of normative and non-normative collective action. Moral convictions mediated the effect of social identity for normative collective action; the effect however was weak and disappeared when controlling for age (footnote 3). Although the three types of morality perceptions we considered have been shown to predict collective action independently, they had yet to be considered together (although there is evidence showing that–for both normative and non-normative collective action–moral obligation exerts stronger mediation effects than moral convictions; Sabucedo et al., 2018). Given that all morality perceptions were positively correlated with both forms of collective action (cf., Table 2), it is possible that moral obligation is a stronger predictor. Moral obligation refers to feeling obligated to defend one's moral principles, implying a sense of responsibility, which is a key aspect of allyship with disadvantaged groups (Louis et al., 2019). Therefore, it may be more strongly associated to behaviour than other more abstract forms of morality, for example, moral convictions, or forms that consider the violation of moral values but do not necessarily encompass the need to restore them, for example, moral violation. Acting upon moral obligation allows to directly connect the values characterising sport identity (e.g., equality and social inclusion) with the relevant defending behaviour. In other words, it facilitates the consistency between values endorsed in the selfconcept (provided by the sport identity) and value-consistent behaviour (Festinger, 1957; Higgins, 1987).

It is worth noting that mediating effects occurred both for normative and non-normative collective action. Research has generally focused on exploring processes

associated with normative collective action. Research looking at the role of morality perceptions on non-normative collective action has been scarce and the results are mixed. For instance, Cocco et al. (2022) found that advantaged group members' moral convictions were positively associated with collective action, while the association with non-normative collective action was nonsignificant. Teixeira, Spears, and Yzerbyt (2019) argued and found that advantaged group members may be unwilling to support nonnormative collective action to protect their moral image. To the extent that moral obligation refers to core aspects of the self-concept and implies personal costs to fulfil own moral beliefs (Sabucedo et al., 2018), it is possible that it overpowers personal costs, such that the priority is being consistent with own moral values. Therefore, individuals who feel morally obligated to support disadvantaged groups may prioritize their support even when this is detrimental to their ingroup's moral image, like in the case of non-normative collective action.

The fact that sport identification is associated with greater non-normative collective action may be not entirely desirable. On one side, it is understandable that adolescence is a developmental age associated with engagement in social challenges and conflict with the established system (Eccles et al., 2003). On the other side, taking part to non-normative forms of collection action, which are often illegal, may do more harm than good, also in terms of legal consequences. Future studies should better clarify the relationship between sport identity and collective action, and understanding when it can lead or not to destructive behaviour.

The present results integrate and extend scarce research on collective action in young samples (e.g., Di Bernardo et al., 2021; McKeown & Taylor, 2022; Taylor & McKeown, 2021; Vezzali et al., 2021). Consistent with the developmental intergroup perspective, which places importance on group processes and adherence to group norms (Abrams & Rutland, 2008), we showed that a positive social identity is associated with moral considerations and indirectly to relevant social outcomes, such as helping disadvantaged people. In other words,

identifying with a positive social group can contribute to the development of morality considerations in relation to the broader social context (Rutland et al., 2010).

It is worth noting that, while previous studies mainly examined moral prosocial and antisocial behaviour towards teammates and opponents (Kavussanu & Al-Yaaribi, 2021) and showed that a sport identity could favour prosocial behaviour within the sport setting (Bruner et al., 2018; Bruner et al., 2014), the present results provided initial evidence that the benefits of sport identification generalize beyond the sport setting, encompassing support for disadvantaged individuals in the larger society. These findings speak to the phenomenon of bracketed morality in sport, indicating lower morality standards of athletes within rather than outside sport contexts (Bredemeier & Shields, 1986). Bracketed morality is reflected in moral behaviour: for instance, athletes are more prosocial towards teammates than towards other individuals, likely as a form of ingroup bias (Kavussanu et al., 2013). We showed that identifying with a sport social group (and, we speculate, sport values associated with this identity) allows to extend morality principles to the wider community, possibly lowering the difference in moral standards sometimes applied within and beyond the sport setting.

The present work extends existing knowledge also in another important direction. While research has generally focused on moral disengagement and moral identity as relevant morality constructs predictive of antisocial behaviours (e.g., Boardley & Kavussanu, 2009), we investigated other relevant morality constructs associated with a sport identity, assessing their predictive role on prosociality (rather than anti-sociality) measures. Future research can integrate these different lines of research, for instance investigating how acquiring a sport identity contributes to shaping moral identity and in turn moral behaviour in the form of support of disadvantaged groups.

The present findings have important practical implications. They show that football and more generally sport clubs can use sport as an educational tool, highlighting its positive values and the importance to adhere to the sport social group and the social attributes that

define it. For instance, the European Union projects ‘Football for a Better Chance’ and ‘Football for a Better Chance 2.0’ promoted by national football federations and supported by UEFA pointed on the educational value of football, fostering youth empowerment as well as civic engagement to help disadvantaged groups; to this aim, they also realised online training courses that can be accessed by coaches worldwide (football chance.eu).

SIMCA considers moral perceptions as antecedent to group identification (Van Zomeren et al., 2012), while in the present study we hypothesized an opposite direction. However, SIMCA strongly focuses on identification with politicized identities relevant to the intergroup situation (e.g., identification with a feminist movement, in relation to support for women's rights), therefore it is reasonable that one's moral perceptions drive the choice to join such a politicized group. In our case, the social identity (sport identity) is unrelated to the intergroup situation (where individuals from disadvantaged groups are the low-status group members needing support). Therefore, it is unlikely that moral beliefs related to the importance of social inclusion of disadvantaged individuals led to join a football team. Of course, our data are correlational; future studies should use experimental or longitudinal methodologies to make causal inferences.

We focused on young players from a professional football club in Northern Italy. Therefore, we caution on the generalisation of these findings to other contexts. As an example, while we investigated sport identification in terms of participants' identification with the superordinate sport category, they may be referring to their football identity specifically. Additionally, we used a male sample; future studies should replicate findings with females. Second, we focused on young players, for whom sport still represents an educational activity and who are trained to learn and respect sport identity values. Such values may be less relevant to adults playing football professionally, who may be more focused on competition. They may also be less relevant to players from other teams: our participants' football club is especially active in social responsibility activities and is

explicitly concerned with providing its young players an educational rather than a mere professional sport activity. Third, we reasoned that in such a context players would be more likely to have a fused identity with their group, leading to high attachment (cf., Table 1) and greater likelihood to act in a way consistent with their social identity, but we did not include a measure of identity fusion; we encourage researchers to include it in future studies. Possibly, young people from non-professional contexts have a less strong and distinctive sport identity, making them less likely to engage in actions to fulfil the sport identity values.

A further limitation concerns the measure of moral conviction, whose reliability was slightly below the threshold of .60; findings should therefore be interpreted with caution. Another important limitation is that we did not directly assess values and social norms that characterise sport identity in participants' opinion. It would be important to consider participants' understanding of the values and norms associated with sport identities in future research. Finally, previous research has shown that intergroup emotions, like anger against injustice (or moral outrage), are strong predictors of both normative and non-normative collective action (Becker & Tausch, 2015). While in this study we did not include measures of intergroup emotions, future studies should consider their potential mediational role.

In this research, we aimed at exploring the role of sport identification as a means to engage in collective action in support of disadvantaged groups. We specifically explored whether the path between sport identification and (normative and non-normative) collective action is mediated by morality perceptions. We found that sport identification and moral obligation can foster willingness to engage in collective action amongst young football players. We argue that using sport as a social tool to create a more equal society is a valuable endeavour for researchers, policymakers and practitioners.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

In a global context characterized by highly conflictual relationships among groups, the reduction of intergroup tensions, and the identification of ways to foster collective action strategies aimed at promoting a more equitable and inclusive society, stand as goals of pressing importance. Despite prejudice reduction may represent a logical way for social equality goals to emerge, some critics contend that the promotion of positive intergroup relations, attenuating the conflict and boundaries between groups, may divert individuals' attention from inequality, reducing their motivation for social change (Dixon et al., 2005, 2010, 2017; Reicher, 2007; Wright, 2003). However, perpetuating negative intergroup relations is not a feasible route toward achieving a more equitable and fair society; its realization cannot be dissociated from positive relations between groups. It is therefore important to understand how factors able to promote positive intergroup relations, like intergroup contact (Allport, 1954) and inclusive identities (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), can fit together in promoting egalitarian societies. With this goal in mind, the present research project attempts to reconcile fundamental bodies of literature – prejudice reduction and collective action – trying to address questions of crucial importance for the pursuit of social equality. Within this framework, morality, representing both a pivotal element that shapes intergroup perceptions (Brambilla & Leach, 2014) and a powerful catalyst for social change (van Zomeren et al., 2012, 2018), has been investigated as a potential key link between these factors.

Results overview

Starting from an overview of the main theoretical models that have been emphasized by collective action literature, aiming to understand whether, how, and under what conditions intergroup contact can mobilize individuals to undertake collective action for social equity, we proposed a narrative review (Cocco et al., in press) of the existing empirical studies that

have explored the association between contact and collective action. In so doing, we focused on solidarity-based collective action, and thus on actions or intentions that aim to benefit disadvantaged groups by considering both advantaged and disadvantaged group members. We identified 134 studies investigating such association, many of which included multiple samples from all continents. However, the vast majority of studies have been carried out in Europe and North America, highlighting the potential benefit of conducting additional research and replication studies in non-WEIRD regions. Such endeavours could play a pivotal role in supporting and extending these findings. Of these 134 studies, 98 (100 samples) examined advantaged and 49 (58 samples) disadvantaged group members, while only 19 considered both advantaged and disadvantaged groups within the same study. Moreover, the majority of studies that emerged from this literature review (104) were correlational, indicating the need for further research investigating the association between contact and collective through the adoption of more robust designs and the consideration of both advantaged and disadvantaged groups simultaneously. In terms of measure operationalization, we found that most studies were mainly focused on direct rather than indirect contact, on positive rather than negative contact, and, on normative rather than non-normative forms of collective action. Despite the constraints imposed by the limited number of studies, the current evidence seems to suggest that there are no significant differences between the effect of direct versus indirect contact. In the same vein, the influence of contact is comparable in both non-normative and normative collective action scenarios. By contrast, giving attention to the valence of contact, and therefore, reasoning in terms of positive and negative forms of contact, may be important to understand the direction of effects. The outcomes stemming from negative contact exhibit an opposite pattern to those resulting from positive contact across advantaged and disadvantaged groups. The current evidence on the association between contact and collective action seems to point out an asymmetrical effect of contact on advantaged and disadvantaged group members' support for social change. In

fact, in general, findings for advantaged groups are consistent in showing that positive contact is associated with mobilization. However, results for disadvantaged groups are mixed, showing both mobilizing and sedative effects. Therefore, on the one hand, these results support the theorization that intergroup harmony, promoted by contact, can have detrimental effects on collective action among disadvantaged group members. On the other hand, in some circumstances, contact can have mobilizing effects also among disadvantaged group members. Thinking of intergroup solidarity, it is therefore of crucial importance to understand the factors and psychological processes that can mobilize both advantaged and disadvantaged groups to stand together against injustice. In this respect, with the aim of presenting a more coherent organization of the literature that could streamline future research, we tried to identify overarching categories that could include all moderators and mediators pertaining to the association between contact and collective action. In so doing, we distinguished among factors that are mainly associated with the intergroup situation, the outgroup, and those factors that mainly take shape within the ingroup. With regard to moderators, our findings revealed a predominant focus on factors associated with the intergroup situation rather than on those associated with the outgroup or the ingroup. As for mediators, those associated with both the intergroup situation and the outgroup were the most examined. Different factors emerged as crucial in fostering or dampening collective action (see Chapter 2); some of them were mainly relevant among advantaged group members (e.g., perception of group hierarchy, positive attitudes) while others among disadvantaged group members (e.g., negative emotions, high threat). We were also able to detect factors that emerge as common triggers of collective action among both advantaged and disadvantaged group members: these factors are represented by the content of contact (as a moderator), the perception of inequality, group identification, outgroup stereotypes, and morality perceptions (as mediators). We consider this result particularly noteworthy for

future research, as the identification of common factors opens up fertile ground for the exploration and implementation of successful applied interventions.

Although there is still much ground to cover in fully understanding the association between contact and collective action, these findings offer a positive perspective on the potential of intergroup contact in promoting social equality through collective action. Building on existing literature and with the aim of providing new routes for social equality goals to emerge, five empirical studies, examining some of the core elements that emerged from this examination, have been presented and discussed over the course of this work.

The first path of interest examined in this project related to the association between positive and negative contact with both normative and non-normative forms of collective action (support and intentions). Among advantaged group members in Italy, we tested common identity and outgroup morality perceptions as potential mediating factors. Results have shown a positive association of positive contact with both intentions and support for normative collective action. Conversely, in the case of negative contact, the associations were of opposite valence; the association of positive contact was stronger than that of negative contact. With regard to non-normative collective action, positive contact was positively associated with collective action support, while negative contact was positively associated with collective action intentions (with a stronger effect of negative contact on collective action). Both common identity and outgroup morality served as mediating variables in explaining the association of positive and negative contact with normative collective action (no significant indirect effects emerged in the case of non-normative collective action).

