

A Humanitarian Perspective on Interracial Interaction Ideologies

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The present article explores a new humanitarian ideology for interracial interactions. White American college students were primed with a paragraph that supported a colorblind, multicultural, or humanitarian ideology. Comparisons between the ideologies were made through a categorization task, feeling thermometer, SDO, and Stereotype Explanatory Bias (SEB). The humanitarian ideology did not significantly lower prejudice and stereotyping. Colorblind ideology caused significantly reduced levels of prejudice, but significantly more stereotyping than the multicultural ideology. The multicultural ideology significantly reduced stereotyping. The findings suggest that the humanitarian ideology is too abstract to significantly alter behaviors and that the relationships between the colorblind and multicultural ideologies may be mediated by additional factors.

Multiple examples of ethnic and cultural conflicts, both historical and present, are easy to find in our society. Beyond clashes of values and beliefs lies a psychological mechanism that categorizes individuals into in-groups and out-groups and creates preferences for in-group individuals (Tajfel, 1969). Ideologies define the relationships between these in-group and out-groups, and they guide individual's behaviors towards others. In the interest of resolving ethnic conflicts, psychologists have sought to form a perspective that encourages individuals to reduce prejudice. The most studied of these proposed perspectives have been the colorblind ideology and the multicultural ideology.

Colorblind Ideology

Historically, the spirit of the colorblind ideology was captured in Martin Luther King, Jr.'s (1963) famous words, "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their

character.” Though the exact definition of a colorblind ideology has been contested, it is described generally as a guiding philosophy that de-emphasizes race and ethnicity, preferring to see “each person as a unique individual, as opposed to an interchangeable member of a social category” (Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000, p. 636). Tajfel (1969) laid the groundwork for the colorblind ideology through the finding that prejudiced behavior stems from categorization of individuals into in-groups and out-groups. The colorblind ideology seeks to avoid categorizing individuals by disregarding category-relevant information, thus reducing prejudiced behavior. Supporters of the colorblind ideology claim that if one cannot differentiate between groups, one cannot favor any group over another (Correll, Park, & Smith, 2008). In essence, the colorblind ideology is the belief that “race should not and does not matter” (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000, p. 60).

Wolsko et al. (2000) found that White individuals primed with the colorblind ideology showed greater warmth toward the Black target group and showed less in-group bias than those in the control group. Colorblindness was also found to be associated with lower levels of stereotyping (Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007).

However, recently, the colorblind ideology has come under harsh criticism. Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely (2006) found that colorblindness is not without cost. Specifically, individuals who embraced a colorblind approach to the “Political Correctness Game” displayed less friendly nonverbal behaviors and were rated as less friendly by independent coders. Similarly, Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, & Dittmann (2008) found that workplaces with low minority representation coupled with a colorblind ideology caused African American professionals to find these settings threatening and untrustworthy.

Colorblindness has received further criticism for justifying the status quo. Neville et al. (2000) found that “higher levels of color-blind racial attitudes are significantly associated with racial prejudice” (Neville et al., 2000, p. 68). Neville and colleagues further found a positive correlation between colorblindness and belief in a just world. Consequently, those with higher levels of colorblind beliefs were more likely to attribute one’s circumstances to be a result of merit (or lack thereof) rather than social disparities. Knowles, Lowery, Hogen, & Chow (2009) argue that when colorblindness is construed as procedural justice, it is used to justify the status quo by allowing individuals to accept current racial disparities even in situations where distributive justice would nullify the inequalities.

