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The Devil's in the Details: Abstract vs. Concrete Construals of Multiculturalism Have Differential Effects on Attitudes and Behavioral Intentions Toward Ethnic Minority Groups

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THE DEVIL'S IN THE DETAILS: ABSTRACT VS. CONCRETE CONSTRUALS
OF MULTICULTURALISM HAVE DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTS ON ATTITUDES
AND BEHAVIORAL INTENTIONS TOWARD ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS

A Dissertation Presented

By

KUMAR YOGEEWARAN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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Psychology

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DEDICATION

To my family, friends, and partner.

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A number of people who have been influential in my journey through graduate school – I am indebted to these people from both my professional and personal life. I would like to start out by thanking my advisor, Nilanjana Dasgupta, for being a great professional mentor over the past five years. Her dedication and investment in my professional life has been instrumental in my development as a researcher and scholar. She managed to find an optimal balance of being invested in my training, while also and giving me room to grow as an independent researcher and thinker. She has truly earned my respect and eternal gratitude! I would also like to thank my secondary advisor, Ronnie Janoff-Bulman, for being an inspiration and for helping me grow as a teacher through the research mentoring program. I would also like to thank David Butz, Cheryl Kaiser, Jack Dovidio, and Vicky Plaut for all their professional advice and the inspiration they have provided. I also want to thank Linda Tropp, Linda Isbell, David Cort, Lisa Harvey, and Brian Lickel for their helpful feedback on this dissertation project.

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ABSTRACT

THE DEVIL'S IN THE DETAILS: ABSTRACT VS. CONCRETE CONSTRUALS OF
MULTICULTURALISM HAVE DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTS ON ATTITUDES AND
BEHAVIORAL INTENTIONS TOWARD ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS

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The current research integrates social cognitive theories of psychological construals and information processing with theories of social identity to identify the conditions under which multiculturalism helps versus hinders positive intergroup relations. Three experiments investigated how abstract vs. concrete construals of multiculturalism impact majority group members' attitudes and behavioral intentions toward ethnic minorities in the US. Experiments 1 and 2 demonstrated that construing multiculturalism in abstract terms by highlighting its broad goals reduced majority group members' prejudice toward ethnic minorities by decreasing the extent to which diversity is seen as threatening the national group. However, construing multiculturalism in concrete terms by highlighting specific ways in which its goals can be achieved increased majority group members' prejudice toward minorities by amplifying the extent to which diversity is seen as threatening the national group. Experiment 3 then revealed that a different concrete construal that incorporates values and practices of *both* majority and minority groups reduced perceived threats to the national group and in turn attenuated prejudice and

increased desire for contact with ethnic minorities. Collectively, these experiments demonstrate when and why multiculturalism leads to positive versus negative intergroup outcomes, while identifying new ways in which multiculturalism can be successfully implemented in pluralistic nations.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“...The time is overdue for the people of Canada to become more aware of the rich tradition of the many cultures we have in Canada. Canada's citizens come from almost every country in the world, and bring with them every major world religion and language. This cultural diversity endows all Canadians with a great variety of human experience. The government regards this as a heritage to treasure and believes that Canada would be the poorer if we adopted assimilation programs forcing our citizens to forsake and forget the cultures they have brought to us.” (Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, 1971).

“...What happens when people of different ethnic origins, speaking different languages and professing different religions, settle in the same geographical locality and live under the same political sovereignty? Unless a common purpose binds them together, tribal antagonisms will drive them apart. ...The historic idea of a unifying American identity is now in peril in many arenas--in our politics, our voluntary organizations, our churches, our language. And in no arena is the rejection of an overriding national identity more crucial than in our system of education.” (Arthur Schlesinger, 1992, *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society*)

The two quotes above illustrate two fundamentally different construals of multiculturalism. The first quote by former Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau is abstract and global in its discussion of the benefits of multiculturalism to national identity; it mentions the “rich tradition of many cultures” and “cultural diversity” while staying focused on the broad goals of multiculturalism. In contrast, the second quote by American historian Schlesinger is concrete and specific in its discussion of the challenges of “people of different ethnic origins, speaking different languages and professing different religions ...liv[ing] under the same political sovereignty.” He expresses concern about some specific effects of multiculturalism on national politics, national language, public education, and national identity. Another difference between the two quotes is their

valence. Like the lens of a camera when people zoom out and abstractly consider why multiculturalism might benefit their national group, they may perceive it quite favorably. However, when people zoom in and concretely consider how multiculturalism can be achieved, they may perceive it quite unfavorably.

In recent decades, immigrant nations like the United States (U.S.) have witnessed contentious debate about how to best achieve national unity amidst growing cultural diversity. This is evident when one considers contemporary disagreements over immigration, affirmative action, bilingual education, and religious dress in public places, among other hot button issues. Historically, assimilationist ideologies were dominant in the U.S. which called for citizens to shed their ethnocultural identities and embrace values, identities, and practices shared by mainstream society as a means of achieving national cohesion (Gordon, 1964; Hirschman, 1983; Schlesinger, 1992; Schmidt, 1997). However, starting in the 1970s, an alternative ideology—multiculturalism—began to gain traction. It argued that the recognition and celebration of unique cultural identities was fundamental for harmonious intergroup relations in pluralistic nations (Glazer & Moynihan, 1970; Moghaddam, 2008; Plaut, 2010; Taylor, 1991).

Reaction to multiculturalism has been mixed as evident in social psychological research on the topic. One stream of empirical research has demonstrated that multiculturalism has positive effects that benefit positive intergroup relations in ethnically diverse nations (e.g. Plaut, Thomas & Goren, 2009; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Todd & Galinsky, 2010; Verkuyten, 2005; Vorauer, Gagnon & Sasaki, 2009; Wolsko, Park, Judd & Wittenbrink, 2000), while another stream of research has demonstrated that multiculturalism can have negative effects because majority group members often resist

and oppose these policies (e.g. Citrin, Sears, Muste & Wong, 2001; Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi & Sanchez-Burks, 2011; Morrison, Plaut & Ybarra, 2010; Schlesinger, 1992; Unzueta & Binning, 2010; summarized in detail in the next section).

How do we reconcile these divergent findings?

I propose that construing multiculturalism in abstract terms (by highlighting its broad goals) versus concrete terms (by highlighting how those goals can be achieved) will have profoundly different effects on majority group members' attitudes and behavioral intentions toward ethnic minorities. Specifically, the current research synthesizes three different research literatures that have not been integrated in the past: social cognitive research on abstract vs. concrete construals; survey research on the "principle-implementation gap;" and research on social identity threat. By synthesizing these literatures I create a new theoretical framework that sheds light on three broad research questions: (1) does construing multiculturalism in abstract versus concrete terms differentially impact majority group's attitudes and behavioral intentions toward ethnic minorities? (2) If so, what underlying process mediates this effect? (3) How can the construal of multiculturalism be modified to overcome negative reactions? In the sections that follow I will unpack how these varied literatures help address each of the questions outlined above.

Discrepant Findings on Multiculturalism

While ideologically one might argue for or against multiculturalism, from a scientific perspective it is more important to rely on empirical evidence on the topic. Empirical research suggests that multiculturalism is beneficial for intergroup relations in terms of interethnic attitudes, behavior, and public policy support (Correll et al., 2008; Ely

& Thomas, 2001; Leung, Maddux, Galinsky & Chiu, 2008; Plaut et al., 2009; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson & Casas, 2007; Todd & Galinsky, 2010; Verkuyten, 2005; Vorauer et al., 2009; Wolsko, Park & Judd, 2006; Wolsko et al., 2000). For example, priming White participants with multiculturalism elicits more favorable attitudes toward ethnic minority groups both explicitly and implicitly (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al., 2000). Multiculturalism also enhances positive interracial behavior in dyadic interactions between majority and minority group members (Vorauer et al., 2009) and can elicit greater perspective-taking (Todd & Galinsky, 2010). Moreover, endorsement of multiculturalism among White Americans predicts greater support for public policies promoting ethnic minorities such as affirmative action, inclusive immigration policies, and less stringent English standards (Wolsko et al., 2006). Finally, the more White Americans in a professional organization endorse multiculturalism, the more motivated and included their ethnic minority colleagues feel in the organization illustrating that acceptance of multiculturalism by the majority group directly benefits the minority (Plaut et al., 2009). Collectively, these findings suggest that multiculturalism ought to be an effective strategy to achieve positive intergroup relations in diverse nations.

However, in contrast to this conclusion, other research suggests that multiculturalism does not always promote intergroup relations because its implementation is obstructed by the majority. For example, several studies show that White Americans resist multiculturalism in educational settings, organizations, and public opinion (Citrin et al., 2001; Konrad & Linnehan, 1995; Schofield, 2009; Thomas & Plaut, 2008; Thomas & Ely, 1996). Whites' opposition to multiculturalism policies in the workplace is often driven by their perception that this ideology excludes them and their racial/ethnic group (Plaut et

al., 2011; also see Unzueta & Binning, 2010). Moreover, Whites tend to view multiculturalism as a threat to ingroup values (Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Morrison et al., 2010; also see Schlesinger, 1992; Schmidt, 1997). Majority group members reject ethnic minorities who personify multiculturalism at least partially because these individuals are seen as threatening the national group (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Yogeeswaran, Dasgupta & Gomez, 2012; Yogeeswaran, Dasgupta, Adelman, Eccleston & Parker, 2011). Finally, in terms of interracial interactions, after being primed with multiculturalism, White individuals behave in a hostile manner toward ethnic minority partners who disagree with them (Vorauer & Sasaki, 2011).

Taken together, the research above suggests that multiculturalism is beneficial for intergroup relations under some circumstances, but faces resistance and backfires under other circumstances. However, it is not clear from existing research what conditions systematically produce one outcome versus another and, very importantly, for what reason. One goal of this research is to address this issue. To do so, I draw on insights from two literatures that have been completely separate thus far: (1) social-cognitive theories of abstract vs. concrete construals and their effects on information processing; and (2) sociological and psychological research on the principle implementation gap.

Identifying When Multiculturalism Has Positive vs. Negative Effects on Attitudes and Behavioral Intentions. Why, and How to Change it

Construal theories have demonstrated that events, actions, and goals can be construed in varying levels of abstraction. At one end of the spectrum, they may be construed at an abstract level by focusing on the primary goal (Why is this goal important? Why is this action being performed?). At the other end of the spectrum, the same action,

event, or goal may be construed at a concrete level by focusing on its specific details (How can this goal be achieved? What are the steps necessary to achieve this action? See Förster, 2009; Förster, Liberman & Kuschel, 2008; Freitas, Gollwitzer & Trope, 2004; Sanna, Chang, Parks & Kennedy, 2009; Smith, Wigboldus & Dijksterhuis, 2008; Trope & Liberman, 2010; 2003; Vallacher & Wegner, 1987). For example, the action of ‘paying rent’ can be construed abstractly as ‘maintaining a place to live,’ or more concretely as ‘writing a check’ (Levy, Frietas & Salovey, 2002; Vallacher & Wegner, 1987). Abstract construals take a bird’s eye-view and mentally zoom out to focus on the big picture and ask the question—*why* is this action or goal important? In contrast, concrete construals mentally zoom in to focus on specific details and ask the question—*how* can this goal or action be accomplished? (Freitas et al., 2004; Sanna et al., 2009; Smith et al., 2008; Trope & Liberman, 2010; 2003; Vallacher & Wegner, 1987).