The subsequent investigation presented in this dissertation was intended to investigate the content of common identity, in terms of the relative perceived prototypicality of subgroup identities, as a mediator to explain the association between positive and negative contact with collective action. In this regard, we conducted two studies, in two different

national contexts (UK and Italy), with both advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Among advantaged group members, both Study 1 and Study 2 have shown a positive association between positive contact and collective action; this association was mediated by higher perceptions of the relative perceived prototypicality of the disadvantaged group. In Study 2, we also observed a negative association between negative contact and collective action intentions; this negative association was mediated by decreased relative perceived prototypicality of the disadvantaged group. Conversely, among disadvantaged group members, relative perceived prototypicality did not serve as a mediator between contact and collective action.

After this exploration, focused on the content of common ingroup identities, we proceeded with our investigation in a non-WEIRD setting (i.e., the Nigerian tribal context) among a sample of advantaged group members. In such a context, we explored the role played by one-group perceptions (identification with a national identity) in promoting collective action toward both advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Considering their relevance in both contact and collective action literatures, moral convictions, outgroup attitudes, and outgroup feelings were tested as parallel mediators. One-group perceptions as Nigerians emerged as positively associated with collective action, toward both advantaged and disadvantaged groups, via greater egalitarian moral convictions for Nigerians. Outgroup feeling served as a mediator only for collective action toward disadvantaged group members, while outgroup attitudes did not reveal mediating effects.

Given the powerful role of moral convictions as motivational guides to action, a further study, conducted among advantaged group members, was aimed at exploring the role of different types of morality perceptions in promoting social change. Specifically, we explored the path between a positive social identity (sport identification based on values of equality and social inclusion) and normative and non-normative collective action by testing moral convictions, moral violation and moral obligation as potential key mediators. This

study is innovative, as we are not aware of other studies investigating a social identity unrelated to the hierarchical structure of groups under investigation (as it is the sport identity, for Italians and immigrants in Italy) as a predictor of collective action. Such a test is based on the potential of positive social identity values in promoting generalization to attitudes and behaviours aimed to create an equal society consistent with these values. Sport identification emerged as positively associated with both normative and non-normative forms of collective action via greater perceptions of moral obligation. Moral convictions mediated the effects of sport identification on normative collective action, while moral violation did not exert any mediating effect on collective action.

In conclusion, the present investigation, consisting of a literature review of 134 studies and five empirical research studies, supports the idea that intergroup contact, inclusive social identities, and morality represent meaningful factors in the struggle for social change. The upcoming sections will delve into both the theoretical and practical implications of these findings with particular attention to future research directions.

Critical reflections and conceptual challenges for future research

Throughout the course of this exploration, intergroup contact, inclusive identities and morality emerged as significant factors strongly implied in social change processes. With the aim of drawing attention to the crucial insights they embody, the following sections will focus on the theoretical implications that stem from this exploration. The set of results is extremely extensive: with the aim of getting to the heart of the matter, I will focus on those considerations that in my opinion represent the key insights that have emerged from this work and that can be particularly promising for future research. These considerations should further contribute to enriching our understanding of these factors in shaping and driving individuals' willingness to undertake collective efforts.

Intergroup contact and collective action

While, among advantaged group members, the powerful impact of positive intergroup contact on motivation for social change is quite clear, among disadvantaged group members results are more controversial, showing both mobilizing and sedative effects. We found that, among both groups, contact leads to sedative effects when it inhibits perceptions of inequality and to mobilizing effects when it makes inequality salient in terms of relative deprivation, recognition that the disadvantaged group is unfairly struggling or discriminated, and when it fosters anger associated with perceptions of unfair treatment (perceived inequality as a mediator). A key role in fostering these mediating processes is played by content of contact (i.e., those conditions that characterize the intergroup contact experience) as a moderator, which can determine when contact will make injustice salient or not: it is the focus on differences rather than on commonalities between groups, the explicit delegitimization of the situation by disadvantaged group members, and a clear, rather than ambiguous, support provided by advantaged groups that energizes contact effects. These results highlight the prominent role of perceived inequality and support as core drivers of social change (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2008, 2012, 2018), and extend this awareness in the context of intergroup contact/collective action literature, among both advantaged and disadvantaged groups. In addition, these results point to the content of contact as a particularly relevant factor to consider in estimating the effect of intergroup contact on collective action, which may help to settle scholars' debate about its role in social change processes. In fact, despite these findings contribute to corroborate the assumption that intergroup harmony (fostered by contact) may negatively impact collective action among disadvantaged group members, at the same time, under certain conditions (e.g., when advantaged-group members clearly support the disadvantaged group), show that positive contact can also generate mobilizing effects among disadvantaged group members. Therefore, it is not a matter of defining contact as a mobilizing or sedative antecedent of collective action, rather about discerning the conditions under which it assumes one role

instead of the other. Taking all these considerations into account makes clear that it is the focus on inequality and injustice that qualifies as one of the main triggers of collective action, an outcome that can also be achieved through negative intergroup contact. Negative contact, by making conflict salient, can highlight the injustice associated with group power differences and promote greater motivation for social change. However, as mentioned before, perpetuating negative intergroup relations is not a reasonable option for achieving a more equitable and fair society, as we cannot refrain from positive relations between groups. Therefore, these results encapsulate a further crucial insight that can illuminate future research and applied interventions: *we should reconsider intergroup contact to encompass both the harmony, that stems from positive contact, and the conflict, that results from negative contact*. This approach should encourage positive intergroup relations setting the stage for intergroup alliances and, at the same time, it should make the power imbalances that exist between groups salient, fostering the intention to undertake collective action. In other words, both harmony and conflict are simultaneously necessary to encourage solidarity against injustice.

A further consideration that emerged from this work regards methodological constraints and which future research should try to address. First of all, there is a lack of experimental and longitudinal studies exploring the association between contact and collective action, which limits the reliability of our interpretations of the causal relationships between these factors and our knowledge of social change dynamics over time.

Secondly, there is a lack of studies investigating potential moderators which can explain when contact promotes or inhibits social change, and of studies taking into consideration both advantaged and disadvantaged groups simultaneously. If our final goal is the establishment of an alliance between groups, we must isolate those factors that can enable a synergetic mobilization. However, achieving this goal is challenging if we do not consider both groups at the same time and within the same context.

Thirdly, the majority of studies, including those in this research project, primarily concentrated on assessing collective action toward the goal of social equality. This means that research mainly focuses on actions and intentions aimed at challenging the existing status quo in favour of positive outcomes for disadvantaged groups. This type of research allows us to identify factors that can either promote or inhibit intentions for social change but do not provide any indication of resistance to social change. Giving more consideration to conservative collective action, which involves actions aimed at preserving or maintaining the status quo, can enhance our understanding of the factors that hinder both advantaged and disadvantaged groups from engaging in collective action. This approach would complement our knowledge of social change dynamics. For instance, a potential avenue for future research to address this gap may rest on system justification theory (SJT; Jost & Banaji, 1994), which focuses on understanding why individuals tend to support and justify the legitimacy of current social, economic, and political systems, even in cases where these systems are unjust.

Finally, collective efforts for social change encompass both normative (i.e., actions aligned with established norms or expectations) and non-normative forms of collective action (i.e., actions perceived as challenging or deviating from established norms or expectations). However, attention to non-normative collective action is significantly limited compared to normative collective action. Being aware of those factors and underlying psychological processes that can promote or hinder these collective action forms may allow us to obtain a more holistic understanding of this phenomenon. In this regard, it is plausible that this gap might be at least partly attributable to a systematic publication bias, potentially stemming from non-significant or undesirable research results, rather than a genuine lack of interest in the topic. Conventional measures traditionally used to assess non-normative collective action may prove inadequate in capturing such intentions or actions, particularly when considering the potential influence of social desirability bias. Findings from Chapter

3 showed that intentions and support for social change, although correlated, represent independent constructs and support emerged as relevant in detecting non-normative collective action. The inclusion of measures assessing support for social change, rather than only measures to assess intentions or actual behaviour, might represent something easier for people to declare, representing a significant addition to breaking down this barrier. Additionally, on the basis of the context of reference (as well as other socio-cultural factors), individuals may have a different interpretation of what non-normative collective action is, making these measures not suitable in all contexts. Conducting qualitative investigations in a variety of different socio-cultural contexts emerges as a crucial step for researchers to take. Finally, a further reason might lie in the type of population sampled by researchers, which might not be adequate to detect non-normative collective actions as they may be considered too extreme or inappropriate in the pursuit of their goals and, therefore, counterproductive. In conclusion, our understanding of non-normative collective action remains quite limited, highlighting the need for further research to advance our knowledge in this area.

The role of inclusive identities in shaping intergroup perceptions

Despite theorizations according to which one-group perceptions (i.e., the switch from "us" versus "them" toward a more inclusive "we"; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) would prevent the emergence of collective action (e.g., Hassler, Ulug, et al., 2021; Reimer et al., 2020), there is actually preliminary evidence of its potential mobilizing effect (Bikmen & Sunar, 2013, Cakal et al., 2016, 2018; Rompke et al., 2019). Therefore, as for intergroup contact, rather than focusing on defining the identification with an inclusive identity as a mobilizing or a sedative factor, we should focus on identifying moderating conditions. Following this approach, a potential way forward is to distinguish among different types of inclusive identities and explore their content, which could allow us to uncover valuable information about their functioning. There may be several types of superordinate identities that can differ from each other and have a different impact on individuals' motivation for social change.

These identities can differ not only in their nature but also in the level of abstraction they encompass. Some identities may be more closely linked to immediate or proximal affiliations, such as national identification, while others may operate at more abstract or distal levels, like those rooted in shared values of humanity. Moreover, the suitability of these superordinate identities can be context-dependent. For instance, identities based on religious affiliations like Christianity may be applied in specific contexts, whereas identities transcending group boundaries, such as a shared identity as human beings, can extend across different contexts and scenarios. Additionally, as suggested by the literature on collective action (Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Van Zomeren et al., 2008, 2012, 2018), even politicized identities, exemplified by identification with specific social movements, can serve as inclusive identities, as they have the potential to include various groups under the same umbrella. However, politicized identities, which are key predictors of collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2008, 2012, 2018), emerge as a result of common goals between individuals or groups included in such identities. By contrast, being part of a common ingroup identity does not necessarily mean having common goals with respect to social equality. For both politicized and common ingroup identities, there can be advantages and disadvantages in terms of motivation to collective action. If on the one hand politicized identities, being specifically action-oriented, can serve as more powerful instruments in achieving social change, on the other hand, once the goal has been achieved or individuals have repeatedly, they may cease to exist. In contrast, common ingroup identities, which prescribe social norms, values, and moral considerations, are not necessarily tied to specific goals and therefore, regardless of success or failure, can survive over time. Arguably, a solid common ingroup identity, if anchored to specific shared goals of equality, can represent a winning mix for success in the struggle for social change. Moreover, this identity, by perpetuating over time, may serve as a powerful protective factor.

A further point to consider in examining the role of inclusive identities in promoting social change concerns the importance of avoiding those identities that, instead of providing an appropriate context for mutual understanding between groups, foster assimilation processes. Indeed, some types of inclusive identity might actually obscure the identities of subgroups included in them, leading to a suppression of their relative distinctiveness and thus inhibiting the recognition of intergroup inequalities, undermining individuals' motivation for social change. (Subašić et al., 2018). A dual identity conceptualization (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Hewstone & Brown, 1986), where both common identity and pre-existing subgroup identities are simultaneously salient, may foster a mutual recognition while preserving reciprocal differences and thus representing a potential way for social equality goals to emerge (Pereira et al., 2017; Ufkes et al., 2016). However, balancing commonalities (social inclusion) and differences (power-relations between subgroups) by making both salient might be not enough for encouraging disadvantaged groups to undertake collective action. In this regard, previous evidence has also emphasized the need for status-based respect for disadvantaged groups from members of the advantaged group. Such not only imply the acknowledgement of the disadvantaged group members' social standing but also their value and competence, as a precondition for promoting collective action intentions for social change (Glasford & Johnston, 2018). This should enable them to feel more efficient, not only in undertaking collective action but also in doing so in alliance with the advantaged group, which respects them and perceives them as competent. However, it is important to note that although dual identity may be a functional strategy in balancing similarity and difference, it is not entirely informative of the mutual value that groups hold. Uncovering such content would allow us to understand the mechanism at the heart of its functioning and enable us to distinguish between identities and their impact on motivation for social change. In this regard, assessing the relative perceived prototypicality of subgroup identities with respect to a common ingroup identity that

includes them may represent a promising avenue for future research. Moving along this route would not only make the common ingroup identity and subgroup identities salient, adhering to the conceptualization of dual identity but also reveal the mutual value between groups encapsulated within it. Such a perspective may lead to a reconceptualization of the construct that has been considered by previous research, but not truly applied to the literature on contact and collective action (for an exception, see Di Bernardo et al., 2023).

