

Same Difference?

The Effects of Salient Dual Identities on Intergroup Interaction

by

Stacey J. Sasaki

A Thesis 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

Department of Psychology

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Abstract

Capitalizing on a dual identity approach, the present research examined how individuals' experiences and behavior during intergroup interaction are affected by a salient "mixed" intergroup ideology. The mixed ideology combined multiculturalism, which encourages appreciation of diversity, with color-blindness, which encourages appreciation of fundamental human qualities shared by all. Previous research indicates that each of these ideologies has some benefits but that these vary across members of higher versus lower status groups (Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, in press). Thus, the present research was designed to identify a message that would be more broadly beneficial. I sought to combine core elements of the two ideologies to achieve especially positive intergroup interaction in terms of intergroup behavior and dynamics. However, results indicated that the mixed message was not effective in inducing more positive intergroup interaction and thus suggested a need to improve the mixed ideology. Further, the benefits found in previous research on intergroup ideology were not fully replicated. Implications and directions for future research are discussed.

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Same Difference?

The Effects of Salient Dual Identities on Intergroup Interaction

In an ever changing world where individuals have increasing contact between individuals of different ethnicities, it is of paramount importance that we seek to achieve intergroup harmony. In the 2006 census survey (Statistics Canada, 2008a), Canada's visible minority population surpassed five million, with over 200 ethnic groups reported. Intergroup contact, that is, interaction between individuals of different ethnic backgrounds than their own, then, is inevitable on a daily basis. Allport (1954) suggested that contact is key to achieving positive intergroup attitudes. Under conditions of equal status, the pursuit of common goals, institutional support, and cooperation, contact between members of different groups should have a beneficial effect. While there is some controversy over the effectiveness of Allport's theory (e.g., Amir, 1969; Ford, 1986), it has enhanced our understanding of how to instantiate more positive intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, Allport's conditions are often not met and achieving an ideal co-existence within our highly diverse world still provides a challenge.

Given that explicit forms of racism are undeniably considered inappropriate in today's society, it may appear that intergroup animosity has declined over the years. However, some suggest that this may not be so. Dovidio and Gaertner (1998) propose that, in place of the more overt traditional forms of racism, individuals now manifest prejudice in a less obvious manner. This covert form of bias is often unintentional and can occur even in those who truly believe themselves to be non-racist. While proclaiming to endorse egalitarian norms, aversive racists express uneasiness and fear towards outgroup members instead of hostility and hate. Dovidio and Gaertner suggest that this is not a rare occurrence but rather that there is a large proportion of

individuals who harbor these subtly racist attitudes. Along the same lines, and equally alarming, similar concepts, such as the ideas of “new racism” (Bonilla-Silva, 2003) and “democratic racism” (Henry & Tator, 2005), have been advanced. Bonilla-Silva proposes that racism is still very prevalent in society, although without “racists” per se. In the same manner as aversive racism, this new racism is expressed in “subtle, institutional, and apparently nonracial” (p. 3) forms. Likewise, democratic racism asserts that dominant culture is subtly imposed upon society in ways that are unapparent to all but those who are discriminated against. Thus it is clear that we must continue to seek to find effective ways of promoting positive intergroup relations and thus the aim of the present research.

Reducing Intergroup Animosity

An obvious, yet profoundly important question arises regarding the current form and level of racism in society: What can be done to reduce these intergroup tensions? One approach that has been advanced is that of encouraging color-blindness (e.g., Bennett, 1986). Advocates of this framework suggest that emphasizing commonalities and ignoring differences will help to reduce intergroup bias. The idea behind this approach is that we are essentially all the same and, therefore, creating the categories of “us” and “them” is largely unnecessary. The central premise is that by deconstructing the category boundaries between groups in exchange for an emphasis on the fundamental human qualities that we all share, it should be possible to find common ground. In this way, the similarities that previously led to liking for ingroup members can then be extended to former outgroup members. Ingroup favoritism is eliminated as everyone is seen as an individual and not as a member of a specific group.

Support for the color-blind perspective can be found in the Decategorized Contact Model (Brewer & Miller, 1984), which suggests that categorizing individuals into groups is a sufficient

means for producing intergroup bias. Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Theory also provides support for this framework, as it emphasizes that identifying the self as a member of a group leads to ingroup favoritism. Likewise, Social Categorization Theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) suggests that rendering one's group membership salient leads to the minimization of differences within groups while at the same time maximizing differences between groups. Thus, following from these theories and the color-blind perspective more generally, ignoring categorization and group boundaries seems a logical approach to obtaining more positive intergroup relations.

Unfortunately, our search for an effective means of overcoming intergroup animosity does not end here. Some researchers suggest that the color-blind approach may not be optimal. For example, Park and Judd (2005) suggest that categorization may not be the driving force behind intergroup tensions. They maintain that categorization is not the cause of intergroup animosity but more of a consequence or justification as there is little empirical evidence to suggest that categorization per se triggers hostility. Moreover, these authors question the feasibility of eliminating social categories given that these categories play a vital role in social perception. In their investigation of the color-blind framework (Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000), White American college students who received a message advocating the color-blind approach to improving interethnic relations were indeed less likely to use categorization strategies but were also less accurate in descriptions of outgroup members than those given an alternative approach that did not emphasize the dismantling of group boundaries. Furthermore, those in the alternative condition identified more positive attributes for both the ingroup and outgroup and also displayed more overall positivity towards the outgroup. These findings imply that the weakening of group boundaries suggested by adopting a color-blind

approach may not be the most efficient means of creating a more positive coexistence between group members.

Endorsing color-blindness has also been shown to impair communication and lead to less friendly behavior toward outgroup members (Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006). In recent research by Vorauer, Gagnon, and Sasaki (2009), participants received one of three messages aimed at improving intergroup relations, one of which advocated color-blindness. Prior to the administration of the messages, White or Aboriginal Canadian university students were provided with demographic information about their ostensible interaction partner. Their ostensible partner was the same sex as participants; in order to create an intergroup exchange, his or her ethnic background was White or Aboriginal, depending on participants' ethnicity. Participants then engaged in a more extensive written exchange with their ostensible partner before completing a number of questionnaire items about the exchange. The color-blind message induced a positive reaction from minority group members, in this case Aboriginal Canadians, whereby they experienced a sense of identity safety. That is, these individuals felt more secure, experienced less anxiety, and felt that their group was evaluated more positively. In contrast, dominant group members, White (European) Canadians, had a more negative reaction to the color-blind message in that the message led them to adopt a prevention orientation in which they were worried about doing and saying the wrong thing. Furthermore, these concerns were coupled with expressions of negative affect. Following from this line of research, it would appear that the color-blind perspective is not a reliable approach to promoting positive intergroup interactions for everyone.

An alternative framework to color-blindness is that of multiculturalism (see Fowers & Davidow, 2006). The multiculturalism approach emphasizes valuing diversity. It suggests that

individuals should recognize and appreciate differences between groups rather than ignoring them and pretending that they do not exist. Acknowledging each group's strengths and the ways in which they can contribute to society is also highlighted within this approach. Theoretically, the Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Model (Hewstone & Brown, 1986) provides support for the ideas within this diversity perspective. The model puts forth the idea that intergroup tensions can be reduced within the context of a cooperative relationship without dismantling group boundaries. Weakening group boundaries may be threatening for those who identify strongly with their ethnic origins. Instead, these authors suggest that individuals should recognize the different knowledge and skills members of different groups can contribute.

Park and Judd (2005) emphasize the benefits that can be achieved by incorporating each group's talents to create a stronger whole. Instead of fearing the outgroup, individuals should aim to understand and respect each other. Drawing from the knowledge that each group has to offer, we can fortify our society in ways that no group can achieve on its own. Further support for this perspective comes from a study by Richeson and Nussbaum (2004) who asked White undergraduates to read a passage containing either a color-blind or multiculturalism ideological prompt. Upon measuring explicit bias through questionnaires, they found less racial attitude bias in those presented with a message advocating diversity than those presented with the color-blind message. Moreover, the same pattern of results was evident when racial attitude bias was measured with an implicit association test. Likewise, Vorauer, Gagnon, and Sasaki's (2009) research further suggests benefits of the diversity approach over that of color-blindness: In this study, both dominant and minority group members exhibited more positive attention to the outgroup member when given a diversity message, directing more positive other-directed remarks to him or her during the exchange.

Potential Mechanisms

Why do these messages have the effects that they have on intergroup relations? In regard to the color-blind perspective, one explanation may be found by turning to the literature on evaluative concerns. Focusing on the self instead of focusing on one's interaction partner can lead to somewhat awkward, unnatural, and negative interactions. For example, research has revealed that evaluative concerns can lead to a plethora of unfavorable effects including cognitive depletion (Richeson & Shelton, 2003; Richeson & Trawalter, 2005), increased anxiety and avoidance (Stephan & Stephan, 1985), less openness, and less friendly behavior (Vorauer & Turpie, 2004). Although individuals are generally quite attuned to how they are seen by others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), such concerns may generally be elevated in intergroup interaction (see Vorauer, 2006). Because the color-blind perspective highlights the importance of ignoring social categories, it is apt to instantiate a focus on monitoring the self, particularly for dominant group members, to ensure no prejudiced remarks are made and that behavior is not discriminatory. That is, activating the color-blind perspective may enhance evaluative concerns and their concomitant undesirable outcomes in members of the dominant group. Perhaps the aspects of the color-blind message that lead dominant group members to become self-focused and to monitor their own behavior are the very same ones that foster feelings of identity security in minority group members.

In contrast, the diversity perspective may be seen as inducing an impression formation mindset. Here the focus is not on the self but instead on the interaction partner. Adopting an other-focus in an attempt to achieve an accurate impression has been shown to lead individuals to ask more open-ended questions and to have more positive interactions in first meeting situations (Neuberg, 1989). Likewise, instructing individuals to seek out information about an

interaction partner can lead to less apprehension, less awkwardness, and more confidence for both parties involved (Leary, Kowalski, & Bergen, 1988). In comparison to evaluative concerns, impression formation has been shown to lead to less anxiety and less cognitive depletion in both intragroup and intergroup interaction (Sasaki & Vorauer, 2009). Furthermore, this effect seems to be contagious as it applies equally to the individual who adopts the impression formation mindset and their interaction partner. Additional work in an intergroup context reveals that instructing individuals with token status to act as evaluators minimized their self-focus and was effective in reducing the cognitive deficits associated with tokenism (Saenz & Lord, 1989). Therefore, it appears that a diversity perspective may foster more positive outcomes by inducing an impression formation mindset.

To summarize the literature examining the effects of ideological prompts thus far, it appears that the color-blind perspective has a positive effect on minority group members, in terms of the feelings of identity safety it prompts, and a negative effect on dominant group members, in terms of the expression of negative affect it triggers. The diversity perspective is beneficial for both minority and dominant group members, in that it prompts positive other-directed comments. The search for an effective message might be considered to be complete, given the positive effects of the diversity message on both dominant and minority group members. However, the positive effect of the color-blind perspective on minority group members' felt security should not be ignored. Feeling safe and secure with one's identity can have important benefits. For example, women who experienced identity safety while completing a leadership task were better able maintain leadership aspirations in the face of a potentially threatening situation in comparison to those who did not (Davies, Spencer, & Steele, 2005). The question then arises as to whether it is possible to devise a message that upholds the effect of the

diversity message on positive other-directed attention but at the same time incorporates the identity safety fostered by the color-blind message.

Dual Identities

Gaertner, Dovidio, and colleagues' Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993; see also Gaertner, Dovidio, Nier, Ward, & Banker, 1999) suggests that if different groups perceive themselves as part of a larger, more inclusive group instead of as separate, individual groups, they should react more positively to former outgroup members by way of extending a pro-ingroup bias to them. At the same time, because most individuals are likely to want to preserve their specific ethnic identities, these researchers suggest adopting a dual identity approach. In this way, individuals can benefit from sharing a common, superordinate identity but still identify with their original, distinctive, subgroup identities. Thus, in this approach individuals are not asked to abandon any part of their character but, in a sense, add to it by acknowledging that they are a part of a larger group.