Another criticism of colorblindness is that it forces minorities to abandon their culture and assimilate to the majority’s culture through the notion of the American melting-pot (Wolsko et al., 2000). Research has found that “emphasizing minimization of group differences reinforces majority dominance and minority marginalization” (Plaut et al., 2009, p. 445). Unsurprisingly, majority members show higher endorsement of colorblindness than minority members (Ryan et al., 2007). Knowles and colleagues (2009) found that Whites with high levels of Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) endorsed procedural colorblindness when their group identity was threatened. This is particularly important considering that Levin and colleagues (2012) found that endorsement of an assimilationist ideology was correlated with high SDO. Thus, these individuals, rather than disregard group categories, wish that minorities would abandon their cultural identity and assimilate to the majority culture. Colorblind attitudes were also found to be better predictors of affirmative action than modern racism, such that endorsement of colorblindness was associated with lesser endorsement of affirmative action (Awad, Cokley, & Ravitch, 2005). While colorblindness has been accused of being an

assimilation ideology in the past, more recently research has treated the two ways of thinking separately (Levin et al., 2012).

Multicultural Ideology

In contrast to the colorblind ideology, the multicultural ideology is an approach “that emphasizes the importance of appreciating group differences” (Wolsko et al., 2000, p. 636). Multiculturalism accentuates cultural and ethnic differences rather than disregarding them. It is characterized by the belief that diversity is beneficial and should be accommodated equitably (Verkuyten, 2005). Supporters of multiculturalism claim that it makes individuals more aware “of the more subtle realities of a multi-ethnic society” and that it minimizes perceptions of direct competition with one another (Correll et al., 2008, p. 472). Finally, the argument has been posed that it is simply impossible to truly ignore race, and attempts to do so only cause more harm than help (Norton et al., 2006).

There have been many benefits associated with multiculturalism. Multicultural priming, like colorblind priming, leads to decreased ethnocentricity and increased warmth towards out-groups (Wolsko et al., 2000; Ryan et al., 2007). Leung, Maddux, Galinski, and Chiu (2008) found a causal link between multicultural experience and increased creativity. Verkuyten (2005) found that minorities, particularly those who identify strongly with their ethnic group, tend to endorse a multicultural ideology.

However, criticisms have been aimed at multicultural ideologies as well. A common criticism is that emphasis on differences can cause an increase in prejudice by facilitating categorization. Morrison, Plaut, and Ybarra (2010) found that White Americans who highly identify with their group actually show more prejudice and higher levels of SDO when exposed

to a multicultural prime, though this was not the case for White Americans who identified less strongly with their group. A further criticism of the multicultural ideology is that though it decreases prejudice, it also increases stereotyping. Gutiérrez and Unzueta (2010) found that multiculturalism creates a preference for stereotypic minority targets while colorblindness “creates a preference for individuals who permeate the boundaries of their ethnicity” (Gutiérrez & Unzueta, 2010, p. 775).

Multiculturalism vs. Colorblindness

Frequently, researchers pair colorblind and multicultural ideologies against each other to find which is “most optimal”. Results indicate that multiculturalism is more effective than colorblindness in reduction of bias (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al, 2000). Conversely, Correll et al. (2008) found that in high-conflict situations, only the colorblind prime was effective in lowering bias. However, upon further investigation, the effect was found to only be temporary and showed a significant rebound effect with the passage of time (Correll et al., 2008). It is clear from this research that there are many factors that determine the effectiveness of an ideology.

The strengths of one ideology tend to be the weaknesses of the other. For example, in the Morrison et al. (2010) studies, relative to multiculturalism, colorblindness was associated with less prejudice among highly identified majority members. An interesting finding revealed a variation in levels of stereotyping based on an interaction between ethnicity and ideology. Specifically, Ryan et al. (2007) found that endorsement of multiculturalism among Black individuals was associated with higher levels of stereotyping relative to the levels of Black individuals who endorsed colorblindness. In contrast, endorsement of multiculturalism among

White individuals was associated with lower levels of stereotyping relative to the levels of White individuals who endorsed colorblindness.

Humanitarian Perspective

Since neither the multicultural nor the colorblind ideology is effective at reducing both prejudice and stereotyping, the authors propose a new ideology. Specifically, we argue that the established ideologies overemphasize similarities and differences, which still force individuals to categorize. We seek to form an ideology that minimizes this categorization.

