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The Role of Meta-Stereotypes in Intergroup Negotiations

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THE ROLE OF META-STEREOTYPES IN INTERGROUP NEGOTIATIONS

BY

KELLEY J. MAIN

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree**

of

MASTER OF ARTS

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Abstract

The main goal of this research was to examine how meta-stereotypes influence negotiations between members of different ethnic groups. Meta-stereotypes are a person's beliefs regarding the stereotype that outgroup members have about his or her own group (Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, in press). Vorauer et al.'s research indicated that high prejudice White individuals expected to be stereotyped by an Aboriginal person, whereas low prejudice White individuals expected to be seen as contradicting the stereotype of their group by an Aboriginal person. Research by Vorauer and Kumhyr (1997) revealed that such meta-stereotype driven perceptions are inaccurate. I examined the implications of this research for intergroup negotiations. Pairs of participants (White-White or White-Aboriginal) were assigned to the role of buyer or seller in a negotiation concerning the sale of a car (see Thompson & Hastie, 1990). Results demonstrated that both high and low prejudice White individuals negotiating with an Aboriginal partner expected that they would be viewed more positively than those negotiating with a White partner. Moreover, these especially positive metaperceptions were not corroborated by their Aboriginal partner's actual impressions. Interestingly, although both high and low prejudice White individuals believed that they conveyed particularly tolerant impressions to an Aboriginal negotiation partner, low prejudice participants obtained significantly more points from Aboriginal as compared to White partners. Implications for future research are discussed.

The Role of Meta-Stereotypes in Intergroup Negotiations

Canadian society is comprised of people from diverse cultures, and indeed Canada prides itself on being multicultural. Although significant advances have been made in Canadian society toward reducing conflict between different groups, tension still surrounds intergroup contact. For example, over the years, Aboriginal people in Canada have been involved in negotiations with the Canadian government regarding the right to self-government, the right to title of land, the right to equality, and the right to practice spiritual beliefs (Aki-Kwe & Turpel, 1991). Negotiations between Aboriginal people and the government have often been counterproductive and fraught with tension. When negotiations over Aboriginal rights failed at the First Ministers Meeting in 1987, many speculated as to why negotiations had been so unproductive. One explanation suggested that Aboriginal people were not seen as equal parties in the negotiation process, but instead were seen as merely “observers” (Aki-Kwe and Turpel, 1991).

Research on negotiations between different groups has been slow to develop, and has often involved the experimental manipulation of group membership (Thompson, 1993) rather than enduring group memberships (e.g. ethnic background). Surprisingly little research has been conducted to determine what impact racial attitudes have on a negotiation between members of different ethnic groups. These issues were the focus of the present research. I begin by reviewing the existing literature on negotiations and intergroup relations, and I briefly summarize the research on basic issues regarding intergroup relations. Next, I outline the idea of meta-stereotypes and how it complements and extends this literature. Finally, I use the concept of meta-stereotypes to

generate predictions regarding how racial attitudes may be connected to individuals' behaviour in the context of intergroup negotiation. A key goal of the present research was to demonstrate that meta-stereotypes better account for negative outcomes of intergroup negotiation than do other-stereotypes (i.e., stereotypes about outgroup members).

Negotiation and Intergroup Relations

Research conducted to date on negotiation and intergroup relations has tended to follow one of two paths. The first involves examining global cultural differences in negotiation styles. For example, Fisher, Ury, and Patton (1991) discuss a number of concerns that must be considered when negotiating across cultures, such as pacing, formality, and physical proximity. Lind, Huo, and Tyler (1994) address the issue of ethnicity and negotiation by examining the preferences for dispute resolution procedures among African, Hispanic, Asian, and European American students. Participants were asked to choose between several methods of dispute resolution: arbitration, mediation, using social influence, ignoring the situation, giving in, negotiation (trying to find a compromise that both parties will find acceptable), and persuasion (an attempt to persuade the other person that you are right using convincing arguments). Overall, Lind et al. demonstrated that people of all ethnic groups preferred two party procedures, such as persuasion, over third party procedures, such as mediation and arbitration. The strongest ethnic differences over dispute resolution procedures were with respect to negotiation. Whereas all ethnic groups responded favourably to negotiation, the European and Hispanic Americans were more likely to choose negotiation than were

African and Asian Americans.

The second path of research has examined the impact of negotiation on intergroup relations. In an experiment by Thompson, Valley, and Kramer (1995), participants learned that their negotiation partner was either happy, disappointed, or neutral with respect to the outcome of a completed negotiation. Results indicated that individuals who negotiated with an outgroup member expressing disappointment with the outcome of a negotiation felt more successful than if their opponent was an ingroup member expressing disappointment. Moreover, negotiators allocated more resources to an ingroup member expressing disappointment with a previous outcome than to an outgroup member expressing similar disappointment. Although this research examined the perceptions of ingroup and outgroup members involved in a negotiation, group membership was not related to ethnic background, but rather was manipulated by the researchers.

Further research by Thompson (1993) examined negotiation and group membership by assigning participants to one of two teams. Participants were selected to negotiate on an individual basis with either an ingroup member (from the same team) or an outgroup member (from a different team). Thompson (1993) was interested in observing the changes in ingroup favouritism (i.e., the difference between the subjects' evaluations of the ingroup and their evaluations of the outgroup) occurring as a function of negotiation. Results indicated that individuals negotiating with an outgroup member expressed more ingroup favouritism than those negotiating with an ingroup member. Furthermore, negotiations with outgroup members improved intergroup relations when

the negotiation situation was one in which the goals of both negotiation partners were achieved. However, when negotiators could not reach a mutually beneficial agreement, there was no improvement in the nature of relations between group members.

It is evident from these two avenues of research on intergroup negotiations that the existing literature does not fully address how individuals' enduring attitudes toward members of different groups might affect negotiations with members of those groups. The present research was designed to shed some light on the implications of individuals' racial attitudes for intergroup negotiation. My hypothesis centered on the impact of meta-stereotypes, a concept recently introduced in the literature. Research on intergroup relations has generally focused on the stereotypes that people hold about ethnic minority groups. Meta-stereotypes, in contrast, are a person's beliefs regarding the stereotype that a particular outgroup has about their own group (Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, in press). Meta-stereotypes are relational in nature, in that they vary across different outgroups. For example, a White woman may expect to be seen as arrogant and prejudiced by a Black individual, but as socially sensitive by a man. Preliminary research by Vorauer et al. on meta-stereotypes suggests that these cognitive structures are distinct from other-stereotypes, and that they exert an important influence on individuals' perceptions during intergroup interactions. The present investigation was designed to expand on this research by exploring how meta-stereotypes might account for the link between racial attitudes and behaviour (i.e., discrimination) in situations characterized by conflict.

Research on Intergroup Relations

Previous research on intergroup relations has explored a wide range of issues.

Here I consider three areas of investigation important to the present research: the stereotypes that individuals hold about outgroup members, individual differences in prejudicial attitudes, and intergroup anxiety. The focus on these three areas was designed to illuminate the potential importance of meta-stereotypes for behaviour in an intergroup interaction and to place the concept of meta-stereotypes in the context of other research on stereotyping.

Other-Stereotypes. Researchers have extensively investigated the content of people's stereotypes about outgroups. For example, Bell, Esses, and Maio (1996) demonstrated that the stereotype of Aboriginal people includes negative traits such as alcoholic. Similarly, Haddock, Zanna, and Esses (1994) illustrated that the stereotype of Aboriginal people included negative traits such as lazy, uneducated, poor, dirty, and alcoholic.

Not only has research been devoted to uncovering the content of other-stereotypes, but it also has explored the impact that other-stereotypes can have upon attitudes and behaviour. The stereotype application process occurs when judgements and evaluations are based upon activated stereotype information stored in memory, rather than being based on individuating information available in the situation (Macrae, Hewstone, & Griffiths, 1993). Bodenhausen and Wyer (1985) demonstrated that participants used these stereotypical expectations of outgroup members to explain the target's behavioural transgressions, to decide punishment, and to review other information about the target in a biased manner.

The majority of research on stereotype application has examined the role of negative stereotypes on prejudice and discrimination (e.g. Darley & Gross, 1983). More recently, Johnston, Locke, Giles, and Rattray (1997) investigated whether biased information processing occurs similarly in positive stereotype activation as in negative stereotype activation. Results demonstrated that, in certain situations, stereotypes can bias judgements in a favourable manner. However, it was also revealed that the effect of positive stereotypes on information processing was situation specific, whereas the effect of negative stereotypes generalized to global perceptions of the stereotyped target.