Morality as a catalyst of social change

Morality plays a meaningful role in shaping intergroup perceptions (Brambilla & Leach, 2014) and in fostering social change (van Zomeren et al., 2012, 2018). However, there only are a few studies exploring its association with contact and collective action (for a few exceptions, see Górska & Tausch, 2022; Vezzali et al., 2023). In the context of social change, it is crucial to recognize the strong connection of these factors with morality. Protest actions aimed at promoting social equality and respect for rights inherently presuppose moral involvement, as they are based on our assessment of what is right and what is wrong. Morality is intrinsic to this domain (and indeed, it is a major component of collective action models, like SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2018). A related argument is that perceived inequality and perceived injustice are often mistakenly used interchangeably, yet they are two different concepts. Recognizing disparities between groups does not necessarily translate into perceiving them as unfair. Morality is likely to be the key element linking the recognition of inequalities with the perception of their injustice. The perception of injustice and the subsequent mobilization to take action is potentially a response to the evaluation of such disparities as immoral. As noted by van Zomeren et al. (2008) in SIMCA, it is the affective component of injustice (group-based feelings of deprivation) to emerge as a stronger predictor of collective action rather than the cognitive component represented by group-based perceptions of deprivation (Smith & Ortiz, 2002). However, the affective experience cannot be separated from the recognition of inequalities, and in this pathway, it

is most likely that it is morality that enables the decisive shift from perceiving inequalities to experiencing them as injustice. As previously mentioned, simply recognizing injustice may not be sufficient to address institutional and structural discrimination. Future research should delve deeper into understanding how morality influences the evaluation of what is considered legitimate or illegitimate within intergroup dynamics, and how it subsequently impacts individuals' intentions to engage in collective action. Moreover, moral considerations can significantly influence the evaluation of potential actions aimed at social change. A deeper exploration of morality could provide us with further insights into the distinction between normative and non-normative collective action. What is truly normative and what is not? People may perceive actions that are not in line with what is considered legal as normative; the concept of normative and non-normative may transcend objective evaluations and should be adapted according to the context and the beliefs of the protesters. Furthermore, highlighting the moral motivations behind actions could serve as justification, promoting the perception of their legitimacy and thus reducing the social desirability associated with declaring one's intentions to participate in non-normative actions.

A further consideration to take into account for future research, strongly connected to individuals' evaluation of injustice, pertains to the relationship between social identity and morality. Collective action literature highlights the strong relationship between identity and morality (van Zomeren et al., 2012, 2018), emphasizing the powerful motivational role of moral convictions. These convictions, as a consequence of their potentially strong normative fit with the content of a relevant social identity, may amplify politicized identification, promoting a sense of interior obligation to intervene (Stürmer, 2000; Stürmer & Simon, 2004). Differently, but in accordance with this line of thinking, within the context of this project, we have highlighted the strong connection between identity and morality by exploring identification as an antecedent of moral convictions. Social identities prescribe values, norms, and moral considerations, and it is highly likely that the greater the social

identification, the greater the salience of the moral considerations encapsulated within the social identity of reference, and consequently, the need for individuals to defend them by acting consistently. Clearly, these are correlational studies, but I believe likely that the relationship between identity and morality is reciprocal: morality and identity may mutually reinforce each other. For instance, when we strongly identify with a social group, our moral convictions may align with those of the group. Conversely, when we hold specific moral beliefs, it is highly likely we identify with groups that share the very same convictions. Various identities can prescribe values, norms, and moral considerations that are highly diverse from one another. Future research should further explore the mutual relationship between social identification and morality, paying particular attention to the role that different identities can play in terms of moral implications and vice-versa. Furthermore, in line with what has been partially accomplished in this research project, it is crucial to investigate the specific contribution that diverse moral perceptions can bring to social change processes, such as moral obligation, moral violation, and moral convictions.

An additional consideration concerns the role that metaperceptions (Frey & Tropp, 2006; Méndez et al., 2007) may play in social change processes. Specifically, we are interested in how moral metaperceptions (i.e., how we believe others perceive us in terms of morality) impact individuals' motivation for social change, as well as others' expectations. Moral metaperceptions may potentially both influence and be influenced by interpersonal and intergroup relations and associated expectations. If we believe that others view us as moral individuals, we are likely to be more inclined to align our behaviours with these expectations to avoid cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). Conversely, if we believe that others consider us less moral, we may be less motivated to make efforts to behave morally. In the context of intergroup relations and solidarity-based collective action, the belief of being perceived as members of a moral group may imply a greater sense of internal obligation to act consistently with these perceptions and moral expectations. On the other

hand, the belief of being perceived as a member of a group toward which there is a lower attribution of morality and lower moral expectations may result in decreased motivation to intervene against social injustice. For example, individuals belonging to a social group founded on religious values of solidarity may feel a stronger responsibility to combat inequalities between the rich and the poor compared to other groups that are not founded on such strong values of social equality. Consistent with this reasoning, it is likely that individuals' moral metaperceptions may vary depending on their perception of being prototypical members of their group, producing a different impact on motivation for social change. At the same time, it is also likely that, depending on the extent to which individuals come into contact with outgroup members, their moral metaperceptions vary accordingly. Future research should explore the interplay between intergroup contact, group membership prototypicality, moral metaperceptions (including associated expectations), and collective action.

Practical implications

The findings from this research project offer several practical implications for future research and applied interventions. Firstly, they underscore the crucial role of intergroup contact as an effective catalyst for driving social change, influencing both the willingness to provide support and the intention to actively participate in solidarity-based collective action. These results emphasize the importance of delving deeper into the nuances of intergroup contact situations, specifically examining the content of such interactions. Understanding the circumstances under which contact can effectively promote solidarity-based collective action among both advantaged and disadvantaged groups becomes of paramount importance. A potential way for social equality goals to emerge may be represented by the salience of both harmony (in terms of positive intergroup relations) and conflict (in terms of attention to disparities and inequality) in implementing intergroup contact interventions. This approach could involve participants engaging in positive interactions while also

addressing group-based power differences through various activities or discussions between groups. By doing so, harmony can pave the way for forming alliances, while awareness of disparities can provide the motivation for taking action. These insights have practical implications for planning interventions that not only foster positive intergroup relationships but also promote real progress toward the goals of social equality.

Secondly, these findings highlight the relevance of inclusive identities as potential avenues for enhancing intergroup understanding. It is important to recognize that multiple inclusive identities exist, each varying in levels of the inclusiveness and salience of preexisting subgroup identities. These different identities can potentially exert diverse influences on intentions for social change. Possibly, overarching identities that do not imply the assimilation of the disadvantaged group may represent a potential way for collective action intentions to emerge while inclusive identities obscuring intergroup distinctiveness may undermine social change. This insight holds practical relevance for future interventions. Specifically, it suggests that the strategic implementation of inclusive identities may be considered as a method for promoting positive intergroup relations, enhancing intergroup comprehension, and fostering intentions directed at social change. However, in such cases, as situations marked by high levels of intergroup conflict, where conflict de-escalation would be beneficial conflict de-escalation, the adoption of common ingroup identities that emphasize commonalities without paying attention to differences could potentially facilitate positive intergroup relations and reduce conflict, making inclusive identities a strategic social tool.

Finally, these results highlight the meaningful role of morality both in terms of stereotype component (attribution of morality to the outgroup) and as a multifaceted factor encompassing various perceptions (e.g., moral convictions, moral obligation, and moral violation) that can exert distinct effects on motivation for social change. Future applied interventions should foster these different perceptions on the basis of the different social

identities that may be relevant in a given social context in order to understand how they can fit each other in fostering solidarity-based collective action.

Summary

In conclusion, this research project helps to reconcile different bodies of literature suggesting that both intergroup contact (Allport, 1954) and inclusive identities (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) represent pivotal factors for promoting solidarity-based collective actions and highlight their close connection with morality as a motivational drive to action (van Zomeren et al., 2012, 2018). However, we are only at the beginning of our understanding of the intricate dynamics and underlying processes of social change which deserve further exploration and analysis. With the present work, we hope to generate scholarly interest in these important elements, stimulating future research to overcome the criticisms related to prejudice reduction strategies in the pursuit of social change and to address the remaining questions and challenges, ultimately contributing to the realization of a fairer and more inclusive society.

References[1]

Aberson, C. L. (2019). Indirect effects of threat on the contact–prejudice relationship: A meta-analysis. *Social Psychology, 50*, 105-126. https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000364

Abrams, D., Powell, C., Palmer, S. B., & Van de Vyver, J. (2017). Toward a contextualized social developmental account of children's group-based inclusion and exclusion: The developmental model of subjective group dynamics. In A. Rutland, D. Nesdale, & C. Spears Brown (Eds.), *The Wiley handbook of group processes in children and adolescents* (pp. 455-471). Oxford: Wiley.

Abrams, D., & Rutland, A. (2008). The development of subjective group dynamics. In S. Levy & M. Killen (Eds.), *Intergroup attitudes and relations in childhood through adulthood* (pp. 47-65). New York: Oxford University Press.

Adra, A., Li, M., & Baumert, A. (2020). What they think of us: Meta-beliefs and solidarity-based collective action among the advantaged. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *50*, 1292-1305. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2675

*Albzour, M., Penic, S., Nasser, R., & Green, E. G. T. (2019). Support for “normalization” of relations between Palestinians and Israelis, and how it relates to contact and resistance in the west bank. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *7*, 978-996. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v7i2.877

Allen, J. B. (2003). Social motivation in youth sport. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, *25*, 551-567. https://doi.org/10.1123/jsep.25.4.551

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Addison-Wesley.

Amichai-Hamburger, Y., & McKenna, K. (2006). The contact hypothesis reconsidered: Interacting via the internet. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *11*, 825-843. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2006.00037.x

Árnadóttir, K., Lolliot, S., Brown, R., & Hewstone, M. (2018). Positive and negative intergroup contact: Interaction not asymmetry. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *48*, 784-800. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2365

[1] The asterisk indicates that the studies included in the article were considered in the review of the literature presented in Chapter 2.

Ayanian, H. A., Tausch, N., Acar, G. Y., Chayinska, M., Cheung, W. Y., & Lukyanova, Y. (2021). Resistance in repressive contexts: A comprehensive test of psychological predictors. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *120*, 912-939. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000285

*Bagci, S. C., Stathi, S., & Piyale, Z. E. (2019). When imagining intergroup contact mobilizes collective action: The perspective of disadvantaged and advantaged groups. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *69*, 32-43. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2018.12.003

Bagci, S. C., Stathi, S., Vezzali, L., Turnuklu, A., & Piyale, Z. E. (2021). I (dis)like the way you (dis)like them: The role of extended contact on social distance and attitudes towards the ingroup. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 60*, 95-120. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12381

*Bagci, S. C., Turnuklu, A., & Bekmezci, E. (2018). Cross-group friendships and psychological well-being: A dual pathway through social integration and empowerment. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 57, 773-792. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12267

*Bagci, S. C., & Turnuklu, A. (2019). Intended, unintended, and unknown consequences of contact: The role of positive-negative contact on outgroup attitudes, collective action tendencies, and psychological well-being. *Social Psychology*, *50*, 7-23. https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000355

Bandura, A. (1995). *Exercise of personal and collective efficacy in changing societies*. In A. Bandura (Ed.), Self-efficacy in changing societies (pp. 1-45). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York: Freeman.