Empirical research shows that people’s tendency to describe their goals and actions in abstract versus concrete ways systematically affect a host of judgments, attitudes, and behavior (Emmons, 1992; Levy et al., 2002; Vallacher & Wegner, 1989; 1987; also see Trope & Liberman, 2010; 2003). For example, people who have a chronic tendency to view actions and goals concretely (as opposed to abstractly) are more likely to perceive *dissimilarity* between the self and other, less likely to take the perspective of dissimilar others, less likely to feel empathy for others, and less willingness to help these dissimilar others (Levy et al., 2002). Similarly, experimentally priming concrete construals leads to greater perceived dissimilarity between two people, two countries, or two objects whereas priming abstract construals lead to greater perceived similarity between two people, two countries or two objects (all relative to controls; Förster, 2009). Finally,

priming abstract construals increases cooperative behavior that benefits the greater good, while priming concrete construals tends to do the opposite (Sanna et al., 2009). Given that concrete construals of goals, events, and ideas increase perceptions of dissimilarity, reduce empathy and prosocial motivations, while abstract construals enhance perceived similarity, empathy, and prosocial behavior, I apply these lessons to multiculturalism and ask the question--might changing the construal of multiculturalism to be abstract or concrete systematically influence majority group members' attitudes and behavioral intentions toward ethnic minority groups in a positive vs. negative direction respectively?

At face value, this question resembles research exploring the 'principle-implementation gap' which has demonstrated that people sometimes support abstract principles of racial equality, while simultaneously opposing concrete policies that help achieve such a goal (Dixon et al., 2010; Dixon, Durrheim & Tredoux, 2007; Hughes & Tuch, 2000; Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo & Krysan, 1997; Tuch & Hughes, 1996). The present investigation is complementary and different from principle-implementation research in three important ways. First, principle-implementation research has used surveys to describe the gap between attitudes toward abstract principles versus attitudes toward concrete implementation strategies. This work does not, however, experimentally manipulate the *same* ideology to highlight its abstract principles in one case vs. concrete implementation strategies in another case and test if these two construals of the same ideology *cause* systematic differences in perceivers' attitudes and behavioral intentions towards ethnic minority groups, which is the goal of the present research. Note also that the present research is interested in the effect of multiculturalism construals on

attitudes and intentions toward ethnic minorities whereas the principle-implementation literature was interested in perceivers' *attitudes toward principles and policies*.

Second, while principle-implementation research identifies the gap between people's attitudes toward abstract principles and concrete implementation, to the best of my knowledge, this work has not identified a strategy that successfully closes this gap. To that issue, the present research identifies and tests a new strategy that seeks to close the gap between abstract principles and concrete implementation thereby demonstrating that the differential effects of abstract principles and concrete implementation on attitudes and behavioral intentions toward ethnic minorities are not inevitable (detailed in a later section).

Third and finally, the present research examines *why* abstract vs. concrete construals of multiculturalism differentially impact ethnic minority attitudes and behavioral intentions (i.e., what is the underlying psychological process) by bringing in social identity threat as an explanatory mediator. Previous research on the principle-implementation gap has found that White Americans' attitudes toward concrete implementation policies are predicted by factors such as norms about prejudice expression, perceived validity of discrimination, social stratification beliefs, political conservatism, perceived group interest and realistic conflict (e.g. Bobo, 1988; Dixon et al., 2010; Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Schumann et al., 1997; Sniderman, Crosby & Howell, 2000; Tuch & Hughes, 1996). However, past research did not examine whether these factors explain (mediate) the gap between support for abstract principles vs. opposition to concrete implementation and it did not test whether these factors influence attitudes toward ethnic minority outgroups (that was not the goal of past work). The present research seeks to address whether

abstract vs. concrete construals of *multiculturalism* evoke differential levels of social identity threat. Construing multiculturalism abstractly by focusing attention on the broad goal of national unity is predicted to be less threatening to American values and national character; less threat, in turn, is expected to elicit less prejudice against ethnic minority outgroups. In contrast, construing the same ideology concretely by focusing on specific ways to achieve multiculturalism in the U.S. is predicted to be more threatening to national identity, which in turn is expected to elicit more prejudice. I predict that social identity threat to nationality will be the primary mediator in our research, rather than resource threat, which has been examined in some research on the principle-implementation gap (e.g. Bobo, 1988; Tuch & Hughes, 1996).

Construing Multiculturalism in a Concrete Manner is likely to

Evoke Social Identity Threat

In order to better understand why abstract versus concrete construals of multiculturalism may differentially impact ethnic minority attitudes, I turn to social identity and self-categorization theories (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; 1979; Turner et al., 1987), which have played a prominent role in the psychological research on intergroup relations. A core precept of these theories are that people are motivated to perceive their ingroup as positively distinctive from other groups in order to maintain a clear distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Reid & Hogg, 2005). One way of doing this is by creating and upholding an ideal prototype of the ingroup characterized by its most typical attributes (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel & Weber, 2003).

Building on social identity theory, research on the ingroup projection model has shown that people tend to perceive their ingroup in the context of a larger superordinate category as more prototypical of the larger category than any other group within the superordinate category to which they do not belong (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Waldzus, et al., 2003; Wenzel, Mummendey & Waldzus, 2007). For example, one study found that German participants perceived attributes associated with Germans as being more prototypical of the superordinate category 'European' than attributes associated with any other European country (Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber & Waldzus, 2003). Another study found that both business students and psychology students perceived their own major as being more prototypical of the superordinate category 'students' in general compared to other majors (Wenzel et al., 2003).

Consistent with the above findings, other studies have found that in thinking about the U.S. as a superordinate category, White Americans view American nationality in terms of the prototypical attributes of their own racial group and perceive racial and ethnic minority groups as peripheral to the definition of who is American (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos, Gavin & Quintana, 2010; Devos & Ma, 2008; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010; Yogeeswaran et al., 2012). This tendency, I predict, will also lead White Americans to view ethnic minority groups' cultural traditions, values, and practices as threatening to the American national prototype, which is defined in terms of European American values and traditions (Yogeeswaran et al., 2012; cf. Branscombe et al., 1999; Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). Perceived threat, in turn, is expected to increase prejudice and social distancing from ethnic minority outgroups. Consistent with the prediction, past theoretical treatises have argued that

poorly defined ingroup prototypes threaten ingroup identity and distinctiveness thereby increasing prejudice and discrimination toward outgroups as a way of achieving positive social identity (e.g. Branscombe et al., 1999; Ellemers, Spears & Doojse, 2002; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Jetten, Spears & Manstead, 1998).

Because *social identity threat* in the present research is in the context of one's national group, I will refer to it as *national identity threat*. This type of threat is similar to symbolic threat: i.e., threat to one's culture, values, and worldview (Esses, Haddock & Zanna, 1993; Sears, 1988; Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999; for a review see Reik, Mania & Gaertner, 2006). I examine whether encountering a concrete construal of multiculturalism that articulates multicultural policies activates in White perceivers a sense that prototypical American values, culture, and worldview are being threatened by the imposition of ethnic minority groups' values and culture. Such threat will, in turn, lead to more prejudice and social distancing toward ethnic minorities. Some support for this prediction comes from research showing that majority group members perceive multiculturalism as threatening their national group (Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Verkuyten, 2004; also see McLaren, 2003). In contrast, national identity threat is less likely to be evoked when the abstract goals of multiculturalism are described because such a framing does not highlight imminent changes to the American mainstream. In this case, decreased threat will lead to less prejudice toward ethnic minorities and less social distancing from them.

Since abstract and concrete construals of multiculturalism promote the recognition and celebration of cultural values and practices, but does not necessarily demand a shift in resources, I expect that threats to national identity (not national resources) will mediate

ethnic minority attitudes—a prediction that is consistent with work by Morrison and colleagues (2010) who found that White Americans perceive multiculturalism as threatening their ingroup’s core values, but not their resources or sociopolitical power.

Overcoming the Negative Effects of a Concrete Construal of Multiculturalism

Is it inevitable that a concrete construal of multiculturalism will threaten members of the majority group and result in more prejudice and greater avoidance of ethnic minorities? If true, this would pose a serious dilemma because it would prevent the translation of abstract goals of multiculturalism into concrete strategies and policies that can bring about social change. In the current research, I designed a concrete construal of multiculturalism that explicitly includes White Americans within the framework of multiculturalism. I predict this “all-inclusive” concrete construal of multiculturalism will reduce national identity threat and in turn reduce prejudice and social distancing from ethnic minority outgroups.

This prediction is informed by recent research showing that White Americans typically perceive multiculturalism as excluding their racial/ethnic ingroup and excluding them as individuals (Plaut et al., 2011), and they perceive diversity as associated with ethnic minorities more so than their own group (Unzueta & Binning, 2011). More broadly, race relations are perceived as a zero-sum game wherein gains for ethnic minorities are seen as losses for Whites (Eibach & Keegan, 2006; Norton & Sommers, 2011) and perceived losses for Whites elicit greater opposition toward diversity policies (Lowery et al., 2006). The above evidence strengthens our prediction that concrete construals of multiculturalism are threatening to White Americans because they specify how it will change the American prototype. The path to threat reduction involves explicitly

articulating how concrete policies that achieve multiculturalism incorporate both Whites and ethnic minorities.

I conducted three experiments to test three broad research questions. First, will an abstract construal of multiculturalism decrease White Americans' prejudice toward ethnic minorities compared to a baseline control condition? In contrast, will a concrete construal of multiculturalism increase prejudice relative to a control condition? Experiments 1 and 2 examined these questions. Second, what psychological process mediates these effects? Experiments 2 and 3 investigated this question by examining the mediating role of perceived threats to national identity and national resources on attitudes and behavioral intentions toward ethnic minorities. Finally, can the negative consequences of a concrete construal of multiculturalism be overcome by explicitly including White Americans in the concrete construal of multiculturalism? Experiment 3 examined this question.

CHAPTER 2

EXPERIMENT 1

White American participants read about multiculturalism described in an abstract manner (its main goals were highlighted) or a concrete manner (the specific steps necessary to achieve those goals were highlighted), after which their attitudes toward an ethnic minority group (Hispanic Americans) was assessed. I specifically chose this target group because they represent the largest and fastest growing ethnic minority group in the U.S. and are, therefore, often considered a significant threat to the nation's values and resources (Dovidio et al., 2010).

Method

Participants

One hundred and twenty-six White Americans (58 male and 68 female) participated in this experiment for extra course credit.

Manipulating Construals of Multiculturalism

Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions in which they read about multiculturalism construed in an abstract manner, a concrete manner, or they read about something neutral unrelated to multiculturalism (control condition). In the control condition, participants read a short essay on a subject that was related to the nation but completely unrelated to intergroup relations (i.e., an essay about nature reserves that are part of the American heritage). Participants in the abstract and concrete construal of multiculturalism conditions read a prime focused on various aspects of the ideology. Based on research showing that the focus on *why* a goal is important vs. *how* that goal can be achieved is critical to the distinction between abstract vs. concrete construals

respectively (see Freitas et al., 2004; Sanna et al., 2009; Smith et al., 2008), the abstract construal of multiculturalism focused on *why* multiculturalism is important, while the concrete construal focused on *how* multiculturalism can be achieved. The prime chosen to represent the abstract construal of multiculturalism prime was originally developed by Wolsko and colleagues (2000) and subsequently used in many psychological studies on multiculturalism (e.g. Correll et al., 2008; Morrison et al., 2010; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Vorauer et al., 2009). This prime articulates the broad goals of multiculturalism and why these goals are important. Participants read this prime which was entitled “Why is multiculturalism beneficial?” before going on to read excerpts such as:

“Each ethnic group within the United States can contribute in its own unique way. Recognizing this diversity would help to build a sense of harmony and complementarity among the various ethnic groups...This could potentially be a great asset because different cultural groups bring different perspectives to life, providing a richness in styles of interaction, problem solving strategies, food, dress, music, and art...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...” (see Appendix A for full text).