Individual Differences in Prejudicial Attitudes. Recently, research has begun to examine how individual differences in prejudice may be differentially related to the activation and application of other-stereotypes. Automatic processes (occurring without conscious effort) and controlled processes (requiring deliberate effort) are both at work in stereotyping and are thought to influence the activation and application of stereotypes respectively. Devine (1989) argued that responding to outgroup members in a non-stereotypical manner requires the controlled inhibition of automatically activated stereotypes, and the conscious, intentional activation of egalitarian beliefs. Devine's research suggested that low but not high prejudice individuals inhibited automatically activated stereotypical thoughts about African Americans and replaced them with thoughts reflecting equality and negations of the stereotype. However, more recent research by Lepore and Brown (1997) contradicted Devine's findings and suggested that low prejudice individuals may differ from high prejudice individuals in terms of both automatic and controlled processes. In fact, their findings suggest that instead of

inhibiting an activated stereotype, low prejudice individuals may not even access some parts of it. Lepore and Brown (1997) suggest that Devine's (1989) model of stereotype activation should be modified to suggest that it is endorsement, not knowledge, that is likely to influence the links between a category label and stereotypical features

Individuals' racial attitudes also influence their emotional reactions to intergroup interactions. Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, and Elliot (1991) examined the affective consequences of should-would discrepancies for low and high prejudice individuals. Should-would discrepancies are inconsistencies between what people know that they should do, and what they believe they actually will do. These are sometimes referred to as actual-self/ideal-self discrepancies (Elliot & Devine, 1994; Higgins, Bond, Klein, & Strauman, 1986; Moretti & Higgins, 1990). Devine et al. (1991) demonstrated that in response to should-would discrepancies, low prejudice participants experienced negative self-directed affect (i.e., guilt and shame), whereas high prejudice participants experienced more negative other-directed affect such as anger or blame (see also Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996; Monteith, Devine, & Zuwerink, 1993). Further analysis revealed that as prejudice levels increased, the discrepancy between personal standards and actual responses increased.

What this research suggests is that even when participants were aware of what they should do in a given situation, high prejudice participants were much less likely to actually do it. In contrast, low prejudice participants were acting with more consistency and were more likely to actually perform the desired behaviour. This research demonstrates the importance of prejudicial attitudes to intergroup interactions and

highlights the consequences of these attitudes for individuals' behavioural and affective reactions.

Intergroup Anxiety. Stephan and Stephan (1985) have advanced a model describing the antecedents and consequences of intergroup anxiety, which refers to the negative experiences and anxiety that are associated with intergroup interactions. Three main categories of antecedents to intergroup anxiety exist: prior relations between the groups, prior stereotypes concerning the outgroup, and the structure of the interaction. In considering prior intergroup relations, Stephan and Stephan (1985) maintain that with minimal previous contact between groups, intergroup anxiety will be higher. Negative stereotypes regarding the outgroup can increase anxiety and lead ingroup members to expect negative behaviours from outgroup members. The structure of the situation is the third factor to keep under consideration as unstructured interactions evoke more intergroup anxiety than structured interactions.

The consequences of intergroup anxiety can be categorized as affective, cognitive, and behavioural. Stephan and Stephan (1985) maintain that frustration and anger are common affective outcomes, especially if group members have a history of conflict, or if negative stereotypes or strong prejudices exist. The authors maintain that an increased reliance on cognitive strategies that involve the biased or simplified processing of information about others is a common cognitive consequence that often leads to stereotyping the outgroup member. The behavioural consequences of intergroup anxiety are thought to involve the amplification of normal interaction patterns, thereby promoting group stereotyping (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). The research on intergroup

anxiety strengthens the argument that there are a number of consequences to intergroup relations. The present research was designed as an attempt to more specifically investigate what those consequences are.

To summarize, research to date on intergroup relations has generally placed a strong emphasis on dominant group members' evaluations of members of lower status groups. Stereotypes about outgroup members are perhaps the most extensively investigated concept relevant to intergroup relations. The other possible direction of evaluation, dominant group members' concerns about how they will be evaluated by lower status group members, has received little attention. The research on intergroup anxiety represents somewhat of an exception, in that it considers the role of dominant group members' evaluative concerns. The concept of meta-stereotypes extends this approach, as meta-stereotypes may represent one specific source of anxiety that individuals experience when interacting with outgroup members. In addition, we have seen that attitudes are important to whether individuals stereotype outgroups. Such attitudes are also important to the process of meta-stereotyping.

Meta-Stereotypes

Three studies recently completed by Vorauer, Main, and O'Connell (in press) were the first to examine meta-stereotypes. Study 1 set out to accomplish four goals: 1) to verify the existence of a cultural meta-stereotype, 2) to determine the relation between the meta- and other-stereotype (i.e., was the meta-stereotype a unique knowledge structure in its own right, or did it consist only of traits contrasting with the other-stereotype?), 3) to assess differences between the meta- and self-stereotype (i.e.

individuals' beliefs about their own group), and 4) to determine whether individuals' level of prejudice was related to their meta-stereotype. Previous research has illustrated that lower levels of prejudice are associated with lower levels of identification with the ingroup (Masson & Verkuyten, 1993) and higher levels of identification with and felt similarity to the outgroup (Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993). Therefore, it was expected that low prejudice individuals' meta-stereotype would be more negative than that of high prejudice individuals. Low prejudice individuals' identification with the outgroup should make them more inclined to adopt the outgroup's (negative) perspective of their own group. One means of sympathizing with the position of outgroup members is to recognize the various ways in which the ingroup might be criticized by the outgroup. This, coupled with a lower identification with the ingroup, should result in low prejudice individuals being more critical of the ingroup and their behaviour. The combination of these two factors may result in low prejudice individuals having a more negative meta-stereotype.

In order to determine which traits were relevant to the meta-stereotype, the diagnostic ratio procedure was employed (Martin, 1987; McCauley & Stitt, 1978). Diagnostic ratios were constructed from "target" and "baseline" ratings. In the meta-stereotype condition, target ratings involved estimating Aboriginal Canadians' beliefs about the percentage of White Canadians possessing a particular trait. Baseline ratings involved estimating Aboriginal Canadians' beliefs about the percentage of Aboriginal Canadians possessing this trait. In the other-stereotype condition, participants' beliefs about Aboriginal Canadians were assessed in a parallel fashion. When a target:baseline

ratio is significantly different from 1.0, the trait dimension is part of the stereotype.

Participants made target and baseline ratings appropriate for their condition for a total of 76 traits and subsequently completed the Manitoba Prejudice Scale, a measure of racial attitudes (Altemeyer, 1988).

Results demonstrated that White Canadians hold a negative meta-stereotype regarding how they are viewed by Aboriginal Canadians. Although the meta-stereotype included a number of traits that represented contrasts with qualities of the outgroup (e.g. not spiritual, wealthy), it also included numerous unique elements (e.g. arrogant, closed-minded) that were unrelated to the other-stereotype. Results also indicated that White individuals' meta-stereotype was more negative than their self-stereotype. Finally, although low and high prejudice individuals made similar judgements about the content of the meta-stereotype, low prejudice individuals' meta-stereotype included more negative traits than the meta-stereotype held by high prejudice participants.

The focus of Study 2 was to assess the implications of the meta-stereotype identified in Study 1 for people's beliefs about the expectations an individual outgroup member would have about them. Participants completed a survey asking them about their expectations regarding an interaction with an Aboriginal Canadian. They completed both open and closed-ended assessments of their stereotypic beliefs. Half of the participants answered with respect to the other-stereotype, and half answered with respect to the meta-stereotype. Individuals' anticipated enjoyment of the interaction, expected emotions during the interaction, and racial attitudes were also assessed. Results illustrated that people expected an individual outgroup member to view them personally

in terms of the meta-stereotype. In addition, the more participants expected to be stereotyped, the less they believed that they would enjoy the interaction, the more they expected to experience negative emotions during the intergroup interaction, and the more negative their racial attitudes were (although this did not account for the other two effects). Interestingly, there were no such effects associated with the other-stereotype. This study suggested that the meta-stereotype was associated with negative feelings toward intergroup interaction and prejudicial attitudes.