The proposed ideology, henceforth referred to as the humanitarian ideology, draws from the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights as well as Unitarian Universalist Principles. The humanitarian ideology stresses the importance of respect and of recognizing that each individual deserves dignity. Like multiculturalism, the humanitarian ideology calls for respect and appreciation of differences. However, while acknowledging differences, the humanitarian perspective also focuses on the similarities across all ethnicities, much like colorblindness. Thus, the new ideology contains aspects of both previous ideologies. It is advantageous over the multicultural perspective in that it acknowledges differences without disregarding similarities. It is advantageous over the colorblind perspective because it puts the emphasis on recognizing similarities rather than ignoring differences.

In order to compare the humanitarian ideology to the multicultural and colorblind ideologies, we created a new prime in support of the humanitarian ideology. The humanitarian prime is advantageous over the Wolsko et al. (2000) colorblind prime because it completely eliminates in- and out-groups, rather than simply redefining them. In the Wolsko et al. (2000) manipulation, participants are encouraged to redefine out-group members (minority members) as

part of a larger in-group (Americans). However, this method will always leave some sort of out-group, in this case, non-Americans. The humanitarian manipulation avoids this problem by avoiding using labels such as “Americans” and instead encourages participants to seek similarities that are found in all humans, for example, basic emotional experiences. Thus, no group is ostracized by this manipulation. We expect that the humanitarian perspective will not only predict lower prejudice levels in comparison to the multicultural and colorblind perspectives, but will also predict lower SDO levels and lower levels of stereotyping.

METHOD

Participants

146 students participated in the study. 118 identified as White, 8 as African American, 7 as Asian, 2 as American Indian, and 1 as Hispanic. In addition, 3 participants declined to identify their race, and 7 listed as other. Students were recruited using the HPR system, and received class credit for participation.

Study Design

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three ideological conditions or the control condition. In the ideological conditions, participants were prompted with one of the three ideology manipulations (CB, MC, or HU) at the beginning of the study, and again following the Categorization Task. To assure that close attention was paid to the manipulation materials, participants were told that there was a memory component to the study and that they would be later questioned about the paragraphs they read.

Materials and procedure

Ideology manipulation The ideology manipulations for the colorblind and multicultural conditions were taken directly from Wolsko et al. (2000). The manipulation for the humanitarian condition was formed by the researchers. The manipulations are provided in appendix A. Participants in the three ideology conditions were prompted to read a paragraph expressing their ideology condition as the views of political scientists and sociologists. The colorblind paragraph stressed that racial and ethnic differences should be disregarded, and focus should rest on commonalities, particularly shared groups, such as “Americans”. The multicultural paragraph emphasized ethnic differences, and encouraged acknowledgement and appreciation of differences and the advantages of a diverse culture. The humanitarian paragraph acknowledged differences, but encouraged a focus on common, universal experiences such as emotions. Participants in the control condition did not read any paragraph and immediately began the categorization task.

Categorization Task The purpose of the categorization task is to determine how easily participants categorize people into groups. In this task, the participants were prompted with four pictures of individuals, and were asked to indicate whether they thought these individuals belong in the same group or different groups. The images varied on gender, race, and/or clothing (gray sweatshirt or street clothing), but the number of individuals was kept constant at 4. The trial types all wore a gray sweatshirt. There are four different trial types: 1. Same gender, same race, 2. same gender, different race, 3. Different gender, same race, and 4. Different gender, different race. Sample images are included in appendix F. A practice session of 5-6 trials was included directly after the instructions, followed by three critical blocks of 24 trials. Reaction times were also recorded, to indicate how spontaneously participants categorize targets into groups.

Following the categorization task, participants re-read their manipulation paragraph, and continued on to the feeling thermometer measure.