Gonzalez and Brown (2003) explored the benefits attached to four different influential approaches to encouraging positive intergroup relations. Participants completed a cooperative task under one of four conditions. The first was a 'Separate-Individuals' condition, representing the Decategorized Contact Model, where each participant worked independently so that no group membership would be salient. The second was the 'One-Group' condition, representing the Common Ingroup Identity Model. Here participants were given matching shirts to wear and an emphasis was placed on the fact that they all attended the same university. Individuals were asked to work together to find the best solution. The third, 'Two-Groups' condition, was based on the Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Model. Participants were broken up into two groups and were given different colored shirts to wear depending on the group to which they belonged.

Each group sat on separate sides of the table. They were asked to work on the task to find the best joint solution. Finally, the 'Dual-Identity' condition represented the Dual Identity Model. This condition was similar to the Two-Groups condition but emphasis was also placed on the fact that the participants were all students at the same university. Gonzalez and Brown found that participants in the 'One-Group' and 'Dual-Identity' conditions generalized positive attitudes toward the ingroup beyond the contact situation whereas individuals adopting the other categorization strategies did not. Essentially then, this study provides support for both the Dual Identity and Common Ingroup Identity Models.

Having tested the effects of these models only in situations including groups of equal size and status (an unlikely occurrence in society), these authors sought to further their research into effective means for limiting intergroup bias (Gonzalez & Brown, 2006). In order to focus more directly on the categorization strategies that were found most effective in their previous work, the authors decided to omit the condition associated with the Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Model. Thus, they examined the effectiveness of three categorization strategies, decategorization ('Separate-Individuals'), recategorization ('One-Group'), and dual identities ('Dual-Identity').

In the first of two studies, participants were asked to work in groups of varying sizes (to represent minority and majority groups) on a cooperative task. Minority and majority groups were brought together under one of the three randomly assigned categorization strategy conditions. Results revealed that minority groups showed more bias than majority groups. During contact, each categorization strategy limited bias and each was equally effective in doing so. In contrast, outside of the contact situation only the recategorization and dual identity strategies were effective.

In the second study, in addition to group size, group status was also manipulated (high versus low status). Group size was shown to have the same affect on bias such that more bias was presented by minority than majority group members. Group status also affected bias in that high status groups were more biased than low status groups. As in the first study, all three categorization strategies limited bias in the contact situation. However, outside the contact situation, none of the strategies limited bias for the majority groups and only the dual identity strategy limited bias for the minority groups. It appears, then, that the dual identity framework shows some promise for introducing more positive intergroup relations, perhaps especially for minority group members. Indeed, Gonzalez and Brown (2003) suggest that by avoiding the loss of group distinctiveness while also identifying the self as a part of a larger group, this approach can successfully achieve more positive intergroup relations.

Mixed Message

Capitalizing on the dual identity approach with a focus on intergroup interaction behavior and dynamics, the present research sought to combine the color-blind and multiculturalism messages together to form a mixed message. The goal was thus to create a message that allows individuals to maintain their ethnic identity while at the same time recognize that they are part of a larger, more inclusive group containing all citizens of their country. That is, the main theme of the message was to encourage individuals to appreciate that we all have our own unique and valuable cultural backgrounds, while, at the same time, we are all (in this case) Canadians and share fundamental human qualities.

Generally speaking, merging the messages together into a single message with dual aspects was expected to have a positive effect on intergroup interaction. More specifically, I proposed that minority group members would be able to experience the positive effects of the

diversity message while at the same time feeling the identity safety and feelings of group value induced by the color-blind perspective. Predictions for dominant group members were somewhat more tentative in that I anticipated that these individuals would experience some of the evaluative concerns and prevention orientation that were previously shown to be aroused by the color-blind perspective (Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, 2009). However, in the context of a mixed message, these effects were expected to take on a more positive tone, leading individuals to be aware of what they are saying and doing without being overly cautious or concerned. That is, dominant group members would work to avoid coming across as prejudiced while still adopting an outward focus. Indeed, Vorauer and Turpie (2004) have shown that evaluative concerns can, in certain cases, lead to beneficial outcomes: These researchers found that evaluative concerns prompted higher-prejudice individuals, who expected to be seen in light of negative stereotypes regarding their ingroup, to actually behave more positively toward outgroup members. Moreover, because individuals are extremely responsive to prompts that imply an outward focus, even in the context of other messages (Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy, 2000), I suspected that the diversity aspect of the message might still have positive effects.

Alternatively, there was the possibility that one message would overpower the other and thus exert an effect more closely resembling that of the individual message alone. If the diversity message proved to override the color-blind message, this would not necessarily be a negative finding, however, it would render the mixed message to be of little value. It would be particularly undesirable, however, if the color-blind message overrode the diversity message and triggered the previously demonstrated prevention orientation and expression of negative affect for dominant group members (Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, in press). Given the literature,

however, the first, more encouraging, hypothesis is better supported and thus assumed more likely.

Research Paradigm and Hypotheses

In the present study, I investigated the effects of a mixed message for promoting positive intergroup relations in the context of an intergroup interaction. Dominant and minority group members were given the diversity, color-blind, or mixed message to read over before engaging in an interaction with an outgroup member. In addition, some participants were in a no-message control condition for comparison purposes. The design of the study followed the ostensible partner paradigm successfully used in previous research on intergroup interaction (e.g., Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998; Vorauer & Turpie, 2004; Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, in press) in which participants are led to believe that they are interacting with a real individual. Following this approach, participants were brought into the laboratory for an exchange of written information with an ostensible interaction partner whose responses had been pre-constructed based on those typically given by university students in previous studies.

Generally speaking, the color-blind and diversity messages were expected to elicit effects akin to those found by Vorauer, Gagnon, and Sasaki (in press), whereby minority group members reacted positively to both messages whereas dominant group members reacted positively only to the diversity message. Most importantly, the mixed message was expected to encompass the positive effects of both messages.

My specific predictions were applied to three main categories of outcomes which were intuitively derived given the nature of the measures. The first of these, *self-focus to prevent prejudice*, was expected to be reflected in greater recall of one's own specific comments made during the interaction, greater self-awareness and evaluative concern, greater self-regulation

effort as indexed by depletion on the Stroop color-naming task after the interaction (Richeson & Shelton, 2003), and adoption of a prevention orientation and concomitant expression of negative affect during the interaction (e.g., discomfort, nervousness, self-criticism). The second category of outcomes, *engagement and positive attention to other*, was anticipated in regard to greater recall of the interaction partner's specific comments during the interaction, more positive impressions and greater perceived warmth of the interaction partner, higher numbers of positive other-directed remarks and questions asked of the other, higher levels of helping behaviors, and adoption of a promotion orientation and concomitant expressions of positive affect during the interaction. The third category, *trust and felt security*, was expected to be shown in fewer reports of anxiety and nervousness in an open-ended thought-listing heading into the interaction, more positive ratings of one's ingroup and how the ingroup is viewed by the outgroup, more positive metaperceptions, higher reports of self-other merging, and higher levels of self-disclosure.

My key predictions are summarized in Table 1. My first hypothesis was that dominant group members in the color-blind condition would exhibit more self-focus to prevent prejudice than those in all other conditions. Dominant group members in the mixed message condition were also expected to exhibit some level of self-focus to prevent prejudice. However, this propensity was expected to be mitigated by the diversity aspect of the mixed message. Dominant group members in the diversity condition and minority group members across all conditions were expected to exhibit the least amount of self-focus to prevent prejudice.

My second hypothesis applied to dominant and minority group members in the diversity and mixed message conditions, in that these individuals were expected to exhibit the most positive attention to other. Due to the anticipated increases in identity safety and comfort for

minority group members, I further reasoned that these individuals in the mixed message condition would show especially high levels of these other-focused effects.

My third hypothesis was that minority group members in the color-blind and mixed message conditions would exhibit the highest levels of trust and felt security: The aspects of these messages that lead dominant group members to become self-focused and to monitor their own behavior should lead minority group members to feel that their group is valued and to report being less anxious and nervous, and to feel closer to their partner, reflecting enhanced feelings of identity safety. With this enhanced sense of security, I further expected these individuals to self-disclose more information to their partners.

Overall, then, I expected that dominant and minority group members in the mixed message condition would both experience the positive effects of other-focus, and that minority group members would also experience identity safety. The color-blind message alone would be less beneficial because it would likely trigger counter-productive self-focus in dominant group members, and the diversity message alone would be less beneficial because it would not trigger identity safety in minority group members.

In addition, I expected that all participants would endorse the message that was administered to them. Seeing as all of the messages are aimed at improving intergroup relations, not endorsing the message would be socially undesirable: One who does not endorse such messages may be seen as prejudiced. Because even moderately or highly prejudiced individuals are not likely to wish to explicitly demonstrate their biases, it seemed likely that all individuals would report endorsement of their given message.

Method

Participants

Upon approval of this research by the Psychology and Sociology Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba, one hundred and six introductory psychology students (43% male) who self-identified as having a White (European) or Aboriginal ethnic background (50% White) participated in this study for partial course credit.¹ This choice was guided by a desire to address experiences of members of a dominant group and of those belonging to a salient minority group in Winnipeg where the research was conducted. Indeed, 10% of Winnipeg's population is comprised of Aboriginal people, the highest proportion of any major city in the country (Statistics Canada, 2008b). Participants' ranged in age from 17 to 35 years ($M = 19.56$ years). Participants were randomly assigned to the color-blind, multicultural, mixed message, or no message control condition.

Materials

In order to ensure the maximum effectiveness of the mixed message, a pilot study was conducted in which individuals of various ethnicities were asked to evaluate one of two versions of the message. One version led with the multicultural aspect of the message (see Appendix A) while the other led with the color-blind aspect (see Appendix B). The idea behind the two versions was to investigate whether there was a primacy or recency effect that would lead individuals to focus more on one aspect of the mixed message than the other. For comparison purposes, participants in this pilot study also reviewed either the color-blind and diversity message alone (as used in Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, in press). Upon reading one of the four messages in the between-subjects design, individuals provided an open-ended response summarizing what they considered to be the main points within the passage. Participants then indicated on a scale of one to seven the extent to which the message advocated focusing on similarities and the extent to which it advocated appreciating differences. Two scale items

pertaining to diversity were combined together for an overall index of diversity and the two items pertaining to color-blindness were combined together for an overall color-blind index. One hundred and twelve participants of dominant (48%) and minority status (52%) took part in the pilot study.²

A 4 (Message Condition: mixed 1 vs. mixed 2 vs. color-blind vs. diversity) x 2 (Index: Diversity vs. Color-blind) x 2 (Group: Dominant vs. Minority) repeated-measures ANOVA was conducted. The analysis yielded a main effect for index, whereby diversity was generally endorsed more ($M = 5.56$, $SD = 1.14$) than color-blindness ($M = 5.29$, $SD = 1.35$), $F(1, 98) = 3.83$, $p = 0.05$. However, this main effect was moderated by message condition, as indicated by a Message Condition x Index interaction $F(3, 98) = 13.89$, $p < .001$. See Table 2 for the means and standard deviations. Simple effects analyses were conducted to probe the nature of the index effect for each of the four message conditions. As expected, there was no significant index effect for the first version of the mixed message, $F(1, 98) = 2.01$, *ns*, or the second version of the mixed message, $F(1, 98) = 1.91$, *ns*, confirming that the color-blind and pro-diversity themes were equally represented in each of the mixed messages. Also as expected, in the color-blind message condition, ratings on the color-blind index were higher ($M = 5.65$, $SD = 1.17$) than those on the diversity index ($M = 5.06$, $SD = 1.18$), $F(1, 98) = 4.19$, $p < 0.05$, confirming that the color-blind theme was communicated more clearly in this condition. Likewise, in the diversity message condition ratings on the diversity index were higher ($M = 6.14$, $SD = .84$) than ratings on the color-blind index ($M = 4.34$, $SD = 1.66$), $F(1, 98) = 38.64$, $p < .001$, confirming that the diversity theme was communicated more clearly in this condition. A main effect for ethnicity was also found, $F(1, 98) = 10.76$, $p = .001$, whereby White Canadian participants endorsed the messages more ($M = 5.71$, $SD = 0.81$) than Chinese Canadian participants ($M = 5.13$, $SD = 0.98$);

importantly, however, ethnicity did not moderate any message or index effects. Given that diversity and color-blindness were balanced over both of the mixed messages, the second version of the mixed message was chosen for the present study as the analysis indicated that these aspects were slightly more balanced in this message condition.

