

**The Social Psychology of Social (Dis)harmony: Implications for Political Leaders and
Public Policy**

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Abstract

Despite societies becoming increasingly multiethnic there has been a movement away from multiculturalism as a public policy response. In this chapter social psychological theories that relate to diversity are discussed and the retreat from multiculturalism is questioned. It is argued that the current models of intergroup contact, common ingroup identity and dual identity have both strengths and limitations in addressing the diversity challenges that nations face today. A promising direction forward is to focus on superordinate ingroup processes but with particular emphasis on identity meaning where national identity is defined by civic rather than ethnic dimensions. A model is proposed where positive contact flows from such an inclusive identity defined by diversity. Political leadership and institutional support are critical to explaining shifts from ethnic to civic definitions of who 'we' are as a nation. We conclude by suggesting that nations that have declared that multiculturalism policy has failed may benefit by embracing new definitions of nationhood.

Keywords: prejudice, intergroup contact, social identity, identity meaning

The Social Psychology of Social (Dis)harmony: Implications for Political Leaders and Public Policy

Societies are becoming increasingly diverse with respect to ethnicity, culture and religious beliefs. Such diversity can have different intergroup outcomes. In some places it has led to “race” riots, such as the ones in Bradford in the UK in 2001, and the Cronulla riots in Sydney, Australia in 2005. On the other hand there are also reports suggesting that multi-ethnic communities are creative, vibrant and lead to greater intergroup tolerance. For example, national survey data from the United Kingdom shows that the British National Party (an anti-immigrant party) recruits fewer members from areas that are more ethnically diverse and where there is greater likelihood for inter-ethnic contact (Lennox, 2012). Similarly, Christ and collaborators (Christ et al., 2014) have found that when people live in ethnically diverse areas, that provide a wide range of opportunities for interethnic contact, they also hold more tolerant outgroup attitudes.

Such contradictory outcomes beg the question of when will ethnic diversity lead to harmonic or conflicted communities. Understanding the underlying conditions that are likely to lead to one outcome over another is of increasing interest in the public policy domain. As diversity increases in many societies so too do the community challenges in addressing successful diversity management. In this chapter it is argued that, as the social landscape changes and becomes more multiethnic and multicultural, societies also need to adapt to the new reality. It is proposed that citizens need to relinquish ethnic definitions of the national identity that are, by definition, exclusive and move toward more inclusive meanings that better reflect current

realities. Based on social identity and self-categorisation theories (the social identity perspective; Turner & Reynolds, 2001) we propose that through the influence of public (and non-public) leaders and institutional support, the prototype of the national identity can be (re)defined so as to contain terms that are inclusive of the diverse groups that now are part of the nation. We argue that such an inclusive social identity is capable of overcoming some of the problems inherent in other social psychological theories of intergroup bias and prejudice reduction. We end by proposing a model that can be adopted in public policy as well as in investigations of prejudice reduction in general.

Multiculturalism Versus Assimilation

Recent advances in political theory maintain that multiculturalism, as policy, needs to recognise the need for the emergence of a “new” inclusive social identity (e.g., Haslam, Egghins & Reynolds, 2003; Kymlicka, 1995; Parekh, 2006). Multiculturalism is defined as “a way to preserve discrete ethnic identities, while at the same time finding in citizenship a countervailing identity that unites the disparate groups within a polity” (Kivisto, 2002, p. 36). It stands in opposition to the idea of “melting pot,” which refers to the belief that immigrants should shift their loyalty and identification from their original ethnic group to the host society and adopt its values and traditions such that, eventually, they “melt” into the broader society.

Australia and Canada are societies that provide good examples of the success of multiculturalism as public policy. However, during the last decade there has been a backlash against multiculturalism in Western societies, where some political leaders have proclaimed it to be a failed social policy (DailyMail, 2011; O. Wright & Taylor, 2011). It is timely, then, to reflect on what we know scientifically about intergroup conflict and co-operation and how this

knowledge can be applied to public policy with regards to ethnic and cultural diversity. Is it the case that the science points to a different and better way forward than multiculturalism? Are there issues with the implementation of the ideas or the ideas themselves?