Study 3 was designed to explore the effect of meta-stereotypes in an actual interaction situation. White participants were interviewed about their university experiences and about various contentious social issues (i.e., abortion, welfare). They exchanged videotapes with an ostensible “partner” in the study who was either Aboriginal or White. It is important to note that participants were unaware of their partner’s ethnicity until after they had recorded their responses. Participants indicated their metaperceptions (i.e., how they thought their partner would view them) along trait dimensions that varied in terms of stereotype relevance. Results indicated that high prejudice individuals felt that they would be viewed in a manner more consistent with the meta-stereotype by an Aboriginal partner as compared to a White partner. On the other hand, low prejudice individuals felt that they would be seen in a manner more contradictory to the meta-stereotype by an Aboriginal partner, as compared to a White partner, suggesting that these individuals felt contrasted with the stereotype of their group. There were no effects along dimensions irrelevant to the meta-stereotype, indicating that the effects could not be understood as reflective of general anticipated

like or dislike.

These results are consistent with research demonstrating contrast and assimilation effects (Herr, 1986; Lombardi, Higgins, & Bargh, 1987). Contrast and assimilation effects are hypothesized to be a function of the degree of overlap between the features of a prime and the stimulus to be evaluated. As the low prejudice individuals' self-concepts match the meta-stereotype less closely, they should expect to be contrasted with the stereotype of their group. On the other hand, high prejudice individuals should feel assimilated because of the close match between their self-concept and the meta-stereotype. Additionally, low and high prejudice individuals may differ in terms of their beliefs regarding an outgroup members' tendency to maintain a distinction between personal beliefs and cultural stereotypes. More specifically, low prejudice individuals may be more likely to believe that an outgroup member would be more open to considering individuating information when making judgements about others. In contrast, high prejudice individuals may expect that outgroup members will view them more in terms of the stereotype and less as an individual.

Results also demonstrated a number of affective consequences attached to individuals' metaperceptions. High prejudice individuals experienced lower self-esteem and more self-concept confusion when their partner was Aboriginal rather than White, whereas the opposite pattern was true for low prejudice individuals. These effects were partially mediated by individuals' metaperceptions, that is, their sense of being stereotyped or being seen as contradicting the stereotype of their group. Individuals' beliefs about how an outgroup member views them seem likely to impact their behaviour

in a negative way. For example, believing that your negotiation partner views you negatively may cause you to react in a negative way towards the perceived source of that evaluation.

The above mentioned research on meta-stereotypes demonstrated the importance of an individuals' concern over being evaluated by others. However, what this research did not address was whether or not White individuals' metaperceptions were accurate. That is, would White individuals' metaperceptions actually correspond to the impressions formed by an outgroup member? A subsequent study by Vorauer and Kumhyr (1997) was aimed at investigating the discrepancy between metaperceptions and impressions actually conveyed. This research involved "get-acquainted" discussions between two White students, or one White student and one Aboriginal student. The basic metaperception pattern from Vorauer et al. (in press) was replicated, whereby the meta-stereotype had differential implications for how high and low prejudice individuals thought they were being viewed. When the impressions participants actually conveyed were examined, there was no evidence that Aboriginal partners formed different impressions than White partners, or that high and low prejudice individuals were perceived differently by their partners.

The present investigation was designed to complement the initial research on meta-stereotypes by illuminating the social implications of meta-stereotypes. Whereas previous research has emphasized the influence of meta-stereotypes on perceptions, I investigated the influence of meta-stereotypes on feelings and behaviour toward outgroup members (i.e., prejudice and discrimination). In addition, the role of meta-stereotypes

has not been addressed in situations characterized by conflict such as negotiation. This would seem to be an ideal context for examining the implications of meta-stereotypes for prejudice and discrimination, as it is here that individuals' propensity to treat outgroup members is put to the clearest test.

Overview

In this research, I assessed the influence of meta-stereotypes on affect and behaviour in negotiation, and explored this issue with respect to real enduring groups that exist in society (i.e., White and Aboriginal Canadians). White participants were involved in a face-to-face negotiation with either a White or an Aboriginal participant. Extensive research by Thompson and her colleagues on negotiation and social perception provided the ideal paradigm for my research (Thompson, 1991). Each person adopted the role of buyer or seller and was given information about his or her interests in the negotiation. The buyer and seller were given different payoff schedules indicating their preferences, and their task was to negotiate each of the various issues (i.e., financing and tax rate).

One of the most important features of negotiation is whether the conflict situation is integrative or purely distributive (Thompson, 1993; Thompson, Valley, & Kramer, 1995; Thompson & Hastie, 1990). An integrative negotiation is one in which negotiators' interests are not completely opposed, and negotiators can reach mutually beneficial agreements. In contrast, distributive negotiations result when the negotiators' interests are completely opposed. For example, it may be that the selling price of a database must be more than \$12,500 for a profit, and the buying price must be less than \$12,500 in order to obtain a profit. Here, agreeing to \$12,500 results in a profit for

neither side. The paradigm that I adopted is considered integrative because both partners could mutually benefit and reach agreement on all four issues before them.

My research focused on the expectations of dominant group members (i.e., White Canadians) because preliminary work on meta-stereotypes by Vorauer et al. (in press) illuminated quite precisely the meta-stereotypes held by these individuals, and because our participant population did not contain a sufficient number of Aboriginal students to allow a proper examination of the role played by these individuals' meta-stereotypes (i.e., a condition involving an Aboriginal-Aboriginal interaction). The fact that participants had to be unaware that ethnicity was a focus of the study prohibited me from recruiting from other campus groups, such as the Aboriginal Students Association.

Based on Vorauer, Main, and O'Connell (in press), my key hypothesis was that partner ethnicity would have a differential impact on low and high prejudice White participants' feelings and behaviours during the negotiation, and that this differential impact would be moderated by their metaperceptions. High prejudice individuals negotiating with an Aboriginal partner should experience unrewarding and counterproductive negotiations as a result of feeling stereotyped. More specifically, high prejudice White participants negotiating with an Aboriginal rather than a White partner were expected to spend less time negotiating, to achieve lower joint payoffs, and to achieve a higher payoff relative to their partner in response to feeling stereotyped. In addition, high prejudice participants should experience lower self-esteem, more cognitive distraction, and a less positive mood as a result of feeling stereotyped by their interaction partner. That is, we should see evidence of negative behavioural and affective outcomes

attached to intergroup negotiation for these individuals.

The pattern should be directly opposite for low prejudice White individuals. Low prejudice individuals with an Aboriginal partner should enjoy productive negotiations as a result of feeling that central positive aspects of themselves are particularly transparent to their interaction partner, as they feel contrasted with the stereotype of their group. A self-rating measure was included so that the importance of feeling viewed inaccurately could be examined, in addition to the importance of feeling stereotyped. I also assessed the influence of the other-stereotype by exploring whether individuals' impressions of their partner mediated any of the effects.

Note that the introduction of a clear conflict of interest into the situation sets this research apart from that conducted by Vorauer, Main, and O'Connell (in press) and Vorauer and Kumhyr (1997). It was possible that the introduction of conflict would lead low prejudice individuals to believe that there was more opportunity for their behaviours to be interpreted as consistent with the meta-stereotype. Thus, an alternative pattern of results would be that low prejudice participants would also expect to be stereotyped by an outgroup member, thereby reacting similarly to high prejudice participants in this context. I expected that if this pattern was obtained, it would be accompanied by a parallel main effect for ethnicity on the outcome variables.

Method

Participants

Participants were 68 introductory psychology students at the University of Manitoba who received course credit for their participation. There were significantly

more female Aboriginal students available to participate in the experiment. In order to keep the ratio of men to women roughly equal across the conditions, there were also more female White students who participated as compared to the number of male White students. There were 16 White-Aboriginal pairs (3 male and 13 female) and 18 White-White pairs (6 male and 12 female). Participants were run in same sex pairs to reduce the complexity of dealing with mixed versus same sex pairs.

Participants were recruited by phone from a list of available students who participated in a mass testing session earlier in the year in which ethnicity was assessed. Participants were randomly assigned to negotiate with either a White or Aboriginal partner. White students were only eligible if they had also completed the Manitoba Prejudice Scale (Altemeyer, in press). The Manitoba Prejudice Scale, a 20-item scale, includes such items as "There are entirely too many people from the wrong sorts of places being admitted into Canada now," and "It is a sad fact that many minorities have been persecuted in our country, and some are still treated unfairly" (reverse scored). Items are completed on a 10-point scale, where 0=strongly disagree, and 9=strongly agree (see Appendix A).

Procedure

Participants were run in pairs and their negotiation was audio taped. Participants were randomly assigned to the role of buyer or seller in a negotiation concerning the purchase of a new car using the procedure developed by Thompson and Hastie (1990). Participants were given the following instructions based on Thompson and Hastie (1990, p. 104):

The purpose of this study is to examine negotiation behaviour. You will negotiate with another party concerning the purchase of a new car. There are four issues of concern in the negotiation: warranty, financing, delivery date, and tax rate on the car. You will negotiate for "points." Before you negotiate, you will be given a sheet of paper that describes all the possible options. Your goal is to maximize the number of points you gain for yourself. Failure to reach agreement on all four issues after 25 minutes will result in both persons earning zero points.