Banfield, J. C., & Dovidio, J. F. (2013). Whites' perceptions of discrimination against Blacks: The influence of common identity. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *49*, 833-841. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2013.04.008

Barlow, F. K., Paolini, S., Pedersen, A., Hornsey, M. J., Radke, H. R. M., Harwood, J., Rubin, M., & Sibley, C. G. (2012). The contact caveat: Negative contact predicts increased prejudice more than positive contact predicts reduced prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *38*, 1629-1643. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167212457953

*Barth, J., Overby, L. M., & Huffmon, S. H. (2009). Community context, personal contact, and support for an anti-gay rights referendum. *Political Research Quarterly*, *62*, 355-365. https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912908317033

*Barth, J., & Parry, J. (2009). 2 < 1 + 1? The impact of contact with gay and lesbian couples on attitudes about gays/lesbians and gay-related policies. *Politics & Policy*, *37*, 31-50. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-1346.2007.00160.x

Becker, J. C. (2012). The system stabilizing role of identity management strategies: Social creativity can undermine collective action for social change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *103*, 647-662. https://doi:10.1037/a0029240

Becker, J. C., & Tausch, N. (2015). A dynamic model of engagement in normative and non-normative collective action: Psychological antecedents, consequences, and barriers. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *26*, 43-92. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2015.1094265

Becker, J. C., Tausch, N., Spears, R., & Christ, O. (2011b). Committed Dis(s)idents: Participation in radical collective action fosters disidentification with the broader in-group but enhances political identification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *37*, 1104-1116. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167211407076

Becker, J. C., Tausch, N., & Wagner, U. (2011a). Emotional consequences of collective action participation: Differentiating self-directed and outgroup-directed emotions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *37*, 1587-1598. https://doi:10.1177/0146167211414145

Becker, J. C., & Wagner, U. (2009). Doing gender differently: The interplay of strength of gender identification and content of gender identity in predicting women's endorsement of sexist beliefs. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *39*, 487-508. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.551

*Becker, J. C., & Wright, S. C. (2021). Can cross-group contact turn advantaged-group members into allies? The role of inequality-delegitimizing contact and interpersonal connection. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*. https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302211015273

*Becker, J. C., Wright, S. C., Lubensky, M. E., & Zhou, S. (2013). Friend or ally: Whether cross-group contact undermines collective action depends on what advantaged-group members say (or don't say). *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *39*, 442-455. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167213477155

*Berg, J. A. (2009). Core networks and Whites' attitudes toward immigrants and immigration policy. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *73*, 7-31. https://doi.org/10.1080/00380237.2014.916597

Bigler, R. S., & Liben, L. S. (2007). Developmental intergroup theory. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *16*, 162-166. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8721.2007.00496.x

Bikmen, N., & Sunar, D. (2013). Difficult dialogs: Majority group members' willingness to talk about inequality with different minority groups. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *37*, 467-476. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2012. 11.002

Boardley, I. D., & Kavussanu, M. (2009). The influence of social variables and moral disengagement on prosocial and antisocial behaviors in field hockey and netball. *Journal of Sports Sciences*, *27*, 843-854. https://doi.org/10.1080/02640410902887283

Boin, J., Fuochi, G., & Voci, A. (2020). Deprovincialization as a key correlate of ideology, prejudice and intergroup contact. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *157*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2019.109799

*Brambilla, M., Hewstone, M., & Colucci, F. P. (2013). Enhancing moral virtues: Increased perceived outgroup morality as a mediator of intergroup contact effects. *Group processes and intergroup relations*, *16*, 648-657. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430212471737

Brambilla, M., & Leach, C. W. (2014). On the importance of being moral: The distinctive role of morality in social judgment. *Social Cognition, 32*, 397-408. https://doi.org/10.1521/soco.2014.32.4.397

Brambilla, M., Rusconi, P., Sacchi, S., & Cherubini, P. (2011). Looking for honesty: The primary role of morality (vs. sociability and competence) in information gathering. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *41*, 135-143. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.744

Brambilla, M., Sacchi, S., Rusconi, P., & Goodwin, G. P. (2021). The primacy of morality in impression development: Theory, research, and future directions. Advances in *Experimental Social Psychology*, *98*, 104-246. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2021.104246

*Brannon, T. N. (2018). Reaffirming King's vision: The power of participation in inclusive diversity efforts to benefit intergroup outcomes. *Journal of Social Issues*, *74*, 355-376. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12273

Bredemeier, B. J., & Shields, D. L. (1986). Game reasoning and interactional morality (pp. 257-276). The Journal of Genetic Psychology, *147*, 257-275. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221325.1986.9914499

Brewer, M. B. (2017). Intergroup discrimination: Ingroup love or outgroup hate? In C. G. Sibley & F. K. Barlow (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of the psychology of prejudice* (pp. 90-110). Cambridge University Press.

*Brockman, D., & Kalla, J. (2016). Durably reducing transphobia: A field experiment on door-to-door canvassing. *Science*, *352*, 220-224. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aad9713

*Brown, K. T., Brown, T. N., Jackson, J. S., Sellers, R. M., & Manuel, W. J. (2003). Teammates on and off the field? White student athletes. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *33,* 1379-1403. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2003.tb01954.x

Brown, R., & Hewstone, M. (2005). An integrative theory of intergroup contact. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *37*, 255-343. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(05)37005-5

Brown, R., & Zagefka, H, (2005). Ingroup affiliations and prejudice. In J. F. Dovidio, P. Glick, & L. A. Rudman (Eds.), *On the nature of prejudice: Fifty years after Allport* (pp. 54-70). Malden, MA:L Blackwell.

Bruner, M. W., Boardley, I., Benson, A., Wilson, K., Root, Z., Turnnidge, J., Sutcliffe, J., Côté, J. (2018). Disentangling the relations between social identity and prosocial and antisocial behavior in competitive youth sport. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *47*, 1113-1127. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-017-0769-2

Bruner, M. W., Boardley, I., & Côté, J. (2014). Social identity and prosocial and antisocial behavior in youth sport. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, *15*, 56-64. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2013.09.003

Buttelmann, D., & Böhm, R. (2014). The Ontogeny of the Motivation That Underlies In-Group Bias. *Psychological Science*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797613516802

Çakal, H., Eller, A., Sirlopú, D. and Pérez, A. (2016), Intergroup Relations in Latin America: Intergroup Contact, Common Ingroup Identity, and Activism among Indigenous Groups in Mexico and Chile. *Journal of Social Issues*, *72*, 355-375. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12170

*Cakal, H., Halabi, S., Cazan, A.-M., & Eller, A. (2021). Intergroup contact and endorsement of social change motivations: The mediating role of intergroup trust, perspective-taking, and intergroup anxiety among three advantaged groups in Northern Cyprus, Romania, and Israel. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *24*, 48-67. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430219885163

*Çakal, H., Hewstone, M., Güler, M., & Heath, A. (2016). Predicting support for collective action in the conflict between Turks and Kurds: Perceived threats as a mediator of intergroup contact and social identity. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *19*, 732-752. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430216641303

*Çakal, H., Hewstone, M., Schwär, G., & Heath, A. (2011). An investigation of the social identity model of collective action and the 'sedative' effect of intergroup contact among Black and White students in South Africa. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *50*, 606-627. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02075.x

Cakal, H., van Zomeren, M., Nadhmi, F., Chauhan, A., & Dixon, J. (2018). *The "power in numbers" (or PIN) hypothesis: The benefits of a common ingroup identity for collective action among groups that face violent existential threats*. Manuscript submitted for publication.

*Calcagno, J. (2016). Transforming straight guilt into collective action for lgbs via close cross-group friendships: A gender-moderated process. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *40*, 451-463. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684315627362

Capozza, D., Trifiletti, E., Vezzali, L., & Favara, I. (2013). Can contact improve humanity attributions? *International Journal of Psychology*, *48*, 527-541. https://doi.org/10.1080/00207594.2012.688132

Capozza, D., Vezzali, L., Trifiletti, E., Falvo, R., & Favara, I. (2010). Improving intergroup relationships within and outside the contact situation: The role of common ingroup identity and emotions of anxiety and empathy. *Testing, Psychometrics, Methodology in Applied Psychology*, *17*, 17-36. https://hdl.handle.net/11380/667850

Caricati, L. (2018). Considering intermediate-status groups in intergroup hierarchies: A theory of triadic social stratification. *Journal of Theoretical Social Psychology*, *2*, 58-66. https://doi.org/10.1002/jts5.19

*Carter, E. R., Brady, S. T., Murdock-Perriera, L. A., Gilbertson, M. K., Ablorh, T., & Murphy, M. C. (2019). The racial composition of students' friendship networks predicts perceptions of injustice and involvement in collective action. *Journal of Theoretical Social Psychology*, *3*, 49-61. https://doi.org/10.1002/jts5.27

*Celebi, E., Verkuyten, M., & Smyrnioti, N. (2016). Support for Kurdish language rights in Turkey: The roles of ethnic group, group identifications, contact, and intergroup perceptions. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *39*, 1034-1051. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.1103881

Cemalcilar, Z., Baruh, L., Kezer, M., Soto, C. J., Sumer, N., & John, O. P. (2021). Testing the BFI-2 in a non-WEIRD community sample. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *182*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2021.111087

*Cernat, V. (2019). Interminority contact and solidarity under conflict: Evidence from the Hungarian and Roma minorities in Romania. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *41*, 326-339. https://doi.org/10.1080/01973533.2019.1652179

Christ, O., Schmid, K., Lolliot, S., Swart, H., Stolle, D., Tausch, N., Al Ramiah, A., Wagner, U., Vertovec, S., & Hewstone, M. (2014). Contextual effect of positive intergroup contact on outgroup prejudice. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 111*(11), 3996-4000. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1320901111

Clark, C. J., Liu, B. S., Winegard, B. M., & Ditto, P. H. (2019). Tribalism is human nature. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *28*, 587-592. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721419862289

Cocco, V. M., Bisagno, E., Cadamuro, A., Rubichi, S., Stathi, S., & Vezzali, L. (2023). Sport identification, moral perceptions and collective action: A study with young football players. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2715

*Cocco, V. M., Di Bernardo, A. G., Stathi, S., & Vezzali, L. (2022). Investigating the association of positive and negative intergroup contact with normative and non-normative collective action among advantaged-group members: The mediating role of common ingroup identity and outgroup morality. *Testing, Psychometrics, Methodology in Applied Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.4473/TPM29.1.10

Cocco, V. M., Vezzali, L., Kola-Daisi, T. I., & Çakal, H. (2023). The role of common ingroup identity in promoting social change among tribes in Nigeria. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*. https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302231162038

Cocco, V. M., Vezzali, L., Stathi, S., Di Bernardo, G. A., & Dovidio J. F. (2023). Mobilizing or Sedative Effects? A Review of the Association between Contact and Collective Action among Advantaged and Disadvantaged Groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*.

Corcoran, K. E., Pettinicchio, D., & Young, J. T. N. (2015). Perceptions of structural injustice and efficacy: Participation in low/- moderate/high-cost forms of collective action. *Sociological Inquiry*, *85*, 429-461. https://doi.org/10.1111/soin.12082

Crisp, R. J., & Turner, R. N. (2012). The imagined contact hypothesis. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *46*, 125-182. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-394281-4.00003-9

Crocker, J., & Luhtanen, R. (1990). Collective self-esteem and ingroup bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *58*, 60-67. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.58.1.60

Cumming, G. (2009). Inference by eye: Reading the overlap of independent confidence intervals. Statistics in Medicine, 28, 205-220. https://doi.org/10.1002/sim.3471

Davies, K., Tropp, L. R., Aron, A., Pettigrew, T. F., & Wright, S. C. (2011). Cross-group friendships and intergroup attitudes: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *15*, 332-351. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868311411103

*De Carvalho-Freitas, M. N., & Stathi, S. (2017). Reducing workplace bias toward people with disabilities with the use of imagined contact. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology 47,* 256-266. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12435

De Cristofaro, V., Pellegrini, V., Giacomantonio, M., Livi, S. and van Zomeren, M. (2021), Can moral convictions against gender inequality overpower system justification effects? Examining the interaction between moral conviction and system justification. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *60*, 1279-1302. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12451

De Lemus, S., & Stroebe, K. (2015). Achieving social change: A matter of all for one? *Journal of Social Issues*, *71*, 441-452. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12122

DeBell, M. (2017). Polarized opinions on racial progress and inequality: Measurement and application to affirmative action preferences. *Political Psychology*, *38*, 481-498. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12342

*Debrosse, R., Cooper, M. E., Taylor, D. M., de la Sablonniere, R., & Crush, J. (2016). Fundamental rights in the Rainbow Nation: Intergroup contact, threat, and support for newcomers' rights in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *22*, 367-379. https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000186

Demoulin, S., J. P. Leyens, J. P., & Dovidio, J. F. (Eds.) (2009). *Intergroup misunderstandings: Impact of divergent social realities*. Psychology Press.

Di Bernardo, G. A., Cocco, V. M., Paolini, S., Vezzali, L., Stathi, S., Rubin, M., & Subašić, E. (2023). Following the best of us to help them: Group member prototypicality and collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *26*, 243-260. https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302211038062

*Di Bernardo, G. A., Vezzali, L., Birtel, M. D., Stathi, S., Ferrari, B., Giovannini, D., & Pettigrew, T. F. (2021). The role of optimal conditions and intergroup contact in promoting positive intergroup relations in and out of the workplace: A study with ethnic majority and minority workers. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*. https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302211010929

Di Bernardo, G. A., Vezzali, L., Stathi, S., Cadamuro, A., & Cortesi, L. (2017). Vicarious, extended and imagined intergroup contact: A review of interventions based on indirect contact strategies applied in educational settings. *Testing, Psychometrics, Methodology in Applied Psychology*, *24*, 3-21. https://doi.org/10.4473/TPM24.1.1

*Di Bernardo, G. A., Vezzali, L., Stathi, S., McKeown, S., Cocco, V. M., Saguy, T., & Dixon, J. (2021). Fostering social change among advantaged and disadvantaged-group members: Integrating intergroup contact and social identity perspectives on collective action. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *24*, 26-47. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430219889134

Dixon, J. A. (2017). Concluding thoughts: The past, present and future of research on the contact hypothesis. In L. Vezzali & S. Stathi (Eds.), *Intergroup contact theory: Recent developments and future directions* (pp. 168-184). Routledge.