The concrete construal of multiculturalism condition included all the text in the above condition followed by a list of concrete ways in which multiculturalism can be achieved. The new text began with the title: “How can we achieve multiculturalism?” before including excerpts such as:

“Multiculturalism can be achieved if we collectively support the ability for ethnic minorities to speak languages other than English in the workplace, school, and other public arenas...Multiculturalism can be achieved if the academic curriculum in schools and colleges include classes related to diversity of ethnic minority cultures (African, Latin, Asian, and Native American) that students are expected to take...Multiculturalism can be achieved if we accept and promote ethnic minorities’ celebration of culture-specific festivals and holidays such as Cinco de Mayo, Fiesta DC, and Semana Santa...” (see Appendix A for full text).

After reading the essay, participants in the abstract construal condition were asked to generate 5 reasons *why* adopting multiculturalism would benefit American society (similar to Correll et al., 2008; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al., 2000), while participants in the concrete construal condition were asked to list 5 ways *how* multiculturalism could be achieved. Next, participants were given a list of reasons *why* multiculturalism would benefit society (abstract condition) or *how* multiculturalism can be achieved (concrete condition) allegedly written by other participants in the study. Participants were asked to circle statements that were similar to the ones on their own list. This task was similar to one used in previous research (e.g. Correll et al., 2008; Morrison et al., 2010; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Vorauer et al., 2009) as a way to focus participants on the main elements of the manipulation.

An earlier pilot study had been conducted to ensure that these construals of multiculturalism were in fact perceived as abstract vs. concrete. Thirty White American undergraduates (8 male, 22 female) read either the abstract or concrete construal of multiculturalism. All participants then rated the extent to which the essay they read was

“abstract” and “general” ($\alpha = .72$) or “concrete” and “specific” ($\alpha = .82$) on a scale of 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much). Finally, participants evaluated how positive and negative the essay appeared in order to ensure that both essays were similarly valenced.

As expected, one-way ANOVAs revealed that participants in the abstract construal condition perceived their essay as significantly more abstract ($M = 4.57$) than participants in the concrete construal condition ($M = 3.40$; $F(1, 29) = 8.92, p < .01, \eta^2 = .24$). In mirror image fashion, participants in the concrete construal condition rated their multiculturalism prime as significantly more concrete ($M = 4.40$) than participants in the abstract construal condition ($M = 3.00$; $F(1, 29) = 12.07, p < .01, \eta^2 = .30$). Finally, there were no significant differences in the perceived valence of the abstract and concrete essays of multiculturalism (all p 's $> .50$). This pilot established that our primes were in fact perceived as being sufficiently abstract versus concrete in their framing.

Dependent Measure: Attitudes toward Hispanic Americans

This was assessed using a scale developed by Plant, Butz, and Tartakovsky (2008) that included 27 statements to which participants indicated their agreement or disagreement on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). Sample items include: “I would not want to live in a predominantly Hispanic American neighborhood,” “I would probably feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a Hispanic American in a public place,” “Generally, Hispanic Americans are not as smart as Whites,” This scale was scored such that higher scores indicate greater prejudice toward Hispanic Americans.

Procedure

Participants were recruited under the guise of a study on ‘reading comprehension and social judgments.’ They first completed a demographic survey with questions about their gender, age, race/ethnicity, and citizenship. They were then randomly assigned to one of three conditions where they received a short essay that described multiculturalism in an abstract manner (focusing on why its goals were important), or that described multiculturalism in a concrete manner (focusing on how its goals can be achieved), or that described an American nature reserve (control condition). After reading the essay, participants completed the thought-listing task about the essay described earlier. Then, under the guise of a second unrelated study, participants completed the scale assessing their attitudes toward Hispanic Americans. Finally, participants were probed for suspicion, debriefed, and thanked for their participation. This study used a one-way between-subjects design where Multiculturalism Construal (Abstract, Concrete, Control) was the between-subject independent variable and attitudes toward Hispanic Americans was the dependent variable.

Results

Attitudes toward Hispanic Americans

A composite of participants’ attitudes toward Hispanic Americans was created by averaging all 27 items ($\alpha = .96$) of the Attitudes toward Hispanics scale (Plant et al., 2008). A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of Multiculturalism Construal, $F(2, 123) = 14.43, p < .001, \eta^2 = .19$ (see Figure 1). Participants primed with an abstract construal showed significantly less prejudice toward Hispanic Americans ($M = 2.38; SD = 1.04$) than those in the control condition ($M = 3.05; SD = 1.17$), $t(123) = -2.81, p < .01$, while, participants primed with a concrete construal of multiculturalism

showed significantly more prejudice toward Hispanic Americans ($M = 3.68$; $SD = 1.10$) than those in the control condition, ($M = 3.05$; $SD = 1.17$), $t(123) = 2.61$, $p = .01$. Not surprisingly, participants expressed more anti-Hispanic prejudice after reading about a concrete construal of multiculturalism ($M = 3.68$; $SD = 1.10$) than an abstract construal ($M = 2.38$; $SD = 1.04$), $t(123) = -5.37$, $p < .01$.

Discussion

Experiment 1 provided initial evidence that framing multiculturalism abstractly by highlighting its broad goals reduced majority group members' prejudice toward an ethnic minority relative to a control condition. However, framing the same ideology concretely by highlighting specific ways in which it can be achieved increased prejudice toward the same ethnic minority group relative to a control condition. These findings complement and extend research on the principle-implementation gap by demonstrating that manipulating the construal of an ideology (multiculturalism) to focus on its abstract principles leads to favorable attitudes toward an ethnic outgroup, but construing the *same* ideology to focus on its concrete implementation leads to unfavorable attitudes toward the same group.

CHAPTER 3

EXPERIMENT 2

Experiment 2 built on the previous results by identifying and testing what psychological process drives increased prejudice when a concrete framing of multiculturalism is encountered, but decreased prejudice when an abstract framing of multiculturalism is encountered. I predicted that national identity threat will be the primary driver of these attitudes (Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Yogeeswaran et al., 2012; cf. Branscombe et al., 1999; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). When White Americans read about specific diversity policies aimed at achieving multicultural goals, it will emphasize how the American mainstream which is prototypically European American at present will change if diverse cultural practices enter the mainstream—making White perceivers feel threatened that American values, practices, and worldview are in danger of being eroded. Increased threat, in turn, will increase prejudice against ethnic minorities. However, national identity threat is less likely to be evoked when White Americans read about abstract goals of multiculturalism in broad brushstrokes. Because an abstract construal stays away from specific policies that challenge the national prototype and only focuses on why multiculturalism enriches society, it is likely to reduce the extent to which White perceivers see diverse cultural practices as threatening the national group, and in turn reduce prejudice toward an ethnic minority outgroup.

Method

Participants

One hundred and twenty seven White Americans (40 male and 87 female) participated in this experiment for extra course credit.

Measures and Manipulations

The measures and manipulations were identical to those used in Experiment 1 with one additional set of measures to assess perceived threat to national identity (see below).

Threat to National Identity

Participants completed 6 items assessing the degree to which they felt that the United States was threatened by non-European cultural values and practices; these items were adapted from previous research (Schatz, Staub and Lavine, 1999; Warner, Hornsey & Jetten, 2007; Yogeeswaran et al., 2012). Participants were asked to indicate their response on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). Items included the following: “Widespread adoption of cultural practices from different ethnic groups trouble me because they might weaken American culture,” “It is important that Americans preserve the cultural traditions passed down from our European forefathers in order to avoid blurring the boundaries between what is American and what is foreign,” “People who live in the U.S. and follow their own cultural customs have a detrimental effect on American culture,” “Bilingual education will weaken national unity in America,” “People following customs and practices that are different from that of mainstream society have a negative effect on America’s uniqueness in the world,” “Americans must strive to maintain its customs and practices in order to avoid the watering down of American culture.”

Procedure

Participants were recruited under the guise of a study on ‘reading comprehension and social judgments.’ They were first randomly assigned to one of three conditions in

which they either read an essay on multiculturalism framed abstractly vs. concretely or they read an essay on American nature reserves (control condition) before completing the thought listing task used in Experiment 1. Then, under the guise of a separate and unrelated task, participants completed measures assessing perceived threat to national identity followed by their attitudes toward Hispanic Americans.

Results

Mean Differences

Attitudes toward Hispanic Americans

An attitude composite was created by averaging all 27 items ($\alpha = .96$) of the Attitudes toward Hispanics scale. Replicating the findings of Experiment 1, a one-way ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of Multiculturalism Construal, $F(2, 124) = 9.41, p < .001, \eta^2 = .13$ (see Figure 2 Panel A). Participants primed with an abstract construal showed significantly less prejudice toward Hispanic Americans ($M = 2.34; SD = 1.00$) than others in the control condition ($M = 2.86; SD = 1.08$), $t(124) = -2.17, p = .03$. In contrast, participants primed with a concrete construal of multiculturalism ($M = 3.37; SD = 1.26$) showed greater prejudice compared to others in the control condition ($M = 2.86; SD = 1.08$), $t(124) = 2.04, p = .04$. Not surprisingly, the concrete construal also elicited more prejudice toward Hispanic Americans ($M = 3.37; SD = 1.26$) than the abstract construal of multiculturalism, ($M = 2.34; SD = 1.00$), $t(124) = -4.33, p < .01$.

Threat to National Identity

A composite score for national identity threat was created by averaging all 6 items on the measure ($\alpha = .73$). A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of Multiculturalism Construal, $F(2, 124) = 11.92, p < .001, \eta^2 = .16$ (see Figure 2 Panel B).

Participants primed with an abstract construal of multiculturalism perceived diverse cultural practices as significantly less threatening to national identity ($M = 2.64$; $SD = 0.94$) than others in the control condition ($M = 3.12$; $SD = 1.06$), $t(124) = -2.23$, $p = .03$. In contrast, participants primed with a concrete construal perceived diverse cultural practices as significantly more threatening to national identity ($M = 3.67$; $SD = 0.95$) than others in the control condition, ($M = 3.12$; $SD = 1.07$), $t(124) = 2.51$, $p = .01$. Perceived threat was also significantly greater after reading about a concrete construal of multiculturalism ($M = 3.67$; $SD = 0.95$) than an abstract construal ($M = 2.64$; $SD = 0.94$), $t(124) = -4.88$, $p < .01$.

Mediation analyses

A series of regression analyses examined whether the differential effects of abstract versus concrete construals of multiculturalism on prejudice was driven by systematic variations in national identity threat. To do this, I separately compared abstract and concrete construal conditions to the control condition (used as a reference group) in a series of regression analyses using Baron and Kenny's (1986) guidelines. The first series of regressions showed that the abstract construal of multiculturalism (relative to control) significantly predicted reduced threats to national identity, $B = -0.47$, $SE = 0.21$, $p = .03$, and less prejudice toward Hispanic Americans, $B = -0.52$, $SE = 0.24$, $p = .03$. Threat to national identity also significantly predicted more prejudice toward Hispanic Americans, $B = 0.63$, $SE = 0.08$, $p < .001$. Most importantly, controlling the effect of national identity threat in the first step of the regression equation significantly reduced the impact of an abstract construal of multiculturalism on anti-Hispanic prejudice, $B = -0.26$, $SE = 0.22$, $p = .23$. A Sobel test confirmed that national identity threat significantly mediated the

relation between an abstract construal of multiculturalism (relative to control) and anti-Hispanic prejudice, $z = -2.09$, $p = .04$ (see Figure 3 Panel A).