The main ideas that directly relate to policy concerning ethnocultural diversity are acculturation and prejudice, and social psychologists have researched extensively on these topics. With regards to acculturation, researchers have attempted to understand the strategies that immigrants use to adjust to their host societies (Berry, 1997) and how these strategies fit in with social categorisation processes (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009). By answering *yes* or *no* to two questions, Berry (1997) developed an acculturation scheme for how individuals choose to adjust to the broader society containing four different strategies: *integration*, *assimilation*, *separation* and *marginalisation* (see Table 1) which, in turn can be translated into different policy and ideological positions: *multiculturalism*, *melting pot*, *segregation*, and *exclusion* (Berry, 2008). Multiculturalism and melting pot are the policies typically implemented in multiethnic nations to address increasing population diversity. They are therefore also the most studied by social researchers and also the ones we will focus on in this chapter. In the literature, however, the contrast is made between multiculturalism and assimilation (melting pot) so we will also adopt these terms in reference to policy.

Acculturation and diversity policy strategies have consequences for group identity. Translating the acculturation concepts into the vernacular of the social identity perspective, Dovidio and colleagues (2009) reconceptualised Berry's matrix (see Table 1) to instead answer the questions in terms of *high* or *low* psychological identification with the subgroup (minority ethnic group) or the superordinate group (society as a whole). By so doing, they proposed that

assimilation requires identification at the superordinate level, where there is a common overarching identity. That is, regardless of background, people are supposed to have integrated the dominant definition of what it means to be a member of the specific nation, and this definition is supposed to have become part of how they perceive themselves. Multiculturalism, on the other hand, is thought to allow the existence of dual identifications where individuals can simultaneously identify with the subgroup (ethnic) and the superordinate group (nation). In a later section below we point out that the link between multiculturalism and dual identities potentially is problematic because dual identification among members of the majority may be difficult.

Table 1. *Acculturation Strategies and their Policy and Self-Categorisation Counterparts*

Questions:		1. Is it considered of value to maintain one’s identity and characteristics?	
		2. Strength of superordinate identity	
1. Is it considered to be of values to maintain relationships with the larger society?	Yes/High		No/Low
	2. Strength of subgroup identity	Yes/ High Acculturation: Integration Policy: Multiculturalism Self-categorisation: Dual identity	No/Low Acculturation: Assimilation Policy: Melting pot Self-categorisation: Superordinate identity
	No/ Low	Yes/ High Acculturation: Separation Policy: Segregation Self-categorisation: Categorisation (different groups)	No/Low Acculturation: Marginalisation Policy: Exclusion Self-categorisation: Decategorisation (individualism)

Note. Adjusted from Berry (1979, 2008) and Dovidio et al. (2009).

Although immigration policies are designed with the intent of helping immigrants in becoming full members of a society and promote equal status among ethnic groups, they also

have consequences for intergroup relations. Different ethnic groups in society do not enjoy equal social status. As such some argue that multiculturalism, with its recognition of group differences, is better equipped to handle issues of inequality. Assimilation, on the other hand, by viewing society as a collection of individuals rather than of different groups, overlooks group-based inequalities and, consequently, hampers the possibility of addressing them (see Simon, 2012). With growing international migration, and nations becoming increasingly multiethnic, the risk for intergroup conflict (e.g., the race riots in the UK and Sydney) also increases as does the need for preventive measures. Social psychologists have developed theories and conducted empirical work that addresses intergroup conflict by investigating how negative intergroup relations can be prevented.