*Dixon, J., Cakal, H., Khan, W., Osmany, M., Majumdar, S., & Hassan, M. (2017). Contact, political solidarity and collective action: An Indian case study of relations between historically disadvantaged communities. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, *27*, 83-95. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2296

Dixon, J. A., Durrheim, K., & Thomae, M. (2017). The principle-implementation gap in attitudes towards racial equality (and how to close it). *Advances in Political Psychology*, *38*, 91-126. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12393

Dixon, J. A., Durrheim, K., & Tredoux, C. (2005). Beyond the optimal strategy: A 'reality check' for the contact hypothesis. *American Psychologist*, *60*, 697–711. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.60.7.697

*Dixon, J. A., Durrheim, K., & Tredoux, C. (2007). Intergroup contact and attitudes toward the principle and practice of racial equality. *Psychological Science*, *18*, 867-872. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2007.01993.x

*Dixon, J. A., Durrheim, K., Tredoux, C., Tropp, L. R., Clack, B., Eaton, L., & Quayle, M. (2010). Challenging the stubborn core of opposition to equality: Racial contact and policy attitudes. *Political Psychology*, *31*, 831-855. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2010.00792.x

*Dixon, J., Elcherot, G., Kerr, P., Drury, J., Al Bzour, M., Subašić, E…, & Green, E. G. T. (2020). It's not just 'us' versus 'them': Moving beyond binary perspectives on intergroup processes. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *31*, 40-75. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2020.1738767

Dixon, J., Levine, M., Reicher, S., & Durrheim, K. (2012). Beyond prejudice: Relational inequality, collective action, and social change revisited. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *35*, 451-466. https://doi:10.1017/S0140525X12001550

Dixon, J., & McKeown, S. (2021). Negative contact, collective action, and social change: Critical reflection, technological advances, and new directions. *Journal of Social Issues*, *77*, 242-257. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12429

Dixon, J., Tredoux, C., Sturgeon, B., Hocking, B., Davies, G., Huck, J., Whyatt, D., Jarman, N., & Bryan, D. (2020). "When the walls come tumbling down": The role of intergroup proximity, threat, and contact in shaping attitudes towards the removal of Northern Ireland's peace walls. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *59*, 922-944. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12370

Dixon, J. R., Tropp, L. R., Durrheim, K., & Tredoux, C. (2010). "Let them eat harmony": Prejudice-reduction strategies and attitudes of historically disadvantaged groups. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *19*, 76-80. https://doi.org/10.1177/096372141036336

Doosje, B., Branscombe, N. R., Spears, R., & Manstead, A. S. R. (1998). Guilty by association: When one's group has a negative history. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *75*, 872-886. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.75.4.872

Dover, T. L., Kaiser, C., & Major, B. (2020). Mixed signals: The unintended effects of diversity initiatives. *Social Issues and Policy Review, 14*, 152-181. https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12059

Dovidio, J. F. (2013). Landmark article: Bridging intragroup processes and intergroup relations. Needing the twain to meet. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *52*, 1-24. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12026

Dovidio, J. F., Eller, A., & Hewstone, M. (2011). Improving intergroup relations through direct, extended and other forms of in direct contact. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *14*, 147-160. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430210390555

Dovidio, J., Gaertner, S. L., & Saguy, T. (2007). Another view of “we”: Majority and minority group perspectives on a common ingroup identity. European Review of Social Psychology, 18, 296-330. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280701726132

Dovidio, J., Gaertner, S. L., Ufkes, E. G., Saguy, T., & Pearson, A. R. (2016). Included but invisible? Subtle bias, common identity, and the darker side of “Us”. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, *10*, 6-46. https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12017

Dovidio, J. F., & Schellhaas, F. M. H. (2017). Collective identity. In B. S., Turner (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of theory in psychology.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

*Droogendyk, L., Louis, W. R., & Wright, S. C. (2016). Renewed promise for positive cross-group contact: The role of supportive contact in empowering collective action. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, *48*, 317-327. https://doi.org/10.1037/cbs0000058

Drury, J., & Reicher, S. D. (1999). The intergroup dynamics of collective empowerment: Substantiating the social identity model of crowd behavior. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *2*, 381-402. https://doi:10.1177/1368430299024005

Drury, J., & Reicher, S. D. (2000). Collective action and psychological change: The emergence of new social identities. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *39*, 579-604. https://doi.org/10.1348/014466600164642

*Du Toit, M., & Quayle, M. (2011). Multiracial families and contact theory in South Africa: Does direct and extended contact facilitated by multiracial families predict reduced

prejudice? *South African Journal of Psychology*, *41*, 540-551. https://doi.org/10.1177/008124631104100412

*Earle, M., Hoffarth, M. R., Prusaczyk, E., MacInnis, C., & Hodson, G. (2021). A multilevel analysis of LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) rights support across 77 countries: The role of contact and country laws. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *60*, 851-869. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12436

Eccles, J. S., Templeton, J., Barber, B., & Stone, M. (2003). Adolescence and emerging adulthood: The critical passage ways to adulthood. In M. H. Bornstein, L. Davidson, C. Keyes, & K. A. Moore (Eds.), *Positive development across the life course* (pp. 383-406). Mahawah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Ellemers, N. (1993). The influence of socio-structural variables on identity management strategies. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European review of social psychology* (Vol. 4, pp. 22-57). Oxford, England: Blackwell.

Ellemers, N. (2001). Individual upward mobility and the perceived legitimacy of intergroup relations. In J. T. Jost & B. Major (Eds.), The psychology of legitimacy (pp. 205-222). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Ellemers, N. (2017). Morality and the regulation of social behavior: Groups as moral anchors. Milton Park, UK: Routledge.

*Ellison, C. G., Shin, H., & Leal, D. L. (2011). The contact hypothesis and attitudes toward Latinos in the United States. *Social Science Quarterly*, *92*, 938-958. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6237.2011.00798.x

*Fasoli, F., Paladino, M. P., & Sulpizio, S. (2016). Conosco persone omosessuali. Una ricerca esplorativa degli effetti del contatto sull'omofobia e sostegno ai diritti LGBT in Italia. *Psicologia Sociale*, *11*, 263-286. https://doi.org/10.1482/84665

Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A.-G., & Buchner, A. (2007). G*Power 3: A flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences. *Behavior Research Methods*, *39*, 175-191. https://doi.org/10.3758/bf03193146

Festinger, L. (1957). *A theory of cognitive dissonance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

*Fingerhut, A. W. (2011). Straight allies: What predicts heterosexuals' alliance with the LGBT community? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *41*, 2230-2248. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2011.00807.x

*Firat, M., & Ataca, B. (2022). Does perceived cultural distance mediate the relationship between intergroup contact and support for refugee rights? A preliminary investigation. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, *32*, 57-72. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2536

Fiske, S. T. (2012). The Continuum Model and the Stereotype Content Model. In P. A. M. Van Lange, A. W. Kruglanski, & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *The handbook of theories of social psychology* (Vol. 1, pp. 267-288). Sage.

*Flores, A. R. (2015). Attitudes toward transgender rights: Perceived knowledge and secondary interpersonal contact. *Politics, Groups, and identities*, *3*, 398-416. https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2015.1050414

Frey, F. E., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). Being Seen As Individuals Versus As Group Members: Extending Research on Metaperception to Intergroup Contexts. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr1003_5

Frijda, N. H. (1986). *The emotions*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

*Fung, K., Liu, J. J. W., Sin, R., Shakya, Y., Guruge, S., Bender, A., & Wong, J. P. (2021). Examining different strategies for stigma reduction and mental health promotion in Asian men in Toronto. *Community Mental Health Journal*, *57*, 655-666. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10597-020-00723-3.

Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). *Reducing intergroup bias: The common ingroup identity model*. Psychology Press.

Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2012). Reducing intergroup bias: The common ingroup identity model. In P. A. M. Van Lange, A. W. Kruglanski, & E. T. Higgins (Eds), *Handbook of theories of social psychology* (Vol. 2, pp. 439-457). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Bachman, B. A. (1996) Revisiting the contact hypothesis: The induction of a common ingroup identity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 20*, 271-290. https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767(96)00019-3

Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Banker, B. S., Houlette, M., Johnson, K. M., & McGlynn, E. (2000). Reducing intergroup conflict: From superordinate goals to decategorization, recategorization, and mutual differentiation. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research and Practice, 4*, 98-114. https://doi.org/10.1037//1089-2699.4.1.98

Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Guerra, R., Hehman, E., & Saguy, T. (2016). A common ingroup identity: Categorization, identity, and intergroup relations. In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination, 2nd Edition* (pp. 433-454). Psychology Press.

Gaertner, S. L., Rust, M., Dovidio, J. F., Bachman, B. A., & Anastasio, P. A. (1994). The contact hypothesis: The role of a common ingroup identity on reducing intergroup bias. Small Group Research, 25, 224-249. https://doi.org/10.1177/1046496494252005

*Gerbet, B., Sumser, J., & Maguire, B. T. (1991). The impact of who you know and where you live on opinions about aids and health care. *Social Science and Medicine*, *32*, 677-681. https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536(91)90146-4

Glasford, D.E. & Johnston, B. (2018) Respect the technique: Status-based respect increases minority group social cohesion with majority groups, while also increasing minority collective action tendencies. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *158*, 201-214. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2017.1324395

Górska, P., & Tausch, N. (2022). Dynamic, Yet Stable: Separating Within- and Between-Person Components of Collective Action in Support of a Disadvantaged Outgroup and its Antecedents. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*. https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506221133882

*Górska, P., Van Zomeren, M., & Bilewicz, M. (2017). Intergroup contact as the missing link between LGB rights and sexual prejudice. *Social Psychology*, *48*, 321-334. https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000313

Graf, S., & Paolini, S. (2017). Investigating positive and negative intergroup contact. In L. Vezzali & S. Stathi (Eds.), *Intergroup contact theory: Recent developments and future directions* (pp. 92-113). Routledge.

*Graf, S., & Sczesny, S. (2019). Intergroup contact with migrants is linked to support for migrants through attitudes, especially in people who are politically right wing. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *73*, 102-106. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.09.001

Graham, J., Haidt, J., & Noskek, B. A. (2009). Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *96*, 1029-1046. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015141

Halperin, E., Porat, R., Tamir, M., & Gross, J. J. (2013). Can emotion regulation change political attitudes in intractable conflicts? From the laboratory to the field. *Psychological Science*, *24*, 106-111. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612452572

*Hassler, T., Ullrich, J., Bernardino, M., Shnabel, N., Laar, C. V., Valdenegro, G…& Ugarte, L. M. (2020). A large-scale test of the link between intergroup contact and support for social change. *Nature Human Behaviour*, *4*, 380-386. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-019-0815-z

*Hassler, T., Ullrich, J., Sebben, S., Shnabel, N., Bernardino, M., Valdenegro, G…& Pistella, J. (2021). Needs satisfaction in intergroup contact: A multi-national study of pathways toward social change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000365

Hassler, T., Ulug, O. M., Kappmeier, M., & Travaglino, G. A. (2021). Intergroup contact and social change: An integrated contact-collective action model. *Journal of Social Issues*, *77*, 217-241. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12412

Hayes, A. F. (2013). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach*. New York: Guilford Press.

Hayes, A. F. (2016). The PROCESS macro for SPSS and SAS [Computer software]. Retrieved from http://processmacro.org/download.html

*Hayes, B. & Dowds, L. (2006). Social contact, cultural marginality, or economic self-interest? Attitudes towards immigrants in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *32*, 455-476. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830600554890

*Hayward, L. E., Tropp, L. R., Hornsey, M. J., & Barlow, F. K. (2018). How negative contact and positive contact with Whites predict collective action among racial and ethnic minorities. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *57*, 1-20. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12220

Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *33*, 61-83. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X0999152X

*Herek, G. M., & Capitanio, J. P. (1997). AIDS stigma and contact with persons with AIDS: Effects of direct and vicarious contact. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *27*, 1-36. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1997.tb00621.x

Hewstone, M., & Brown, R. (1986). Contact is not enough: An intergroup perspective on the 'Contact Hypothesis.' In M. Hewstone & R. Brown (Eds.), *Contact and Conflict in Intergroup Encounters* (p. 1-44). Blackwell.

Higgins, E. T. (1987). Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect. Psychological Review, *94*, 319-340. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.94.3.319

Hodson, G., & Hewstone, M. (Eds.) (2013). *Advances in intergroup contact*. Psychology Press.