Similar analyses were conducted for the concrete construal condition relative to the control. The first series of regressions showed that the concrete construal of multiculturalism (relative to control) significantly predicted more national identity threat, $B = 0.55$, $SE = 0.22$, $p = .01$, and increased prejudice toward Hispanic Americans, $B = 0.51$, $SE = 0.25$, $p = .04$. National identity threat also significantly predicted more prejudice toward Hispanic Americans, $B = 0.63$, $SE = 0.08$, $p < .001$. Most importantly, controlling the effect of national identity threat in the first step of the regression equation significantly reduced the impact of a concrete construal of multiculturalism on anti-Hispanic prejudice, $B = 0.20$, $SE = 0.22$, $p = .37$. A Sobel test confirmed that perceived threat significantly mediated the relation between a concrete construal of multiculturalism (relative to control) and anti-Hispanic prejudice, $z = 2.32$, $p = .02$ (see Figure 3 Panel B).

Discussion

In sum, Experiment 2 revealed that an abstract construal of multiculturalism decreases ethnic prejudice by minimizing the extent to which diverse cultural practices are seen as threatening American national identity whereas a concrete construal increases prejudice by amplifying the extent to which diverse cultural practices are seen as threatening American national identity. These findings demonstrate that national identity threat (a form of social identity threat) is the underlying process that drives the differential effects of abstract and concrete construals of multiculturalism on and ethnic minority prejudice.

CHAPTER 4

EXPERIMENT 3

Experiments 1 and 2 suggest that focusing on concrete ways of implementing multiculturalism increases outgroup prejudice because it raises the concern among majority group members that their national identity is threatened. This finding seems to imply that concrete construals of multiculturalism are generally bad for intergroup relations. Of course this is a problem because achieving intergroup harmony through multiculturalism requires taking concrete steps to implement the goals of multiculturalism.

Recall that I had suggested a concrete construal of multiculturalism may magnify national identity threat because it is seen as promoting ethnic minorities' values and practices at the expense of the White majority's values and practices (cf. Lowery et al., 2006; Norton & Sommers, 2011). Indeed recent research has demonstrated that White Americans tend to perceive multiculturalism as excluding their own racial/ethnic group and that these perceptions are diminished only when multiculturalism is explicitly framed as including *all* ethnic groups including White Americans (Plaut et al., 2011; also see Unzueta & Binning, 2010). While Plaut and colleagues' (2011) research shows that such an all-inclusive framing of multiculturalism enhances the degree to which Whites associate multiculturalism with their self-concept, their work did not examine the impact of an all-inclusive framing of multiculturalism on their attitudes and behavioral intentions toward ethnic minority outgroups. The present study complements Plaut et al. (2011) by testing whether a concrete construal of multiculturalism that explicitly incorporates the values and practices of both majority and minority groups reduces national identity threat and in turn ethnic minority prejudice.

A second goal of Experiment 3 is to extend previous findings beyond ethnic minority attitudes to explore people's behavioral intentions—specifically their desire for contact with (or avoidance of) ethnic minorities. As established by previous research, intergroup contact has positive effects on a variety of important intergroup outcomes including the reduction of intergroup conflict (Chirof & Seligman, 2001; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005); therefore, examining whether varied construals of multiculturalism influence White Americans' desire to avoid contact rather than seek contact with ethnic minority outgroups may be important. In Experiment 3, I was specifically interested in measuring White Americans' desire to seek both casual acquaintance-like relationships as well as close intimate relationships with Hispanic Americans.

And finally, a third goal of the current study is to tease apart the type of threat underlying the differential effects of multiculturalism construals on prejudice. As discussed earlier, I predict that varied construals of multicultural ideology will have systematic effects on the extent to which Whites perceive diverse ethnic groups' values and practices as symbolically threatening American society (similar to Experiment 2). However, I expected these construals may not have any effect on resource threat (Sherif & Sherif, 1969; Sherif et al., 1961) which involves competition for scarce material resources and threat to the political and economic power of one's group (e.g. Bobo, 1988; Levine & Campbell, 1972; Reik et al., 2006; Sherif & Sherif, 1969; Stephan et al., 2009; 1999).

With all these goals, Experiment 3 set out to compare three construals of multiculturalism: abstract and concrete construals of multiculturalism (similar to Experiments 1 and 2), and a new concrete construal of multiculturalism that explicitly included White Americans. This new construal was also concrete in its description, but

different in that it specifically emphasized the inclusion of all groups in multiculturalism. I measured the effect of these construals on national identity threat (similar to Experiment 2) and national resource threat before assessing Whites' attitudes toward Hispanic Americans (same as Experiment 1-2) and their desire to form both casual and intimate relationships with Hispanic Americans.

Method

Participants

One hundred and four White Americans (40 male and 64 female) participated in this experiment for extra course credit.

Measures and Manipulations

Measures and manipulations were similar to that of Experiment 2 with three important exceptions: (1) I replaced the control condition with the new condition, which involved another concrete construal of multiculturalism that identified specific programs to include all ethnic groups in mainstream society including White Americans (abbreviated as the *all-inclusive concrete condition*); (2) in addition to measuring perceived threat to national identity, I also measured perceived threat to national resources; and (3) in addition to measuring participants' attitudes toward Hispanic Americans, I also measured their behavioral intentions—specifically, their desire to engage intergroup contact at varying levels of intimacy with the goal of examining how multiculturalism construals impact participants' desire for both casual and close personal relationships with Hispanic Americans.

Abstract and concrete construals of multiculturalism were described using the same essays utilized in Experiments 1 and 2. The new all-inclusive concrete condition

included the same content as the original concrete construal, but then added a few crucial phrases that emphasized how multiculturalism may be achieved by embracing the values and practices of *both* White Americans and ethnic minorities. For example, whereas the original concrete construal of multiculturalism stated that multiculturalism can be achieved if we “accept and promote ethnic minorities’ celebration of culture-specific festivals and holidays such as Cinco de Mayo, Fiesta DC, and Semana Santa,” the all-inclusive concrete condition stated that multiculturalism can be achieved if we “accept and promote holidays celebrated by both White Americans and ethnic minorities including Christmas, Easter, St. Patrick’s Day as well as Cinco de Mayo, Fiesta DC, and Semana Santa.” Similarly, while the original concrete construal stated that “multiculturalism can be achieved if we collectively support the ability for ethnic minorities to speak languages other than English in the work place, school, and other public arenas,” the all-inclusive condition stated that “multiculturalism can be achieved if we collectively support the ability for both White Americans and ethnic minorities to speak both English as well as other languages in the work place, school, and other public arenas.” Since Whites tend to represent the cultural default in the U.S. (e.g. Devos & Banaji, 2005; Smith & Zarate, 1994), each of these concrete steps were framed as incorporating *White Americans* and *ethnic minorities* in order to reassure Whites that their group is being included. In total, five sentences in the original concrete multiculturalism essay were slightly modified to create the new all-inclusive concrete multiculturalism essay.

Attitudes toward Hispanic Americans

Participants completed the same measure utilized in Experiments 1 and 2 to assess their attitudes toward Hispanic Americans.

Behavioral intentions

Willingness to engage in close intergroup contact. Participants rated the extent to which they were interested in forming close personal relationships with Hispanic American individuals using 5 self-report items adapted from previous research (Esses & Dovidio, 2002; Tropp & Bianchi, 2006). On a scale of 1 (not at all willing) to 7 (extremely willing), participants indicated the extent to which they would be willing or unwilling to: “Marry a Hispanic American person,” “Have an intimate relationship with a Hispanic American person,” “accept a Hispanic American person as a family member through marriage,” “have a Hispanic American person as a close friend,” and “confide in a Hispanic American person.” These items formed an index where higher numbers indicate a greater interest in close intergroup contact.

Willingness to engage in casual intergroup contact. Participants also rated the extent to which they were interested in forming casual relationships with Hispanic American individuals using 7 self-report items adapted from previous research (Esses & Dovidio, 2002; Tropp & Bianchi, 2006). To that end, they were asked to indicate the extent to which they would be willing or unwilling to: “Accept a Hispanic American person as a neighbor,” “Accept a Hispanic American person as a co-worker,” “Accept a Hispanic American person as a casual acquaintance,” “Visit a Hispanic American person in his or her home,” “Have a Hispanic American person visit your home,” “Have a Hispanic American person as a casual acquaintance,” “Attend a cultural event sponsored by a Hispanic American organization.” Responses were given on the same 7-point scale indicated earlier. These items formed an index where higher numbers indicate a greater interest in casual intergroup contact.

Perceived Threat

Threat to National Identity. In addition to the 6 items from Experiment 2 assessing perceived threats to American national identity, I included 3 additional items adapted from previous research (Stephan et al., 1999) to create a broader and more internally consistent index of national identity threat. These additional items assessed the extent to which participants felt diverse ethnic minority groups' values and practices were negatively affecting "American culture," "American values," and the "American way of life."

Threat to National Resources. Participants reported the extent to which they perceived ethnic minority groups as consuming American resources and public services by rating the extent to which they thought ethnic minority groups were increasing versus decreasing "job losses in the U.S.," "the availability of social services in the U.S.," and "the level of crime in the U.S." These items were adapted from Stephan and Stephan (2000) and Stephan et al. (1999).

Procedure

Participants were once again recruited for the experiment allegedly on 'reading comprehension and rapid judgments.' They first read an essay describing multiculturalism in an abstract manner (focusing on its broad goals and why it is important), a concrete manner (focusing on how those goals can be achieved), or an all-inclusive concrete manner (the same as above but this time describing how those goals can be achieved by incorporating the values and practices of both Whites and ethnic minorities). Participants then completed the thought listing task similar to the previous experiments. All participants then completed a measure assessing perceived threat to national identity and

perceived threat to national resources (in counterbalanced order) before completing measures of their attitudes toward Hispanic Americans and intentions to engage in close or casual contact with Hispanic Americans. The order of the dependent measures was also counterbalanced between-subjects.

Results

Mean Differences

Attitudes toward Hispanic Americans

Once again, items from this measure showed high internal consistency (27 items; $\alpha = .97$) and were collapsed to form an index of outgroup attitudes. Replicating our earlier findings, a one-way ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of Multiculturalism Construals, $F(2, 104) = 12.19, p < .001, \eta^2 = .19$ (see Figure 4 Panel A). Participants who read an abstract construal of multiculturalism showed significantly less anti-Hispanic prejudice ($M = 2.21; SD = 1.05$) than others who read the original concrete construal ($M = 3.55; SD = 1.15$), $t(101) = -4.77, p < .001$. More importantly, participants who read the new all-inclusive concrete construal ($M = 2.52; SD = 1.28$) showed less anti-Hispanic prejudice than others primed with the original concrete construal ($M = 3.55; SD = 1.15$), $t(101) = -3.61, p < .001$. Importantly, there was no difference between the all-inclusive concrete condition ($M = 2.52; SD = 1.28$) and the abstract condition ($M = 2.21; SD = 1.05$), $t(101) = -1.14, p = .26$.

Willingness to engage in casual vs. close intergroup contact

I created 2 separate indices to capture participants' willingness to engage in casual contact (7 items; $\alpha = .94$) and close contact (5 items; $\alpha = .89$) with Hispanics. These indices were treated as a repeated measure labeled Type of Contact in the following

ANOVA. A Multiculturalism Construal (abstract, concrete, all-inclusive concrete) x Type of Contact (casual vs. close) mixed model ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of Multiculturalism Construal on participants' overall willingness to engage in intergroup contact, $F(2, 104) = 10.78, p < .001, \eta^2 = .18$ (see Figure 4 Panel B). Participants primed with an abstract construal of multiculturalism ($M = 6.46; SD = 0.78$) were significantly more willing to engage in intergroup contact than those primed with the original concrete construal of multiculturalism ($M = 5.44; SD = 1.25$), $t(101) = 4.42, p < .001$. Additionally, participants primed with the new all-inclusive construal of multiculturalism ($M = 6.27; SD = 0.80$) were also more willing to engage in intergroup contact than others primed with the original concrete construal of multiculturalism ($M = 5.44; SD = 1.25$), $t(101) = 3.55, p = .001$. As expected, the all-inclusive concrete construal condition ($M = 6.27; SD = 0.80$) was no different from the abstract construal condition ($M = 6.46; SD = 0.78$) in participants' willingness to engage in contact, $t(101) < 1, p = .40$. The interaction between Multiculturalism Construal x Type of Contact was not statistically significant, $F(2, 101) = 1.57, p = .21$, indicating that varying the construal of multiculturalism had the same effect on participants' desire for intergroup contact regardless of whether it involved casual or close contact.