Procedure

Participants arrived at the laboratory to participate in a study of “social interaction” (see Appendix C for recruitment script). Upon arrival, participants were notified by the experimenter that the study focuses on first meetings situations between members of different ethnic groups and how perceptions are affected by the kind of information that is exchanged between two people. Ostensibly, then, they had a partner in a room down the hall with whom they would be communicating through an exchange of written information and that they would have the option of meeting him or her face-to-face at the end of the study session if both agreed to do so. They were also informed of their partner’s ethnicity (Aboriginal Canadian if the participant was White (European) Canadian and White (European) Canadian if the participant was Aboriginal Canadian). While, ethically, deceiving participants can induce some risk, the significant variability that would be introduced by having an actual interaction partner would make it extremely difficult to test hypotheses given that this study aims to look at how participants are affected by the manipulations separately from how they are affected by the impact of the manipulation on their partner’s behavior.

Participants were then left alone to fill out a brief personal information sheet (see Appendix D) that included demographic questions (i.e., sex, age, ethnicity), as well as two questions about their personal qualities and about what a typical school day entails. After allowing time for the participant to complete the sheet, the experimenter collected it from the

participant to ostensibly take to his or her partner while providing the participant with his or her ostensible partner's completed sheet to read (see Appendix E). The ostensible participant's sheet indicated that he ("Kevin") or she ("Anna") was the same sex as the participant and that he or she was either White (European) Canadian or Aboriginal Canadian depending on the participants' own ethnicity (so as to create an intergroup interaction). The answers to the questions regarding personal qualities were typical of the kinds of answers that most students provide on such questions. In addition, the sheet indicated that he or she was new to the city and would like to find a good restaurant to go out for dinner with a friend visiting from back home.

Experimental Manipulation. Once the participant had sufficient time to read his or her ostensible partner's personal information sheet, the experimenter returned to administer the experimental manipulation. She explained that "we have found that it helps participants to reflect on issues relevant to intergroup interaction before proceeding to the more involved part of the exchange, in order to make their views more accessible and better prepare them to answer the questions that we ask after the interaction is over." She then provided participants with a brief verbal summary of the passage regarding ethnic issues in Canada (appropriate to participants' condition) before giving them the written version to read on their own. They were then asked to list five reasons why implementing this approach would be beneficial and were given a list of responses that allegedly have been given by other students and were asked to indicate which of these responses were similar to their own (see Appendices F, G, and H for the messages and questionnaires for the color-blind, diversity, and mixed message, respectively). This process is aimed at ensuring the acknowledgment of the given message and strengthening the manipulation. The messages (with the exception of the newly created mixed message) and instructions that the participants received were those that have successfully been employed by Vorauer, Gagnon, and

Sasaki (in press; see also Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). Participants in the no message control condition did not receive a message.

Upon completing a two-minute open-ended thought listing task (see Appendix I), participants then completed a second, more extensive personal information sheet (see Appendix J). This information sheet provided participants with the opportunity to ask any questions of their partner that they wished and contained closeness-inducing questions from Aron, Melinat, Aron, Vallone, and Bator (1997). Participants were then left alone for fifteen minutes to provide their answers. When the experimenter returned, she had the partner's completed sheet for them to read (see Appendix K) and ostensibly took their completed sheet to their partner. Participants were left alone for five minutes to read their partner's answers. They then completed the Stroop Color Naming Task on the computer, one of two versions of a recall task (in counterbalanced order, see Appendix L), and a final questionnaire (see Appendix M). Finally, participants were thanked and thoroughly debriefed (see Appendix N) regarding the deception they experienced to ensure their psychological well-being with regard to the study following such procedures. See Appendix O for a full experimenter script for the study procedures.

Dependent Measures

Unless otherwise indicated, all scale ratings made by participants and coders were made on 7-point scales where higher numbers indicate stronger endorsement. Coders were paid undergraduate research assistants who were trained and supervised by the researcher through detailed written instructions (see Appendix P). Each coder was advised to thoroughly read over the instructions and then completed examples in the presence of the supervisor to ensure understanding. Coders were advised to clarify all uncertainties with the supervisor.

Behavior. Three independent coders rated the behavior exhibited in the second personal information sheet. They were blind to participant ethnicity and experimental condition but were aware of all other information provided to the participants.

Coders counted the number of positive other-directed comments and questions asked of the ostensible partner. Negative and neutral or ambiguous other-directed comments toward other were also counted for comparison. Scale ratings of the intimacy and breadth of the information provided by participants index self-disclosure. Coders also provided scale ratings indicating the perceived warmth of participants' response to their partner. Helping behavior was indexed by the extent to which participants provided their ostensible partner with suggestions on restaurants in response to his or her indication that he or she is looking for a place to take an out of town visitor. Negative affect was assessed with scale ratings of participants' apparent hostility, discomfort, nervousness, self-criticism, and uncertainty, whereas positive affect was assessed with ratings of participants' apparent level of happiness, friendliness, interest, enthusiasm, and attentiveness.

Open-Ended Thought-Listing Task. Coders also assessed participants' responses to the open-ended thought-listing task. They were asked to count the number of references to anxiousness or nervousness given their relevance to intergroup contexts (see Stephan & Stephan, 1985) and their importance to the literature on the effects of contact given that there has primarily been a focus on positive features (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). These negative aspects are also important given that the positive aspects are assessed in other contexts (e.g., positive other-directed remarks). In addition, they provided counts of the number of references that participants made to their impressions of their partner. As a measure of metaperceptions, coders counted any comments where participants referred to beliefs about how they are viewed

by their partner. Coders also distinguished between positive and negative metaperceptions and impressions.

Recall. Participants were given eight minutes to complete two recall tasks. In order to identify self- versus other-focus, they were asked to write down everything they remembered about what they said to their partner and what their partner said to them; their responses were coded for quantity. Thus, participants who were able to recall more of their own specific comments than their partners were likely focused more on the self than the interaction partner and those who recalled more of their partner's comments were likely focused more on the other. These recall tasks were provided to participants in a counterbalanced order.

Stroop Interference. The experimenter introduced the Stroop task as an "information processing task" that was relevant to the researchers' interest in how exchanging different types of information affects cognitive processing. Participants were instructed to press the color-labeled button that corresponds to the word or letter string that appears on the computer screen. They had 20 practice trials followed by 7 blocks of 12 experimental trials each, for a total of 84 experimental trials. Each word or letter string appeared on the screen for a maximum of 2000 ms, preceded by a fixation cross, with a 1500 ms interval between trials. Trials in which the color name matched its semantic meaning were labeled as *congruent* trials, whereas trials in which the color name did not match its semantic meaning were labeled as *incongruent* trials. Interference scores were calculated by subtracting congruent trial latencies from incongruent trial latencies to provide an index of self-regulation effort exerted during the interaction.

Questionnaire

Regulatory Focus and Mindset. At the beginning of the questionnaire, participants provided scale ratings as to their prevention and promotion orientation, with higher scores on the

prevention items indicating a greater motivation towards prevention and higher scores for promotion indicating a greater motivation toward promotion. For example, participants indicated whether or not they were trying to avoid saying or doing the wrong thing during the exchange as an indication of prevention. They also indicated the extent to which they were concerned with evaluation and the extent to which they were focused on impression formation during the exchange as an indication of promotion.

Felt Security. Using the “evaluation thermometer” (Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993), participants provided ratings of how positively they feel toward their ingroup and how positively they believe their ingroup is viewed by the outgroup; they also indicated their feelings toward the outgroup for comparison purposes. This measure was chosen for its purely evaluative nature in that it assesses participants’ attitudes in the absence of specific dimensions on which the groups are to be rated. Participants provided a number between 0° (extremely unfavorable) and 100° (extremely favorable) for each question. Participants also completed the public, private, and ingroup identification subscales of Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) collective self-esteem scale.

Metaperceptions and Impressions. Participants were asked to indicate their desire for future interaction and their partner’s presumed desire for future interaction with them using Coyne’s (1976) desire for future interaction scale ($\alpha = .88$), adapted to include “metaperceptual” ratings. Perceived similarity was assessed using items from the Perceived Homophily Measure (McCroskey, Richmond, & Daly, 1975). This index asks individuals to rate how similar they are to their partner on dimensions including behavior, ways of thinking, attitudes, personal qualities, and values ($\alpha = .85$). Aron, Aron, and Smollan’s (1992) Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale was used as an index of self-other merging and closeness. This scale provides seven Venn diagrams depicting varying degrees of self-other overlap and asks participants to choose the one that they

best feels describes their relationship with their partner. Participants were also asked to rate themselves and their partners on a number of impression measures. For participants' self impressions, individuals rated themselves on self-friendliness, self-openness, and self-sincerity ($\alpha = .79$). For impressions of their partners, individuals rated their partner on other-friendliness, other-openness, and other-sincerity ($\alpha = .74$).

Other Measures

Participants completed a variety of other measures on an exploratory basis. For example, they were asked to report their general feelings toward outgroups (e.g., individuals of other religions and social classes).

Manipulation Check

To ensure understanding of the message provided in each condition, participants were asked to rate the extent to which the message advocated focusing on similarities and the extent to which it advocated appreciating differences. They also indicated how much they endorsed the message and the extent to which they felt targeted by the message.

Results

Six participants with a White (European) ethnic background who were born outside of Canada were excluded from analyses as their national ties may reside with their place of birth, with views of intergroup relations in Canada differing as such. Participants in the color-blind ($M = 5.74$, $SD = .21$), diversity ($M = 5.86$, $SD = .22$), and mixed ($M = 6.14$, $SD = .21$) message conditions all endorsed their respective messages equally, $F(2, 70) = 1.05$, *ns*.

All dependent measures were analyzed using hierarchical multiple regression. Participant ethnicity (White = -1; Aboriginal = 1) was entered on the first step, along with three contrast vectors comparing each of the message conditions with the no-message control condition (e.g.,

for the mixed message contrast, mixed = 1, control = -1, and the other conditions = 0). All significant effects involving message condition are reported below. Overall descriptive statistics for measures not showing significant message effects are depicted in Table 3.

Self-Focus to Prevent Prejudice

The analyses of evaluative concern, self-regulatory effort, and participants' motivation tested my hypothesis that White Canadian participants in the color-blind condition would evidence the most self-focus to prevent prejudice. The analysis of evaluative concern yielded a main effect whereby the color-blind message increased individuals' concern with evaluation, $b = 0.57$, $\beta = .24$, $t(95) = 1.98$, $p = .05$, suggesting that, contrary to predictions, the effect of evaluative concern was not moderated by ethnicity; evaluative concerns were elevated for both White Canadian and Aboriginal Canadian participants. Means for evaluative concerns are displayed in Table 4. The analysis of self-regulatory effort yielded a significant Participant Ethnicity x Color-blind Contrast interaction, $b = -29.33$, $\beta = -.25$, $t(91) = -2.04$, $p < .05$.³ As predicted, in comparison to the control condition, there was a nonsignificant trend for Aboriginal Canadian participants to be less depleted, $b = -26.93$, $t = -1.35$, ns , and White Canadian participants to be more depleted, $b = 31.73$, $t = 1.53$, ns , in the color-blind condition. Further simple effects analyses revealed that there was no differences in self-regulatory effort between White Canadian participants and Aboriginal Canadian participants in the color-blind condition, $b = -24.43$, $t = -1.35$, ns , or the control condition $b = 3.89$, $t < 1$. See Table 5 for means regarding self-regulatory effort.