These instructions were given to participants on an individual basis. As an incentive, participants were informed of a \$50 cash prize to be awarded to the individual who earned the greatest number of points. This incentive was designed to keep participants focused, and to encourage them to take the experiment seriously.

Participants received payoff schedules indicating the number of points that could be earned for achieving different options (see Appendix B). The number of points indicated not only the direction of preference (i.e. extended warranty), but the importance attached to each dimension (more points attached to a dimension indicates greater importance). The experimenter also quizzed participants to ensure that they understood the task by asking them to indicate which of the four issues were the most important, least important, and what their ideal solution would be. The buyer and seller have different payoff schedules, but integrative agreements were possible in which negotiators each 'give-in' on issues that are less important to them than to the other person. Each individual negotiator could earn a maximum of 8000 and a minimum of -2400 points. Finding a compromise on the various issues depended on effective information sharing about priorities and interests. Participants negotiated face-to-face with no restriction upon their communication except that they could not physically

exchange their payoff schedules.

Dependent Measures

Perceptions. After participants concluded the negotiation, they were ushered into separate rooms to complete a number of dependent measures (see Appendix C for the complete questionnaire). First, participants completed a trait measure that included 17 traits answered on a 7-point Likert scale anchored with polar opposites. The traits were selected on the basis of survey research conducted by Vorauer, Main, and O'Connell (in press). Out of 76 traits, Vorauer et al. identified 36 traits that were significantly related to the meta-stereotype, and 47 traits that were significantly related to the other-stereotype. In order to make the experimental questionnaire a reasonable length, I chose a subset of 17 traits that were the most significantly related to the meta and other-stereotype. Those traits relevant only to the meta-stereotype were unfair, egocentric, closed-minded, unfeeling, selfish, and arrogant. Those traits relevant only to the other-stereotype (and not the meta-stereotype) were unintelligent, lazy, immoral, careless, and irresponsible. The traits prejudiced and insensitive were relevant to both stereotypes. The final traits, irrelevant to both stereotypes, were ignorant, weak, dishonest, and possessive. This resulted in 8 traits that were relevant to the meta-stereotype (closed-minded, egocentric, unfeeling, selfish, insensitive, arrogant, unfair, and prejudiced) and 9 traits that were irrelevant to the meta-stereotype (dishonest, ignorant, possessive, weak, lazy, immoral, unintelligent, careless, and irresponsible). With respect to the other-stereotype, there were 7 traits that were relevant (lazy, immoral, unintelligent, prejudiced, insensitive, careless, and irresponsible) and 10 that were irrelevant (closed-

minded, dishonest, egocentric, unfeeling, selfish, ignorant, possessive, arrogant, weak, and unfair).

Participants completed these traits three times. For metaperceptions, participants completed the list of traits according to the impressions that they thought the other student had of them after the negotiation. For impressions, they completed the traits according to their impressions of the other student. Finally, participants rated themselves on the traits as a measure of their current self-view. The metaperception and impression versions were fully counterbalanced, and the self-ratings were always presented last.

The Aboriginal participants completed the same measures as the White participants. The metaperception data from the White-White pairs allowed me to examine how Whites expected to be seen by an Aboriginal versus a White partner (i.e. this condition is important for comparison purposes). The impression ratings made by Aboriginal participants allowed me to see if previous findings that meta-stereotypes produce inaccurate metaperceptions were replicated here. That is, White individuals' metaperceptions could be compared to their partners' actual impressions. Aboriginal participants' metaperceptions were collected for exploratory purposes only (and to hold measures constant across all participants).

Outcomes: Affective and Cognitive Reactions. Participants' current mood was assessed using 27 adjectives completed on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = very slightly to 5 = extremely that was used in previous research (Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, in press). The mood scale assessed positive affect (friendly, happy, optimistic, satisfied, and enthusiastic), other-directed negative affect (hostile, irritated

with others, upset at others, angry at others, and resentful), self-directed negative affect (remorseful, angry at myself, guilty, ashamed, disappointed with myself, annoyed at myself, upset at myself, and self-critical), discomfort (tense, frustrated, anxious, and uncomfortable), and intergroup anxiety (defensive, self-conscious, suspicious, careful, and uncertain). Self-esteem was assessed with 10 items from the social and performance subscales of the State Self-Esteem Scale (Heatherton & Polivy, 1991), on a 7-point scale from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree. Example items included “I feel displeased with myself”, and “I feel self-conscious.” To assess distracting and off-task thoughts, participants completed a revised form of the Cognitive Interference Questionnaire, or CIQ (Sarason, Sarason, Keefe, Hayes, & Shearin, 1986). In its original form, the CIQ focused on the interfering or off-task thoughts that a person could experience during a social situation. I felt that it was necessary to tailor the CIQ in order for it to be more appropriate to a negotiation situation. For example, items such as “I thought about members of my family”, and “I thought about personal worries” were excluded. The revised CIQ was only 10 items (as opposed to 21) completed on a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = never and 5 = very often and is presented in Appendix C with the entire experimental questionnaire. Finally, participants were asked to rate their satisfaction with the general outcome of the negotiation on a 7-point Likert scale where 1 = very satisfied, and 7 = very unsatisfied.

Behavioural Outcomes. To obtain a sense of the amount of accurate information shared, all negotiators were asked to complete a blank payoff schedule with what they believed their partner's payoff schedule was. This was compared to the actual payoff

schedule, so that the number of "hits" and "misses" that negotiators had could be identified. Negotiators were given a maximum of 25 minutes in which to come to mutual agreement on the four issues to be negotiated. The time spent negotiating was monitored by the experimenter. The outcome of the negotiation was the final dependent measure. Using the payoff schedules, the joint outcomes were computed. Individual outcomes were also computed to determine the extent to which one person's interests prevailed. Finally, participants were carefully debriefed and thanked for their participation. No participants indicated that they were upset at being deceived as to the fact that the experiment was investigating intergroup negotiation.

Analyses

The data were analysed using multiple regression with the ethnic composition of the pairs (White-White, coded 0, or White-Aboriginal, coded 1), White individuals' prejudice level, and the interaction between these factors as the independent variables. There were no effects for gender. I used prejudice scores as a continuous variable in the analysis, and all continuous variables were standardized according to Aikens (1991). There were two main sets of analyses, focusing on perceptions and outcomes respectively. The results from these two sets of analyses will be integrated in the discussion.

Results

The data from three pairs of participants were excluded from the analysis because during a manipulation check in the debriefing it was discovered that these participants were not aware that they had negotiated with an Aboriginal partner. Further, one

additional White-White pair was excluded from the analysis because they knew each other prior to the experiment. Thus, the reported analyses were conducted on 30 pairs, 17 White-White (6 male and 11 female), and 13 White-Aboriginal (3 male and 10 female).

Perceptions

Metaperceptions. I had anticipated that high prejudice individuals negotiating with an Aboriginal partner would feel stereotyped by their partner, and that low prejudice individuals with an Aboriginal partner would feel that central positive aspects of themselves were apparent to their partner. To examine White participants' sense of whether or not they were stereotyped by their partner, I created two different metaperception indices. The first was comprised of traits relevant to the meta-stereotype (e.g. selfish, arrogant, $\alpha = .92$), and the second included those traits that were not related to the meta-stereotype (e.g. ignorant, weak, $\alpha = .82$). When I examined the extent to which participants expected to be stereotyped by their partner, regression analyses demonstrated that there was a significant main effect of partner ethnicity on individuals' beliefs about how they were viewed by their partner ($R = .58$, $F(2,26) = 6.72$, $p < .05$). It was demonstrated that those participants who negotiated with an Aboriginal partner expected that they would be viewed more positively by their partner on meta-stereotype relevant traits, as compared to those who negotiated with a White partner, $\beta = -.59$, $t(26) = 3.59$, $p < .01$ (see Table 1). To illustrate, White individuals expected to be seen as more unselfish, fair and open-minded by an Aboriginal negotiation partner than by a White negotiation partner. Moreover, those participants who negotiated with an Aboriginal

partner also expected to be seen more positively on the meta-stereotype irrelevant traits than did those who negotiated with a White partner, $\beta = -.43$, $t(26) = 2.39$, $p < .05$ ($R = .46$, $F(2,26) = 3.61$, $p < .05$). To illustrate, these participants believed that they were seen as more honest, trustworthy, and strong. There were no other significant effects.