Threat to National Identity

An index of national identity threat was created by averaging all 9 items of the measure ($\alpha = .91$). Similar to Experiment 2, a one-way ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of Multiculturalism Construals, $F(2, 104) = 13.50, p < .001, \eta^2 = .21$ (see Figure 4 Panel C). Participants who read an abstract construal of multiculturalism felt that American national identity was less threatened by diverse cultural practices ($M = 2.21; SD$

= 0.60) than others who read the original concrete construal ($M = 3.34$; $SD = 1.16$), $t(101) = -5.02$, $p < .001$. Similarly, participants who read the new all-inclusive construal of multiculturalism felt that American identity was significantly less threatened by diverse cultural practices ($M = 2.47$; $SD = 0.98$) than others primed with the original concrete construal ($M = 3.34$; $SD = 1.16$), $t(101) = -3.80$, $p < .001$. National identity threat was statistically equivalent in the abstract and all-inclusive concrete conditions, $t(101) = -1.22$, $p = .23$.

Threat to National Resources

An index of resource threat was created by averaging the 3-items of the measure ($\alpha = .64$). A one-way ANOVA revealed that multiculturalism construals had no effect on resource threat, $F < 1$, $p = .59$.²

Mediation analyses

Attitudes toward Hispanic Americans

A series of regression analyses were conducted to examine whether the effect of multiculturalism construals on prejudice is driven by systematic variations in perceived threat to national identity. I dummy coded the abstract and all-inclusive construal conditions and used the original concrete condition as the reference group. Regression analyses revealed that the all-inclusive construal of multiculturalism significantly predicted less national identity threat, $B = -0.86$, $SE = 0.23$, $p < .001$, and less prejudice toward Hispanic Americans, $B = -1.03$, $SE = 0.29$, $p < .001$, relative to the original concrete construal. Additionally, national identity threat significantly predicted more anti-Hispanic prejudice, $B = 0.91$, $SE = 0.08$, $p < .001$. Most importantly, controlling the effect of national identity threat in the first step of the regression equation significantly reduced the

impact of the all-inclusive construal on anti-Hispanic prejudice, $B = -0.30$, $SE = 0.23$, $p = .19$. A Sobel test confirmed that decreased national identity threat mediated the relation between the all-inclusive construal (relative to the original concrete construal) and low anti-Hispanic prejudice, $z = -3.50$, $p < .001$ (see Figure 5 Panel A).

In a similar manner regression analyses also revealed that an abstract construal of multiculturalism predicted less national identity threat, $B = -1.13$, $SE = 0.23$, $p < .001$, and less prejudice toward Hispanic Americans, $B = -1.34$, $SE = 0.28$, $p < .01$, relative to the original concrete construal condition. National identity threat also predicted more anti-Hispanic prejudice, $B = 0.91$, $SE = 0.08$, $p < .001$. Most importantly, controlling the effect of national identity threat in the first step of the regression equation significantly reduced the impact of an abstract vs. concrete construals of multiculturalism on anti-Hispanic prejudice, $B = -0.36$, $SE = 0.24$, $p = .13$. A Sobel test confirmed that decreased national identity threat significantly mediated the relation between an abstract construal of multiculturalism (relative to the original concrete construal) and reduced anti-Hispanic prejudice, $z = -4.39$, $p < .001$ (see Figure 5 Panel B).

Willingness to engage in intergroup contact

Similar to the above, a series of regressions were conducted using participants' willingness to engage in intergroup contact as the dependent measure. Analyses revealed that compared to the original concrete construal condition, an all-inclusive construal of multiculturalism significantly reduced national identity threat, $B = -0.86$, $SE = 0.23$, $p < .001$, and increased willingness to engage in intergroup contact, $B = 0.83$, $SE = 0.23$, $p = .001$. National identity threat also predicted less willingness to engage in intergroup contact, $B = -0.68$, $SE = 0.07$, $p < .001$. Controlling for national identity threat in the first

step of the regression equation significantly reduced the impact of the all-inclusive construal on participants' willingness to engage in intergroup contact, $B = 0.29$, $SE = 0.20$, $p = .15$. A Sobel test confirmed that national identity threat significantly mediated the relation between an all-inclusive construal (relative to the original concrete construal) and intention to engage in intergroup contact, $z = 3.39$, $p < .001$ (see Figure 6 Panel A).

Similar mediation results were obtained when the abstract construal condition was compared to the original concrete construal condition. Specifically, the abstract construal of multiculturalism significantly reduced national identity threat, $B = -1.13$, $SE = 0.23$, $p < .001$, and increased motivation to engage in intergroup contact, $B = 1.02$, $SE = 0.23$, $p < .001$, relative to the original concrete construal condition. Also, national identity threat significantly predicted less motivation for intergroup contact, $B = -0.68$, $SE = 0.07$, $p < .001$. Controlling the effect of national identity threat in the first step of the regression equation significantly reduced the impact of an abstract vs. concrete construal of multiculturalism on participants' motivation to engage in intergroup contact, $B = 0.30$, $SE = 0.21$, $p = .15$. A Sobel test confirmed that perceived threat to national identity significantly mediated the relation between an abstract construal of multiculturalism (relative to the original concrete construal) and behavioral intentions for intergroup contact, $z = 4.19$, $p < .001$ (see Figure 6 Panel B).

Discussion

In sum, Experiment 3 revealed that concrete construals of multiculturalism *do not inevitably* exacerbate outgroup prejudice. Instead, a concrete construal that explicitly incorporates the values and practices of *both* majority and minority groups successfully attenuates prejudice and this occurs because White perceivers feel less concerned that

American identity is threatened when they are explicitly included under the umbrella of multiculturalism. Furthermore, Experiment 3 extended earlier findings by demonstrating that the effect of multiculturalism construals extend beyond prejudicial attitudes toward ethnic outgroups, by also affecting people's motivations and behavioral intentions to interact with or avoid ethnic minorities. And finally, Experiment 3 revealed that multiculturalism construals specifically impact national identity threat that is more symbolically oriented, but does not impact perceived threat to national resources. Threat to national identity, in turn, fuels greater prejudice and avoidant behavioral intentions.

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The current research set out to fulfill three broad goals: (a) integrate scientific research on psychological construal and the principle-implementation gap to identify and test conditions under which public discourse about multiculturalism is likely to have beneficial versus detrimental effects on intergroup relations; (b) incorporate research on social identity threat to better understand the psychological processes underlying these differential consequences of multiculturalism; and (c) design an alternative framing of multiculturalism that is concrete, pragmatic, and inclusive as a way to achieve intergroup harmony.

Theoretical Contributions

Construals of Multiculturalism Shift Ethnic Minority Attitudes and Behavioral Intentions

Previous research has shown that multiculturalism can sometimes promote intergroup harmony (e.g. Correll et al., 2008; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Plaut et al., 2009; Vorauer et al., 2009; Wolsko et al., 2000), while at other times evoke resistance from majority group members and hinder positive intergroup relations (e.g. Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Linnehan & Konrad, 1999; Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Plaut et al., 2011; Vorauer & Sasaki, 2011; Yogeeswaran et al., 2011). When does multiculturalism elicit a positive reaction or a negative one? The present research addresses this important question by identifying a critical moderator variable: the construal of multiculturalism. By utilizing research on psychological construal (Forster, 2009; Freitas et al., 2004; Levy et al., 2002; Sanna et al., 2009; Smith et al., 2008; Trope & Liberman, 2010; 2003), my data

reveals that multiculturalism leads to positive attitudes and desire for contact when majority group members zoom out and reflect on the broad goals of this ideology (abstract construal), but it leads to negative attitudes and avoidance of contact when they zoom in and reflect on concrete policies and programs involved in multiculturalism.

These findings also advance research on the principle-implementation gap (Dixon et al., 2010; 2007; Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Schuman et al., 1997; Tuch & Hughes, 1996) which demonstrates that Whites can support abstract principles while simultaneously opposing concrete policies that help achieve such goals. While past survey research on this topic has described White Americans' attitudes toward abstract principles and concrete policies regarding racial equality, the current research experimentally varied the framing of multiculturalism to be abstract (principle focused) or concrete (policy focused) and showed that the former leads to more favorable ethnic minority attitudes and behavioral intentions, while the latter leads to less favorable ethnic minority attitudes and behavioral intentions.

National Identity Threat (Not Resource Threat) as a Psychological Mediator

My dissertation also sheds light on the psychological process underlying the effect of multiculturalism construals on prejudice and behavioral intentions by demonstrating the role of national identity threat. Previous research (e.g. Branscombe et al., 1999; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000) has argued that threats to the uniqueness of one's ingroup can increase prejudice. Consistent with this argument the present studies show that a concrete framing of multiculturalism is particularly likely to threaten national identity by raising concerns that diverse cultural values and practices undermine the uniqueness of one's nation . Interestingly however, multiculturalism construals do not seem to threaten national

resources. The distinct role of national identity threat, but not resource threat is another important contribution of this research.

In terms of psychological process, research on the principle-implementation gap has identified correlates of White Americans' attitudes toward policies that attempt to redress the effects of racial discrimination. While such research has shown that Whites' opposition toward such policies are predicted by changing norms of prejudice expression, beliefs about the pernicious effects of discrimination, stratification beliefs, political conservatism, perceived group interest and realistic conflict (e.g. Bobo, 1988; Dixon et al., 2010; Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Schumann et al., 1997; Sniderman, Crosby & Howell, 2000; Tuch & Hughes, 1996), it has not explored the mediating role of national identity threat in explaining the gap between racial equality in principle and policy. The present research suggests that another factor that might partially explain the principle-implementation gap is national identity threat.

Creating a Concrete Construal of Multiculturalism that Does Not Arouse National Identity Threat or Prejudice

Finally, the present research identifies an important way in which multiculturalism can be successfully framed to elicit the least resistance and yet remain sufficiently concrete to be conducive to pragmatic implementation. My data suggests that when White Americans are told that the implementation of multiculturalism will incorporate the values and practices of their racial/ethnic ingroup as well as those of ethnic minorities, their resistance toward the ideology is diminished. These findings build on Plaut and colleagues (2011) who found that Whites perceive multiculturalism as excluding themselves and their racial/ethnic ingroup and this perception is reduced when multiculturalism is described as

including their group as well. While Plaut and colleagues focuses on White participants' inclusion of the self within multiculturalism as the dependent variable of interest, my data takes it further by demonstrating that an all-inclusive multiculturalism reduces White perceivers' prejudice toward ethnic minority outgroups and increases their desire for intergroup contact. Moreover, both of these occur because an all-inclusive construal reduces national identity threat.