For the prevention and promotion items, an exploratory factor analysis with varimax rotation yielded a single factor with an eigenvalue exceeding 1, accounting for 60.66% of the variance. Thus, prevention and promotion were combined together to create an index of overall

motivation. The analysis of motivation revealed a significant Participant Ethnicity x Color-blind Contrast interaction, $b = .67$, $\beta = 0.35$, $t(92) = 2.92$, $p < .005$. Simple effects analyses revealed that Aboriginal Canadian participants were more motivated, $b = -0.69$, $t(92) = 2.21$, $p > .05$ whereas White Canadian participants were less motivated, $b = .66$, $t(92) = -1.95$, $p = .05$, in the color-blind condition than in the control condition. The effect of ethnicity in the color-blind condition was significant, $b = 0.65$, $t(92) = 2.41$, $p < .05$, indicating that Aboriginal Canadian participants were more motivated than White Canadian participants in this condition. There was no difference in motivation for Aboriginal and White Canadian participants in the control condition, $b = 0.24$, $t < 1$. Furthermore, a significant Participant Ethnicity x Diversity Contrast interaction, $b = -.49$, $\beta = -.25$, $t(92) = -2.08$, $p < .05$, revealed that Aboriginal Canadian participants appeared to be less motivated in the diversity than in the control condition, $b = -0.84$, $t(92) = -2.64$, $p = .01$. No significant diversity effect was found for White Canadian participants, $b = .10$, $t < 1$. The effect of ethnicity in the diversity condition was significant, $b = 0.73$, $t(92) = 2.61$, $p = .01$, whereby Aboriginal Canadian participants in the diversity condition were less motivated than White Canadian participants in this condition. Means for motivation are presented in Table 6.

No significant effects were found for participants' recall of their own specific comments, self-awareness, or expressions of negative affect.

Engagement and Positive Attention to Other

Examining impressions of self and other in terms of sincerity, openness, and friendliness provided a test of the hypothesis that all individuals in the diversity and mixed message conditions would exhibit higher levels of engagement and positive attention to other. The analysis of individuals' impressions of their partner ($\alpha = .74$) revealed a significant Participant

Ethnicity x Diversity Contrast interaction effect, $b = -0.32$, $\beta = -0.31$, $t(92) = -2.57$, $p = .01$, whereby Aboriginal Canadian participants in the diversity condition had less positive impressions of their partner than did Aboriginal Canadians in the control condition, $b = -0.38$, $t(92) = -2.25$, $p < .05$. While there was a trend for White Canadian participants to have more positive impressions of their partner in the diversity condition compared to the control condition, this was not significant, $b = 0.26$, $t(92) = 1.45$, *ns*. The simple ethnicity effect was not significant in the diversity condition, $b = -0.28$, $t(92) = 1.17$, *ns*, or the control condition, $b = 0.13$, $t(92) = 1.55$, *ns*, indicating no differences between the positivity of the impressions formed by White versus Aboriginal participants in either condition. Means for the impression measure are presented in Table 7.

No significant effects were found for participants' recall of their partner's specific comments during the interaction, positive impressions of their partner reported in the thought-listing task, warmth of the interaction partner, positive other-directed remarks and questions asked of the other, helping behaviors, and expressions of positive affect. While promotion orientation was intended to be a measure of engagement and positive attention to other, the promotion items loaded together with the prevention orientation items and thus were considered in the previous section of self-focus to prevent prejudice.

Trust and Felt Security

Aboriginal Canadian participants in the color-blind and mixed message conditions were expected to evidence trust and felt security during the interactions. The analysis of self-other merging revealed a significant Participant Ethnicity x Color-blind Contrast interaction, $b = -.62$, $\beta = -.29$, $t(92) = -2.57$, $p = .01$. Somewhat surprisingly, as compared to the control condition, White Canadian participants in the color-blind condition felt closer to their partners, $b = 1.03$,

$t(92) = 2.95, p < .005$, whereas Aboriginal Canadian participants did not, $b = -0.26, t < 1$. The effect of ethnicity in the color-blind condition revealed that White Canadians felt closer to their partners than did Aboriginal Canadians, $b = -1.02, t(92) = -3.64, p < .001$, whereas there was no difference in self-other merging for White Canadian and Aboriginal Canadian participants in the control condition, $b = 0.09, t < 1$. Again, the effect for ethnicity in the control condition was not significant, $b = .01, t < 1$. Means for self-other merging are presented in Table 8.

No significant effects were found for reports of anxiety and nervousness in the open-ended thought-listing, ratings of the ingroup and how the ingroup was viewed by the outgroup, metaperceptions, or self-disclosure. In addition, none of the exploratory measures (i.e., general feelings toward outgroups in terms of nationality, religion, and social class) yielded significant effects.

Discussion

While the present study showed some consistency with my hypotheses, many inconsistencies were found as well. For self-focus to prevent prejudice, as predicted, there was a trend for Aboriginal Canadian participants to be less depleted and White Canadian participants to be more depleted in the color-blind condition. However, while I expected dominant group members in the color-blind condition to exhibit more self-focus to prevent prejudice in terms of evaluative concerns, both dominant and minority group members reported being concerned with evaluation. With respect to motivation, Aboriginal Canadian participants were more motivated to present themselves positively in the color-blind condition while White Canadian participants were less motivated. No effects were found for measures of expression of negative affect, recall of one's own comments and self-awareness. Thus, while results were in line with predictions for

depletion and for White Canadian participants' evaluative concerns, the results for motivation were inconsistent and were null for the remaining measures.

The diversity and mixed message conditions were expected to lead both dominant and minority group members to exhibit the most positive attention to other. Contrary to hypotheses, the pro-diversity message had a somewhat negative effect on Aboriginal Canadian participants, leading them to see their partner less positively. Surprisingly, the ideological prompts had no significant effect on White or Aboriginal participants' behavior. No effects were found for measures of recall of the interaction partner's specific comments during the interaction, positive impressions and perceived warmth of the interaction partner, positive other-directed remarks and questions asked of the other, helping behaviors, or expressions of positive affect during the interaction.

Contrary to the hypothesis that minority group members in the color-blind and mixed message conditions would exhibit the highest levels of trust and felt security, this was not the case. Surprisingly, White Canadian participants in the color-blind condition felt closer to their partners in comparison to participants in the control condition. No significant effects were found for reports of anxiety and nervousness, ratings of one's ingroup and how the ingroup is viewed by the outgroup, positive metaperceptions, or self-disclosure.

While the results for the color-blind ideology exhibited some consistency with previous research in terms of Aboriginal Canadian participants being less depleted and White Canadian participants being more depleted (e.g., Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, in press), key aspects such as anxiety reduction and feelings of group value for minority group members in the color-blind condition and positive behavior exhibited by individuals in the multicultural condition were not replicated in the current study. The procedure followed was the same as that used by Vorauer et

al. (in press), with one notable exception. The ostensible partner's first personal information sheet indicated an indirect request for help with finding a place to take a friend for dinner. One possible account for the differential effects across prior research and the present study is that individuals were sufficiently preoccupied with how to handle the request that the message and ethnicity of their partner became less salient. Indeed, given the indirect nature of the request it may have taken more cognitive effort to recognize and interpret (Holtgraves, 1994; 1997). Alternatively, the information may have been sufficiently individuating that it reduced individuals' propensity to think of their partner as an outgroup member, or it may have served as an overture of sorts that assuaged their evaluative concerns. While individuals often face intergroup interaction with anxiety (see Plant & Devine, 2003) and meta-stereotype activation about how their own group is viewed by the outgroup (Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998), starting off the interaction with such a request may have come across as a friendly overture, leading individuals to be reassured about their partner's acceptance of them and thus to have little anxiety to mitigate. With respect to Aboriginal Canadian participants being less motivated and having less positive impressions of their partner in the diversity condition, it is possible that calling attention to differences in an intergroup helping situation instantiated a focus on the perceived illegitimacy of the power relations between the groups (Nadler, 2002), thereby leading to less positive attitudes toward the dominant group member interaction partner. Likewise, the request for help may have been seen as somewhat insincere, as Nadler (2002) acknowledges that there is a tendency for higher status groups to reject help from lower status groups in order to maintain their advantaged position.

White Canadian participants in the color-blind condition, surprisingly, seemed to feel closer to their partner than did Aboriginal Canadian participants in this condition, as well as in

comparison to participants in the control condition. It is possible that the request for help led members of the dominant group to think about places that they liked and, along with the focus on similarities, led individuals to assume that their partners would like them as well. Further, higher status individuals may help others, in part, to gain their respect (Ackerman & Kenrick, 2008). Perhaps the combination of similarity and assumed respect from their partner led White Canadian participants to increased feelings of closeness. Moreover, perhaps because these individuals felt closer to their partner, they were also more concerned about how they were coming across and thus tried harder during the interaction; possibly explaining the finding that these individuals also exhibited more evaluative concern and self-regulatory effort in this condition. Thus, setting the interaction in a situation that includes a request for assistance, even if indirect, could have led to the inconsistencies between the current and previous research. Indeed, recent work by Vorauer and Sasaki (2009a) suggests that the setting in which the message is received may impact the effectiveness of intervention efforts.

While it was expected that taking a mixed ideology approach would capitalize on the dual identity perspective to intergroup relations, the present findings suggest that combining elements of pro-diversity and color-blind ideologies does not assist in achieving more positive intergroup interaction. In fact, the mixed message did not lead to significant increases in positive behaviors or reductions in negative behaviors. While there was a tendency for Aboriginal Canadian participants to see themselves as more friendly toward their outgroup member interaction partner in the mixed message condition, this effect does not equal a solution in terms of increasing social harmony.

With the current state of interracial relations being at less than ideal levels, this study enhances our understanding of the effectiveness of different strategies for reducing intergroup

animosity and fostering more positive relationships between members of different groups. However, great caution in drawing conclusions is necessary in view of the fact that previous findings regarding the single ideologies (multiculturalism and color-blindness) were not clearly replicated. It is not uncommon for individuals in society to encounter a number of different ideologies – the multicultural and color-blind ideologies in particular – that imply different approaches to intergroup relations. Evident in the current study, receiving a combination of these messages does not lead individuals to more positive intergroup interactions. It may be that there is just too much going on within the message or that the different aspects just seem too contradictory to comprehend as a whole. Indeed, the mixed message did not yield results that were consistent with the effects of either the color-blind or diversity message alone. This finding is important in and of itself, in that if people really are hearing both messages in their everyday encounters, the contradictory nature of the two will not necessarily lead to more positive outcomes. However, it is possible that while the mixed message seemed to incorporate key aspects of both messages, other or additional aspects of the individual messages should have been included. That is, perhaps there may be a superior mixed message that was not explored in this research. Perhaps less of a focus on differences per se, and more of a focus on contributions would enhance the diversity aspect and prove to be less strikingly contradictory to the similarity focus of the color-blind message. Alternatively, perhaps simply reading about a message that calls upon dual identities is insufficient to actually activate them both at the same time and more needs to be done to call them to attention. For example, the positive effects of dual identities that were evident in Gonzalez and Brown's (2003) research occurred through several steps (i.e., colored t-shirts, common logos, and group photographs) designed to encourage the salience of both identities.

Future Directions

The present research did not clearly replicate previous work finding an overall positive effect for a pro-diversity ideology. With that said, it may be important to examine the multicultural ideology more thoroughly and perhaps fine-tune aspects to ensure that it induces the most positive outcomes. Indeed, recent research has shown that the positive effects of multiculturalism do seem to be variable across different circumstances and individuals (Vorauer & Sasaki, 2009a; 2009b). Thus, consistent with recent work examining the effects of impression formation (Sasaki & Vorauer, 2009), perhaps a pro-diversity ideology that focuses less on differences and more on adopting an outward perspective may be more beneficial.

Although this research is strong in many aspects, including the examination of multiple ideologies and the multiple measures used to examine participants' reactions to these ideologies, there are a number of issues that may be worth investigating with subsequent research. Firstly, the questionnaires were of self-report nature which can be questionable due to social desirability concerns (e.g., the desire to mask racial biases). However, such measures have been used successfully in other research (e.g., Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, in press). Secondly, the ostensible interaction paradigm may raise doubts about whether or not these findings will generalize to real face-to-face interactions. While I advocate that these ostensible interactions can and do generalize to real interactions, as successfully illustrated by Vorauer and colleagues (e.g., Vorauer, Cameron, Holmes, & Pearce, 2003; Vorauer, Martens, & Sasaki, 2009), a possible direction for future research may be to conduct this study with two physically present participants to examine how the behavioral reactions, both verbal and nonverbal, may affect interaction partners and to generalize to more naturalistic settings. Thirdly, because this research focuses on only one ethnic minority group, namely Aboriginal Canadians, subsequent research

may want to include other minority groups to investigate the generalizability of the findings. Individuals' cultural background could influence how they interpret the ideologies (Thorsteinson, 2009). For example, individuals from collectivist cultures, where there is an emphasis on interdependence, may be more likely to seek inclusion than are those from individualist cultures where the emphasis is on autonomy (see Brewer & Chen, 2007).