Feeling Thermometer The feeling thermometer determines general affect towards different groups and is a common measure of prejudice. Participants were asked to consider their feelings toward specific groups on a Cold... Warm continuum. An image of a thermometer was provided on screen, ranging from 0 (very cold) to 100 (very warm), and participants were asked to assign a number between those endpoints to identify how they felt about various groups. These groups are based on race, gender, sexual orientation, or occupation, and included the critical groups “Blacks” and “Whites”. The exact groups used are provided in appendix B.

SDO Measure. This measure is a Likert-type measure used to determine social dominance orientation. Participants were prompted with 16 statements about social group hierarchy, and were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with each statement. To indicate their opinion, participants were asked to click a scaled number, with 1 indicating strong disagreement, 4 indicating neither agreement nor disagreement, and 7 indicating strong agreement. The items for this measure were taken from the SDO-6. Statements 9-16 were reverse keyed to control for acquiescence. The statements were randomized for each participant to control for order effects. Exact statements used are included in appendix E.

SEB Measure This measure of Stereotypic Explanatory Bias is a subtle way of measuring stereotyping and was taken from Sekaquaptewa et al. (2003). It determines to what extent participants use stereotypes to explain behavior; to the extent that participants complete the sentence with an explanation (“because...”), it can be inferred that the target in the sentence is perceived as behaving counter-stereotypically and that such behavior invites explanation.

Participants were prompted with 25 sentence beginnings that they were asked to finish so that the sentence made sense grammatically. 16 of the sentences have stereotypic and counter stereotypic behaviors. Half of the critical 16 sentence stems have stereotype consistent behavior, and half have stereotype inconsistent behaviors, which are further divided by race, resulting in 4 different stimuli types. The behaviors were attributed equally to female/male and African American/White names, and both the stereotypic and counter stereotypic behaviors included positive and negative behaviors. The remaining 9 sentences were neutral filler items. Responses of the participants were coded either as explanatory or non-explanatory based on whether the response answers the question, "Why?". Exact sentence stems are included in appendix D.

Percent Estimates The purpose of this measure was to determine whether the ideology manipulations caused participants to stereotype more or less. This measure, including the personal attributes, was taken from Wolsko et al., 2000. Participants were prompted with stereotypic and counter-stereotypic personal attributes for White American populations and African American populations. Participants were asked to estimate what percentage (0-100) of the population of each group has each attribute. There were 52 attributes, with half stereotypic for White American populations and counter stereotypic for African American populations, and half stereotypic for African American populations and counter stereotypic for White American populations. Eight of the attributes were presented in sentence form, and participants were asked what percentage of each population would agree with the provided statements. The two groups were counterbalanced between subjects to account for any order effect. A list of the attributes and statements is provided in appendix C.

Manipulation Check To determine if the manipulation lasted through the experiment, a single question was administered, prompting participants with one statement taken from each of the

three manipulation paragraphs. Participants were asked to identify which sentence came from the paragraph they read. If they could not remember, they were to click “I do not remember”.

Biographical questionnaire The final questionnaire administered gathered biographical information about each participant, including gender, age, race, year in school, major, and what they believed was the purpose of the study. Also included was a question regarding how much the participant “goofed off” during the study, as an additional check.

Finally, participants were debriefed and any remaining questions were answered.

RESULTS

Manipulation Check The manipulation check resulted in 92% of participants being able to correctly identify the sentence from the manipulation they read. Omitting participants who failed to pass the manipulation check did not significantly alter the results.

Categorization Task To analyze the results of the categorization task, a Categorization Index was created for each individual participant. The Index was determined by subtracting the total number of “different” judgments from the total number of “same” judgments for each individual. Thus, the higher the Index score, the less the individual judged the stimuli as differing. A oneway ANOVA revealed a between group main effect ($F(1,130)=2.12, p=.10$). Further investigation found a marginally significant difference between the colorblind and multicultural conditions such that colorblind participants differentiated significantly more often than multicultural participants (Bonferroni, $p=.14$). Mean reaction times were also analyzed but resulted in no significant findings (ANOVA, $F(1,130)=.459, p=.711$).