These findings complement research demonstrating that race relations are often perceived as zero-sum such that gains for ethnic minorities are seen as losses for Whites (e.g. Eibach & Keegan, 2006; Norton & Sommers, 2011) and perceived losses for Whites lead to greater opposition toward policies benefiting ethnic minorities (e.g. Lowery et al., 2006). My data suggest that such antagonistic zero-sum construals may be particularly likely when multicultural policies are described concretely without mentioning Whites' participation in them. However, when a concrete construal emphasizes the incorporation of *both* majority and minority groups' values and practices in multicultural policies and programs it is likely to reduce antagonism, threat and in turn reduce prejudice and avoidant behavioral intentions.

Collectively, these findings suggests that it is not simply the construal of an ideology that is responsible for changes in prejudice and social distancing intentions; rather, how an ideology is framed together with its implications for perceivers' own group that drive their attitudes, behavioral motivations, and perceived threat. If perceivers believe that the implementation of an ideology excludes their own group, then they see it as threatening their vision of the national group which in turn leads them to retaliate against ethnic outgroups. However, when participants are told that the implementation of

the ideology incorporates everyone including their own group, then they are less threatened by diverse cultural practices even when they focus on its specific programs and policies.

Limitations and Future Directions

Like any research, the current work has limitations; however, these limitations also open the door for productive future investigations. For example, while the focus of the present research has been to examine how abstract vs. concrete construals of multiculturalism systematically affect White majority members' attitudes and behavioral intentions toward ethnic minorities, it is unclear whether these findings will translate onto public policy support and actual behavior. This question is ideal for future work because in order to achieve broader societal change, it is necessary to extend beyond attitudes and behavioral intentions to actual behavior.

Furthermore, while the present research focuses on attitudes and behavioral intentions toward Hispanic Americans in particular, future work should examine whether similar results are obtained for other ethnic minority groups in the U.S. Because Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans are often explicitly perceived as less American than White or Black Americans (e.g. Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Dovidio et al., 2010), this raises the interesting question--would the same pattern of results be observed if Asian Americans were used as the target group of interest, but not if Black Americans were the target? Future work should explore this question.

And finally, future research might also examine the generalizability of the current research to countries that possess a different model of citizenship. Previous research has shown that national group membership may be defined in terms of a commitment to shared

values and ideals where citizenship is granted to any individual born in the country (*jus solis* or right of soil), or by heritage where citizenship is only granted to individuals belonging to a particular group (*jus sanguinis* or right of blood; Dovidio et al., 2010; Hahn, Judd & Park, 2010; Smith, 2001). While the U.S. was founded as an immigrant nation that granted citizenship to any individual born on its soil (following the *jus solis* model of citizenship), it remains an open question whether these results would be replicated in a nation that subscribes to a more heritage-based definition of national identity (e.g. Germany, Netherlands). The present research provides a starting point for many such exciting new questions that lie at the intersection of multiculturalism and national identity.

Broader Implications

Beyond its theoretical contributions, the current research also has important practical implications for debates on balancing national unity and ethnic pluralism taking place in many countries across the world. Although multiculturalism has shown great promise in some ways, clear obstacles lie in the path of implementation. Our data sheds light on the ways in which multiculturalism can be successfully implemented without encountering a backlash from majority group members. This knowledge can help policy-makers successfully implement multiculturalism in ways that best promote harmonious relations between diverse social groups in various contexts including nations, businesses, educational settings, and other organizations.

In recent years, politicians, educators, academic scholars, and average citizens from various quarters have voiced opinions as to whether adopting multicultural policies is likely to promote national unity or disintegrate the national group. In the last year alone,

prominent European leaders including German Chancellor Angela Merkel, French Prime Minister Nicholas Sarkozy, and British Prime Minister David Cameron have all publicly denounced multiculturalism arguing that it has failed and led to a fragmented society. Our data suggests that while the implementation of multiculturalism may sometimes lead to greater intergroup hostility and avoidance of intergroup contact, this is in no way inevitable. Highlighting multiculturalism's all-inclusive construal in discussing its implementation can attenuate intergroup hostility and promote more effective co-existence. As such, the present research offers a more optimistic yet pragmatic perspective on multiculturalism.

Figure 1. Mean differences in prejudicial attitudes toward Hispanic Americans (Experiment 1)

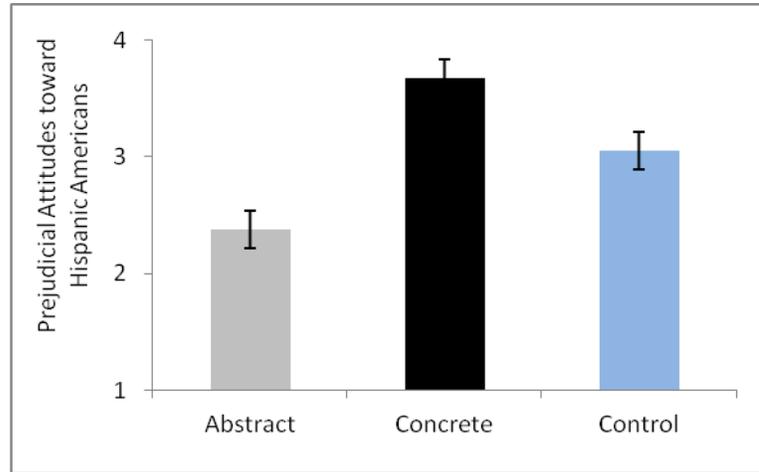


Figure 2. Mean differences in prejudicial attitudes toward Hispanic Americans (Experiment 2)

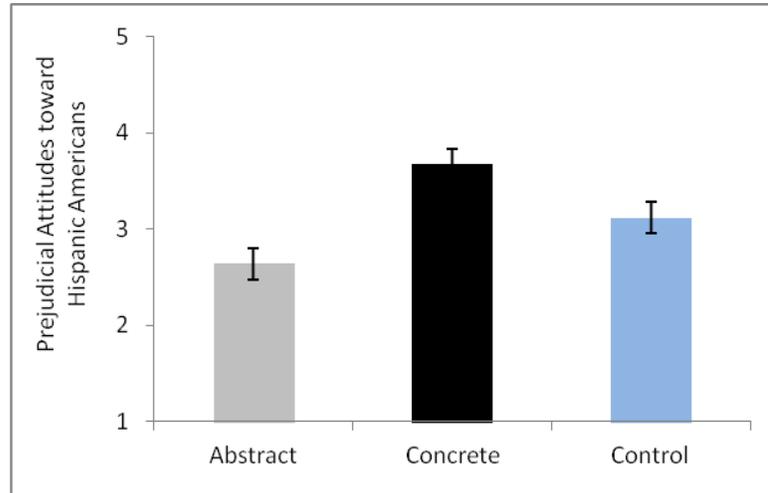


Figure 3. Mean differences in threat to national identity (Experiment 2)

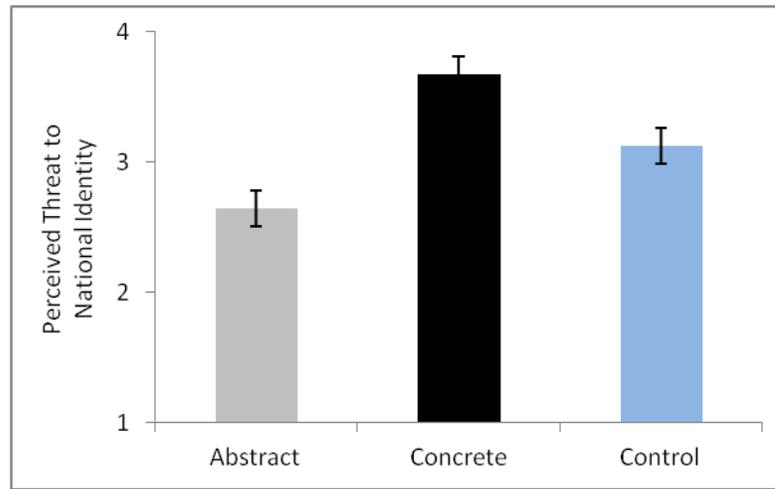
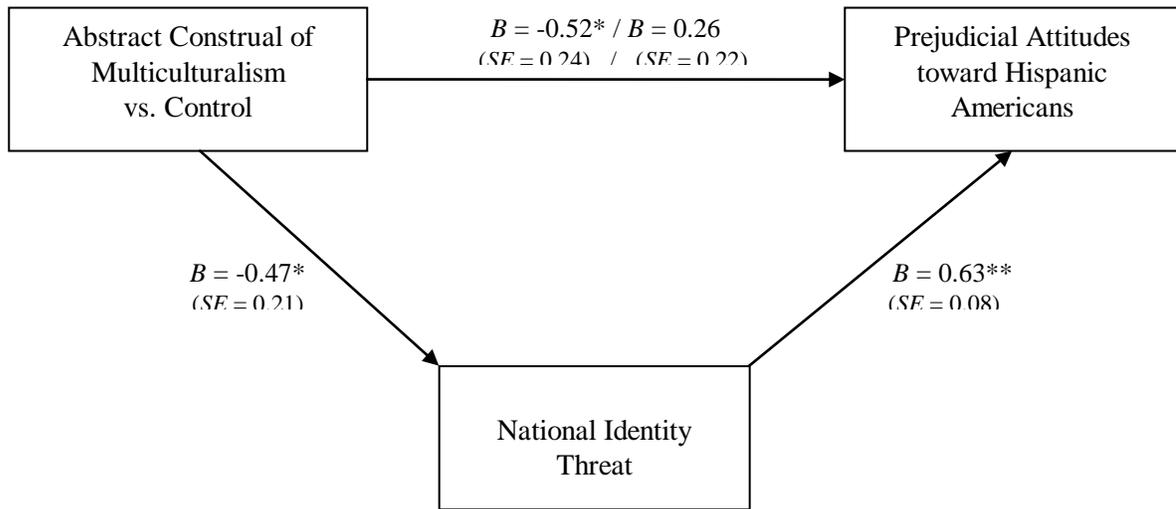
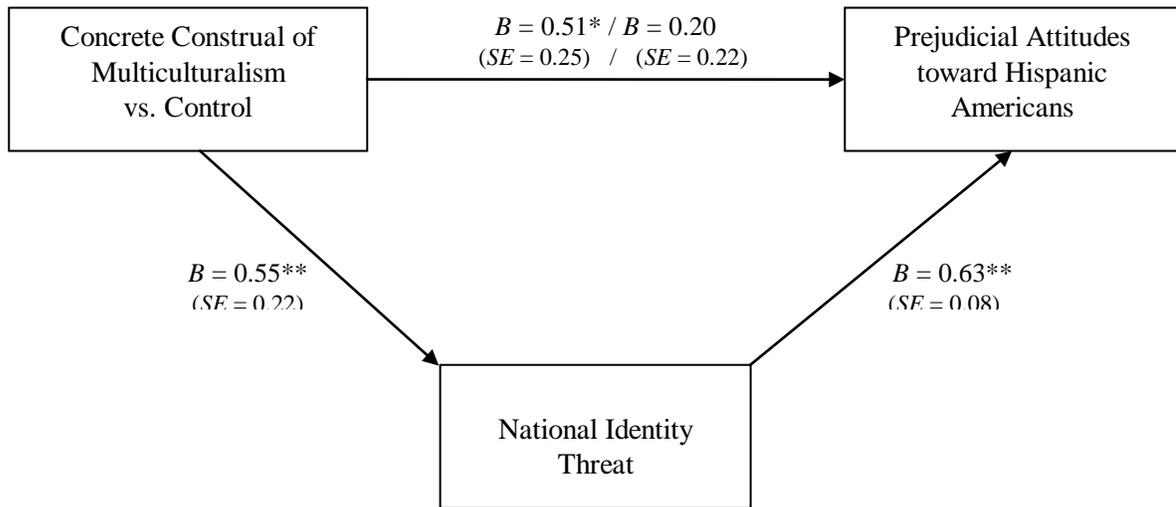