In conclusion, the current study found that combining elements of a pro-diversity and a color-blind ideology does not result in more positive intergroup interaction than does either message alone. Moreover, none of the messages yielded an all-around positive effect for all individuals. Thus, with the current, and increasing, ethnic diversity within the nation, it is imperative that researchers continue to examine ways to maintain and improve social harmony between higher and lower status groups to ensure positive outcomes for all individuals alike.

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Appendix A

Mixed Message Version 1

Sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists all agree that interethnic issues are a #1 concern for Canada. We are in the unique position of having many different cultural groups living within our borders. These groups bring different perspectives to life, providing a richness in food, dress, music, art, styles of interaction, and problem solving strategies. Each ethnic group within Canada can contribute in its own unique way. In order to validate each group and recognize its existence and importance to the social fabric, it is important to acknowledge each group's talents and problems. Recognizing this diversity would help build a sense of harmony and complementarity among the various ethnic groups. At the same time, we must remember that we are all first and foremost human beings, and second, we are all citizens of Canada. We must try to understand each person as an individual who is part of the larger group, "Canadians." Recognizing the ways in which we are all the same will help us to find common ground and work together on difficult and important problems within our society. Thus, social scientists encourage us to see the larger picture; to understand and appreciate our cultural diversity while at the same time realize that, at our core, we all share the same fundamental human qualities.

Appendix B

Mixed Message Version 2

Sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists all agree that interethnic issues are a #1 concern for Canada. We are in the unique position of having many different cultural groups living within our borders. With that said, it is important to remember that we are all first and foremost human beings, and second, we are all citizens of Canada. We must try to understand each person as an individual who is part of the larger group, "Canadians."

Recognizing the ways in which we are all the same will help us to find common ground and work together on difficult and important problems within our society. At the same time, these groups bring different perspectives to life, providing a richness in food, dress, music, art, styles of interaction, and problem solving strategies. Each ethnic group within Canada can contribute in its own unique way. In order to validate each group and recognize its existence and importance to the social fabric, it is important to acknowledge each group's talents and problems.

Recognizing this diversity would help build a sense of harmony and complementarity among the various ethnic groups. Thus, social scientists encourage us to realize that, at our core, we all share the same fundamental human qualities while at the same time to see the larger picture; to understand and appreciate our cultural diversity.

Appendix C

Recruitment

My name is _____. I am calling on behalf of the department of Psychology at the U of M. At the beginning of classes you filled out a questionnaire during your introductory psychology class. On the questionnaire you indicated that you were willing to be contacted in order to participate in future studies.

I am calling you to ask for your help by participating in a study I am conducting this term. The study will take about an hour and a half and will give you 3 experimental credits. The study examines social perception in first meeting situations.

Would you like to know more about the study?

If No: Would you be interested in participating?

[If yes, skip to "Would you be available..."; If no, "OK, thank you for your time."]

If Yes: Our specific focus is on how perceptions are affected by the kind of information that is exchanged between two people. The study involves exchanging written information with another student and potentially meeting the student for a face-to-face discussion. The information that you exchange with the other student includes your answers to some questions about your personal qualities and how you would respond to various hypothetical situations. You are also asked to fill out some questionnaires including questions about your thoughts and feelings during the exchange. You will also be asked to do an information processing task involving color-identification. Before the session begins, you will be asked to sign a form indicating that you agree to participate. This study allows you to learn first hand about psychological research and does not involve any risks. Do you have any questions?

If Yes: Address questions.

If No: Would you be interested in participating?

If Yes: Would you be available to participate on (name date and time)? I should emphasize that in this study we arrange to have two students come in for each session, and the study cannot be run unless both people show up. So it is **really important** that you arrive for the study at the arranged time. Thank-you. Please contact me at 474-6936 as soon as possible if you can't make it at the arranged time.

On _____ (agreed upon date and time) you should come to the Duff Roblin Bldg. and wait in the 5th floor waiting room (even if no one else is there). We don't want the two participants in a given session to meet each other ahead of time, so we are asking each person to wait in a different spot. I will come meet you and take you to the lab room where the study is taking place.

If No: OK, thank-you for your time.

Appendix D

Personal Information Sheet #1

(Note: Your answers will be shared with the other participant in this session)

First Name: _____

Section One: Demographic Information

Sex (please circle one): Male Female

Age: _____

Ethnic Background: Please indicate how you would best describe your ethnic or cultural background by checking one of the general categories presented below.

- _____ White (European)
- _____ Chinese
- _____ South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Punjabi)
- _____ Black
- _____ First Nations/Aboriginal
- _____ Filipino
- _____ Other (please specify: _____)

Section Two: Personal Qualities

What personal qualities are important to how you see yourself?

What do you consider to be your negative qualities?

Describe your typical week day.

Appendix E

Pre-prepared answers of the ostensible partner in the study

First Name: Kevin/Anna

Section One: Demographic information

Sex (please circle one): Male Female

Age: 19

Ethnic Background: Please indicate how you would best describe your ethnic or cultural background by checking one of the general categories presented below.

- ☒ White
☐ Chinese
☐ South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Punjabi)
☐ Black
☒ First Nations/ Aboriginal
☐ Filipino
☐ Other (please specify: _____)

Section Two: Personal Qualities

What personal qualities are important to how you see yourself?

I think that I am pretty open-minded, and that I am good at "reading" people. I always try to have a good sense of humor, and to look on the bright side. I care about other people. My friends and family are important to me. I like the outdoors.

What do you consider to be your negative qualities?

I often feel and act shy around others I don't know well. I've been told that I am too sensitive. I'm not always on time for things and I procrastinate a lot.

Describe your typical week day.

I usually wake up pretty early, shower, eat breakfast. I go to school, go to class then go home and watch tv before starting my homework. Sometimes I go to the gym but not today since my friend is in from back home. I wish I had a good idea of where to take her for dinner since I'm new to the city too and don't really know what's good here. I guess I'll have to ask someone.

Appendix F

We have found that it helps participants to reflect on issues relevant to intergroup interaction before proceeding to the more involved part of the exchange, in order to make their views more accessible and better prepare them to answer the questions that we ask after the interaction is over.

Please read the following passage and then answer the questions that follow.

Sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists all agree that interethnic issues are a #1 concern for Canada. With Canada's increasing flow of incoming immigrants, there is an increase in the number of different ethnic groups represented within our borders. However, we must remember that we are all first and foremost human beings, and second, we are all citizens of Canada. In order to make Canada as strong and successful as possible, we must think of ourselves not as a collection of independent factions, but instead as parts of a larger whole. We must look beyond skin color and understand the person within, to see each person as an individual who is part of the larger group, "Canadians." If we can recognize our "sameness" we will be able to work together on difficult and important problems within our society such as poverty, caring for the elderly, and medical reform. Thus, social scientists encourage us to see the larger picture, to appreciate that at our core, we really are all the same.

In the space below, please list five reasons that a unification among all ethnic groups could potentially strengthen Canada. By treating the members of all ethnic groups similarly, how might this benefit Canada? When you finish with this task, continue to the following page.

Obviously, there are no right or wrong answers to these questions. All that matters is your own opinion on these issues. Your responses will be kept completely confidential and will NOT be shared with your partner.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

The following are responses to the previous question written by other students. This is simply a collection of the reasons other students listed that a unification among all ethnic groups could potentially strengthen Canada.

Please circle the item numbers that you see as similar to your own responses.

1. A sense of patriotism when people are in one group.
2. Would solve many of the social problems and injustices that hurt us today.
3. We might become a more prosperous country with everyone working together.
4. Free flow of ideas between ethnic groups resulting in faster technological advances.
5. Not having to focus on ethnic issues frees up resources to focus on other issues.
6. People would be nicer to one another.
7. Simplify politics.
8. More cooperation with other countries if they see that we are one, not different races.
9. More productive in business when people work well together.
10. No more racial tension would result in a happier and more productive society.
11. There would be fewer hate crimes.
12. Diminishes a barrier between ethnic groups that blocks good communication.
13. Equal access to work/other positions or facilities – wouldn't have to produce extra facilities for separate but equal type policies.
14. There would be less fighting between ethnic groups.
15. Better sense of National Pride.

Appendix G

We have found that it helps participants to reflect on issues relevant to intergroup interaction before proceeding to the more involved part of the exchange, in order to make their views more accessible and better prepare them to answer the questions that we ask after the interaction is over.

Please read the following passage and then answer the questions that follow.

Sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists all agree that interethnic issues are a #1 concern for Canada. We are in the unique position of having many different cultural groups living within our borders. This could potentially be a great asset. Different cultural groups bring different perspectives to life, providing a richness in food, dress, music, art, styles of interaction, and problem solving strategies. Each ethnic group within Canada can contribute in its own unique way. Recognizing this diversity would help build a sense of harmony and complementarity among the various ethnic groups. Each group has its own talents as well as its own problems, and by acknowledging both these strengths and weaknesses, we validate the identity of each group and we recognize its existence and its importance to the social fabric. We can allow each group to utilize its assets, to be aware of its own particular problems or difficulties, and overall to live up to its potential. Thus, social scientists argue that understanding both the similarities and differences among ethnic groups is an essential component of long-term social harmony in Canada.

In the space below, please list five reasons that multiculturalism is a positive asset that could potentially strengthen Canada. When you finish with this task, continue to the following page.

Obviously, there are no right or wrong answers to these questions. All that matters is your own opinion on these issues. Your responses will be kept completely confidential and will NOT be shared with your partner.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

The following are responses to the previous question written by other students. This is simply a collection of the reasons other students listed that multiculturalism is a positive asset that could potentially strengthen Canada.

Please circle the item numbers that you see as similar to your own responses.

1. Work together better.
2. Multiculturalism brings to light different viewpoints and methods of dealing with issues.
One situation might be explained or dealt with in two separate ways by two different groups. This enhances our pool of ideas.
3. Enables the settling of future immigrants.
4. Minorities don't feel that they are unimportant.
5. Provides diversity in social climate for future generations.
6. Make society less boring.
7. Helps with international negotiations
8. Encourages bilingual communities.
9. By interacting with people from different ethnic backgrounds we are more able to understand stereotypes associated with other countries.
10. Might help cut down on crime.
11. Gives people an open mind, that their culture isn't always the best or only culture.
12. Less fighting.
13. Exposed to new goods, clothing, music, traditions, etc.
14. Learn new cultures.
15. Understand each other.

Appendix H

We have found that it helps participants to reflect on issues relevant to intergroup interaction before proceeding to the more involved part of the exchange, in order to make their views more accessible and better prepare them to answer the questions that we ask after the interaction is over.

Please read the following passage and then answer the questions that follow.

Sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists all agree that interethnic issues are a #1 concern for Canada. We are in the unique position of having many different cultural groups living within our borders. These groups bring different perspectives to life, providing a richness in food, dress, music, art, styles of interaction, and problem solving strategies. Each ethnic group within Canada can contribute in its own unique way. In order to validate each group and recognize its existence and importance to the social fabric, it is important to acknowledge each group's talents and problems. Recognizing this diversity would help build a sense of harmony and complementarity among the various ethnic groups. At the same time, we must remember that we are all first and foremost human beings, and second, we are all citizens of Canada. We must try to understand each person as an individual who is part of the larger group, "Canadians." Recognizing the ways in which we are all the same will help us to find common ground and work together on difficult and important problems within our society. Thus, social scientists encourage us to see the larger picture; to understand and appreciate our cultural diversity while at the same time realize that, at our core, we all share the same fundamental human qualities.

In the space below, please list five reasons that appreciating cultural diversity while realizing that we are all Canadian is a positive asset that could potentially strengthen Canada. When you finish with this task, continue to the following page.