Feeling Thermometer The focus of analysis for the feeling thermometer was the race stimuli, specifically the “Whites” and “Blacks”. A Thermometer Index was created for each participant by calculating the difference between ratings for Blacks and ratings for Whites, such that higher scores indicated more positive feelings towards Blacks (and thus, less prejudice) and lower scores indicated more positive feelings towards Whites (more prejudice). Table 1 contains the mean scores per condition. A oneway ANOVA revealed a significant between group effect ($F(1,130)=3.5, p=.017$). Further analysis revealed a significant differences between the control group and the colorblind group (Bonferroni, $p=.01$) as well as a marginally significant differences between the control and the multicultural group (Bonferroni, $p=.18$).

Table 1.

Condition	Mean Thermometer Index Score (Standard Deviation)
Colorblind	-.25 (.69)
Humanitarian	-.53 (1.03)
Multicultural	-.38 (.75)
Control	-.90 (.93)

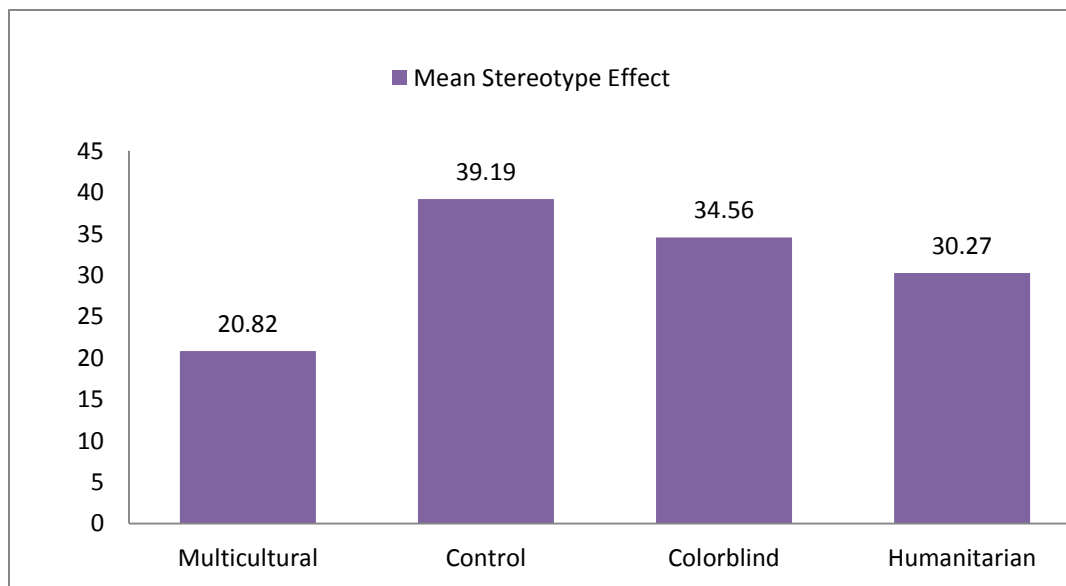
SDO Measure ANOVA analysis revealed no significant findings regarding the SDO measure ($F<1, M=2.78, SD=1.01$).

SEB Measure SEB was analyzed on two separate levels, first for an overall effect, then specifically for stimuli with Black prompts. Data was scored through replicating the method from the (Sekaquaptewa et al., 2003) study. However, after performing an ANOVA, no

significant results were found for SEB ($F(1,130)=1.77$, $p=.16$) nor for the Black stimuli SEB ($F(1,130)=.801$, $p=.50$). There was a reverse SEB effect across conditions ($t(129) = -2.61$, $p < .05$), such that participants offered more explanations for stereotype consistent rather than inconsistent behavior (mean difference = $-.36$, $SD = 1.54$).