Hogg, M. A., & Terry, D. J. (2000). Social identity and self-categorization processes in organizational contexts. *The Academy of Management Review*, *25*, 121-140. https://doi.org/10.2307/259266

*Hong, P. M., & Peoples, C. D. (2020). The ties that mobilize us: Networks, intergroup contact, and participation in the Black Lives Matter movement. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 21, 541-556. https://doi.org/10.1111/asap.12230

*Horne, S. G., Maroney, M. R., Zagryazhskaya, E. A., & Koven, J. (2017). Attitudes toward gay and lesbian individuals in Russia: An exploration of the interpersonal contact hypothesis and personality factors. *Psychology in Russia: State of the Art, 10*, 21-34 https://doi.org/10.11621/pir.2017.0202

*Hoskin, R., Thomas, E. F., & McGarty, C. (2019). Transnational contact and challenging global poverty: intergroup contact intensifies (the right kind of) social identities to promote solidarity-based collective action for those low in social dominance. *Journal of Theoretical Social Psychology*, *3*, 23-34. https://doi.org/10.1002/jts5.24

Hu, L., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cut-off criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. Structural Equation Modeling, 6, 1-55. https://doi.org/10.1080/10705519909540118

Huang, F., Shi, K., Zhou, M., Stathi, S., & Vezzali, L. (2020). Can interethnic contact between majority (Han) and minority (Uyghur) people in China influence sense of Chinese national community? The role of positive and negative direct, extended and vicarious intergroup contact. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 77, 125-139. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2020.05.008

*Huić, A., Jelić, M., & Kamenov, Ž. (2016). What predicts the willingness of heterosexual persons to behave in a positive or negative manner towards homosexual persons? *Kriminologija & Socijalna Integracija*, *23*, 110-141.

Imperato, C., Schneider, B. H., Caricati, L., Amicai-Hamburger, Y., & Mancini, T. (2021). Allport meets internet: A meta-analytical investigation of online intergroup contact and prejudice reduction. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *81*, 131-141. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2021.01.006

Iyer, A., & Leach, C. W. (2008). Emotion in inter-group relations. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *19*, 86-125. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280802079738

Jackman, M. R. (1994). *The velvet glove: Paternalism and conflict in gender, class, and race relations*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

*Jackman, M. R., & Crane, M. (1986). “Some of my best friends are Black…”: Interracial friendship and Whites’ racial attitudes. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *50*, 459-486. https://doi.org/10.1086/268998

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Vezzali, L., Mona, R., Pacilli, M. G., Giacomantonio, M., & Pagliaro, S. (2020). Conditional secondary transfer effect: The moderating role of prior moral credentials and prejudice. Group Processes and Intergroup Relations. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220940401

Jetten, J., Branscombe, N. R., Spears, R., & McKimmie, B. M. (2003). Predicting the paths of peripherals: The interaction of identification and future possibilities. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, *29*, 130-140. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167202238378

Jetten, J., Spears, R., & Manstead, A. S. R. (2001). Similarity as a source of differentiation: The role of group identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *31*, 621-640. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.72

Jost, J. T. (2020). *A theory of system justification*. Harvard University Press.

Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *33*, 1-27. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1994.tb01008.x

Jost, J. T., Banaji, M. R., & Nosek, B. A. (2004). A decade of system justification theory: Accumulated evidence of conscious and unconscious bolstering of the status quo. *Political Psychology*, *25*, 881-919. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00402.x

Jost, J. T., Gaucher, D., & Stern, C. (2015). “The world isn’t fair”: A system justification perspective on social stratification and inequality. In M. Mikulincer, P. R. Shaver,

J. F. Dovidio, & J. A. Simpson (Eds.), *APA handbook of personality and social psychology, Vol. 2. Group processes* (pp. 317–340). American Psychological Association.

*Kamberi, E., Martinovic, B., & Verkuyten, M. (2017). Intergroup contact and minority group empowerment: The perspective of Roma and non-Roma adolescents in Macedonia. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology 27*, 424-434. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2320

*Kauff, M., Green, E. G. T., Schmid, K., Hewstone, M., & Christ, O. (2016). Effects of majority members' positive intergroup contact on minority members' support for ingroup rights: Mobilizing or demobilizing effects? *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *46*, 833-839. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2194

Kavussanu, M., & Al-Yaaribi, A. (2021). Prosocial and antisocial behaviour in sport. International *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, *19*, 179-202. https://doi.org/10.1080/1612197X.2019.1674681

Kavussanu, M., Boardley, I. D., Sagar, S. S., & Ring, C. (2013). Bracketed morality revisited: How do athletes behave in two contexts? *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, *35*, 449-463. https://doi.org/10.1123/jsep.35.5.449

*King, M. E., Winter, S., & Webster, B. (2009). Contact reduces transprejudice: A study on attitudes towards transgenderism and transgender civil rights in Hong Kong. *International Journal of Sexual Health*, *21*, 17-34. https://doi.org/10.1080/19317610802434609

*Kokkonen, A., & Karlsson, D. (2017). That's what friends are for: How intergroup friendships promote historically disadvantaged groups' substantive political representation. *Journal of Sociology*, *68*, 693-717. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12266

*Kotzur, P. F., Schäfer, S. J., & Wagner, U. (2019). Meeting a nice asylum seeker: Intergroup contact changes stereotype content perceptions and associated emotional prejudices and encourages solidarity-based collective action intentions. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *58*, 668-690. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12304

Kteily, N., Hodson, G., & Bruneau, E. (2016). They see us as less than human: Metadehumanization predicts intergroup conflict via reciprocal dehumanization.

Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *110*, 343-370. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000044

Kteily, N. S., & McClanahan, K. J. (2020). Incorporating insights about intergroup power and dominance to help increase harmony and equality between groups in conflict. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *33*, 80-85. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2019.06.030

*Lau, H., Lau, C. Q., & Loper, K. (2014). Public opinion in Hong Kong about gays and lesbians: The impact of interpersonal and imagined contact. *Journal of Public Opinion and Research*, *26*, 301-322. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edu016

Leach, C. W., Ellemers, N., & Barreto, M. (2007). Group virtue: The Importance of morality (vs. competence and sociability) in the positive evaluation of in-groups. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 93, 234-249. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.93.2.234

*Lewis, G. B. (2011). The friends and family plan: Contact with gays and support for gay rights. *The Policy Studies Journal*, *39*, 217-238. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2011.00405.x

Little, T. D., Cunningham, W. A., Shahar, G., & Widaman, K. F. (2002). To parcel or not to parcel: Exploring the question, weighing the merits. Structural Equation Modeling, 9, 151-173. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15328007SEM0902_1

*Lopez, G. E. (2004). Interethnic contact, curriculum and attitudes in the first year of college. *Journal of Social Issues*, *60*, 75-94. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-4537.2004.00100.x

Louis, W., Chapman, C., Tulsi, A., Susilo, W., Zahra, M., & Droogendyk, L. (2019). Emerging research on intergroup pro-sociality: Group members' charitable giving, positive contact, allyship, and solidarity with others. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *13*, e12436. https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12436

Louis, W., Thomas, E., McGarty, C., Lizzio-Wilson, M., Amiot, C. and Moghaddam, F. (2020), The Volatility of Collective Action: Theoretical Analysis and Empirical Data. *Political Psychology*, *41*, 35-74. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12671

*Lowinger, R. J., Sheng, Z., & Hyun, H. (2018). College students' attitudes toward affirmative action policies for Asian Americans. *North American Journal of Psychology*, *20*, 619-636. https://doi.org/10.1080/19496591.2020.1724547

Lucarini, A., Boin, J., Fuochi, G., Voci, A., Verkuyten, M., & Pettigrew, T. F. (2023). The nature of deprovincialism: Assessment, nomological network, and comparison of cultural and group deprovincialization. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, *33*, 868-881. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2695

MacInnis, C. C., & Hodson, G. (2019). Extending the benefits of intergroup contact beyond attitudes: When does intergroup contact predict greater collective action support? *Journal of Theoretical Social Psychology*, *3*, 11-22. https://doi.org/10.1002/jts5.23

MacInnis, C. C., & Page-Gould, E. (2015). How can intergroup interaction be bad if intergroup contact is good? Exploring and reconciling an apparent paradox in the science of intergroup relations. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *10*, 307-327. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691614568482

Mackie, D. M., Maitner, A. T., & Smith, E. R. (2016). Intergroup emotions theory. In T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, discrimination, and stereotyping* (2nd ed., pp. 285-308). Psychology Press.

McKeown, S., & Dixon, J. (2017). The "contact hypothesis": Critical reflections and future directions. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *11*, e12295. https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12295

*McKeown, S., & Taylor, L. K. (2017). Beyond the irony of intergroup contact: The effects of contact and threat on political participation and support for political violence in Northern Ireland. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, *21*, 234-244. https://doi.org/10.1037/gdn0000074

*McLaren, L. M. (2003). Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe: Contact, threat perception, and preferences for the expulsion of migrants. *Social Forces*, *81*, 909-936. https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2003.0038

Meleady, R., Crisp, R. J., Dhont, K., Hopthrow, T., & Turner, R. N. (2020). Intergroup contact, social dominance, and environmental concern: A test of the cognitive-liberalization hypothesis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 118*, 1146-1164. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000196

*Meleady, R., Seger, C. R., & Vermue, R. (2017). Examining the role of positive and negative intergroup contact and anti-immigrant prejudice in Brexit. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *56*, 799-808. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12203

*Meleady, R., & Vermue, M. (2019). The effect of intergroup contact on solidarity-based collective action is mediated by reductions in SDO. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *49*, 307-318. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12586

Méndez, E., Gómez, Á., & Tropp, L. R. (2007). When metaperceptions are affected by intergroup processes. *International Journal of Psychology & Psychological Therapy*, *7*, 237-250.

Mendos, L. R. (2019). State-sponsored homophobia. ILGA, Geneva.

Mikołajczak, G., Becker, J. C., & Iyer, A. (2022). Women who challenge or defend the status quo: Ingroup identities as predictors of progressive and reactionary collective action. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *52*, 626-641. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2842

Miles, E., & Crisp, R. J. (2014). A meta-analytic test of the imagined contact hypothesis. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *17*, 3-26. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430213510573

Milesi, P., & Alberici, A. I. (2018). Pluralistic morality and collective action: The role of moral foundations. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *21*, 235-256. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430216675707

Miller, N. (2002). Personalization and the promise of Contact Theory. *Journal of Social Issues*, *58*, 387-410. https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-4560.00267

*Mirete, A. B., Belmonte, M. L., Mirete, L., & García-Sanz, M. P. (2020). Predictors of attitudes about people with intellectual disabilities: Empathy for a change towards inclusion. *International Journal of Developmental Disabilities*. https://doi.org/10.1080/20473869.2020.1851122

Mummendey, A., & Wenzel, M. (1999). Social discrimination and tolerance in intergroup relations: Reactions to intergroup difference. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *3*, 158-174. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0302_4

Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (2017). Mplus User's Guide. Eighth Edition. Los Angeles, CA: Muthén & Muthén.

*Neumann, R., & Moy, P. (2018). You're (not) welcome: The impact of symbolic boundaries, intergroup contact, and experiences with discrimination on immigration attitudes. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *62*, 458-477. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764218760370

*Northcutt Bohmert, M., & DeMaris, A. (2015). Interracial friendship and the trajectory of prominority attitudes: Assessing intergroup contact theory. Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 18, 225-240. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430214550342

Pacilli, M. G., Roccato, M., Pagliaro, S., & Russo, S. (2016). From political opponents to enemies? The role of perceived moral distance in the animalistic dehumanization of the political outgroup. Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 19, 360-373. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430215590490

Paluck, E. L., Green, S. A., & Green, D. P. (2019). The contact hypothesis re-evaluated. *Behavioral Public Policy*, *3*, 129-158. https://doi.org/10.1017/bpp.2018.25

Paluck, E. L. Porat, R., Clark, C. S., & Green, D. P. (2021). Prejudice reduction: Progress and challenges. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *72*, 533-560. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619

Paolini, S., Harwood, J., Rubin, M., Husnu, S., Joyce, N., & Hewstone, M. (2014). Positive and extensive intergroup contact in the past buffers against the disproportionate impact of negative contact in the present. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *44*, 548-562. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2029

Paolini, S., Hewstone, M., & Cairns, E. (2007). Direct and indirect intergroup friendship effects: Testing the moderating role of the affective-cognitive bases of prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *33*, 1406-1420. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167207304788

Pauls, I. L., Shuman, E., Van Zomeren, M., Saguy, T., & Halperin, E. (2022). Does crossing a moral line justify collective means? Explaining how a perceived moral violation triggers normative and nonnormative forms of collective action. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 52, 105-123. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2818

*Pearson-Merkowitz, S., Filindra, A., & Dick, J. J. (2016). When partisans and minorities interact: Interpersonal contact, partisanship, and public opinion preferences on immigration policy. *Social Science Quarterly*, *97*, 311-324. https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12175

*Pereira, A., Green, E. G. T., & Visintin, E. P. (2017). National identification counteracts the sedative effect of positive intergroup contact on ethnic activism. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *8*, 477. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.00477