Obviously, there are no right or wrong answers to these questions. All that matters is your own opinion on these issues. Your responses will be kept completely confidential and will NOT be shared with your partner.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

The following are responses to the previous question written by other students. This is simply a collection of the reasons other students listed that appreciating cultural diversity while realizing that we are all Canadian is a positive asset that could potentially strengthen Canada.

Please circle the item numbers that you see as similar to your own responses.

1. Work together better.
2. Less fighting between ethnic groups.
3. Enables the settling of future immigrants.
4. More cooperation with other countries if we realize that we share similarities amongst our differences.
5. No ethnic group will feel unimportant.
6. Would solve many of the social problems and injustices that hurt us today.
7. Might help cut down on crime.
8. No more racial tension would result in a happier and more productive society.
9. Gives people an open mind, that their culture isn't always the best or only culture.
10. People would be nicer to one another.
11. Better sense of National Pride.
12. Diminishes a barrier between ethnic groups that blocks good communication.
13. Exposed to new goods, clothing, music, traditions, etc.
14. Opportunity to learn new cultures.
15. Increase understanding between different groups.

Appendix I

Thought-Listing

Note: Your responses to this questionnaire will be completely confidential: They are coded by participant number rather than name, and the other participant in this session will never have access to your responses.

Please take two minutes to write down whatever thoughts are on your mind right now. Please write down anything that comes to mind without worrying about logic or grammar. The experimenter will let you know when two minutes are up.

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Appendix J

Personal Information Sheet #2

(Note: Your answers will be shared with the other participant in this session)

Please provide written answers to each of the following questions. You may answer the questions in as much or as little detail as you like, and you may directly refer to the other participant (e.g., his or her answers on the first personal information sheet) if that seems appropriate to you.

1. Are there any questions that you would ask the other participant if you met face-to-face? If yes please describe them. You can add any further comments or explanations you like.

2. If you knew that in one year you would die suddenly, would you change anything about the way you are now living? Why?

3. If you could change anything about the way you were raised, what would it be? Why?

4. If a crystal ball could tell you the truth about yourself, your life, the future, or anything else, what would you want to know? Why?

5. How close and warm is your family? Do you feel that your childhood was happier than most people's?

6. Is there anything else you would like to say to the other participant?

Appendix K

Partner's Ostensible Answers to Personal Information Sheet #2***(Note: Your answers will be shared with the other participant in this session)***

Please provide written answers to each of the following questions. You may answer the questions in as much or as little detail as you like, and you may directly refer to the other participant (e.g., his or her answers on the first personal information sheet) if that seems appropriate to you.

1. Are there any questions that you would ask the other participant if you met face-to-face? If yes please describe them. You can add any further comments or explanations you like.

Hi, what do you think about this study so far? Hmm... what to ask... I was wondering what kinds of courses you are taking? How do you like the U of M? Have you always lived in Winnipeg or have you lived somewhere else before? What kinds of things do you like to do in your spare time?

2. If you knew that in one year you would die suddenly, would you change anything about the way you are now living? Why?

I would definitely do more with my friends and family and try to let them know how much they mean to me. I would do less of the things I have to do like chores and school and do more of what I enjoy doing, like traveling. I would want to try new things before I died, like skydiving. The most important thing though would be spending the majority of my time with people I love most.

3. If you could change anything about the way you were raised, what would it be? Why?

Well, overall I would say my parents did a good job of raising me and I am very fortunate to have learned all the skills they taught me like good work ethic and to have balance in my life.

One thing I would have maybe changed though was to have been able to spend more time with my Grandpa. He died when I was young and I didn't really get a chance to know him that well.

4. If a crystal ball could tell you the truth about yourself, your life, the future, or anything else, what would you want to know? Why?

I'm not sure how much I would really want to know about the future, because knowing the future takes some surprise out of life. I guess I would be curious to see if I'd get a good job and if I'm on the right track with school. It would be nice to know if I will get married one day and will have kids or not. I wouldn't want to know details though or else it wouldn't be as exciting.

5. How close and warm is your family? Do you feel that your childhood was happier than most people's?

I'd say my family is pretty close. I'm fortunate to live in a loving environment and I can usually talk to my parents about anything. I don't know if my own childhood was happier than most people's because I don't know what their childhoods were like, but I would have to say mine was good. I had a lot of friends in my neighborhood to play with.

6. Is there anything else you would like to say to or ask the other participant?

Hmm... Well, this study is a bit different from what I expected. I still have a lot of research credits to get. I hope we get them all and that our classes are good.

***** put into handwriting; include grammatical errors!*****

Appendix L

Recall Task

(Your answers will be kept confidential and will not be shared with your partner**)**

We are interested in how well you remember what was said and done during your exchange with the other participant.

In the space below, please describe any and all of the other participant's specific comments that you remember. You can answer in point-form if you like. Continue on the back of the page if necessary. The experimenter will advise you when 8 minutes are up.

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

[illegible]

Recall Task

(Your answers will be kept confidential and will not be shared with the other participant**)**

We are interested in how well you remember what was said and done during your exchange with the other participant.

In the space below, please describe any and all of your own specific comments that you remember. You can answer in point-form if you like. Continue on the back of the page if necessary. The experimenter will advise you when 8 minutes are up.

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

In the space below, please describe any and all of the other participant's specific comments that you remember. You can answer in point-form if you like. Continue on the back of the page if necessary. The experimenter will advise you when 8 minutes are up.

[illegible]

Appendix M

Questionnaire

Note: Your responses to this questionnaire will be completely confidential: They are coded by participant number rather than name, and the other participant in this session will never have access to your responses.

****It is very important that you complete the questions in the order in which they appear. Please do not look ahead to upcoming questions, or go back and change answers to previous questions.****

A. Please indicate what you were thinking about during your exchange with the other participant. Circle the appropriate number:

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
1. I was conscious of my inner feelings.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. I was concerned about what the other participant thought of me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. I was focused on the other participant's feelings.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. I was self-conscious about how I appeared to the other participant.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I was reflective about my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I was focused on learning about the other participant's personal qualities and beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. I was aware of my innermost thoughts.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. I was wondering about the other participant's innermost thoughts.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. I was concerned about the way I presented myself to the other participant.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

B. Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the statements below by writing the appropriate number in the blank beside the item. Use the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

During my discussion with the other participant...

- ____ 1. I was trying to prevent my exchange with the other participant from going badly.
- ____ 2. I was thinking about how to make the exchange with the other participant a success.
- ____ 3. I was trying to avoid saying or doing the wrong thing.

- ___ 4. I was trying to make the interaction go well.
- ___ 5. I was worried that I would fail to accomplish my goals for the interaction.
- ___ 6. I was focused on positive outcomes that could be achieved in the exchange.

C. Please answer each of the questions below by writing the appropriate number in the blank beside the item. Use the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at All			Neutral	Very Much		

- ___ 1. Would you like to meet the other participant outside the experiment?
- ___ 2. Would you ask the other participant for advice?
- ___ 3. Would you consider sitting next to the other participant on a 3- hour bus trip?
- ___ 4. Would you consider inviting the other participant to your house?
- ___ 5. Would you be willing to work with the other participant on a job?
- ___ 6. Would you consider admitting the other participant to your circle of friends?

D. For each of the next six items, circle the number that best describes your beliefs.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The other participant does not behave like I do				The other participant behaves like I do		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The other participant does not think like I do				The other participant thinks like I do		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The other participant and I have different personal qualities				The other participant and I have similar personal qualities		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The other participant and I have different attitudes			The other participant and I have similar attitudes			

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The other participant and I have different values			The other participant and I have similar values			

E. The next questions ask about how you think that the other participant views you. Please write the appropriate number in the blank beside the item. Use the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at All		Neutral		Very Much		

- ___ 1. Would the other participant like to meet you outside the experiment?
- ___ 2. Would the other participant ask you for advice?
- ___ 3. Would the other participant consider sitting next to you on a 3- hour bus trip?
- ___ 4. Would the other participant consider inviting you to his/her house?
- ___ 5. Would the other participant be willing to work with you on a job?
- ___ 6. Would the other participant consider admitting you to his/her circle of friends?

F. For each of the next six items, circle the number that best describes your beliefs. Note that these all ask you to estimate the other participant's feelings.

The other participant thinks that....

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I do not behave like him/her			I behave like him/her			

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I do not think like him/her			I think like him/her			

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I have different personal qualities than him/her			I have similar personal qualities to him/her			

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I have different attitudes than him/her						I have similar attitudes to him/her	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I have different values than him/her						I have similar values to him/her	

G. Now we ask a few questions about your general attitudes. These questions address sensitive but important issues. We encourage you to speak your mind and to be as honest as possible.

For all items, please answer according to how you feel right now, in the present moment.

Feeling "Thermometer"

Using the scale presented below, please write a number between 0° and 100° in the blank to indicate:

a) your overall feelings toward Aboriginal Canadians: _____

- 100° extremely favorable
- 90° very favorable
- 80° quite favorable
- 70° fairly favorable
- 60° slightly favorable
- 50° neither favorable nor unfavorable
- 40° slightly unfavorable
- 30° fairly unfavorable
- 20° quite unfavorable
- 10° very unfavorable
- 0° extremely unfavorable

b) your overall feelings toward European (White) Canadians: _____

- 100° extremely favorable
- 90° very favorable
- 80° quite favorable
- 70° fairly favorable
- 60° slightly favorable
- 50° neither favorable nor unfavorable
- 40° slightly unfavorable
- 30° fairly unfavorable
- 20° quite unfavorable
- 10° very unfavorable
- 0° extremely unfavorable

c) Aboriginal Canadians' overall feelings toward European (White) Canadians: _____

- 100° extremely favorable
- 90° very favorable
- 80° quite favorable
- 70° fairly favorable
- 60° slightly favorable
- 50° neither favorable nor unfavorable
- 40° slightly unfavorable
- 30° fairly unfavorable
- 20° quite unfavorable
- 10° very unfavorable
- 0° extremely unfavorable

d) European (White) Canadians' overall feelings toward Aboriginal Canadians: _____

- 100° extremely favorable
- 90° very favorable
- 80° quite favorable
- 70° fairly favorable
- 60° slightly favorable
- 50° neither favorable nor unfavorable
- 40° slightly unfavorable
- 30° fairly unfavorable
- 20° quite unfavorable
- 10° very unfavorable
- 0° extremely unfavorable

H. For the next two items, consider persons living in Canada who are of a different colour than you and have different physical characteristics than you. Using the following response scale and writing the appropriate number in the blank next to the item, please indicate:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Never									Very Often

how often you have felt sympathy for them. _____

how often you have felt admiration for them._____

I. Some people are disturbed by the opinions, customs, and way of life of people different from themselves. Using the following response scale and writing the appropriate number in the blank next to the item, indicate whether you personally in your daily life, find disturbing the presence of people of:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not at All									Very Much

another nationality _____

another religion _____

another culture

another social class

J. We are all members of different social groups or social categories. We would like you to consider your race or ethnicity (e.g., White/Caucasian, Asian, Black, First Nations) in responding to the following statements. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions.

Please read each statement carefully, and respond by writing the appropriate number in the blank next to each item. Remember to answer according to how you feel right now, in the present moment. Use the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Strongly Disagree									Strongly Agree

1. I regret that I belong to my racial/ethnic group.

2. My racial/ethnic group is considered good by others.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

- ___ 3. My race/ethnicity has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
- ___ 4. I'm glad to be a member of my racial/ethnic group.
- ___ 5. People consider my racial/ethnic group to be more ineffective than other groups.
- ___ 6. The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.
- ___ 7. I feel that my racial/ethnic group is not worthwhile.
- ___ 8. Others respect my race/ethnicity.
- ___ 9. My race/ethnicity is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am.
- ___ 10. I feel good about the race/ethnicity I belong to.
- ___ 11. Others think that my racial/ethnic group is unworthy.
- ___ 12. Belonging to my race/ethnicity is an important part of my self image.

K. The following questions regard your general thoughts about the other participant as well as yourself. This information will be kept completely confidential, and will not be shared with the other participant.

Please respond by circling the number on the appropriate scale for each question, that best indicates your feelings about the other participant/yourself.