Percent Estimates The stereotype effect was calculated as the difference between the stereotype consistent responses and the stereotype inconsistent responses. An ANOVA revealed a significant between groups effect ($F(1,130)=3.38$, $p=.021$). Further analysis found that the control group ($M=39.19$, $SD=24.14$) differed from the multicultural group ($M=20.82$, $SD=20.38$) (Bonferroni, $p=.02$) (See figure 1). A marginally significant difference was also found between the colorblind and multicultural groups (Bonferroni, $p=.09$).

Figure 1.



DISCUSSION

This study explored a new humanitarian ideology to race interactions and analyzed how it compared with the multicultural and colorblind ideologies in lowering prejudice, stereotyping, and SDO.

Prejudice was analyzed using the feeling thermometer. As expected, the control group showed highest levels of prejudice towards Blacks. The colorblind ideology was the only manipulation that significantly lowered prejudice as compared to the control group. The multicultural and humanitarian ideologies fell between the colorblind and control results, but were not significantly different from the control. Thus, the results fail to support the hypothesis that the humanitarian ideology would lower prejudice more than the colorblind or multicultural ideologies. It is interesting to note, however, that the colorblind condition lowered prejudice more than the multicultural condition, an opposite effect from that found by Richeson and Nussbaum (2004). However, it is possible that the participants in this study were highly identified majority members, which would support the Morrison et al. (2010) finding that highly identified majority members are less prejudiced when endorsing a colorblind ideology.

Stereotyping was analyzed by two different measures: the Percent Estimates and the SEB. The percent estimates revealed that overall, participants in all conditions did stereotype. Nevertheless, as expected, all manipulations lowered stereotyping in comparison to the control condition. Only the multicultural condition, however, significantly lowered stereotyping from the control condition. In fact, multiculturalism reduced stereotyping significantly more than colorblindness, contesting the finding by Wolsko and colleagues (2000). An explanation may be found in the Ryan et al. (2007) study, which found that in contrast to Black individuals, White

individuals who endorsed multiculturalism were associated with lower levels of stereotyping relative to White individuals who endorsed colorblindness. The results of this study support the Ryan et al. (2007) finding. The humanitarian condition lowered stereotyping more than the multicultural condition as predicted, but this finding was not significant.

The results from the SEB measure found no significant differences between conditions. Interestingly, across conditions, participants tended to explain stereotypic behaviors more frequently than counter-stereotypic behaviors. It is possible that individuals were over-correcting their stereotype behaviors. However, the results from the percent estimate task does not seem to support the over-correcting. One consideration is that the sentence stems were taken out of context, and individuals may have provided answers they found entertaining rather than answers they would have made realistically. Further investigation of this phenomenon is needed in future studies.

Though analysis of the SDO brought no significant findings, it must be noted that the data is consistent with prior research. The mean score, for example, closely matches that found by Morrison and colleagues ($M=2.71$, $SD=1.13$), (Morrison et al., 2010, p. 1651). Levin et al. (2012) found a similar mean as well. Therefore, individuals tend to not support a social hierarchy where one group dominates another.

Some have argued that racism is based on the human brain's natural tendency to categorize (Tajfel, 1969). Thus, if an ideology was capable of lowering the amount an individual categorized into different groups, it would undermine the very process by which racism forms. The categorization task aimed to uncover whether any ideology was capable of achieving this by analyzing the amount of "same" versus "different" judgments participants made.

Overall, more “same” judgments were made than “different” across conditions. Since a key component of the colorblind condition is to ignore differences, those endorsing colorblindness are more likely to group stimuli together than those endorsing multiculturalism, which encourages participants to note and appreciate differences. As expected, the colorblind condition made significantly more “same” judgments than the multicultural condition. An important consideration, however, is whether individuals in the colorblind condition truly categorize less, or do they simply suppress these categorizations and choose not to express them. Correll et al. (2008) found that participants primed with the colorblind condition suppressed their prejudice in high conflict situations, but rebounded after a 20 minute interval. It is possible that the colorblind condition would more closely match the judgments of the multicultural group if more time separated the reading of the manipulation and the categorization task, and future studies should investigate this possibility.