To explore whether participants' expectations about how they were viewed could have simply reflected an accurate understanding of their partner's impressions, I entered their partner's impressions into the regression analysis as a predictor. Results indicated that participants' sense of how they were viewed on stereotype-relevant traits was not related to their partner's impressions ($\alpha = .87$), $\beta = .21$, $t(24) = 1.16$, *ns*. For stereotype irrelevant traits, results suggested that their partner's actual impressions were significantly related to their impressions about how they were viewed ($\alpha = .83$), $\beta = -.40$, $t(24) = 2.27$, $p < .05$. In each case however, the effect for ethnicity remained significant when impressions were included in the regression. Thus, White individuals' metaperceptions were influenced more than was warranted by the ethnicity of their partner.

Impressions of the Other Student. Another important question to ask was whether participants stereotyped their Aboriginal partner. Overall, the regression was not significant, $R = .38$, $F(3,25) = 1.39$, *ns*. However, results indicated that there was a marginally significant relationship between partner ethnicity and stereotyping the other student. Regression analysis indicated that participants who negotiated with an Aboriginal partner tended to view their partner more positively on stereotype-relevant traits (e.g. responsible, hard-working, and intelligent, $\alpha = .81$) than did those with a

White partner, $\beta = -.35$, $t(25) = 1.86$, $p < .08$. There was no significant effect for partner ethnicity on other-stereotype irrelevant traits ($\alpha = .83$), $\beta = -.25$, $t(25) = 1.31$, *ns*. There were no other effects. For a summary of the regression results for participants' perceptions, see Table 1.

Since there was a main effect of partner ethnicity upon participants' impressions of their partner, I conducted a multiple regression to determine if meta-stereotypes mediated participants' impressions by regressing the dependent variable (participants' impressions) onto both the mediator (metaperceptions) and the independent variables (partner ethnicity and prejudice level). Results indicated that when meta-stereotypes are entered into the regression, the effect for partner ethnicity becomes non-significant, $\beta = .01$, $t(25) < 1$, *ns*. The influence of meta-stereotypes upon participants' impressions remains significant, $\beta = .61$, $t(25) = 3.12$, $p < .01$. What this finding suggests is that participants' impressions of how they were viewed contributed to their impressions of their partner. Participants' positive expectations for how their negotiation partner would view them may have resulted in participants having a positive impression of their partner in return.

Connection between Metaperceptions and Self-Perceptions. Regression analyses indicated that there was no influence of partner ethnicity, prejudice level, or of the interaction between partner ethnicity and prejudice level on participants' self-ratings. Interestingly, when the connection between individuals' self-ratings and metaperceptions was examined, results suggested that the degree of overlap between these perceptions differed depending on partner ethnicity. For those individuals who negotiated with an

Aboriginal partner, the correlation between their self-ratings and metaperceptions was high, $r(13) = .87, p < .001$. In contrast, for those who negotiated with another White student, the correlation between their self-ratings and metaperceptions was negligible, $r(16) = .15, ns$. I will return to this finding in the Discussion.

Negotiation Outcomes

Affective and Cognitive Outcomes. Regression analyses indicated that there was no significant or meaningful influence of partner ethnicity, prejudice level, or of the interaction between partner ethnicity and prejudice on participants' discomfort ($\alpha = .71$), intergroup anxiety ($\alpha = .46$), negative self-directed affect ($\alpha = .86$), self-esteem ($\alpha = .92$), cognitive interference ($\alpha = .45$), or satisfaction.

Nevertheless, upon examination of the results for negative other-directed affect, ($R = .52, F(3,22) = 2.76, p < .07$) results indicated a main effect of partner ethnicity on negativity directed towards one's partner ($\alpha = .68$) suggesting that those participants who negotiated with an Aboriginal partner experienced less negativity towards their partner than those who negotiated with a White partner, $\beta = -.48, t(22) = 2.59, p < .05$. Similar to the analysis for participants' impressions of their partner, I also tested for mediation to see if metaperceptions mediated the relationship between partner ethnicity and negative other-directed affect. Results indicated that there was no significant impact of metaperceptions on this variable.

An examination of the results for positive affect ($\alpha = .87, R = .57, F(3,22) = 3.4, p < .05$) revealed a significant interaction between partner ethnicity and prejudice level, $\beta = -.64, t(22) = 2.71, p < .05$. Simple effects analyses conducted according to Jaccard,

Turrisi, and Wan (1990) revealed that low prejudice individuals negotiating with an Aboriginal partner were in a more positive mood than those negotiating with a White partner, $\beta = 1.29$, $t(25) = 3.05$, $p < .01$. In contrast, there was no effect for high prejudice individuals negotiating with an Aboriginal as opposed to a White partner in terms of positive mood, $\beta = -.51$, $t(25) < 1$, *ns*. Table 2 includes a summary of the affective and cognitive outcomes.

Behavioral Outcomes. There were a number of behavioral outcomes of the negotiation that were assessed, including individual and joint points achieved during the negotiation, time spent negotiating, and accuracy in judging one's partner's interests. Regression analysis conducted on the White participants' individual points achieved during the negotiation ($R = .40$, $F(2,26) = 2.43$, $p < .11$) revealed a significant interaction between partner ethnicity and prejudice level, $\beta = -.76$, $t(25) = 3.55$, $p < .005$. Simple effects demonstrated that low prejudice individuals negotiating with an Aboriginal partner acquired significantly more points than a low prejudice individual negotiating with a White partner, $\beta = 1.53$, $t(25) = 3.49$, $p < .005$. In contrast, there was no significant difference in individual points between high prejudice individuals negotiating with an Aboriginal partner as compared to a White partner, $\beta = -.66$, $t(25) = 1.54$, *ns*.

There were no significant effects of partner ethnicity, prejudice level, or of the interaction between partner ethnicity and prejudice level on the time spent negotiating, or on the number of points that were acquired jointly between the participants.

To examine accuracy in judging one's partner's interests in the negotiation, I added up the number of times that an individual's estimate of their partner's priority in

the negotiation was incorrect. I then took the mean number of misses, which was sensitive to the degree of error, and entered them into a regression with partner ethnicity, prejudice level, and the interaction between the two terms as predictors. Although the overall regression was not significant, $R = .42$, $F(3,22) = 1.57$, ns, results indicated that partner ethnicity influenced individuals' accuracy. Those individuals who negotiated with an Aboriginal partner were more accurate than those negotiating with a White partner, $\beta = -.71$, $t(25) = 2.40$, $p < .05$. For a summary of the behavioral outcomes, see Table 3.

I conducted regression analyses on the target individuals' perceptions and negotiation outcomes in a manner similar to the analyses for the actors and there were no significant results. Because the results for metaperceptions and outcomes generally failed to conform to predictions, I did not conduct the planned mediation tests. Above I described the results of the alternative mediational analyses that were instead appropriate.

Discussion

My key hypothesis in the present research was that the impact of partner ethnicity on low and high prejudice White participants' affect and behaviour during the negotiation would be mediated by their metaperceptions. High prejudice individuals negotiating with an Aboriginal partner were expected to experience unrewarding and counterproductive negotiations as a result of feeling stereotyped. Low prejudice individuals with an Aboriginal partner were expected to enjoy productive negotiations as a result of feeling that central positive aspects of themselves were transparent to their

interaction partner. The results of this experiment were not consistent with these hypotheses.

However, individuals' metaperceptions were affected by partner ethnicity. Both high and low prejudice individuals thought that they were viewed more positively by an Aboriginal than by a White partner. Moreover, these especially positive metaperceptions were not corroborated by their Aboriginal partner's actual impressions. These results are consistent with Vorauer et al. and Vorauer and Kumhyr (1997) who demonstrated that low prejudice participants expected to be viewed in a positive light by their partners. In previous research however, it was demonstrated that high prejudice individuals believed that they would be viewed negatively by others, whereas the present research revealed that high prejudice individuals also expected to be viewed positively.

Interestingly, although both high and low prejudice White individuals believed that they conveyed particularly tolerant impressions to an Aboriginal negotiation partner, low prejudice participants obtained more points from Aboriginal as compared to White partners. It seems that while low prejudice individuals believe that they are making a positive impression on their Aboriginal partner, they seem to be slightly discriminating against their partner as evidenced by the significantly greater number of points that were achieved when negotiating with an Aboriginal versus a White partner. An additional explanation for this discrepancy is that low prejudice individuals may be better negotiators in that they may react more positively to others than would a high prejudice individual.