Overall, how *friendly* do you feel that the other participant was in his/her answers to the second set of personal information questions that were shared with you?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not At All Very Much

Overall, how *open* do you feel that the other participant was in his/her answers to the second set of personal information questions that were shared with you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All						Very Much

Overall, how *sincere* do you feel that the other participant was in his/her answers to the second set of personal information questions that were shared with you?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not At All Very Much

Overall, how *friendly* do you feel that you were towards the other participant in your answers to the second set of personal information questions that you shared with him/her?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not At All Very Much

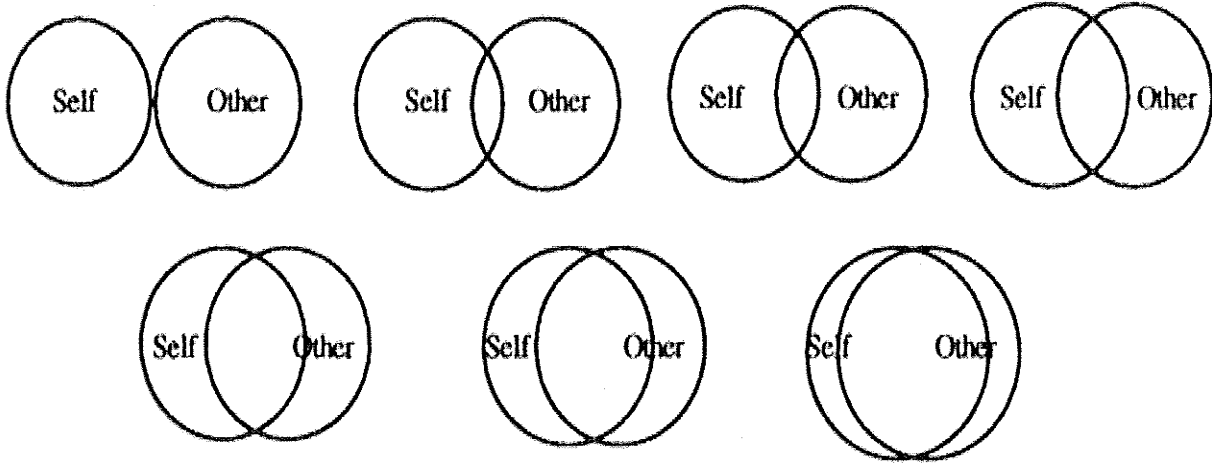
Overall, how *open* do you feel that you were towards the other participant in your answers to the second set of personal information questions that you shared with him/her?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not At All Very Much

Overall, how *sincere* do you feel that you were towards the other participant in your answers to the second set of personal information questions that you shared with him/her?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not At All Very Much

L. Please circle the picture below which best describes your relationship with the other participant.



M. Please indicate the extent to which you feel each of the following statements were represented in the passage by writing the appropriate number in the blank beside the item. Use the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at All		Neutral			Very Much	

- ___ 1. We should recognize and appreciate differences between ethnic groups.
- ___ 2. We must try to understand each person as an individual who is part of a larger group, "Canadians."
- ___ 3. We should recognize that we all share the same fundamental human qualities.
- ___ 4. Acknowledging and validating the unique identities of each cultural group is important to society.

N. Finally, we now ask you to think back to the passage about intergroup relations that you were asked to read early on in the study. Please circle the appropriate number.

To what extent did you feel that the arguments in this passage were directed at you?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not At All Very Much

To what extent did you feel that the arguments in this passage were relevant to you?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not At All Very Much

To what extent did you feel that the arguments in this passage were intended for people like you?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not At All Very Much

To what extent did you agree with the arguments in this passage?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not At All Very Much

Do you believe this message would be beneficial for promoting positive interethnic relations in Canada?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not At All Very Much

O. At this point we are interested in "checking in" with you in terms of your understanding of what this study is about. Sometimes when students take part in studies, they form their own ideas about what the researchers might be looking at.

Do you have any ideas about what we might be interested in, aside from what has already been explained to you? Please outline any thoughts that you have about this in the space provided below.

Appendix N

Debriefing Script

- The first thing that I should explain is that this is the end of the study. I would also like to thank you once more for taking the time to participate and sharing your reactions with us: Your responses will provide us with important information for evaluating our hypotheses, which I'll now explain in greater depth than I did at the beginning.
- As we described at the outset, this study focuses on intergroup interaction.
- The main question we are examining centers on how people's experience of intergroup interaction (in this case, interaction with someone who has a different ethnic background than they do) is affected by different kinds of messages that have been developed to promote positive intergroup relations.
- To give you some examples, in this study we are looking at the effects of diversity messages, colour-blind messages, and messages that combine these two. Diversity messages stress the importance of embracing and valuing differences between groups; colour-blind messages stress the importance of viewing everyone as fundamentally the same; mixed messages stress the importance recognizing that while we all have unique subgroup identities, we also share a common identity as Canadians. Which of these three messages that participants receive is one of our key *independent* variables or predictors. Also, some participants are in a no-message control condition.
- In terms of our *dependent* variables or outcomes, we are interested in looking at how these different messages affect how people feel about themselves and an outgroup member during intergroup interaction, and at how these messages affect behavior toward an outgroup member. Research has started to look at the effects of such messages on general intergroup attitudes and judgments. But little is known about how the messages affect how well actual intergroup exchanges unfold. In this study, behavior is assessed in terms of the kinds of comments participants make in the second personal information sheet (e.g., level of self-disclosure, other-directed remarks). Feelings about self and the interaction partner are assessed via questionnaire items such as desire for future interaction with the other participant and perceived similarity/dissimilarity with the other participant.
- Our main predictions are that: 1) the messages that will be most effective are those that encourage efforts to learn about the other person during an intergroup exchange while at the same time leading individuals to realize they share the same fundamental human qualities as those from different ethnic groups, and 2) the messages that will be least effective are those that lead people to think about how they might be evaluated by the other person and the possibility of being seen in light of intergroup stereotypes. The Stroop Test that you completed during the session is designed to measure your level of self-regulation effort exerted during an interaction, and the recall task is designed to measure your level of other versus self focus during an interaction.

- One thing that I should explain right now is that the two personal information sheets that we gave you did not actually belong to another participant. The sheets were “pre-constructed” and there is no other participant in this session.
- Did you suspect this aspect of the procedure at all?
- We apologize for having misled you and wish to explain why we set the study up this way...It is very difficult to create compelling social situations in a laboratory in a way that allows you the kind of experimental control that you need to be able to draw conclusions from a study. By having pre-constructed information sheets, we reduced the huge variability that would be introduced if we had different interaction partners in each session. You have probably learned about the importance of experimental control in your psychology class. In addition, we wanted to look at how the messages directly impact students, without the complexity of how they are affected by how the message affects their partner's behavior.
- Our main long-term goal with this research is to better understand the full spectrum of effects associated with different messages designed to promote positive intergroup relations. There has been very little research to date on this important issue. A better understanding of the effects of these messages should inform the development of maximally effective interventions. It is our hope that in the long run this research will help to promote positive intergroup relations and student well-being.

Do you have any questions?

- There is one final point I would like to emphasize. Please understand how important it is to this research that you don't tell other potential participants details about the study procedures or our hypotheses. If they had this information prior to participation, that would make their data completely invalid. If someone asks you about the study, please just tell them something along the lines of what we told you over the phone (e.g., that the study focuses on social interactions between people with different ethnic backgrounds).

Appendix O

Session

[use gender-appropriate wording throughout]

1. Greet P in 5th floor waiting room and take him/her to P520C.

Are you here for _____ (city name)?

When you reach the lab room, tell the participant:

Please have a seat. I have to go to the other waiting room, to get your partner and bring him/her to his/her room. Please wait here.

2. Come back in a few minutes (less than 5 min). Provide following overview (for items in parentheses use condition-appropriate version):

Thanks for coming in today. The other participant, who will be your partner in the study, is here now, in a room around the corner, so we can start the session. Before we begin, please turn off your cell phone, if you have one, now.

This study examines social perception in first meeting situations, with a focus on interactions between people who belong to different ethnic groups. Specifically, we are examining interactions between White (European) Canadians and Aboriginal Canadians. So your partner is Aboriginal/White (depending on ethnicity of participant) Canadian. We are interested in how perceptions are affected by the kind of information that is exchanged between two people.

For each session we schedule two students who haven't met before. Sometimes we have the two students talk together face-to-face, and sometimes we restrict the way that they communicate. In your session, communication will be restricted.

The first step is for each of you to fill out and exchange a brief personal information sheet. This sheet contains questions about basic demographic characteristics, such as age and sex, which are immediately apparent in face-to-face meetings. It also contains questions about your personal qualities. The next step involves filling out a more extensive personal information sheet, also to be exchanged with the other participant. This sheet contains questions about how you would respond to various hypothetical situations and about your personal preferences and memories. You will be asked to fill out some questionnaires along the way and to do an information processing task. That's it!

You and the other participant will have the option of meeting face-to-face at the end. But this part is optional -- we'll only arrange a meeting if both of you are interested.

I should explain that there are going to be some short waiting periods as I go back and forth between you and the other participant.

At this point, I'd like you to review and sign this consent form, indicating your agreement to participate. The consent form basically summarizes what I've just told you.

[give Ps consent form]

3. Ask P to complete the personal information sheet:

The first step is for you to spend 5 minutes writing answers to the questions on the brief personal information sheet. It's not a lot of time, so you can write in point-form if you'd like. I will come back in 5 minutes to collect your sheet and take it to the other participant.

Do you have any questions?

[answer any that arise]

4. When 5 minutes are up (use gender-appropriate name for other participant throughout):

I have the other participant's sheet here -- his/her name is Kevin/Anna. I will leave it with you so that you can read it over. I'll collect your sheet now and take it to Kevin/Anna.

I'll be back in a couple of minutes to give you more instructions about what's coming next.

[Take Ps' sheet and leave them with the partner's (give same-sex W or C depending on condition; White participants get Chinese other; Chinese participants get White other).]

5. No more than three minutes later:

****For message conditions (anti-racist, diversity and colour blind) provide the following instructions. For control condition jump to next section.****

We have found that it helps participants to reflect on issues relevant to intergroup interaction before proceeding to the more involved part of the exchange, in order to make their views more accessible and better prepare them to answer the questions that we ask after the interaction is over.

I'm going to give you a passage to read, followed by a few questions. Just to summarize the passage:

Mixed Message: Canada is home to a large variety of cultural and ethnic groups. It is therefore important that we appreciate the many things each group has to offer. At the same time, however, it is important to remember that we all share the same fundamental human qualities. Social scientists argue that by understanding and accepting differences, while at the same time realizing that we are all Canadians, we can move toward achieving harmony among the many ethnic groups represented in Canada.

Diversity: As Canadians we are in the unique position of sharing our country with many different cultural groups. These different groups each contribute in their own special way to the development of our country. They provide different points of view on everyday events and contribute variety in music, art, and cultural experiences. Each ethnic group also has its own

unique strengths and weaknesses. Social scientists argue that by understanding and accepting differences we create harmony, which will enhance the character of Canada as a country.

Colour Blind: As Canada's population continues to grow with incoming immigrants, we must remember that we were all created equally and that we are all human beings. This can only be achieved by looking beyond skin colour and striving to understand the person within. Social scientists argue that appreciating that at our core, we really are all the same, will increase the cohesion and strength of Canada as a country.

To help you reflect on these ideas please read over this statement carefully and answer the questions that follow.

[give Ps 10 minutes]

6. Thought-listing task. Once has opened door (if takes too long go check):

Now it is time to do a thought-listing task. Please write down whatever thoughts are on your mind right now without worrying about logic or grammar. You have two minutes, so I will tell you when to stop and start.

Please take a few moments to read the instructions (give them 10 seconds). Please start writing now.

7. Second Personal Information Sheet.

The next main step is for you to complete a second, more extensive, personal information sheet. Your answers on this sheet will be exchanged with the other participant, Kevin/Anna, in the same way as the first. You may now begin. Please open the door to let me know when you are done. I will check back in 15 minutes if you are not done by that point.

[give Ps 15 minutes]

8. Exchange of Second Personal Information Sheet with Ostensible Partner.

Now we can do the second exchange. I have Kevin/Anna's sheet here. I will leave it with you so that you can read it over. I'll collect your sheet now and take it to Kevin/Anna.