It is also interesting to note that the multicultural condition differentiated more often than even the control condition, while the colorblind and humanitarian conditions made more “same” judgments than the control condition. An important distinction should also be made in that discerning stimuli as different does not imply a judgment that one is worse than the other and is not inherently prejudiced. However, the results of the feeling thermometer indicate that the multicultural condition had higher levels of prejudice than the colorblind condition, which suggests that differentiating leads to more prejudice.

The humanitarian manipulation did not affect categorization judgments and is most similar to the control condition, though it is important to note that no condition significantly differed from the control condition. This suggests that the ideology manipulations are not strong enough to alter the natural underlying categorization process. Since some effect is visible

between the colorblind and multicultural conditions, it is likely that stronger and more salient manipulations may be able to reveal greater differences between the conditions. However, considering the differences between conditions in both prejudice and stereotyping, it is unlikely that categorization is the only factor underlying the process of prejudice formation.

A final word must be mentioned regarding the limitations of the humanitarian manipulation. The first limitation is that the humanitarian manipulation is novel and therefore unfamiliar to the participants in this study. Multicultural and colorblind ideologies are present in society at large and embraced by many institutions such as the government, universities, and businesses. The bias for these two ideologies is even visible in scientific literature. Individuals are exposed to these ideologies through these institutions, and are familiar both with the ideologies themselves and with the practices associated with each ideology. This, however, is not the case for the new humanitarian manipulation. Thus, the novelty of the ideology may limit and interfere with its effects.

A greater limitation of the humanitarian ideology, however, is that it has no clear directives and may be found confusing. Multicultural and colorblind ideologies provide clear directives that guide behaviors. Multiculturalism encourages noticing and appreciating differences. For colorblindness, individuals are instructed to ignore differences. This sort of clear directive is not provided in the humanitarian manipulation. It is unclear how one, for example, respects “human dignity”. The terminology used in the humanitarian manipulation is abstract, rather than concrete, and may be difficult to incorporate into behaviors. There is an advantage in not providing clear directives in that it makes the ideology flexible enough to address any situation. However, considering the similarity of results between the humanitarian condition and the control condition, more directives may be necessary to guide behaviors.

Though the limitations of the humanitarian manipulation may have reduced the effects of this study, future investigations may be able to address them and thereby conclusively determine the effects of this ideology. The authors believe that if interracial relations are to improve, guiding ideologies must include respect for basic human rights and dignity.

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Appendix

Appendix A. Ideology manipulations.

Humanistic Manipulation

Issues surrounding relations between people of different ethnicities are a #1 concern for the United States. It's important to remember that while we have our differences, what makes us human is the same across all ethnicities and cultures. According to psychological research, part of what makes us human, and fundamentally the same, is our emotional experience. People all over the world experience love and hate, hope and fear, happiness and sadness. Of course peoples' beliefs and values will differ, and these differences are often a source of conflict. But if we dig deeper and look beneath these differences, we would find that we all want the same thing: to be loved, to belong, to be valued, and to hope for a better future and face our fears with strength and courage. We should remember that all people deserve dignity and all people should be valued, and remembering these similarities in our interactions will bring about smoother relations between people. Understanding and appreciating our fundamental sameness, as well as our differences, will enable us to work together and solve our mutual problems. Thus, social scientists encourage us to look beyond superficial differences and learn to look deeper within people and recognize that at a fundamental level, we are all human, and therefore at our inner cores we all want the same things.