Figure 4. Threat to national identity mediates the relationship between multiculturalism construal (abstract vs. control) and prejudice toward Hispanic Americans (Experiment 2)



Sobel test: $z = 2.40, p = .02$
 $p \leq .05; ** p \leq .01$

Figure 5. Threat to national identity mediates the relationship between multiculturalism construal (concrete vs. control) and prejudice toward Hispanic Americans (Experiment 2)



Sobel test: $z = 2.32, p = .02$
 $p \leq .05; ** p \leq .01$

Figure 6. Mean differences in prejudicial attitudes toward Hispanic Americans (Experiment 3)

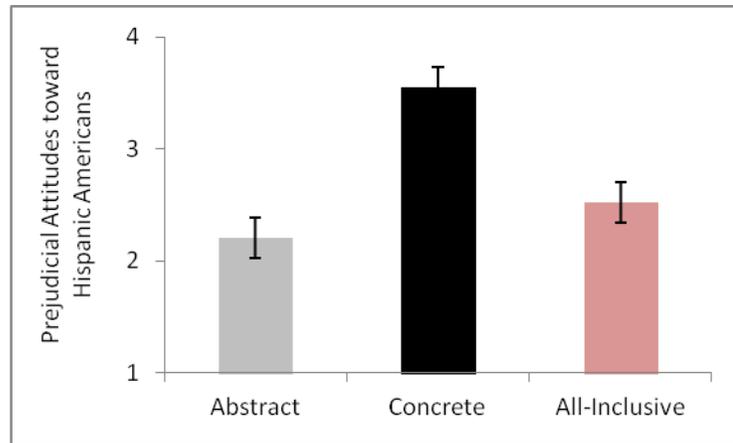


Figure 7. Mean differences in willingness to engage in intergroup contact (Experiment 3)

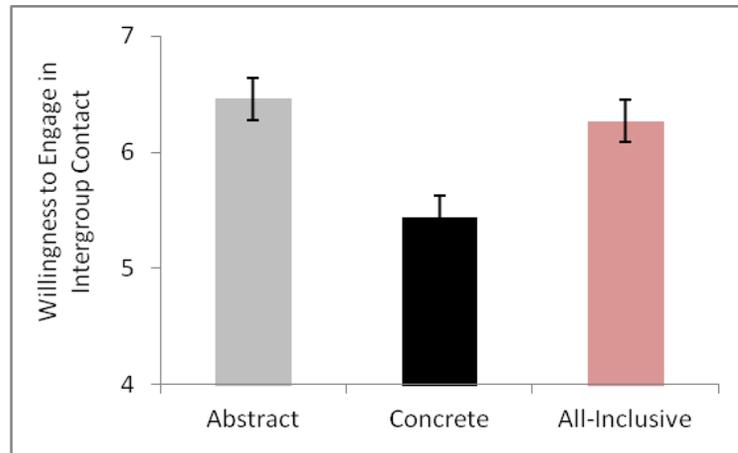


Figure 8. Mean differences in threat to national identity (Experiment 3)

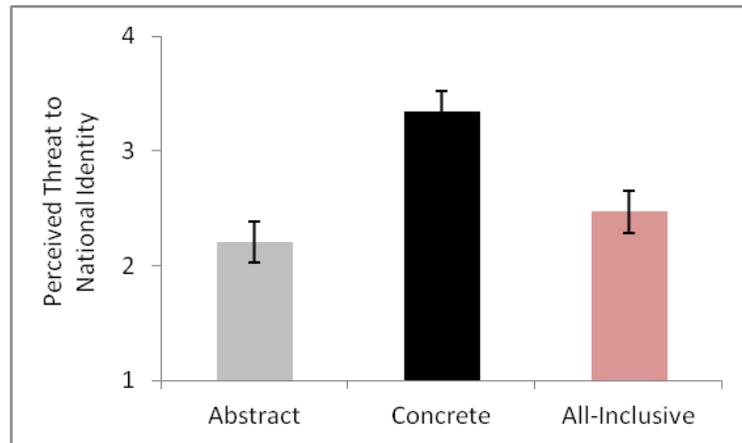
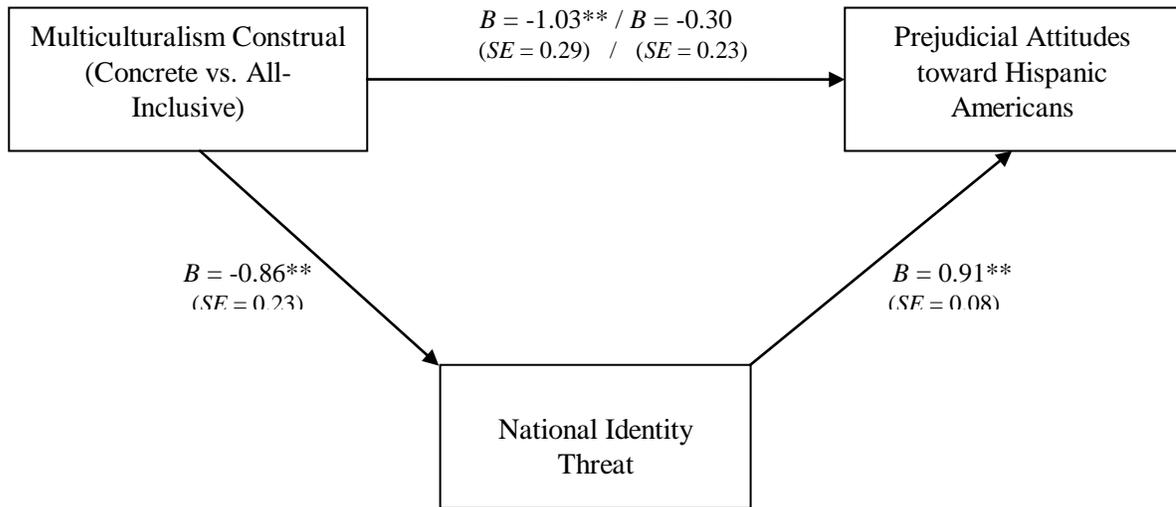
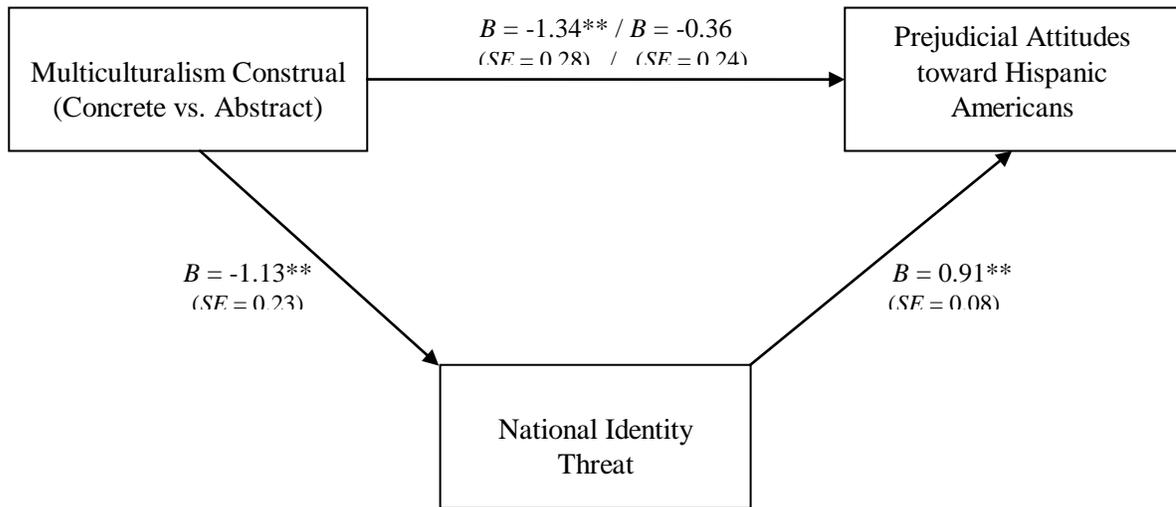


Figure 9. Threat to national identity mediates the relationship between multiculturalism construal (concrete vs. all-inclusive) and prejudice toward Hispanic Americans (Experiment 3)



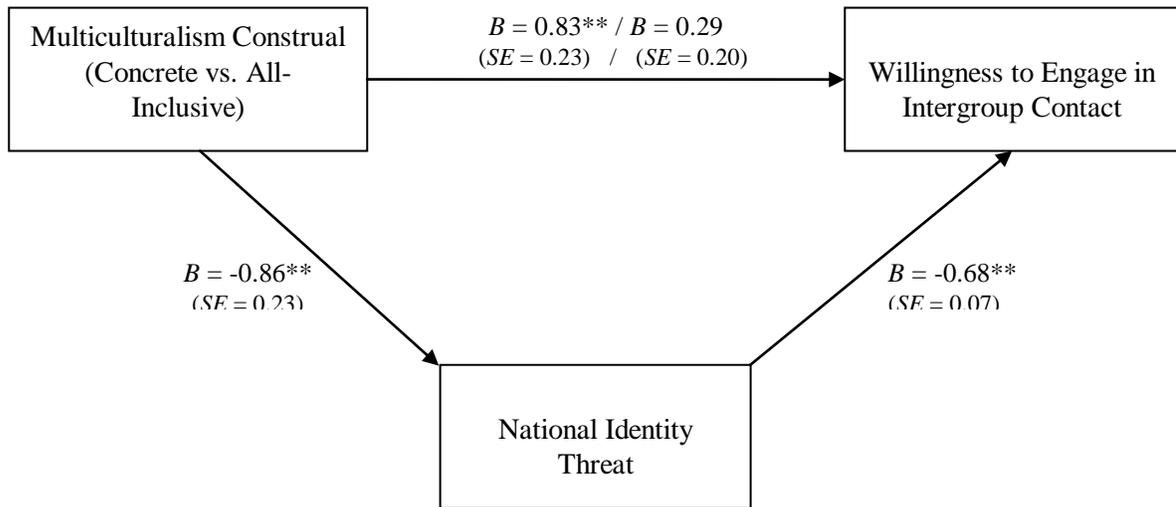
Sobel test: $z = -3.50, p < .001$
 $p \leq .05; ** p \leq .01$

Figure 10. Threat to national identity mediates the relationship between multiculturalism construal (concrete vs. abstract) and prejudice toward Hispanic Americans (Experiment 3)



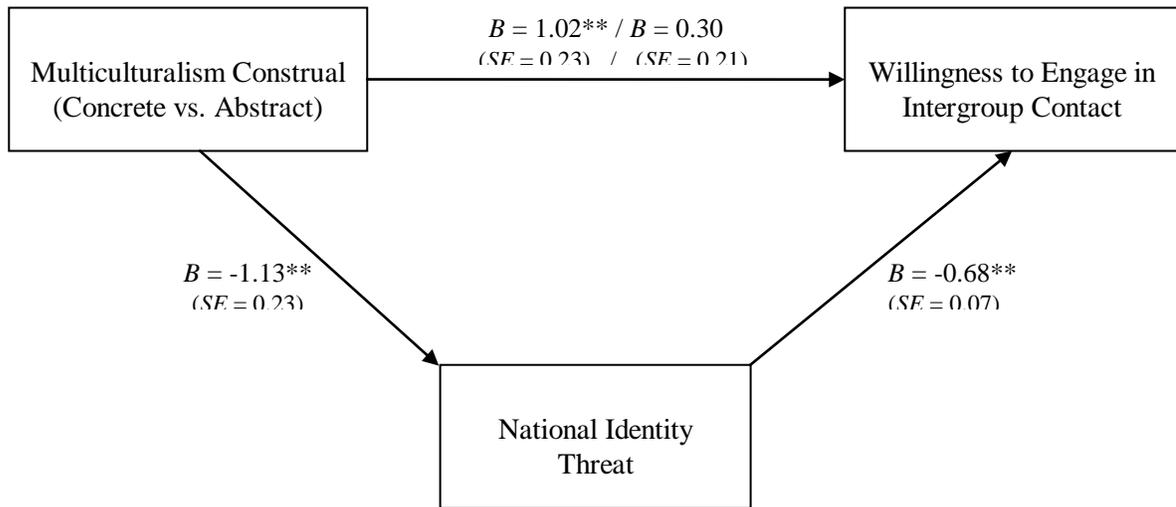
Sobel test: $z = -4.39, p < .001$
 $p \leq .05; ** p \leq .01$