*Pettigrew, T. F. (1997). Generalized intergroup contact effects on prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *23*, 173-185.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167297232006

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *49*, 65-85. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.49.1.65

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *90*, 751-783. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2008). How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analytic tests of three mediators. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *38*, 922-934. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.504

*Piumatti, G., & Salvati, M. (2020). Contact with gay men and lesbian women moderates the negative relationship between religiosity and endorsement of same-sex unions' and families' rights. *Social Psychology, 51,* 309-318. https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000416

Platt, L. (2014). Is there assimilation in minority groups' national, ethnic and religious identity?. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *37*, 46-70. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.808756

*Politi, E., Giroud, A., Green E. G. T., & Maloku, E. (2020). Sedative effects of intergroup contact on support for ethnic activism among Kosovo Albanians in Switzerland: The interplay of ethnic, national, and dual identification. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *50*, 418-429. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12670

Polletta, F., & Jasper, J. M. (2001). Collective identity and social movements. *Annual Review of Sociology, 27*, 283-305. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.283

Poore, A. G., Gagne, F., Barlow, K. M., Lydon, J. E., Taylor, D. M., & Wright, S. C. (2002). Contact and the personal/group discrimination discrepancy in an Inuit community. *The Journal of psychology*, *136*, 371-382. https://doi.org/10.1080/00223980209604164

*Prati, F., & Loughnan, S. (2018). Imagined intergroup contact promotes support for human rights through increased humanization. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *48*, O51-O61. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2282

Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., & Levin, S. (2006). Social dominance theory and the dynamics of intergroup relations: Taking stock and looking forward. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *17*, 271-320. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280601055772

Radke, H. R. M., Kutlaca, M., Siem, B., Wright, S. C., & Becker, J. C. (2020). Beyond allyship: Motivations for advantaged-group members to engage in action for disadvantaged groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *24*, 291-315. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868320918698

Reicher, S., Cassidy, D., Wopert, I., Hopkins, N., & Levine, M. (2006). Saving Bulgaria's jews: An analysis of social identity and the mobilization of social solidarity. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *36*, 49-72. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.291

*Reimer, N. K., Becker, J. C., Benz, A., Christ, O., Dhont, K., Klocke, U., ... & Hewstone, M. (2017). Intergroup contact and social change: Implications of negative and positive contact for collective action in advantaged and disadvantaged groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *43*, 121-136. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167216676478

*Reimer, N. K., Kamble, S. A., Schmid, K., & Hewstone, M. (2022). Intergroup contact fosters more inclusive social identities. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *25*, 133-157. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220960795

Reimer, N. K., & Sengupta, N. K. (2022). Meta-analysis of the "ironic" effects of intergroup contact. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000404

Renger, D., Eschert, S., Teichgräber, M. L., & Renger, S. (2020). Internalized equality and protest against injustice: The role of disadvantaged group members' self-respect in collective action tendencies. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *50*, 547-560. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2637

*Rompke, A.-K., Fritsche, I., & Reese, G. (2019). Get together, feel together, act together: International personal contact increases identification with humanity and global collective action. *Journal of Theoretical Social Psychology*, *3*, 35-48. https://doi.org/10.1002/jts5.34

Runciman, W. G., & Runciman, B. (1966). *Relative deprivation and social justice: A study of attitudes to social inequality in twentieth-century England.* University of California Press.

*Rupar, M., & Graf, S. (2019). Different forms of intergroup contact with former adversary are linked to distinct reconciliatory acts through symbolic and realistic threat, *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *49*, 63-74.

https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12565

Rutland, A., & Killen, M. (2015). A developmental science approach to reducing prejudice and social exclusion: Intergroup processes, social-cognitive development, and moral reasoning. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, *9*, 121-154. https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12012

Rutland, A., Killen, M., & Abrams, D. (2010). A new social-cognitive developmental perspective on prejudice: The interplay between morality and group identity. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *5*, 279-291. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691610369468

*Saab, R., Harb, C., & Moughalian, C. (2017). Intergroup contact as a predictor of violent and nonviolent collective action: Evidence from Syrian refugees and Lebanese nationals. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *23*, 297-306. https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000234

Sabucedo, J. M., Dono, M., Alzate, M., & Seoane, G. (2018). The importance of protesters' morals: Moral obligation as a key variable to understand collective action. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *9*, Article 418. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.00418

Saguy, T., Shchory-Eyal, N., Hasan-Aslih, S., Sobol, D., & Dovidio, J. F. (2017). The irony of harmony: Past and new developments. In L. Vezzali & S. Stathi (Eds.), *Intergroup contact theory: Recent developments and future directions* (pp. 53-71). Routledge.

*Saguy, T., Tausch, N., Dovidio, J. F., & Pratto, F. (2009). The irony of harmony: Intergroup contact can produce false expectations for equality. *Psychological Science*, *20*, 114-121. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2008.02261.x

*Saleem, M., Yang, G. S., & Ramasubramanian, S. (2016). Reliance on direct and mediated contact and public policies supporting outgroup harm. *Journal of Communication*, *66*, 604-624. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12234

*Sarrasin, O., Green, E. G. T., Fasel, N., Christ, O., Staerklé, C., & Clémence, A. (2012). Opposition to antiracism laws across Swiss municipalities: A multilevel analysis. *Political Psychology*, *33*, 659-681. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2012.00895.x

Schafer, S. J., Kauff, M., Prati, F., Kros, M., Lang, T., & Christ, O. (2021). Does negative contact undermine attempts to improve intergroup relations? Deepening the

understanding of negative contact and its consequences for intergroup contact research and interventions. *Journal of Social Issues*, *77*, 197-216. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12422

Schmid, K., Hewstone, M., Küpper, B., Zick, A., & Wagner, U. (2012). Secondary transfer effects of intergroup contact: A cross-national comparison in Europe. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *75*, 28-51. https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272511430235

Schmid, K., Hewstone, M., & Tausch, N. (2013). Secondary transfer effects of intergroup contact via social identity complexity. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *53*, 443-462. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12045

*Schulz, M., & Taylor, L. K. (2018). The processes underlying the quality of contact with the primary out-group and in-group importance on support for the Syrian resettlement in a post-accord context. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *24*, 306-314. https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000321

Schwarz, N. (1999). Self-reports: How the questions shape the answers. *American Psychologist*, *54*, 93-105. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.54.2.93

*Selvanathan, H. P., Techakesari, P., Tropp, L. R., & Barlow, F. K. (2018). Whites for racial justice: How contact with Black Americans predicts support for collective action among White Americans. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *21*, 893-912. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430217690908

*Sengupta, N. K., & Sibley, C. G. (2013). Perpetuating one's own disadvantage: Intergroup contact enables the ideological legitimation of inequality. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *39*, 1391-1403. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167213497593

*Shani, M., & Boehnke, K. (2017). The effect of Jewish-Palestinian mixed-model encounters on readiness for contact and policy support. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *23*, 219-227. https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000220

Shelton, J. N., Richeson, J. A, & Vorauer, J. D. (2006). Threatened identities and interethnic interactions. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *17*, 321-358. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280601095240

Sherif, M., Harvey, O. J., White, B. J., Hood, W. R., & Sherif, C. W. (1961). *Intergroup conflict and cooperation: The Robbers Cave experiment*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Book Exchange.

Shin, H., Dovidio, J. F., & Napier, J. L. (2013). Cultural differences in targets of stigmatization between individual- and group-oriented cultures. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 35,* 98-108. https://doi.org/10.1080/01973533.2012.746604

Shnabel, N., & Ullrich, J. (2013). Increasing intergroup cooperation toward social change by restoring advantaged and disadvantaged groups' positive identities. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *1*, 216-238. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v1i1.187

Sidanius, J., Cotterill, S., Sheehy-Skeffington, J., Kteily, N., & Carvacho, H. (2017). Social dominance theory: Explorations in the psychology of oppression. In C. G. Sibley & F. K. Barlow (Eds.). *Cambridge handbook of the psychology of prejudice* (pp. 149-187). Cambridge University Press.

Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. Cambridge University Press.

Siddaway, A. P., Wood, A. M., & Hedges, L. V. (2019). How to do a systematic review: A best practice guide for conducting narrative reviews, meta-analyses, and meta-syntheses. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *70*, 747-770. https://10.1146/annurev-psych-010418-102803

Simon, B., & Klandermans, B. (2001). Politicized collective identity: A social-psychological analysis. *American Psychologist*, *56*, 319-331. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.56.4.319

*Skipworth, S. A., Garner, A., & Dettrey, B. J. (2010). Limitations of the contact hypothesis: Heterogeneity in the contact effect on attitudes toward gay rights. *Politics and Policy, 38*, 887-906. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-1346.2010.00262.x

Skitka, L. J. (2010). The psychology of moral conviction. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *4*, 267-281. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2010.00254.x

Skitka, L. J., & Bauman, C. W. (2008). Moral conviction and political engagement. *Political Psychology*, *29*, 29-54. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2007.00611.x

Skitka, L. J., Bauman, C. W., & Mullen, E. (2004). Political tolerance and coming to psychological closure following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks: An integrative approach. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *30*, 743-756. https://doi.org/10.1177/014616720426396

Skitka, L. J., Bauman, C. W., & Sargis, E. G. (2005). Moral conviction: Another contributor to attitude strength or something more? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *88*, 895-917. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.6.895

Smith, H. J., & Ortiz, D. J. (2002). Is it just me? The different consequences of personal and group relative deprivation. In I. Walker & H. J. Smith (Eds.), *Relative deprivation: Specification, development, and integration* (pp. 91-115). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Son Hing, L. S., Bobocel, D. R., & Zanna, M. P. (2002). Meritocracy and opposition to affirmative action: Making concessions in the face of discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *83*, 493-509. Ttps://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.83.3.493

Spears, R., Doosje, B., & Ellemers, N. (1997). Self-stereotyping in the face of threats to group status and distinctiveness: The role of group identification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *23*, 538-553. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167297235009

Stathi, S., Vezzali, L., Waldzus, S., & Hantzi, A. (2019). The mobilizing and protective role of national identification in normative and non- normative collective action. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *49*, 596-608. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12619

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan C. W. (2017). Intergroup threats. In C. G. Sibley & F. K. Barlow (Eds.) *Cambridge handbook of the psychology of prejudice* (pp. 131-148). Cambridge University Press.

Stott, C., & Reicher, S. (1998). Crowd action as intergroup process: Introducing the police perspective. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *28*, 509-529.

https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(199807/08)28:4<509::AID-EJSP877>3.0.CO;2-C

Stürmer, S., & Simon, B. (2004). The role of collective identification in social movement participation: A panel study in the context of the German gay movement. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *30*, 263-277. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167203256690

Subašić, E., Reynolds, K. J., & Turner, J. C. (2008). The political solidarity model of social change: Dynamics of self-categorization in intergroup power relations. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *12*, 330-352.

https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868308323223

Tajfel, H. (1978). *Differentiation between social groups*. London, UK: Academic Press.

Tajfel, H. (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *33*, 1-39. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.33.020182.000245

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Books/Cole.

Tausch, N., & Becker, J. C. (2013). Emotional reactions to success and failure of collective action as predictors of future action intentions: A longitudinal investigation in the context of student protests in Germany. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *52*, 525-542. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2012.02109.x

Tausch, N., Becker, J., Spears, R., Christ, O., Saab, R., Singh, P., & Siddiqui, R. N. (2011). Explaining radical group behavior: Developing emotion and efficacy routes to normative and non-normative collective action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 101*, 129-148. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022728

*Tausch, N., Saguy, T., & Bryson, J. (2015). How does intergroup contact affect social change? Its impact on collective action and individual mobility intentions among members of a disadvantaged group. *Journal of Social Issues*, *71*, 536-553. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12127

Taylor, L. K., & McKeown, S. (2021). Adolescent outgroup helping, collective action, and political activitism in a setting of protracted conflict. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *85*, 37-46. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2021.09.001

*Techakesari, P., Droogendyk, L., Wright, S. C., Winnifred, L., & Barlow, F. K. (2017). Supportive contact and LGBT collective action: The moderating role of membership in specific groups. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *23*, 307-316. https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000240

*Tee, N., & Hegarthy, P. (2006). Predicting opposition to the civil rights of trans persons in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, *16*, 70-80. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.851

Teixeira, C. P., Spears, R., & Yzerbyt, V. Y. (2019). Is Martin Luther King or Malcom X the more acceptable face of protest? High-status groups’ reactions to low-status

groups' collective action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *118*, 919-944. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000205

Tetlock, P. E., Kirstel, O. V., Elson, S. B., Green, M. C., & Lerner, J. S. (2000). The psychology of the unthinkable: Taboo trade-offs, forbidden base rates, and heretic counterfactuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *78*, 853-870. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.78.5.853

Thomas, E. F., Mavor, K. I., & McGarty, C. (2012). Social identities facilitate and encapsulate action-relevant constructs: A test of the social identity model of collective action. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *15*, 75-88. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430211413619

Thomas, E. F., McGarty, C., & Mavor, K. I. (2009). Aligning identities, emotions, and beliefs to create commitment to sustainable social and political action. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *13*, 194-218. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868309341563
Tropp, L. R., & Barlow, F. K. (2018). Making advantaged racial groups care about inequality: Intergroup contact as a route to psychological investment. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *27*, 194-199. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721417743282

Tropp, L. R., & Dehrone, T. A. (2023). Prejudice reduction and social change: Dual goals to be promoted in tandem. In L. Huddy, D. O. Sears, J. S. Levy, & J. Jerit (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of political psychology* (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press.