Structure of the Negotiation

It is evident that the introduction of conflict into the interaction through negotiation did not have the expected result. I anticipated that conflict would strengthen the process of meta-stereotyping, and it appears from the current research that this was not the case. However, I can not conclude that conflict does not exaggerate the meta-stereotype process because it seemed that individuals in the experimental situation did not perceive the negotiation as involving conflict. There was no question asking participants how much conflict they perceived in the negotiation. Instead, I believe participants saw the negotiation as akin to a game, and may have simply concentrated on their task of acquiring points. Another possibility is that the negotiation may have given participants an especially high number of opportunities to gather evidence about how “good” they are in the treatment of an outgroup member. For example, participants may have “made a deal” during the negotiation such that they would accept 4% financing if their partner accepted a four week delivery date. Participants may interpret this type of behaviour as characteristic of an opportunity in which they could have held out for their preferred choice, but instead aided their partner by agreeing to a less profitable alternative. This type of behaviour, which is the essence of negotiation, may have provided participants with an example of how “good” they were during intergroup negotiation.

We also have to consider that the structure of the negotiation situation was one in which participants had clearly defined roles (as buyer or seller). Stephan and Stephan (1985) maintain that when an intergroup interaction is highly structured, intergroup

anxiety is lower than if the situation was unstructured. Perhaps if the negotiation situation had been less structured, participants may have been more likely to expect that they would be viewed in a stereotypical manner. While it is possible that the data may suggest that my hypotheses regarding the role of meta-stereotypes in intergroup negotiation may have been incorrect, I do not believe that is the case. The traditional idea that other-stereotypes influence intergroup interactions was not supported by the present research. The fact that I am unable to demonstrate that participants perceived the situation as involving conflict suggests that I have not been able to rule out the impact of meta-stereotypes upon intergroup negotiations.

A New Conceptualization of Prejudice

In the current research, prejudice had no effect on individuals' metaperceptions. An important consideration to keep in mind is that the participant population at the University of Manitoba reflects scores in the low to moderate range on the Manitoba Prejudice Scale (Altemeyer, in press). Therefore, while I refer to high and low prejudice individuals, this may be a slight misnomer, as in fact I am actually speaking of low and moderate prejudice individuals. What this suggests is that not having participants scoring across the full range of the scale may have hindered my ability to distinguish between participants, and in fact, may not have been a sensitive enough measure of prejudice to adequately prove or disprove my hypotheses.

One way to address this potential difficulty in future research would be to investigate the usefulness of a recently developed scale that measures nonprejudice (Phillips & Ziller, 1997). These authors contend that researchers are not equipped to

distinguish between nonprejudice and low prejudice. Nonprejudice is conceptualized as “a universal orientation in interpersonal relations whereby perceivers selectively attend to, accentuate, and interpret similarities rather than differences between the self and others (p. 420).” It is assumed that the perception of differences between the self and others ultimately results in prejudice, and that perceptions of similarity between the self and others is more associated with tolerance.

In an attempt to begin studying nonprejudice, Phillips and Ziller (1997) have developed the Universal Orientation Scale (UOS) which includes such items as “I tend to value similarities over differences when I meet someone,” “I can see myself fitting into many groups,” and “I could never get accustomed to living in another country” (reverse-scored). Their research demonstrated that the UOS scale had both high validity and reliability. I believe that the UOS may be a more sensitive measure that is better able to distinguish participants’ racial attitudes. The Manitoba Prejudice Scale (Altemeyer, in press) is quite a reactive scale, and in fact, some items were considered offensive by students such as “As a group, Aboriginal people are naturally lazy, dishonest, and lawless,” and “Black people are, by their nature, more violent and “primitive” than others.” Social desirability is likely to have had an adverse impact on the research. Participants reading some of the scale items may have felt that they should indicate disagreement with many of the statements included in the scale. However, now that the UOS has been developed, we have a scale on which people may feel freer to respond truthfully. The result may be that we are better able to distinguish between participants as prejudiced or non-prejudiced, and that we can get a clearer sense of the impact of

prejudice upon individuals' metaperceptions.

Goal Transparency

Recent research by Vorauer and Claude (1998) has closely examined the transparency overestimation effect with respect to goals in negotiation. The negotiation task in the present experiment led participants to focus on a particular goal (i.e., achieving points). Recall that both high and low prejudice individuals believed that they were making a positive impression on their Aboriginal negotiation partner. Low prejudice participants also acquired significantly more points than their Aboriginal partner as compared to a White partner. One potential explanation for this finding is that individuals negotiating with an Aboriginal partner believed that their goals in the negotiation were readily apparent to their partner. That is, because both participants were aware that the task at hand was to maximize the number of points achieved, low prejudice individuals may have expected that their Aboriginal partner would interpret their actions as a means to achieving that goal, as opposed to taking their actions personally or as a sign of discrimination.

Target Perceptions

What becomes particularly interesting is that, despite the fact that it is the low prejudice individuals who acquire more points than their Aboriginal partner, this discrepancy in individual points did not influence the target's perceptions, affective or behavioural outcomes. This appears to suggest that, while low prejudice individuals acquire a greater number of points from their Aboriginal partner, Aboriginal participants do not feel that they are the target of discrimination, or that they were personally

disliked. These research findings are consistent with evidence for the personal/group discrimination discrepancy (Ruggerio & Taylor, 1995). Disadvantaged group members tended to perceive greater levels of discrimination aimed against their ethnic group as a whole, as opposed to discrimination being targeted towards them personally.

Furthermore, when discrimination was obvious, participants attributed their failure to discrimination. In contrast, when the origins of discrimination were ambiguous, participants were more likely to attribute the failure to themselves and minimize the discrimination that they experienced. Ruggerio and Taylor (1995) also suggested that disadvantaged group members were reluctant to blame their performance on discrimination as it suggested that the control over outcomes was vested in the other person, not themselves. In the present study, the ambiguity surrounding whether their partner's behaviour was the result of prejudice or simply a reflection of the task at hand may have resulted in Aboriginal participants being disinclined to perceive negative behaviour as evidence of discrimination. Of course, an alternate possibility is that the point discrepancy is a result of more positive negotiation behaviour on the part of Aboriginal participants as opposed to being the result of more negative negotiation behaviour on the part of White participants.

Relation to Self-Concept

One striking finding in the present research was the differential connection between metaperceptions and self-perceptions. Results demonstrated that the degree of overlap between these perceptions depended on partner ethnicity. For those individuals who negotiated with an Aboriginal partner, the correlation between their self-ratings and

metaperceptions was very high. This suggests that these individuals believed that their partner in the negotiation saw them in a manner similar to how they saw themselves. In contrast, for those participants who negotiated with another White student, the correlation between self-ratings and metaperceptions was negligible. In this case, participants were not confident that they were making an impression that was consistent with their perception of themselves. This finding was also particularly intriguing in light of the fact that it was metaperceptions that changed according to partner ethnicity, and not individuals' self-view. It seems that during an intergroup negotiation, participants believed that central aspects of their self-view were apparent to their negotiation partner. Perhaps it is the case that participants in this situation were making a more concentrated effort to demonstrate who they are to their partner, or maybe the intergroup situation made them self-conscious. However, in the case of the White-White pairs, participants did not believe that their partners saw them similar to how they saw themselves, perhaps because they were more focused on the negotiation and less focused on making a positive impression.

Individuating Information

The present experiment also demonstrated that participants did not view their Aboriginal partners in a stereotypical manner. One potential explanation may be that White participants did not regard their Aboriginal partner as representing a typical Aboriginal outgroup member, perhaps partly because of their status as a university student, and may have contrasted Aboriginal participants with the stereotype of their group. In fact, Lord, Lepper, and Mackie (1984) illustrated that peoples' attitudes toward

members of a particular social group will match their behavior towards a member of that group only to the extent to which that person fits the stereotype of that group.

An additional factor that is important to consider in the present research is people's beliefs about an outgroup members' openness to individuating information. Pendry and Macrae (1994) suggest that stereotype-based judgements have priority over individuated judgements and that the move from stereotypic judgements to individual responses is a function of interpretational, motivational, and attentional factors. Their research illustrated that when participants were given a goal that made them outcome-dependent upon a particular target, individuals were highly motivated to engage in forming individuated impressions of the target, as opposed to engaging in making stereotype-based judgements after being exposed to written or verbal personal information about the target. The authors suggest that more importance should be placed on the interaction between cognitive and motivational factors when examining the impressions that people form of others. In the present research, participants were dependent on each other to reach agreement on all four issues, and this dependence may have led them to engage in individuated judgements, and may have therefore decreased the likelihood that stereotype-based judgements would occur.