Figure 11. Threat to national identity mediates the relationship between multiculturalism construal (concrete vs. all-inclusive) and willingness to engage in intergroup contact (Experiment 3)



Sobel test: $z = 3.39, p < .001$
 $p \leq .05; ** p \leq .01$

Figure 12. Threat to national identity mediates the relationship between multiculturalism construal (concrete vs. abstract) and willingness to engage in intergroup contact (Experiment 3)



Sobel test: $z = 4.19, p < .001$
 $p \leq .05; ** p \leq .01$

NOTES

¹ Given the difference in length between the abstract and concrete construal of multiculturalism primes, I created a longer variant of the above mentioned abstract construal in order to test whether the length of the prime influenced how abstractly vs. concretely it was perceived to be. Participants who read this lengthened version of the abstract construal saw the same text of the other prime followed by an elaboration of *why* multiculturalism would enrich society's linguistic diversity, educational curricula, and celebration of cultural events. These additional comments made it very similar in length to the concrete prime. Participants then rated the extent to which they perceived this newly created prime as being abstract vs. concrete (see pilot study for details on measures used). Analyses revealed that participants rated the newly created abstract essay as significantly more abstract ($M = 4.23$) and less concrete ($M = 3.00$) than the concrete construal of multiculturalism prime ($M = 3.36$; $t(27) = 2.42$, $p = .02$; $M = 4.75$; $t(27) = -6.35$, $p < .01$). More importantly, there was no difference in how abstract or concrete they perceived both the abstract construal of multiculturalism primes (all p 's $> .30$) suggesting that the length of the essay did not impact how abstract or concrete it was perceived to be. Additionally, analyses revealed no significant difference in the perceived valence of any of the essays (all p 's $> .40$).

² Analyses also revealed a non-significant effect of multiculturalism construal on each of the 3-items on this measure independently, F s < 1 , p s $> .30$.

³ Mediation results hold for both participants willingness to engage in close and casual intergroup contact. Specifically, Sobel tests revealed that distinctiveness threat significantly mediated the relation between: (a) an all-inclusive construal of multiculturalism (relative to the original concrete construal) and willingness to engage in *close* intergroup contact, $z = 3.23$, $p < .001$; as well as (b) an abstract construal of multiculturalism (relative to the original concrete construal) and willingness to engage in *close* intergroup contact, $z = 3.88$, $p < .001$. Similarly, Sobel tests revealed that distinctiveness threat significantly mediated the relation between: (a) an all-inclusive construal of multiculturalism (relative to the original concrete construal) and willingness to engage in *casual* intergroup contact, $z = 3.22$, $p < .001$; as well as (b) an abstract construal of multiculturalism (relative to the original concrete construal) and willingness to engage in *casual* intergroup contact, $z = 3.87$, $p < .001$.

APPENDIX A

EXPERIMENTAL MANIPULATIONS

Abstract Construal of Multiculturalism

This study is part of a larger program of research in which we are interested in people's impressions of various issues pertaining to ethnicity in the United States.

The ability to predict the behavior of others is an especially important skill given that we live in such a multicultural society. In fact, sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists all agree that issues surrounding relations between people of different ethnicities are a #1 concern for the United States. We are in the unique position of having many different cultural groups living within our borders. This could potentially be a great asset because different cultural groups bring different perspectives to life, providing a richness in styles of interaction, problem solving strategies, food, dress, music, and art. Each ethnic group within the United States can contribute in its own unique way. Recognizing this diversity would help to 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 the United States, and that the ability to recognize the unique social characteristics of each cultural or ethnic group will lead to smoother interactions between people.

Concrete Construal of Multiculturalism

This study is part of a larger program of research in which we are interested in people's impressions of various issues pertaining to ethnicity in the United States.

The ability to predict the behavior of others is an especially important skill given that we live in such a multicultural society. In fact, sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists all agree that interethnic issues are a #1 concern for the United States. 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 richness in food, dress, music, art, styles of interaction, and problem solving strategies. Each ethnic group within the United States 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 the United States, and that the ability to recognize the unique social characteristics of each cultural or ethnic group will lead to smoother interactions between people.

How Can We Achieve Multiculturalism?

- Multiculturalism can be achieved if we collectively support the ability for ethnic minorities to speak languages other than English in the work place, school, and other public arenas.

- Multiculturalism can be achieved if we accept that some ethnic groups have different religious and cultural practices which call for different types of clothing including traditional Mexican outfits such as the sarapes, huipil, or the quechquemitl, which they should be allowed to wear to school and work.
- Multiculturalism can be achieved by creating programs that encourage minority representation in politics, science, engineering, technology, education, and the work force in general.
- Multiculturalism can be achieved if the academic curriculum in schools and colleges include classes related to diversity that students are expected to take.
- Multiculturalism can be achieved if we accept and promote ethnic minorities' celebration of culture-specific festivals and holidays such as Cinco de Mayo and Fiesta DC that are different from typical American festivals and holidays.

All-Inclusive Concrete Construal of Multiculturalism

This study is part of a larger program of research in which we are interested in people's impressions of various issues pertaining to ethnicity in the United States.

The ability to predict the behavior of others is an especially important skill given that we live in such a multicultural society. In fact, sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists all agree that interethnic issues are a #1 concern for the United States. 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 richness in food, dress, music, art, styles of interaction, and problem solving strategies. Each ethnic group within the United States 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 the United States, and that the ability to recognize the unique social characteristics of each cultural or ethnic group will lead to smoother interactions between people. Many individuals miss the point when they think about diversity only in terms of minorities. Advocates for multiculturalism think about diversity as something that involves everyone—European Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, Latino Americans, people from all backgrounds. When they say diversity, they mean everyone.

How Can We Achieve Multiculturalism?

- Multiculturalism can be achieved if we collectively support the ability of both White Americans and ethnic minorities to speak both English as well as other languages in the workplace, school, and other public arenas.
- Multiculturalism can be achieved if we accept that White Americans and ethnic minority groups have different types of religious and cultural practices that call for different types of clothing including European tunics, pants, kilts, shirts, skirts, and dresses, as well as Hispanic sarapes, huipil, and the quechquemitl which people are allowed to wear to school and work.
- Multiculturalism can be achieved by creating programs that encourage both White American and minority representation in politics, science, engineering, technology, education, and the work force in general.
- Multiculturalism can be achieved if the academic curriculum in schools and colleges include classes related to the diversity of White European ethnic cultures (Irish, Italian, Polish, German, English etc) as well as the diversity of ethnic minority cultures (Latin, African, Asian, Native American etc) in the U.S. that students are expected to take.
- Multiculturalism can be achieved if we accept and promote all holidays celebrated by both White Americans and ethnic minorities including Christmas, Easter, St. Patrick's Day, as well as Cinco de Mayo, Fiesta DC, and Semana Santa.

APPENDIX B

MEASURES

Attitudes toward Hispanic Americans

On a scale of 1(Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree), please indicate your agreement/disagreement with each of the following statements, using the scale below.

1. ___ I would rather not have Hispanic Americans live in the same apartment building that I live in.
2. ___ I would not mind at all if a Hispanic American family with about the same income and education as me moved in next door.
3. ___ It would not bother me if my new roommate was Hispanic American.
4. ___ Stricter laws should be established to control Hispanic immigration.
5. ___ If a Hispanic American were put in charge of me, I would not mind taking advice and direction from him or her.
6. ___ I would probably feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a Hispanic American in a public place.
7. ___ Many Hispanic Americans don't seem interested in becoming friends with individuals outside of their ethnic group.
8. ___ Hispanic Americans are demanding too much too fast in their push for equal rights.
9. ___ It seems to me that Hispanic Americans are unwilling to assimilate into American culture.
10. ___ If I had a chance to introduce Hispanic visitors to my friends and neighbors, I would be pleased to do so.
11. ___ Areas such as Miami and California are becoming too Hispanic.
12. ___ Generally, Hispanic Americans are not as smart as whites.
13. ___ Some Hispanic Americans are overly proud of their culture.
14. ___ It is likely that Hispanic Americans will bring drugs and violence to neighborhoods when they move in.
15. ___ Some Hispanic Americans are so touchy about their ethnicity that it is difficult to get along with them.
16. ___ I worry that in the next few years I may be denied my application for a job or a promotion because of preferential treatment given to Hispanic/Latino Americans.
17. ___ We shouldn't allow so many Hispanic immigrants to enter the U.S.
18. ___ I would feel uncomfortable being the only non-Hispanic in a room full of Hispanic individuals.
19. ___ From my experiences with Hispanic Americans, I find that they uphold the stereotypes for the most part.
20. ___ There are too many Hispanic immigrants in this country.
21. ___ Hispanic people are generally lazy.
22. ___ It bothers me when Hispanic Americans insist on speaking their own language in public.
23. ___ Hispanic immigrants are enjoying too many privileges under U.S. law.
24. ___ I would not want to live in a predominately Hispanic neighborhood.
25. ___ Many Americans are unable to get jobs because so many Hispanic immigrants are taking them.
26. ___ Too much tax money is going toward unnecessary funding for Hispanic American cultural events.
27. ___ It seems to me that Hispanic Americans usually prefer to interact with members of their own ethnic group than with people from other ethnic groups.

Willingness to Engage in Close Intergroup Contact

On a scale of 1(Not at all willing) to 7 (Extremely willing), please indicate the extent to which you are willing or unwilling to do the following, using the scale below.

1. Marry a Hispanic American person.
2. Have an intimate relationship with a Hispanic American person.

3. Accept a Hispanic American person as a family member through marriage.
4. Have a Hispanic American person as a close friend.
5. Confide in a Hispanic American person.

Willingness to Engage in Casual Intergroup Contact

On a scale of 1(Not at all willing) to 7 (Extremely willing), please indicate the extent to which you are willing or unwilling to do the following, using the scale below.

1. Accept a Hispanic American person as a neighbor.
2. Accept a Hispanic American person as a co-worker.
3. Accept a Hispanic American person as a casual acquaintance.
4. Visit a Hispanic American person in his or her home.
5. Have a Hispanic American person visit your home.
6. Have a Hispanic American person as a casual acquaintance.
7. Attend a cultural event sponsored by a Hispanic American organization.

National Identity Threat

On a scale of 1(Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree), please indicate your agreement/disagreement with each of the following statements, using the scale below.

1. Widespread adoption of cultural practices from different ethnic groups trouble me because they might weaken American culture.
2. It is important that Americans preserve the cultural traditions passed down from our European forefathers in order to avoid blurring the boundaries between what is American and what is foreign.
3. People who live in the U.S. and follow their own cultural customs have a detrimental effect on American culture.
4. Bilingual education will weaken national unity in America.
5. People following customs and practices that are different from that of mainstream society have a negative effect on America's uniqueness in the world.
6. Americans must strive to maintain its customs and practices in order to avoid the watering down of American culture.

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