*Tropp, L. R., Hawi, D. R., Van Laar, C., & Levin, S. (2012). Cross-ethnic friendships, perceived discrimination, and their effects on ethnic activism over time: A longitudinal investigation of three ethnic minority groups. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *51*, 257-272. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02050.x

Tropp, L. R., & Pettigrew, T. F. (2005). Relationships between intergroup contact and prejudice among minority and majority status groups. *Psychological Science*, *16*, 951-957. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2005.01643.x

*Tropp, L. R., & Ulug, O. M. (2019). Are White women showing up for racial justice? Intergroup contact, closeness to people targeted by prejudice, and collective action. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *43*, 335-347. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684319840269

*Tropp, L. R., Ulug, O. M., & Uysal, M. S. (2021). How intergroup contact and communication about group differences predict collective action intentions among advantaged groups. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *80*, 7-16. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2020.10.012

Turner, R. N., & Cameron, L. (2016). Confidence in contact: A new perspective on promoting cross-group friendship among children and adolescents. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, *10*, 212-246. https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12023

Turner, R. N., Hodson, G., & Dhont, K. (2020). The role of individual differences in understanding and enhancing intergroup contact. *Personality and Social Psychology Compass*, *14*, e12533. https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12533

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Blackwell.

Turner-Zwinkelz, F. M., & Van Zomeren, M. (2021). Identity expression through collective action: How identification with a politicized group and its identity contents differently motivated identity-expressive collective action in the U.S. 2016 presidential elections. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *47*, 499-513. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167220933406

*Turoy-Smith, K. M., Kane, R., & Pedersen, A. (2013). The willingness of a society to act on behalf of indigenous Australians and refugees: The role of contact, intergroup anxiety, prejudice, and support for legislative change. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *43 (Suppl. 2)*, E179-E195. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12017

Ufkes, E. G., Calcagno, J., Glasford, D. E., & Dovidio, J. F. (2016). Understanding how common ingroup identity undermines collective action among disadvantaged-group members. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *63*, 26-35. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2015.11.006

Ulug, O. M., Chayinska, M., & Tropp, L. R. (2022). Conceptual, methodological, and contextual challenges in studying collective action: Recommendations for future research. *Testing, Psychometrics, Methodology in Applied Psychology*, *29*, 9-22. https://doi.org/10.4473/TPM29.1.2

*Ulug, O. M., & Cohrs, J. C. (2017). "If we become friends, maybe I can change my perspective": Intergroup contact, endorsement of conflict narratives, and peace-

related attitudes in Turkey. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *23*, 278-287. https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000216

*Ulug, O. M., & Tropp, L. R. (2021). Witnessing racial discrimination shapes collective action for racial justice: Enhancing awareness of privilege among advantaged groups. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *51*, 248-261. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12731

UNESCO. (2021). Values education through sport. Retrieved from https://en.unesco.org/themes/sport-and-anti-doping/ sports-values-education

United Nations DESA (2016). Report on the World Social Situation: Leaving no one behind. https://10.18356/5aa151e0-en

United Nations DESA. (2017). International Migration Report 2017: Highlights. New York, U.S. https://10.18356/5e2626a2-en

*Ünver, H., Cakal, H., Guler, M., & Tropp, L. R. (2021). Support for rights of Syrian refugees in Turkey: The role of secondary transfer effects in intergroup contact. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2562

Van Laar, C., Levin, S., & Sinclair, S. (2008). Social identity and personal identity stereotype threat: The case of affirmative action. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 30, 295-310 https://doi.org/10.1080/01973530802502200

Van Zomeren, M., Kutlaca, M., & Turner-Zwinkels, F. (2018). Integrating who "we" are with what "we" (Will not) stand for: A further extension of the social identity model of collective action. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *29*, 122-160. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2018.1479347

Van Zomeren, M., & Lodewijkx, H. F. M. (2005). Motivated responses to 'senseless' violence: Explaining emotional and behavioural responses through person and position identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *35*, 755-766. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.274

Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: a quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin*, *134*, 504-535. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.134.4.504

Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2012). On conviction's collective consequences: Integrating moral conviction with the Social Identity Model of Collective Action. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *51*, 52-71. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2010.02000.x

van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., Spears, R., & Bettache, K. (2011). Can moral convictions motivate the advantaged to challenge social inequality? Extending the social identity model of collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 14, 735-753. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430210395637

Van Zomeren, M., Spears, R., Fischer, A. H., & Leach, C. W. (2004). Put your money where your mouth is! Explaining collective action tendencies through group-based anger and group efficacy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *87*, 649-664. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.87.5.649

*Vázquez, A., Lopez-Rodriguez, L., Gomez, A., & Dovidio, J. F. (2020). Ambivalent effects of positive contact between women and men on collective action for women's rights. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *47*, 1358-1373. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167220974162

Verkuyten, M., Voci, A., & Pettigrew, T. F. (2022). Deprovincialization: Its importance for plural societies. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, *16*, 289-309. https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12082

Vezzali, L. (2017). Valence matters: Positive meta-stereotypes and interethnic interactions. *Journal of Social Psychology*, *157*, 247-261.

https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2016.1208140

*Vezzali, L., Andrighetto, L., Capozza, D., Di Bernardo, G. A., & Saguy, T. (2017). Discussing differences between groups: The content of intergroup encounters and motivation for social change among members of advantaged groups. *Journal of Theoretical Social Psychology*, *1*, 52-59. https://doi.org/10.1002/jts5.12

*Vezzali, L., Andrighetto, L., Di Bernardo, G. A., Nadi, C., & Bergamini, G. (2017). Negative intergroup contact and support for social policies toward the minority outgroup in the aftermath of a natural disaster. *Journal of Social Psychology*, *157*, 407-415. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2016.1184126

Vezzali, L., Brambilla, M., Giovannini, D., & Colucci, F. P. (2017). Strengthening purity: Moral purity as a mediator of direct and extended contact on sexual prejudice. Journal of Homosexuality, 64, 716-730. https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2016.1196998

Vezzali, L., Di Bernardo, G. A., Birtel, M. D., Stathi, S., & Brambilla, M. (2020). Outgroup morality perceptions mediate secondary transfer effects from direct and extended contact: Evidence from majority and minority members. Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 23, 1066-1084. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430219879223

Vezzali, L., Di Bernardo, G. A., Cocco, V. M., Stathi, S., & Capozza, D. (2021). Reducing prejudice in the society at large: A review of the secondary transfer effect, and directions for future research. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *15*(3), e12583. https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12583

*Vezzali, L., & Giovannini, D. (2011). Intergroup contact and reduction of explicit and implicit prejudice towards immigrants: A study with Italian businessmen owning small and medium enterprises. Quality and Quantity, 45, 213-222. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-010-9366-0

Vezzali, L., Hewstone, M., Capozza, D., Giovannini, D., & Wölfer, R. (2014). Improving intergroup relations with extended and vicarious forms of indirect contact. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *25*, 314-389. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2014.982948

*Vezzali, L., McKeown, S., MacCauley, P., Stathi, S., Di Bernardo, G. A., Cadamuro, A., Cozzolino, V., & Trifiletti, E. (2021). May the odds be ever in your favor: The Hunger Games and the fight for a more equal society. (Negative) media vicarious contact and collective action. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *51*, 121-137. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12721

Vezzali, L., Pagliaro, S., Di Bernardo, G. A., McKeown, S., & Cocco, V. M. (2023). Solidarity across group lines: Secondary transfer effect of intergroup contact, perceived moral distance, and collective action. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *53*, 450-470. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2914

Vezzali, L., & Stathi, S. (2021). *Using intergroup contact to fight prejudice and negative attitudes: Psychological perspectives*. European Monographs in Social Psychology Series. Routledge.

Vilas, X., & Sabucedo, J. M. (2012). Moral obligation: A forgotten dimension in the analysis of collective action. *International Journal of Social Psychology*, *27*, 369-375. https://doi.org/10.1174/021347412802845577

*Visintin, E. P., Green, E. G. T., Pereira, A., & Miteva, P. (2017). How positive and negative contact relate to attitudes towards Roma: Comparing majority and high-status minority perspectives. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, *27*, 240-252. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2309

Visintin, E. P., Voci, A., Pagotto, L., & Hewstone, M. (2017). Direct, extended, and mass-mediated contact with immigrants in Italy: Their associations with emotions, prejudice, and humanity perceptions. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 47, 175-194. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12423

Vorauer, J. D., Hunter, A. J., Main, K. J., & Roy, S. A. (2000). Meta-stereotype activation: Evidence from indirect measures for specific evaluative concerns experienced by members of dominant groups in intergroup interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *78*, 690-707. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.78.4.690

Waldzus, S., Mummendey, A., Wenzel, M. and Boettcher, F. (2004), Of bikers, teachers and Germans: Groups' diverging views about their prototypicality. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *43*, 385-400. https://doi.org/10.1348/0144666042037944

Waldzus, S., Mummendey, A., Wenzel, M., & Weber, U. (2003). Towards tolerance: Representations of superordinate categories and perceived ingroup prototypicality. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *39*, 31-47. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-1031(02)00507-3

Wenzel, M. (2000). Justice and identity: The significance of inclusion for perceptions of entitlement and the justice motive. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *26*, 157 176. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167200264004

Wenzel, M., Mummendey, A., & Waldzus, S. (2007). Superordinate identities and intergroup conflict: The ingroup projection model. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *18*, 331-372. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280701728302

White, F. A., Borinca, I., Vezzali, L., Reynolds, K. J., Blomster Lyshol, J. K., Verrelli, S., & Falomir-Pichastor, J. M. (2021). *Beyond* direct contact: The theoretical and societal relevance of indirect contact for improving intergroup relations. *Journal of Social Issues*, *77*, 132-153. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12400

White, F. A., Maunder, R., & Verrelli, S. (2020). Text-based E-contact: Harnessing cooperative internet interactions to bridge the social and psychological divide. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *31*, 76-119. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2020.1753459

Wilder, D. A. (1986). Social categorization: Implications for creation and reduction of intergroup bias. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *19*, 291-355. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(08)60217-8

*Wilson-Daily, A. E., Kemmelmeier, M., & Prats, J. (2018). Intergroup contact versus conflict in Catalan high schools: A multilevel analysis of adolescent attitudes toward immigration and diversity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *64*, 12-28. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2018.03.002

Wright, S. C. (2001). Strategic collective action: Social psychology and social change. In R. Brown & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Intergroup processes: Blackwell handbook of social psychology* (Vol. 4, pp. 409-430). Oxford: Blackwell.

Wright, S. C. (2003). Strategic collective action: Social psychology and social change. In R. Brown & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), Blackwell handbook of social psychology: Intergroup processes (pp. 409-430). Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470693421.ch20

Wright, S. C., Aron, A., McLaughlin-Volpe, T., & Ropp, S. A (1997). The extended contact effect: Knowledge of cross-group friendships and prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *73*, 73-90. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.73.1

Wright, S. C., & Lubensky, M. E. (2009). The struggle for social equality: Collective action versus prejudice reduction. In S. Demoulin, J. P. Leyens, & J. F. Dovidio (Eds.), *Intergroup misunderstandings: Impact of divergent social realities* (pp. 291-310). Psychology Press.

Wright, S. C., Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1990). Responding to membership in a disadvantaged group: From acceptance to collective protest. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58*, 94-1003.

*Yustisia, W., Shadiqi, M. A., Milla, M. N., & Muluk, H. (2020). An investigation of an expanded encapsulated model of social identity in collective action (EMSICA) including perception of threat and intergroup contact to understand support for

Islamist terrorism in Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, *23*, 29-41. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajsp.12372

Zaal, M. P., van Laar, C., Ståhl, T., Ellemers, N., & Derks, B. (2011). By any means necessary: The effects of regulatory focus and moral conviction on hostile and benevolent forms of collective action. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *50*, 670-689. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02069

Zebrowitz, L. A., Bronstad, P. M., & Lee, H. K. (2007). The contribution of face familiarity to ingroup favoritism and stereotyping. *Social Cognition*, *25*, 306-338. https://doi.org/10.1521/soco.2007.25.2.306

Zhou, S., Page-Gould, E., Aron, A., Moyer, A., & Hewstone, M. (2019). The extended contact hypothesis: A meta-analysis on 20 years of research. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *23*, 132-160. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868318762647