Conclusions

This research suggests that many individuals are unaware that they may be subtly discriminating against outgroup members. While high and low prejudice participants all believed that they were making a good impression, low prejudice participants acquired significantly more points from Aboriginal partners. Conceivably, intergroup interaction

makes individuals more self-focused, and hinders their ability to monitor their behaviour in an open-minded way. Interestingly, this possibility contrasts with recent research suggesting that self-focus enhances self-regulation processes. Macrae, Bodenhausen, and Milne (1998) demonstrated that once individuals are self-focused, they behave consistently with their internalized standards, whatever those standards are. One potential explanation for this discrepancy for the influence of self-focus could be that the research conducted by Macrae et al. used photographs to manipulate exposure to ingroup and outgroup members, whereas the present research involved actual interactions. Future research could directly address these discrepancies by assessing self-focus in ingroup versus outgroup interactions and examining the link between self-focus, behaviour, and metaperceptions.

Future research needs to more closely examine conflictual (and perhaps less structured) interactions to determine whether meta-stereotypes play a greater role in such contexts. For example, switching to a distributive negotiation in which participants' interests are completely opposed may better elucidate the impact of meta-stereotypes in situations characterized by conflict. One further avenue of investigation may be to examine situations in which the outcomes are of more consequence or importance to individuals. Here, we may obtain a clearer sense of the role that meta-stereotypes play in intergroup relations.

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Appendix A - The Manitoba Prejudice Scale

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements by writing the appropriate number in the blank next to each item:

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---------------------|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| | Very Strongly Disagree | | | | | | | | | Very Strongly Agree |
-
- _____ 1. If Sikhs who join the RCMP want to wear turbans instead of the usual hat, that's fine.
- _____ 2. "Foreign" religions like Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam are just as good as Christianity, all things considered.
- _____ 3. If we don't watch out, Asians will control our economy and we'll be the "coolies."
- _____ 4. We should take in more refugees fleeing political persecution by repressive governments.
- _____ 5. Arabs are too emotional, and they don't fit in well in our country.
- _____ 6. It's good to live in a country where there are so many minority groups present, such as Blacks, Asians, and Aborigines.
- _____ 7. There are entirely too many people from the wrong sorts of places being admitted into Canada now.
- _____ 8. The more we let people from all over the world into our country, the better.
- _____ 9. Black people are, by their nature, more violent and "primitive" than others.
- _____ 10. Jewish people can be trusted as much as everyone else.
- _____ 11. The people from India who have come to Canada have mainly brought disease, ignorance, and crime with them.
- _____ 12. Every person we let in from overseas means either another Canadian won't be able to find a job, or another foreigner will go on welfare here.
- _____ 13. Canada should guarantee that French language rights exist across the country.
- _____ 14. It is a waste of time to train certain races for good jobs; they simply don't have the drive and determination it takes to learn a complicated skill.
- _____ 15. As a group, aboriginal people are naturally lazy, dishonest, and lawless.
- _____ 16. Canada has much to fear from the Japanese, who are as cruel as they are ambitious.
- _____ 17. There is nothing wrong with intermarriage among the races.
- _____ 18. Aboriginal people should keep protesting and demonstrating until they get just treatment in Canada.
- _____ 19. Many minorities are spoiled; if they really wanted to improve their lives, they would get off welfare and get jobs.
- _____ 20. It is a sad fact that many minorities have been persecuted in our country, and some are still treated very unfairly.

Appendix B - Negotiators' Payoff Schedules

Payoff Schedules

Buyer Payoffs

Financing		Tax		Warranty		Delivery Date	
10%	(0)	Level A	(-2400)	6 months	(0)	5 weeks	(0)
8%	(400)	Level B	(-1800)	12 months	(1000)	4 weeks	(600)
6%	(800)	Level C	(-1200)	18 months	(2000)	3 weeks	(1200)
4%	(1200)	Level D	(-600)	24 months	(3000)	2 weeks	(1800)
2%	(1600)	Level E	(0)	30 months	(4000)	1 week	(2400)

Seller Payoffs

Financing		Tax		Warranty		Delivery Date	
10%	(4000)	Level A	(0)	6 months	(1600)	5 weeks	(2400)
8%	(3000)	Level B	(-600)	12 months	(1200)	4 weeks	(1800)
6%	(2000)	Level C	(-1200)	18 months	(800)	3 weeks	(1200)
4%	(1000)	Level D	(-1800)	24 months	(400)	2 weeks	(600)
2%	(0)	Level E	(-2400)	30 months	(0)	1 week	(0)

Appendix C - Experimental Questionnaire

Consent Form

I agree to participate in this study which has been reviewed and passed by the Department of Psychology Ethics Committee at the University of Manitoba. I understand that I will be asked to negotiate with another person for 25 minutes. This negotiation will be audio taped. Next, I will be asked to complete a number of questionnaires. I also understand that the experimental session will last for approximately one hour and I will receive two experimental credits. I know that my responses will be kept confidential and only used for research purposes. In addition, I know that my participation in this experiment is voluntary and that I may refuse to participate or withdraw at any time without academic penalty. At the end of the experimental session, I will have the option of erasing the audio tape of the negotiation if desired.

Name: _____

Date: _____

Negotiation Questionnaire

The Other Student's Impressions of You

When people exchange personal information, they often form impressions of each other. In this part of the questionnaire, we ask you to describe the impressions that you think the other student has formed of you, on the basis of what you said and did in the negotiation. For each item, circle the number that describes what the other person thinks that you are like.

The other student thinks that I am:

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| 1. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Open-minded | | | | | | Closed-minded |
| 2. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Dishonest | | | | | | Honest |
| 3. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Egocentric | | | | | | Takes Other People's Perspectives |
| 4. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Hard-working | | | | | | Lazy |
| 5. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Immoral | | | | | | Moral |
| 6. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Unfeeling | | | | | | Caring |
| 7. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Unselfish | | | | | | Selfish |
| 8. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Intelligent | | | | | | Unintelligent |
| 9. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Tolerant | | | | | | Prejudiced |

The other student thinks that I am:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------|
| 10. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Insensitive | | | | | | Sensitive |
| 11. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Careless | | | | | | Careful |
| 12. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Wise | | | | | | Ignorant |
| 13. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Not Possessive | | | | | | Possessive |
| 14. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Humble | | | | | | Arrogant |
| 15. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Unfair | | | | | | Fair |
| 16. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Strong | | | | | | Weak |
| 17. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Responsible | | | | | | Irresponsible |

Your Impression of the Other Student

We now ask you to describe the impressions that you formed of the other student, on the basis of the negotiation. For each item, circle the number that describes what you think the other student is like.

I think that the other student is:

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| 1. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Open-minded | | | | | | Closed-minded |
| 2. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Dishonest | | | | | | Honest |
| 3. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Egocentric | | | | | | Takes Other People's Perspectives |

I think that the other student is:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------|
| 4. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Hard-working | | | | | | Lazy |
| 5. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Immoral | | | | | | Moral |
| 6. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Unfeeling | | | | | | Caring |
| 7. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Unselfish | | | | | | Selfish |
| 8. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Intelligent | | | | | | Unintelligent |
| 9. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Tolerant | | | | | | Prejudiced |
| 10. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Insensitive | | | | | | Sensitive |
| 11. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Careless | | | | | | Careful |
| 12. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Wise | | | | | | Ignorant |
| 13. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Not Possessive | | | | | | Possessive |
| 14. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Humble | | | | | | Arrogant |
| 15. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Unfair | | | | | | Fair |
| 16. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Strong | | | | | | Weak |
| 17. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Responsible | | | | | | Irresponsible |

Your Current Self-View

Now, we are asking you to describe how you see yourself at this moment. For each item, circle the number that describes how you see yourself.

I think that I am:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| 1. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Open-minded | | | | | | Closed-minded |
| 2. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Dishonest | | | | | | Honest |
| 3. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Egocentric | | | | | | Takes Other People's Perspectives |
| 4. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Hard-working | | | | | | Lazy |
| 5. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Immoral | | | | | | Moral |
| 6. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Unfeeling | | | | | | Caring |
| 7. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Unselfish | | | | | | Selfish |
| 8. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Intelligent | | | | | | Unintelligent |
| 9. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Tolerant | | | | | | Prejudiced |
| 10. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Insensitive | | | | | | Sensitive |
| 11. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Careless | | | | | | Careful |
| 12. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Wise | | | | | | Ignorant |

I think that I am:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---|---|----------------------|---|---|---|
| 13. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Not Possessive | | | Possessive | | | |
| 14. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Humble | | | Arrogant | | | |
| 15. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Unfair | | | Fair | | | |
| 16. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Strong | | | Weak | | | |
| 17. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | Responsible | | | Irresponsible | | | |

Your Current Mood

The next set of questions asks you to describe the kind of mood that you are in. This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space next to that word. Indicate the extent to which you feel this way right now, that is, at the present moment.

- | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|------------------------------|------------|----------|------------|-------------|-----------|
| | not at all | a little | moderately | quite a bit | extremely |
| ___ self-critical | | | | | |
| ___ annoyed at myself | | | | | |
| ___ anxious | | | | | |
| ___ uncomfortable | | | | | |
| ___ suspicious | | | | | |
| ___ happy | | | | | |
| ___ hostile | | | | | |
| ___ irritated with others | | | | | |
| ___ careful | | | | | |
| ___ optimistic | | | | | |
| ___ frustrated | | | | | |
| ___ disappointed with myself | | | | | |
| ___ tense | | | | | |
| ___ self-conscious | | | | | |
| ___ ashamed | | | | | |
| ___ defensive | | | | | |
| ___ enthusiastic | | | | | |
| ___ resentful | | | | | |
| ___ remorseful | | | | | |
| ___ guilty | | | | | |
| ___ satisfied | | | | | |
| ___ angry at myself | | | | | |
| ___ friendly | | | | | |
| ___ uncertain | | | | | |
| ___ upset at others | | | | | |
| ___ upset at myself | | | | | |
| ___ angry at others | | | | | |

Cognitive Interference Questionnaire

This questionnaire concerns the kinds of thoughts that go through people's heads at particular times, for example, while they are working on a task. The following is a list of thoughts, some of which you might have had *while engaged in the negotiation that you have just completed*. Please indicate approximately how often each thought occurred to you by placing the appropriate number in the blank provided to the left of each question using the following scale:

- 1 = never
- 2 = once
- 3 = a few times
- 4 = often
- 5 = very often

- ___ 1. I thought about how well I was doing.
- ___ 2. I thought about what my negotiation partner would think of me.
- ___ 3. I thought about the similarities and differences between myself and my partner.
- ___ 4. I thought about my negotiation partner's characteristics.
- ___ 5. I was distracted by thoughts regarding my negotiation partner.
- ___ 6. I thought about how much time we had left.
- ___ 7. I thought about how well my negotiation partner was doing.
- ___ 8. I thought about the purpose of the experiment.
- ___ 9. I thought about how much I liked the task.

Please circle the number on the following scale which best represents the degree to which *you felt you were distracted by thoughts not related to the negotiation that you just completed*.

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Much

Table 1

Summary of Regression Results for Participants' Perceptions

	Partner Ethnicity (β)	Prejudice Level (β)	Partner Ethnicity X Prejudice Level (β)
<u>Metaperceptions</u>			
Stereotype Relevant	-.59***	.25	.00
Stereotype Irrelevant	-.43**	-.31	.27
<u>Impressions</u>			
Stereotype Relevant	-.35*	.12	.13
Stereotype Irrelevant	-.25	-.33	.21
<u>Self-Perceptions</u>			
Stereotype Relevant	-.07	.06	.27
Stereotype Irrelevant	-.15	-.10	.09

Note: * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.

Table 2

Summary of Regression Results for Participants' Affective and Cognitive Outcomes

	Partner Ethnicity (β)	Prejudice Level (β)	Partner Ethnicity X Prejudice Level (β)
Negative Other-Directed Affect	-.48**	-.21	.19
Negative Self-Directed Affect	-.11	-.46*	-.35
Positive Affect	.22	.62**	-.64**
Discomfort	-.09	-.42	.18
Intergroup Anxiety	-.31	-.22	.18
Self-Esteem	-.04	-.48*	.38
Cognitive Interference	-.03	.06	.21
Satisfaction	.44*	.35*	-.29

Note: * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.

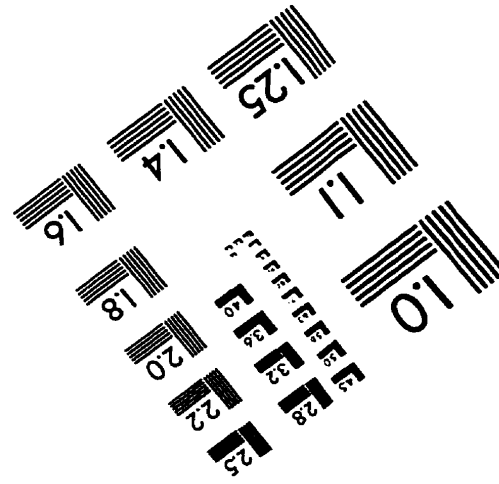
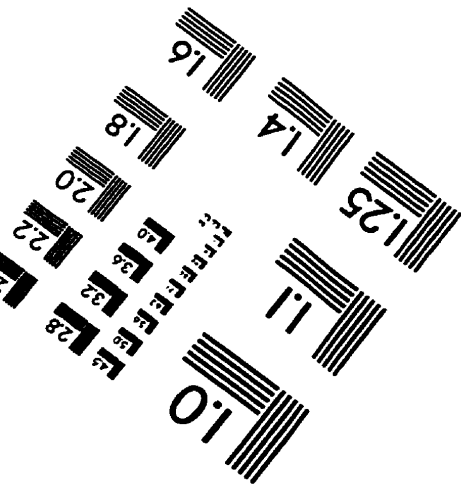
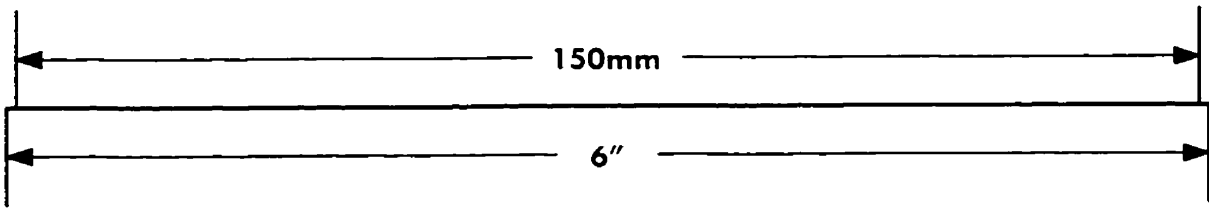
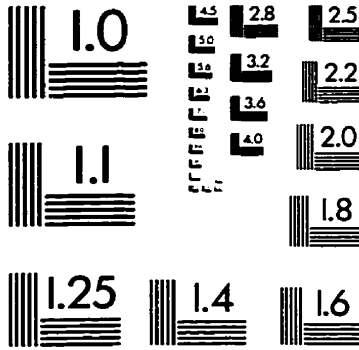
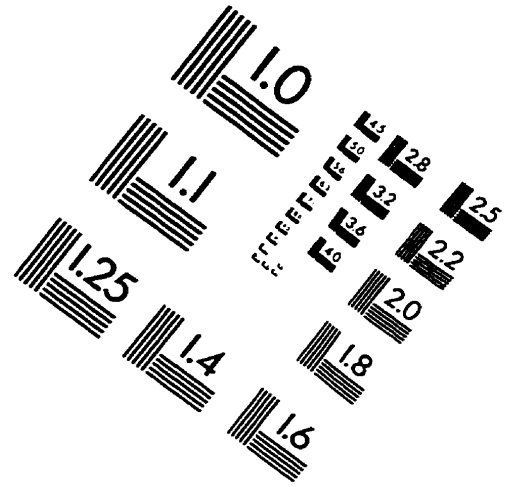
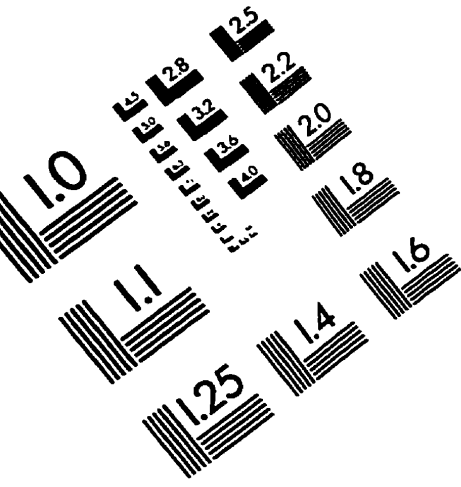
Table 3

Summary of Regression Results for Participants' Behavioural Outcomes

	Partner Ethnicity (β)	Prejudice Level (β)	Partner Ethnicity X Prejudice Level (β)
Individual Points	.22	.84***	-.76***
Joint Points	.11	.22	-.34
Accuracy	-.39*	.03	-.11
Negotiating Time	-.06	.14	-.28

Note: * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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