Prejudice Reduction: Evidence for and Problems with the Existing Models

Prejudice is at the heart of intergroup conflict and results from categorising and stereotyping others in ways that “allow” the perceiver to harbour, usually, negative feelings and perform discriminatory behaviours toward outgroup members. The study of prejudice has a long tradition within social psychology. Allport’s influential book *The nature of prejudice* (1954) suggested that contact between members of different groups is a means to reduce prejudice. But he cautioned that contact would be effective only if certain conditions were met. The interacting partners would have to belong to groups of equal status, they would have to share common goals, and contact needed to have institutional support.

Although the contact hypothesis, as a means to reduce prejudice, was viewed by Allport (1954) as based on interpersonal and direct contact, it now incorporates a recognition of categorization processes through reference to social identity and self-categorisation theories

(Brewer & Miller, 1984; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Gaertner, Dovidio, & Bachman, 1996; Hewstone & Brown, 1986). Below we will review briefly the existing models of prejudice reduction (see Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Gaertner, Dovidio, & Houlette, 2010 for reviews) that emphasise links between contact and categorization processes. We will then discuss some of the limitations with these models and argue that a missing element concerns identity meaning (see Subašić & Reynolds, 2009).

Intergroup Contact Theory and the Contact Hypothesis

Inspired by Allport, research on contact has been conducted most persistently by Thomas Pettigrew and Miles Hewstone and their collaborators. When elaborating on the contact hypothesis Pettigrew (1998) proposed that it is not enough to understand *when* contact changes prejudice, but it is necessary also to understand the processes through which contact changes prejudice. He proposed that *learning about the outgroup, changing behaviour, generating affective ties, and ingroup reappraisal* are processes present during contact and that these factors may help explain how and why contact affects prejudice and therefore how to change it.

On the other hand Hewstone and Brown (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Hewstone & Brown, 1986) claim that to be effective and more generalizable, contact needs to be based on intergroup rather than on interpersonal relations, as first devised by Allport. They argue that, whereas there are many examples where positive contact occurs between members of different ethnic groups, the specific individuals involved are perceived as the exception to the category as a whole. Consequently, positive interpersonal contact does not generalise to intergroup relations. They propose that membership categories need to be salient during contact for prejudice reduction to

generalise to the whole group and not just to the individual outgroup member with which there is contact.

Research investigating Pettigrew's (1998) hypotheses and Hewstone's and Brown's (1986, 2005) *intergroup contact theory* (previously known as *mutual intergroup differentiation model* [see Brown & Hewstone, 2005]), as well as the contact hypothesis in general, has been conducted and support has been found for these hypotheses. For example, a meta-analysis testing the effects of the mediating variables proposed by Pettigrew (1998) has showed that contact reduces prejudice by enhancing knowledge about the outgroup; by increasing empathy and perspective taking; and by reducing intergroup anxiety (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008).

The optimal conditions devised by Allport (1954) have been investigated in a meta-analysis, which revealed that all three conditions (i.e., equal status, common goals, institutional support) are not strictly necessary for prejudice reduction (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Although this meta-analysis clearly shows the negative relationship between contact and prejudice, such that increased contact is related to less prejudice, the effect sizes are small for unstructured contact ($r = -.22$) and medium for contact under the optimal ($r = -.29$) and most rigorous ($r = -.32$) conditions. Contact, thus explains between 4.8%, 8.4% and 10.2% of the variance in prejudice.

Hewstone and Browns' (1986, 2005) intergroup contact theory conducted in different settings also has found strong support for the idea that group salience during intergroup contact is more efficient than when contact is carried on an interpersonal basis (see Brown & Hewstone, 2005 for a review). Hewstone and collaborators (e.g., Voci & Hewstone, 2003) have also conducted work on contact through intergroup friendships at the same time as group categories

are salient. They found that when group salience was high contact reduced outgroup anxiety and led to more positive attitudes towards the outgroup and the rights of immigrants. This work brings together both interpersonal and intergroup variables in reducing prejudice.

This kind of evidence has led Brown and Hewstone (2005) to suggest that, contrary to the idea that intergroup and interpersonal behaviour are bipolar (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), they are in fact orthogonal. That is, whereas one axis goes from low to high interpersonal salience the other goes from low to high intergroup salience. They suggest that optimal contact situations are those in which both the interpersonal and the intergroup dimensions are high (Brown & Hewstone, 2005).

Although there is robust support for the contact hypothesis, contradictory evidence also exists. Longitudinal data shows that the path between contact and prejudice goes in both directions. That is, contact reduces prejudice but it is also the case that prejudice reduces contact (Binder et al., 2009). In addition, this study also showed that contact effects for minority group members were minor and non-significant. There were also indications that group norms influenced the strength of the effect of contact on prejudice. When outgroup contact was perceived as being typical of the ingroup, the effect of contact on negative emotions about the outgroup was stronger. There are also some downsides of positive intergroup contact. When contact results in more positive outgroup attitudes, it can hinder members of disadvantaged groups recognising and acting to overcome social inequalities between the groups and/or legitimise such inequalities (Dixon, Durrheim, et al., 2010; Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2010).

This brief outline on intergroup contact shows that research in this area has been conducted both at the interpersonal, and the intergroup level. At the interpersonal level contact occurs between people who are psychologically oriented as individuals (see Brewer & Miller, 1984), whereas when contact occurs at the intergroup level people are psychologically oriented as group members. We will now turn to models that more explicitly rely on intergroup contact and categorisation (common and dual) as a means to reduce prejudice.

The Common Ingroup Identity

Gaertner and colleagues (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993) proposed that intergroup rather than interpersonal interaction is more successful in reducing prejudice. They capitalised on social identity and processes of self-categorisation and proposed that members of different subgroups align along superordinate commonalities as to give them a sense of “us” that bridges over “us and them” differences. They took inspiration from SCT (Turner et al., 1987) in developing the *Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM)*, which is based on the idea that individuals’ self-identity can shift in level of abstraction from personal to social, where social identity can be more or less encompassing of others. In this way, through self-categorization, the self can be defined in ways that assimilate some others or all others or can shrink to include only oneself as an individual. As self-definition expands to include others, these others are categorised as being like-self or similar-to-self and as such the circle of empathy, trust, helping, cooperation and influence also expands.

Similarly, ingroup–outgroup boundaries are not fixed but shift depending on the comparison background. As an example, whereas an anthropologist and a psychologist are members of two different groups in the context of being compared as social scientists, when the

comparison is made between social scientists and natural scientists, an anthropologist and a psychologist in this context are more similar than different and identity can shift towards a more inclusive category of social scientist. Whereas in one situation people are members of different social groups and their differences are emphasised (us vs them), in the other situation the subgroup boundaries are bridged over and similarities become more prominent than differences (we).

While there is evidence of the effect of the common ingroup identity on intergroup bias (e.g., Riek, Mania, Gaertner, McDonald, & Lamoreaux, 2010; Ufkes, Otten, Van Der Zee, Giebels, & Dovidio, 2012; West, Pearson, Dovidio, Shelton, & Trail, 2009), there is also an abundance of work pointing to contingencies that qualify such results. For example Stone and Crisp (2007) found that the effect of common ingroup identification on outgroup evaluations was mediated by perceived similarity to the outgroup. There is also evidence that common identity can have indirect effects on outgroup evaluation through the influence of ingroup norms. More specifically, when people learn that ingroup members endorse a common identity they show more positive evaluations of the outgroup than when they are unaware of the norms. This effect is strongest when participants learn that both the ingroup and the outgroup endorse the same common identity as the ingroup. However, when participants do not know whether the ingroup endorses the common identity but learn that the outgroup does, outgroup evaluations are more negative than when they learn that the outgroup does not endorse common identity (Gómez, Dovidio, Huici, Gaertner, & Cuadrado, 2008). Furthermore, common ingroup identity has been shown to reduce the perception of discrimination against the outgroup and to reduce the willingness to protest against discrimination among advantaged groups (Banfield & Dovidio,

2013). More importantly is that common ingroup identification has been shown to exacerbate intergroup bias rather attenuate it (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000).

Dual identity

These and similar findings have led Dovidio and colleagues (Dovidio et al., 2009) to reconceptualise the CIIM to more explicitly acknowledge the importance of maintaining a salient subgroup identity at the same time as a higher-order identity emerges. It is believed that the preservation of the subgroup identity within the context of a higher-order identity (dual identity) is more efficient in reducing intergroup discrimination. Evidence suggests that, among disadvantaged groups, dual identity leads to greater willingness to engage in contact with outgroup members mediated by the perceptions of shared values contained within the superordinate category. Importantly, in this study the perception of shared values did not undermine the willingness to engage in social change action (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011). Similarly, but among advantaged groups, dual identity facilitated the willingness to protest against discrimination against the disadvantaged (Banfield & Dovidio, 2013, Study 3).

Problems with the Existing Models

There is support, then, for existing models with evidence that under certain conditions harmony in intergroup relations can be achieved. It is also clear that the relevant findings are complex and qualified by a range of contextual factors. The most obvious are the asymmetrical consequences of contact and recategorisation for advantaged and disadvantaged groups. There are issues with existing models with respect to *ingroup projection* (Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007), collective action (S. C. Wright & Baray, 2012) and social change (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007).

Research by Waldzus and collaborators (Waldzus & Mummendey, 2004; Waldzus, Mummendey, & Wenzel, 2005; Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Boettcher, 2004; Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Weber, 2003; Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber, & Waldzus, 2003) has shown that, within a higher-order identity, subgroup members tend to project their own subgroup attributes onto the superordinate category and, consequently, find their sub-group (ingroup) to be more prototypical of the superordinate identity than other sub-groups (outgroup). This ingroup projection creates obstacles to the emergence of an inclusive social identity that is representative and meaningful for the hitherto ingroup as it is for the outgroup. Research inspired by the ingroup projection model has shown that the stronger people identify with the subgroup and the superordinate group, the more they project the ingroup's attributes onto the inclusive group and that relative prototypicality is negatively associated with outgroup attitudes (Waldzus et al., 2005; Waldzus et al., 2003; Wenzel et al., 2003). Moreover, the more high-status subgroup members perceive their group to be prototypical of the superordinate group the more they legitimise their advantaged position (Weber, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2002).

The other main issue is that interventions aimed at prejudice reduction through contact or recategorisation, often serve to maintain the status quo (S. C. Wright & Baray, 2012). Extant structural inequalities that contribute to the maintenance of social advantage and disadvantage, are overlooked when harmony is the goal. The achievement of mutual liking can, indeed, lead to the legitimisation of inequality both among advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Dixon, Durrheim, et al., 2010; Dixon, Tropp, et al., 2010). In a similar vein, contact that is focused on intergroup commonalities rises expectations of fair treatment among disadvantaged groups, which are not met by the behaviour of the advantaged (Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009).

Similarly intergroup contact has been shown to reduce the likelihood of engaging in collective action in favour of the disadvantaged ingroup (Cakal, Hewstone, Schwar, & Heath, 2011, Study 1).

The issue of asymmetrical outcomes resulting from current models of prejudice reduction are worthy of further discussion. Firstly, research concentrated on prejudice reduction is generally focussed on members of advantaged groups (Dixon, Tropp, et al., 2010) and the belief that by reducing their prejudice and discrimination toward the disadvantaged will lead to greater intergroup harmony. Secondly, research on dual identity begs the question of “dual identity for whom?” In a context of inter-ethnic relations within the nation between ‘old-timers’ and ‘new-comers’, where the old-timers’ group prototype also represent the national prototype, dual identity is feasible only for the new-comers unless the majority also sees itself as a subgroup (see Subašić & Reynolds, for a discussion of Pakeha in New Zealand). Thirdly, a common identity, as it is currently conceptualised, suffers from the drawbacks presented by ingroup projection (Wenzel et al., 2007).

Moreover, the models that capitalise on recategorisation are more focussed on the recategorisation of the outgroup (minority) than on the recategorisation of the ingroup (majority). As the ingroup projection model shows, rather than changing the superordinate category prototype, subgroups project their attributes onto the inclusive category. In this sense, both superordinate and dual identification leaves group prototypes unchanged. This may explain why, in relation to diversity policy, minorities prefer multiculturalism whereas majorities prefer assimilation (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006).

The following section will address these shortcomings and propose a possible way forward. Based on political theory (Kymlicka, 2010; Parekh, 2006) and social psychological theory and research on superordinate identity (Haslam, Eggins & Reynolds, 2003) and civic rather than ethnic definitions of nationhood (e.g., Wakefield et al, 2011), it is argued that recategorisation *per se* is not enough. It needs to be accompanied by a re-definition of the *meaning* of an inclusive social identity that can lead to a restructuring of intergroup relations in such a way that ingroup projection becomes less likely and intergroup solidarity is not hampered. Furthermore, recategorisation needs to be accompanied by a redefinition of the superordinate category in ways that require that both minority and majority groups relinquish claims to prototypicality. It is important to note that this kind of recategorisation will not rely on dual identifications because identification will be, in reality, with a new category with a new content—a content that is defined by the diversity of its members. As such it has advantaged because it is new both for majority as well as minority groups.

Furthermore, the existing models assume that contact precedes categorisation and that the causal path is *contact* → *recategorisation* → *prejudice reduction*. Instead, it will be argued that, provided that the superordinate category is imbued with new content, the causal order can either be altered (*recategorisation* → *contact* → *prejudice*) or that it may be direct rather than mediated (*recategorisation* → *prejudice*). Thus, the emergence of this redefined category, will allow a more parsimonious approach to prejudice reduction.

Toward Plural and Inclusive Social Identities

Within political theory liberal multiculturalism is bound up with the emergence of new discourses, practices and relationships. The new identity that defines a political community is transformative, both for minorities as well as for majorities. Liberal multiculturalism is for Kymlicka (2010) a process of ‘citizenisation’ in which new civic and political relations are developed in order to overcome inequality. Similarly, for Parekh (2006) “national identity is about who belongs to the community and is entitled to make claims on it” and that the definition of the “social identity should not only include all citizens, but also accept them as equally valued and legitimate members of the community” (pp. 232-233).

Within social psychology related ideas have also been investigated. In particular, the implications of the content of a national identity being defined along civic or ethnic lines. In this model of national identity, ethnic refers to shared heritage, national symbols and traditions, whereas civic denotes sharing a political community and civic practices such as a commitment to the rule of law and civic participation (Rothì, Lyons, & Chryssochoou, 2005). This research has also shown that the endorsement of civic or ethnic identification bear consequences for intergroup relations. For example Pehrson and collaborators found that participants are more negative toward asylum seekers when they endorse an ethnic definition of the national identity, and are more likely to support an anti-asylum-seekers group (Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009). In a another study they found a stronger relationship between national identity and prejudice when nationality was defined in terms of language (which implies ethnicity) than when it was defined in civic terms (Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009). Similarly, in a series of studies it was found that when national identity (Scottish) was defined in civic terms, an ethnic minority target (Chinese) was viewed as more Scottish and more likely to be given help than when the

national identity was defined in ethnic terms (Wakefield et al., 2011). It has also been shown that the more people identify with the dominant ethnic ingroup the more ethnic, as opposed to civic, their identity representation is and the more ethnically prejudiced they tend to be (Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2010).

This work thus suggests that for multiculturalism to succeed identities need to be transformed. And, importantly, as Kymlicka suggests, this transformation applies not only to the minority but also to the majority. Indeed, perhaps the major identity transformation is required from members of the majority as their attributes are, as a rule, the same as the ones that define the national identity. Minorities need to be written into the self-definition of the national identity such as to imbue them with existential legitimacy as citizens in parity with the majority.

A national identity that is defined in civic terms tends to be more inclusive of ethnic diversity than an ethnically defined one. It also suggests that when members of the dominant majority identify with a civic content-based group identity they would tend to project less their ingroup attributes onto a superordinate national category. There is some empirical evidence suggesting that this is the case. Waldzus and colleagues (Waldzus et al., 2005; Waldzus et al., 2003, Experiment 2) conducted experiments where they primed a simple (the unity of Europe) or complex group prototype (the diversity of Europe). They found that when participants thought of Europe as diverse they also saw their ingroup as less prototypical of the superordinate identity (European) and displayed less negative attitudes toward the outgroup.

There are three main points that emerge from this “identity meaning” perspective and which may provide a viable path forward for understanding prejudice reduction and social harmony. The focus is on superordinate identity (and not dual identification) but that the

meaning of this identity needs to capture civic rather than ethnic definitions of who 'we' are. Such civic definitions serve to place the majority group as a sub-group within the system of intergroup relations, which allows for a new identity to emerge. Legitimacy and status as members of the new community are then less likely to be defined by ethnicity. Such civic based definitions also shape sub-group relations such that ethnically-defined difference becomes less relevant to the community as a whole.

Implications for Social Policy

This work shows that there is an emerging literature where the focus is on the content of identities (identity meaning) rather than just identification with one group or another, or intergroup contact. While the meaning issue is captured to some extent in forming a common ingroup identity or dual identity the argument here is that greater consideration of identity content or meaning is needed. Most clearly the case for this shift can be appreciated when considering what dual identity means for the majority. Moving beyond dual identity to a new shared identity enables discussion of identity shift for both the minority and majority.

In a multiethnic/multicultural society, the shift from an exclusive to an inclusive definition of the national prototype requires the emergence of new and consistent discourses about who 'we' are (see Kymlicka, 1995). Discourses that do not appeal to ethnic heritage and traditions but to civic values. It is in this context that the role of political leadership comes into place in changing the discourse and creating a consensual view of the national prototype such that it becomes shared by the members of a polity (see Uberoi & Modood, 2013). Moreover, there needs to be an institutionalisation of the public discourse as in line with terms outlined by Parekh (2006). Once the group prototype has shifted to a more inclusive definition, identification

with the group should lead to greater tolerance toward diversity, because it is the subgroups' differences that make them similar. Moreover, identification with a social category defined by diversity, inclusivity, and civic values, is more likely to facilitate intergroup solidarity.

By way of weaving our argument back to Allport we argue that the emergence of, and identification with, a social category defined by diversity can affect prejudice directly without the necessity of contact. As such, we propose a model (see Figure 1) where the emergence of a new inclusive national identity will have a direct effect on prejudice reduction and will facilitate intergroup contact. As depicted in Figure 1, and contrary to the contact hypothesis and other models of prejudice reduction, identification with an inclusive category precedes contact (Christ et al., 2014).

Although contact may strengthen the effect of identification, we argue that the causal chain can be altered because identification with the category activates group norms and beliefs of equal status between groups, at least on the dimensions relevant to national identity, which will guide behaviour. Whereas this model can be applied in any setting, a redefinition of the content of a national identity will be the more powerful if it is endorsed by the political leadership, or given institutional support, as is the case in some nations. Another means is through initiating a public debate about what it means to be, let us say Australian, where representatives of the citizenry are given a voice. The UK is an case in point where political figures have initiated a debate about the meaning of Britishness (Uberoi & Modood, 2013).

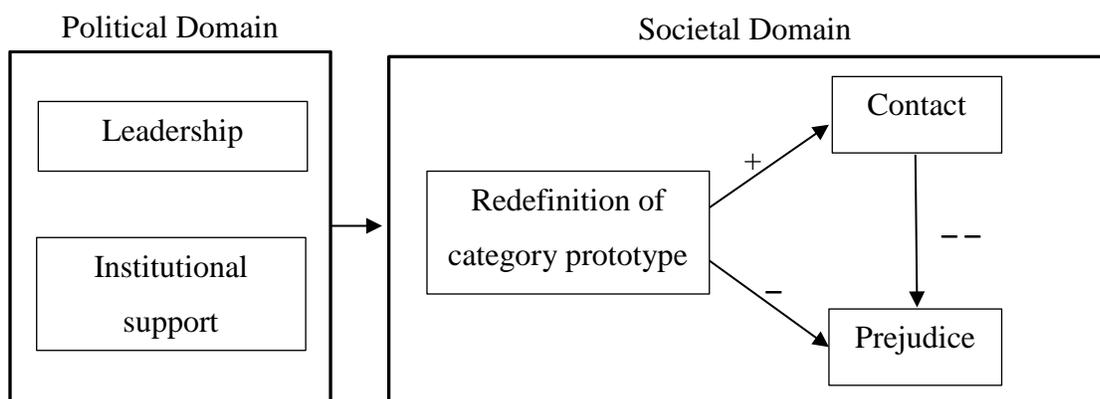


Figure 1. Theoretical model for prejudice reduction and social cohesion depicting the role for political leadership.

The emergence of this kind of inclusive category also solves some of the difficulties in achieving Allport's (1954) three conditions for optimal contact—i.e., equal status, shared common goals, and institutional support. When a superordinate identity is defined by the diversity of its members, status differences in relation to the relevant dimensions also fade away. The identification with an inclusive group, and in line with the social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994), also has the effect that members will share group-defined goals. Lastly, interventions facilitated by public institutions offer the institutional support that Allport (1954) stated is necessary.

We are aware that the proposed model is thus far just that: a theoretical model, and empirical research is necessary to attest its validity. However, there is work suggesting the validity of these ideas such as evidence of the relationship between diversity policy and prejudice (Guimond et al., 2013), the role of social norms in prejudice expression (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002), the relationship between group identification and discrimination (Reynolds et al., 2007; Sassenberg & Wieber, 2005; Verkuyten & Hagoort, 1998), and the effect of self-categorisation on outgroup emotions (Ray, Mackie, Rydell, & Smith, 2008). This work provides a good basis on which to build on these ideas and investigate them systematically.

Conclusion

Much of this chapter has been framed by the question of when ethnic diversity will lead to harmonious or conflicted communities. In many nations it has been declared that the policy of multiculturalism has failed with intergroup conflict continuing or on the rise. A close examination of social psychology theories on the issues of prejudice and prejudice reduction as well as recent theoretical advances on immigration politics and citizenship, has shown that the policy of multiculturalism does make sense in terms of the science. If anything the evidence points to a new phase in which those nations aspiring to successful multiculturalism engage with the meaning of national identity and move towards explicit civic definitions. Along these lines Parekh (2006) asserts that the conditions of success for a national identity defined in civic terms includes “a multicultural constituted common culture and multicultural education, and a *plural and inclusive* view of national identity” (p. 236, italics added).

There is more work to be done examining the role of identity meaning in affecting intergroup conflict and co-operation. In smaller community groups we are investigating these ideas in partnership with the Australian Department of Social Services who have responsibility for diversity and social cohesion. In naturalistic field settings the aim is to shape the emergence of new social identities where there is unity through diversity and to assess its impact compared to no intervention controls on social harmony and cohesion. Such longitudinal experimental field work will be informative in understanding the impact of new plural and inclusive definitions of who ‘we’ are.

Based on the argument in this chapter, it is a puzzle why multiculturalism has been declared to have failed in many countries. In this context, it is important to note that the nations

that have been most loudly outspoken against multiculturalism (e.g., Germany and France) have in fact been assessed as never really adopting multiculturalism policies. These nations perhaps need to look to a renewed agenda for multiculturalism where the content of the national identity is re-imagined in ways that emphasise civic rather than ethnic definitions.

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