I'll be back in five minutes to give you more instructions about what's coming next.

[Take Ps' sheet and provide them with ostensible partner's answers to personal information sheet #2. Come back in 5 minutes (time exactly so that their time to "study" the answers is held constant).]

9. Stroop Task.

O.K., now it is time for the information processing task. We are interested in how exchanging different types of information affects cognitive processing. The task will be done on the computer.

Your task is to report, as quickly as you can, the correct colour of each word or letter string that appears on the screen. Report the colour by pressing the appropriate button. There will be some practice trials, followed by 7 blocks of experimental trials.

I have to go to the other participant for a few minutes. I'll come back in once you've opened your door to indicate that you are done.

Have them complete the Stroop task on the computer.

10. Recall Task. Once has opened door (if takes too long go check):

Now it is time to do two recall tasks. For each one you have eight minutes, so I will tell you when to stop and start.

Please take a few moments to read the instructions (give them 10 seconds). Please start writing now.

After 8 minutes:

Stop writing. Now please take a few moments to read the instructions for the second task (give them 10 seconds). Please start writing now.

After 8 minutes:

Stop writing.

11. Once P is done:

Now it is time to complete the final questionnaire. It is important for you to understand that your responses on this questionnaire will be completely confidential, and will never be shown to Kevin/Anna. Please read all of the instructions carefully as you go through it, and feel free to ask any questions. Let me know once you are done (or if you have questions) by opening the door.

[Take all materials other than the questionnaire with you when you go.]

12. Debriefing.

O.K., this is the end of the study and I'm now going to tell you a bit more about what we are looking at. (Follow script....)

Appendix P

OPEN-ENDED THOUGHT-LISTING CODING

Please code participants' answers to the question:

Please take two minutes to write down whatever thoughts are on your mind right now. Please write down anything that comes to mind without worrying about logic or grammar. The experimenter will let you know when two minutes are up.

1. ***Impressions of Other.*** Please count the total number of comments where participants refer to their impression of the other participant.
2. ***Positive Impressions.*** Please also count the total number of impressions that were positive.
3. ***Negative Impressions.*** Please also count the total number of impressions that were negative.
4. ***Metaperceptions.*** Please count the total number of comments where participants refer to concerns or beliefs about how they are viewed by the other participant.
5. ***Positive Metaperceptions.*** Please also count the total number of metaperceptions that were positive.
6. ***Negative Metaperceptions.*** Please also count the total number of metaperceptions that were negative.
7. ***General Anxiety.*** Please count the total number of comments where participants refer to being nervous or anxious.

Leave other comments uncoded.

Coder's Name: _____

[illegible]

QUESTIONNAIRE CODING

In this study, participants were told they would be engaged in a written exchange of information with another student, Kevin or Anna. Upon exchanging a brief personal information sheet, the participant knows that Kevin or Anna is the same sex as he/she, is 19 years old, and is of First Nations/Aboriginal descent. Participants also received the following answers from Kevin/Anna to the following questions:

What personal qualities are important to how you see yourself?

I think that I am pretty open-minded, and that I am good at "reading" people. I always try to have a good sense of humor, and to look on the bright side. I care about other people. My friends and family are important to me. I like the outdoors.

What do you consider to be your negative qualities?

I often feel and act shy around others I don't know well. I've been told that I am too sensitive. I'm not always on time for things and I procrastinate a lot.

Describe your typical week day.

I usually wake up pretty early, shower, eat breakfast. I catch the bus, go to school, go to class then go home and watch tv before starting my homework. Sometimes I go to the gym but not today since my friend is in from back home. I wish I had a good idea of where to take her for dinner since I'm new to the city too and don't really know what's good here. I guess I'll have to ask someone.

Participants were then asked to complete a second, more extensive personal information sheet. These are the instructions the participants were given:

Please provide written answers to each of the following questions. You may answer the questions in as much or as little detail as you like, and you may directly refer to the other participant (e.g., his or her answers on the first personal information sheet) if that seems appropriate to you.

1. Are there any questions that you would ask the other participant if you met face-to-face? If yes please describe them. You can add any further comments or explanations you like.
2. If you knew that in one year you would die suddenly, would you change anything about the way you are now living? Why?
3. If you could change anything about the way you were raised, what would it be? Why?
4. If a crystal ball could tell you the truth about yourself, your life, the future, or anything else, what would you want to know? Why?

5. How close and warm is your family? Do you feel that your childhood was happier than most people's?

6. Is there anything else you would like to say to the other participant?

Complete ROUND ONE for all participants prior to doing ROUND TWO and ROUND THREE. Some of the judgments may be difficult to make. Use the mid-point of the scale if you feel very uncertain about a judgment. Enter the appropriate number on the coding sheet for this participant. Use the following scale:

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

ROUND ONE

Self- Disclosure

Intimacy

1. To what extent do you think that the participant's comments were intimate in nature?

Breadth

2. To what extent do you feel that you learned a lot about the participant from his/her comments?

Warmth

If you were the target of this response, to what extent would you think that this participant:

1. Liked you?
2. Had been attentive to your comments?
3. Felt similar to you?
4. Had been responsive to you?

Mood

To what extent did the participant appear to be experiencing each of these mood states?

1. Nervous
2. Uncomfortable
3. Uncertain
4. Self-Critical
5. Hostile
6. Interested
7. Enthusiastic
8. Attentive
9. Happy
10. Friendly

Helping

Considering that help was requested:

“I usually wake up pretty early, shower, eat breakfast. I catch the bus, go to school, go to class then go home and watch tv before starting my homework. Sometimes I go to the gym but not today since my friend is in from back home. I wish I had a good idea of where to take her for dinner since I’m new to the city too and don’t really know what’s good here. I guess I’ll have to ask someone. ”

To what extent did the participant seem to provide help of some kind to Kevin/Anna?
(e.g., Did they suggest a place to eat?).

Coder's Name: _____

Participant Number: _____

ROUND ONE

Measure	Rating
Self Disclosure Breadth	
Warmth: Liked You?	
Warmth: Attentive?	
Warmth: Similar?	
Warmth: Responsive?	
Mood 1: Nervous	
Mood 2: Uncomfortable	
Mood 3: Uncertain	
Mood 4: Self-Critical	
Mood 5: Hostile	
Mood 6: Interested	
Mood 7: Enthusiastic	
Mood 8: Attentive	
Mood 9: Happy	
Mood 10: Friendly	
Helping	

ROUND TWO

Behavior

Count the numbers of the following types of remarks that targets direct toward their partner (remarks that are clearly responding to or referring to something that their partner said). Count each remark and indicate the total number of remarks.

1. Positive Other-Directed Remarks: A positive remark is any remark that conveys friendliness or positive regard (e.g., agreeing with something that the partner said).
2. Negative Other-Directed Remarks: A negative remark is any remark that conveys criticism or dislike (e.g., disagreeing with something that the partner said).
3. Neutral/Ambiguous Other-Directed Remarks: Remarks directed toward other that are not clearly positive or negative (i.e., you find it difficult to say).
4. Questions Asked of Other: Any sentence in an interrogative form.

Coder's Name: _____

Participant Number: _____

ROUND TWO

Measure	Count
Positive Remarks Toward Other	
Negative Remarks Toward Other	
Neut/Ambig Remarks	
Questions of Other	

Footnotes

1. Aboriginal groups in Canada include North American Indian, First Nations, Métis, and Inuit populations. Following procedures by Statistics Canada (2001), individuals who reported at least one Aboriginal origin on the question concerning ethnic background (whether alone or in addition to another ethnic background) are included as Aboriginal Canadian participants in the current research.
2. Minority group participants had a Chinese, Aboriginal, and “Other” ethnic background. Due to insufficient numbers of participants with an Aboriginal or “Other” ethnic background, only Chinese participants were used as minority group participants in the analysis.
3. One participant who indicated that he or she was color-blind was excluded from the analysis of the Stroop Color-Naming task.

Table 1

Predictions of the Effects of Each Message

Condition	Group Status	Trust and Felt Security	Engagement and Positive Attention to Other	Self-Focus to Prevent Prejudice
Colorblind	Dominant	—	—	X
	Minority	X	—	—
Diversity	Dominant	—	X	—
	Minority	—	X	—
Mixed	Dominant	—	X	—
	Minority	X	X	—

Note. Predicted effects are indicated by the letter X.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Pilot Study

Condition	Diversity Index	Color-blind Index
Mixed 1	5.43 (1.19)	5.72 (1.09)
Mixed 2	5.67 (1.10)	5.40 (1.07)
Color-blind	5.04 (1.24)	5.58 (1.31)
Diversity	6.14 (0.88)	4.39 (1.66)

Note. Means are presented with standard deviations in brackets.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for all Measures Unaffected by Message Condition

	M	SD	α
<i>Trust and Felt Security</i>			
View of Ingroup	77.95	2.09	-
Anxiety and Nervousness	0.01	0.08	.54
Self-Disclosure	-0.001	0.10	.80
<i>Engagement and Positive Attention to Other</i>			
Recall of Partner's Comments (number of words)	130.54	3.84	-
Positive Impression Conveyed	0.02	0.09	.92
Warmth Conveyed	0.002	0.09	.87
Positive Remarks	-0.009	0.09	.85
Positive Affect Conveyed	0.01	0.09	.89
Questions Asked of Partner	0.01	0.10	.96
Help Provided to Partner	-0.002	0.09	.90
<i>Self-Focus to Prevent Prejudice</i>			
Recall of Own Comments (number of words)	115.74	4.12	.-
Negative Affect Conveyed	-0.002	0.08	.62

Note. Reliabilities included where applicable.

Table 4

Evaluative Concerns as a Function of Message Condition

Message	M	SD
Control	3.60	0.35
Color-blind	4.48*	0.34
Diversity	3.89	0.35
Mixed	3.71	0.34

Note. Significant ideology contrast effects in comparison with the no-message control condition are marked with an asterisk ($p < .05$, two-tailed).

Table 5

Self-Regulatory Effort as a Function of Ethnicity and Message Condition

	Control	Color-blind	Diversity	Mixed
White	81.69 (24.97)	114.56 (23.91)	78.22 (24.97)	56.87 (22.97)
Aboriginal	89.46 (22.97)	65.71 (22.97)	118.31 (22.97)	97.07 (22.97)

Note. Means are presented with standard deviations in brackets.

Table 6

Participants' Motivation as a Function of Ethnicity and Message Condition

	Control	Color-blind	Diversity	Mixed
White	4.50 _a (0.41)	3.49 _a (0.39)	4.29 _a (0.41)	4.32 _a (0.37)
Aboriginal	4.01 _a (0.37)	4.79 _b * (0.36)	3.26 _b * (0.37)	4.35 _a (0.37)

Note. Means are presented with standard deviations in brackets. Significant ideology contrast effects in comparison with the no-message control condition are marked with an asterisk ($p < .05$, two-tailed). Within ideology condition, the simple ethnicity effect was significant for values not sharing a common subscript.

Table 7

Participants' Impressions as a Function of Ethnicity and Message Condition

	Control	Color-blind	Diversity	Mixed
White	5.91 _a (0.21)	6.14 _a (0.21)	6.42 _a (0.21)	6.18 _a (0.20)
Aboriginal	6.36 _a (0.20)	6.43 _a (0.19)	5.87 _a * (0.20)	6.36 _a (0.20)

Note. Means are presented with standard deviations in brackets. Significant ideology contrast effects in comparison with the no-message control condition are marked with an asterisk ($p < .05$, two-tailed). Within ideology condition, the simple ethnicity effect was significant for values not sharing a common subscript.

Table 8

Self-Other Merging as a Function of Ethnicity and Message Condition

	Control	Color-blind	Diversity	Mixed
White	3.18 _a (0.43)	4.75 _a * (0.41)	3.36 _a (0.43)	3.58 _a (0.39)
Aboriginal	3.39 _a (0.39)	2.71 _b (0.38)	2.46 _a (0.39)	3.15 _a (0.39)

Note. Means are presented with standard deviations in brackets. Significant ideology contrast effects in comparison with the no-message control condition are marked with an asterisk ($p < .05$, two-tailed).

Within ideology condition, the simple ethnicity effect was significant for values not sharing a common subscript.