Colorblind Manipulation*

Issues surrounding relations between people of different ethnicities are a #1 concern for the United States. At the present time we are experiencing a great deal of conflict among various ethnic groups. Social scientists note that it is extremely important to heed our creed in the Declaration of Independence that "all men (and women) are created equal." That is, in order to overcome interethnic conflict and fighting, we must remember that we are all first and foremost human beings, and second, we are all citizens of the United States. In order to make the U.S. as strong and successful as possible, we must think of ourselves not as a collection of independent factions, but instead as parts of a larger whole. We must look beyond skin color and seek to understand the person within, to see each person as an individual who is part of the larger group, "Americans." Currently, we are spending a great many resources on conflict between ethnic groups. If we can recognize our "sameness" we will be able to re-channel those resources to work on difficult and important other problems within our society such as education, caring for the elderly, and medical reform. Thus, social scientists encourage us to look beyond skin color and learn to treat others as unique individuals, and also to see the larger picture -- recognizing that at our core we really are all the same.

Multicultural Manipulation*

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.

- * Wolsko, C., Park, B., Judd, C. M., & Wittenbrink, B. (2000). Framing interethnic ideology: Effects of multicultural and color-blind perspectives on judgments of groups and individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78, 635-654.

Appendix B. Thermometer groups

Homeless people

Hispanics

Muslims

Doctors

African Americans

Whites

Mormons

Women

Men

Single Mothers

Gay Men and Lesbians

Appendix C. Percent Estimate Attributes

Black Stereotypic (White counter stereotypic)

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Streetwise	Poor
Emotionally expressive	Superstitious
Playful	Lazy
Sensitive	Promiscuous
Humorous	Reckless
Fashionable	Dishonest
Religious	Violent
Merry	Dangerous
Cheerful	Threatening
Charming	Shiftless
Athletic	Ignorant
Musical	Complaining
“I would enjoy singing in a church choir.”	“I’ve had a lot of run-ins with the police.”
“I grew up close to my cousins, aunts, and uncles.”	“I just can’t seem to keep a job for very long.”

White Stereotypic (Black counter stereotypic)

Organized	Boring
Wealthy	Materialistic
Sheltered	Greedy
Ethical	Conventional
Responsible	Selfish
Independent	Exploitative
Progressive	Upright
Industrious	Callous
Successful	Stubborn
Ambitious	Boastful
Educated	Competitive
Intelligent	Stuffy
“If you want to get ahead, you have to take charge.”	“I believe my job is more important than my family.”
“A kid growing up in the U.S. has unlimited opportunities.”	“I have usually been given whatever material things I needed or wanted without having to work for them.”

Appendix D. SEB Sentence Beginnings

Instructions: Below is a series of partial sentences describing a person's behavior. Please write more words onto the end of each partial sentence, to complete the sentence. You can add on any words you like, as long as they form a grammatically complete sentence.

1. Linda swatted at the flies
2. Deon went to Florida on spring break
3. Steve studied the literature textbook
4. Temeka wore three gold chains
5. Helen crammed for the test
6. Adam got a job at Microsoft
7. Marcellus easily made the team
8. Shaniqua invested in stocks
9. Maria brushed her teeth
10. Melanie braided her friend's hair
11. Lamont bought season tickets to the theatre
12. Donna joined the choir
13. Enrique read the newspaper
14. Sue-Ellen did well on the SAT
15. Darnell danced in the classroom
16. Courtney enrolled at Princeton
17. Jan-Lin ate a sandwich
18. Lakisha gave the customer too much change
19. Jamal played in the hockey game
20. Ryan blasted loud music in his car
21. Crystal caught a bad cold
22. Latisha hated dancing
23. Josh hung out on the street corner
24. Ted watched the TV news
25. Sarah wiped off her glasses

Appendix E. SDO items**SDO-6 questions**

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
9. It would be good if groups could be equal.
10. Group equality should be our ideal.
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.
12. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.
13. Increased social equality is beneficial to society.
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.
16. No group should dominate in society.

SDO-6 scale:

- 1 Strongly Disagree
- 2 Disagree
- 3 Slightly Disagree
- 4 Neither Agree nor Disagree
- 5 Slightly Agree
- 6 Agree
- 7 Strongly Agree

Appendix F. Categorization images

Sample images:
Same gender, same race



Same gender, different race:



Different gender, different race:

