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THE ROLE OF SOCIAL IDENTITIES AND INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN
PREDICTING PREJUDICE: A PLEA FOR TOLERANCE

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the award of the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

from

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

by

PETER RICHARD CHRISTOPHER LEESON, B.Sc. (Hons.) Psych

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

2006

Certification

I, Peter Leeson, declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Department of Psychology, University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualification at any other academic institution.

Signed: Peter Leeson

Date: 18/04/06

Acknowledgements

As I come to the end of what, at times, appeared to be an endless journey, it is appropriate to briefly acknowledge those individuals who have had an impact on this thesis. The various post graduates with whom I have shared the post graduate room over the years. It is questionable whether they facilitated or impeded my progress with their conversational skills.

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Abstract

This thesis explored the need for greater integration between individual difference and group-based explanations of prejudice. It began by addressing the claim of many self categorisation theorists that any attempt at integration is doomed, because individual differences play little role in predicting intergroup behaviour when a person's social identity is salient (Turner, 1982). Contrary to this prediction, both Study One and Two showed that even when participant's social identities were salient, individual difference variables correlated with prejudice. Study Two went on to illustrate the dynamic nature of individual differences. It demonstrated that the relationship between ingroup belonging, intergroup prejudice, and the sub-scales of the Personal Need for Structure measure differed depending on the situational context. Finally, contrary to self categorisation theory, it was found that Australian identity was unrelated to prejudice.

This led to the second question at the heart of the thesis, do all individuals identify with their group in the same way; are the images, stereotypes, and norms of a national group held universally, or even widely? In Study Three, participants generated attributes they believed typical of the average Australian. These responses were content analysed by independent raters, producing a final list of 27 attributes. An examination of this list revealed a broad range of, often, contradictory auto-stereotypes. These attributes were then presented to a separate sample of participants in Study Four. A factor analysis produced three distinct, if inter-related, stereotype components: 'positive ingroup regard', 'traditional Australian', and open-minded/independent. These auto-stereotype components were, in turn, differentially related to participants' value orientation, as measured by Braithwaite and Law's (1985) social values inventory. Thus, compared to moral relativists, dualists were significantly more likely to depict Australians using attributes from each of the stereotype

components, with the security orientated scoring significantly higher than moral relativists on both the 'positive ingroup regard' and 'traditional Australian' components. Study Five examined the relationship between Social Comparison Orientation (SCO) and perception of group belonging. Reflecting a pattern similar to that of Study Two, the correlation between SCO and perceptions of both the ingroup and outgroup differed depending on situational context. The combined results of these studies point to the need to re-examine the importance of individual differences when considering the relationship between social identity and prejudice.

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1 Chapter One

An Overview of the Thesis

1.1 Preamble

It is tempting to think of prejudice as a thing of the past, a social malady to be viewed at a distance through history books and black and white television documentaries, an issue of previous generations. Nonetheless, research into social attitudes suggests that this confidence is misplaced. Prejudice continues to affect the lives of countless individuals, however, the expression of prejudice is far more subtle, and in some ways far more insidious, than that exhibited in the past (McConahay, 1983; Pettigrew, & Meertens, 1995).

Events, both worldwide and in Australia, have revealed that even in its less subtle forms, prejudice is never far from the surface. In the Australian context, ethnic prejudice is back on the front page of the daily newspapers. An incident that occurred in the Sydney beach-side suburb of Cronulla in which a mob, many of whom were draped in the Australian flag, attacked passers-by of non Caucasian appearance was reported widely both domestically and internationally ("Our racist shame" 2005). Such incidents reiterate the point that understanding the nature of prejudice is as important now as ever.

1.1.1 The History of the Study of Prejudice

The study of prejudice has been conducted from two distinct perspectives. One approach examines differences amongst individuals and the relationship between these and manifestations of prejudice. The other, group-based approach, understands prejudice in terms of the social groups to which an individual belongs. Although these approaches may appear to be diametrically opposed to each other, such differences are often more apparent than real.

Only a parody of the individual difference approach would depict an individual's

moral, political, and social development as occurring in a vacuum from the broader cultural climate. In turn, social identity and self categorization theory points to a good deal of divergence in the groups to which individuals feel psychological allegiance, as well as differences in the strength of this allegiance (Brown & Williams, 1984), factors which appear to reflect the impact of individual differences.

These commonalities imply that the two approaches have a great deal to learn from each other, and that an integration of aspects of each may lead to a fuller and more complex understanding of prejudice. Alas, such a outcome has not prevailed. One possible reason for this may be traced to a key idea inherent in self categorisation theory. The belief that self categorisation provides an explanation of prejudice to which individual differences have little to contribute (Turner, 1982). It is this assertion that is the focus of this thesis.

1.2 Issues Addressed in this Thesis

1.2.1 Identities and Individual Differences

Advocates of self-categorization theory believe the self-concept consists of two components, personal and social identity. The social, and not personal, identity is usually salient in intergroup relations (Brown & Turner, 1981). Thus, individual differences such as personality, values, and attitudes, situated in personal identity, play no part in predicting prejudice. As it stands, the traditional formulation of self-categorization theory leaves two fundamental questions, or at least two aspects of the same question, unanswered: firstly, what factors lead identities to become salient and, secondly, what relation does the individual, and individual differences, bare to social identities?

Traditionally self-categorisation theory starts at the point at which an identity is made salient. When this occurs it is claimed that various cognitive processes, such as depersonalisation, outgroup bias, and prejudice will occur (Turner, 1981). Given this, it needs to be asked which conditions lead to a salient identity. Although Brown and Turner (1981) point to some possible predictors, such as conflict or encounters with outgroups and distinctiveness of a group in a given environment, they fail to provide a reliable criterion for prediction.

Oakes (1994) has further attempted to elucidate the processes that underlie salience. She claims that the likelihood of an identity becoming salient is influenced by two factors, fit and accessibility. Fit reflects the degree of match between an identity and the particular situation to which it is applied. The second factor, accessibility, while it may be affected by variables in the environment, such as priming, appears predominantly to be an individual difference measure. Hence, individuals differ in the degree to which particular identities are accessible. In fact, Oakes (1994) goes on to suggest that for some individuals, certain identities can become chronically accessible. Nonetheless, researchers have not explored the particular characteristics of such individuals. Thus, it is an open question as to whether individuals with chronically salient identities, especially those associated with prejudice, possess a differing personality profile to those for whom such social identities are rarely salient.

This illustrates the second issue needing further exploration in self categorization theory: the relationship between individuals and their identities. While Turner (1987) does not deny the existence of individual differences, he contends that their place in understanding the role of the individual in the group is limited.

This point rests on the claim that the process of depersonalisation leads an individual to act in terms of social, rather than an individual idiosyncratic, identity. Consistent with this, it is argued that when an individual's social identity is made salient they act in a depersonalised manner. Their behaviour is judged with reference to group norms rather than individual standards. Therefore, individual differences are submerged into the group.

Even if this claim were true, it still provokes important questions such as those raised by Sidanius, Pratto, and Mitchell (1994, p. 163) who ask “why some people identify with their in-group more than others do and how the strength of this in-group identification might vary across situation?”

Thus, the idea that individuals, when depersonalised, will act in a manner normative of the group, does not rule out the possibility that the very factors that determine whether this occurs are idiosyncratic to the individual. Hence, even if the processes of social identity are themselves not reducible to individual differences, a claim that is still open to some debate, this says little about the antecedents of a salient identity. In other words, it is possible that individual difference variables, themselves, underlie processes associated with social identification?

1.2.2 Identities: Not the Same Thing to All People

With a few exceptions, (see Brown & Williams, 1984; Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade, & Williams, 1986), social identity theorists have traditionally taken the notion of identity to be largely unproblematic. When an identity is made salient an individual will become group normative. Hence, it is assumed, at least in the case of certain identities, that there is a single set of norms or prototypes. Given that individuals in the same group cohabit

similar social situations, it is believed that these prototypes should be, on the whole, similar and generally shared by group members (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995).

This, of course, does not imply that there will be a clear set norms associated with every possible social identity (Hogg, 1996). This aside, how well does the theory explain the process of group normativeness in relation those social identities in which some social importance is placed? In the study of prejudice one of the most important is an individual's national identity. Nonetheless, it could be argued that applying the traditional social identity approach to the study of national identity is potentially problematic. Let us take the notion of an Australian Identity. It is true that any national identity must be formed in relation to broader supra individual values and norms. However, while an individual may not be able to construct their Australian identity in isolation, it does not necessarily follow that this identity will be homogeneous across all individuals who identify themselves as being Australian. In other words, it would be false to conclude, at least without some form of investigation, that there is only one type of Australian identity. This is consistent with Brown and Williams' (1984, p.561) contention that "group identification is not the same thing for all people". What it means to be an Australian to one set of individuals may differ radically from that of others.

What underlies these differences? Might they not reflect differences in a range of demographic, attitudinal, and personality variables? Hence, the following question arises: when an individual is said to have their Australian identity brought to prominence, which of the many versions of Australian identity is being made salient? Further, if an individual becomes depersonalised and group normative, which group norms are they endorsing?

The above arguments leads one to question whether it is possible to disregard, completely, the study of individual differences without creating some major problems.

Hence, it is important to re-evaluate the links between individual difference and group-based approaches to the study of prejudice. Allport (1954, p.207) has pointed out that “as a rule most theories are advanced by their authors to call attention to some one important causal factor, without implying that no other factors are operating”. Given such a situation it appears prudent to recollect the words of Brewer (1994) when she suggests that

the study of prejudice crosses all levels of analysis, from intra-individual to interpersonal to intergroup processes... Unfortunately, much of this knowledge is encapsulated in isolated - sometimes competing - research traditions. The lack of integration of social psychological research and theory relevant to the understanding of prejudice and discrimination makes it difficult to tell the story to the world. (pp. 316-317)

It could be claimed that the current practice not only makes it difficult, but also impossible, to construct any coherent story in the field of prejudice. The central claim, made throughout this thesis, is that research into prejudice needs to acknowledge the influences of both individual difference and group-based approaches. Self-categorization theory ignores those individual differences that underlie group identification. On the other hand, many individual difference theories of prejudice could place greater emphasis on the social context. Talk of a prejudiced personality ignores the fact that prejudice is a verb and not a personal adjective. Hence, descriptions of prejudice based on these approaches fail to impart a sense of its dynamic, situation-based, nature. Only a theory which pays due credence to both situational and individual differences factors can hope to formulate a satisfactory explanation of prejudice. Thus, it was in the context of these issues that this thesis was written.

1.3 Outline of Chapters

Chapter Two provides a general discussion of the issues associated with prejudice. It traces the development of ideas concerning the nature of prejudice from the thirties through to the present. While not an exhaustive review of the topic, it seeks to illustrate the central assumptions in this research. The nature of prejudice, and what is involved in the explanation of this phenomenon, is briefly discussed. It goes on to discuss the group-based approach to prejudice, with key focus on social identity and self categorization theory. In doing so it points to the strengths as well as the limitations of this approach.

Chapter Three examines one of the most prevalent, and often controversial, individual difference variables: authoritarianism. It explores the original authoritarian personality before turning to a contemporary measure of this construct: Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA). It is suggested that, like the original authoritarian personality, RWA is a measure of individual differences in susceptibility to environmental change.

Chapter Four discusses social values, focusing predominately on Braithwaite and Law's social values inventory. It explores the role of social values and the impact they have on the shaping of a person's world-view.

Chapter Five examines two variables, Personal Need for Structure (PNS) and Social Comparison Orientation (SCO). It is claimed that both appear to be correlates of psychological processes inherent to social identification. Thus, SCO is an individual difference measure of the propensity to engage in social comparisons, a key element of Tajfel's (1981) theory of social identification. In turn, PNS, which measures a desire for certainty, would appear to be an individual difference correlate of subjective uncertainty reduction, a phenomenon believed by Hogg (1996) to be one of the central factors underlying a desire for group belonging.

Chapters Six through ten consisted of a series of studies designed to empirically explore the ideas elaborated in the previous chapters. Chapter Six presents the findings from Study One, which sought to assess the relative importance of individual difference variables and social identity in the prediction of prejudice. The individual difference variables included in this study consisted of Braithwaite and Law's (1985) social value inventory, along with Altemeyer's (1981) RWA scale.

Chapter Seven, in which the findings from Study Two are presented, explored the relative merits of both individual differences and social identities. An attempt was also made, using the technique of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998), to experimentally manipulate level of social identification. Further, PNS, a variable that taps an individual's desire to structure their environment, was also included.

Chapter Eight, in which the findings of Study Three are discussed, presents an attempt to construct a contemporary measure of Australian auto-stereotypes. Here a sample of participants nominated attributes that they believed were typical of the average Australian. These were then content analysed by two independent raters.

Chapter Nine explored Brown and Williams' (1984) contention that identities may mean different things to different people. Firstly, a series of attributes uncovered in Study Three were presented to participants who were required to rate the percentage of Australians which they believed these described. Factor analysis was performed in order to determine if these auto-stereotypes would cluster into one or several stereotype components. Finally, the relationship between social values and stereotype components was explored in order to ascertain whether endorsement of particular auto-stereotypes was, in turn, correlated with particular value orientations.

Chapter Ten sought to bring together two themes inherent to this thesis: the idea that there are differing types of social identity and that many individual differences are situationally dynamic, and thus will exhibit differing relations with group processes depending on the context. On this occasion, SCO was included. Thus, like in Study Two, identity was experimentally manipulated. Here the differing relations between ingroup stereotypes, SCO, and group processes were examined across conditions.

Chapter 11 discusses the prominent findings in relation to the central issues identified at the beginning of the thesis. It also explores limitation of the thesis, as well as areas for further research.

2 Chapter Two

Prejudice: from Individual Differences to Social Identity

2.1 Overview

Social identity theory has proven to be an extremely useful tool for many researchers working in the area of intergroup prejudice. With its focus on group-based explanations, it has been seen by many as a useful panacea to the overly reductive emphasis inherent in many individual difference based theories (Brown, 1988). The development of social identity, and the later self-categorization theory, are often presented as marking a discontinuation from earlier approaches. It is claimed that social identity theory provides a new way of understanding prejudice to which the study of individual differences has little to contribute (Turner & Oakes, 1997). However, such an emphasis has, at times, masked many of the implicit links inherent to both perspectives. The current chapter will trace the evolution of ideas underlying the study of prejudice from its early beginnings through to the present. In so doing, it will explore the individual difference approach and the forces that lead to the development of social identity and self categorization theory.

2.2 The Nature of Prejudice

Gordon Allport's (1954, p. xiii) influential book 'The Nature of Prejudice' opens with the lament that while we have gone a long way in exposing many of the secrets in the natural world "we appear to be living in the Stone Age so far as our handling of human relationships is concerned". It would be nice to believe that such a statement no longer applies to the contemporary era. However, even a brief survey of world affairs is enough to convince anyone that such a belief is unfounded. At its most extreme, this mishandling can lead to war or ethnic cleansing. However, even in its more moderate forms, in the guise of

discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, sexuality, gender, or even age, prejudice affects the lives of countless individuals.

2.2.1 *Definition*

What is prejudice? Max Horkheimer and Samuel Flowerman were once quoted as saying that prejudice “is one of the problems of our times for which everyone has a theory and no one an answer. Every man, in a sense, believes that he is his own social scientist, for social science is the stuff of everyday living” (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, Sanford, 1950, p.v.). Surprisingly, given this belief, formulating a scientific definition of prejudice has proved remarkably difficult.

The standard introductory textbook definition of prejudice characterises it as an act of prejudgement, taken from the Latin *prae* and *judicium* (Vaughan & Hogg 1998). Allport (1954) traced the development of the word from the original Latin to its current usage. Initially the term referred to any judgement that was based on previous experiences. That is, previous decisions were used as a precedent for future judgements. Later the meaning was to change to a description of any premature judgement based on an insufficient examination of the facts. It is in this current form that the term is generally used by social scientists. Hence, prejudice is defined as the attitude an individual holds about entire groups of people that result from commonly held beliefs about attributes of that group (Vaughan & Hogg, 1998). Implicit with this definition is the assumption that prejudice involves viewing a person in relation to their group membership, rather than in terms of the individual attributes they possess (Duckitt, 1992).

2.3 Prejudice: New for Old

A recent debate has rested on the claim that it is possible to differentiate between several types of prejudice: old fashioned, or traditional, racism and a newer symbolic racism. Researchers such as McConahay (1983) and Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) suggested that traditional racism, the open endorsement of derogatory attitudes toward minority groups, has become socially unacceptable. Therefore, very few people are willing to openly endorse many of the attitudes that traditional prejudice scales measured, such as a belief in White supremacy or the separation of Blacks from the White populace. Rather, this earlier type of racism was replaced by a more subtle form, one which, upon first reflection, did not appear racist and whose endorsement was less likely to invoke social censure.

In light of this, McConahay and Hough (1976) attempted to construct a scale that would assess deep-seated prejudice expressed in a modified form. In their scale they endeavoured to tap the modern racist's resistance to changing "the racial status quo based on moral feelings that blacks violate such traditional American values as individualism and self reliance, the work ethic, obedience, and discipline" (Kinder & Sears, 1981, p. 416). Despite a good deal of support, the construct of modern racism has not been without its critics. For instance, Coenders, Scheepers, Sniderman, and Verberk (2001) suggest that Pettigrew and Meertens' (1995) measure of subtle racism was not subtle enough. Similar criticisms have been made by Virtanen and Huddy (1998) concerning a range of other measures of subtle racism. While the construct of subtle or modern racism may still be open to debate, it has brought to light the importance of using appropriate measures in assessing prejudice.

2.4 History of the Study of Prejudice in Psychology

It is always difficult to discern the point at which a discipline first begins to focus on a given subject. Early, often long forgotten, texts are periodically presented as the legitimate

precursors of the whole field of enquiry. Hence, while no definitive starting point can be determined with complete confidence, it is worth noting Milner's (1981) claim that before the 1920's social psychologists showed little interest in the study of prejudice. Furthermore, even when this interest began to blossom it occurred purely at a descriptive level. In fact, the first research to propose explanations of racial prejudice did not occur until the late thirties.

2.4.1 The Individual Difference Approach

It has been suggested by Fairchild and Gurin (1978 cited in Duckitt 1992) that research into prejudice that occurred following the end of the Second World War needs to be viewed in the context of America's post-war faith in democracy. Truth had won out against the forces of evil. It was believed that Fascism had been defeated, not merely because it was weaker militarily, but because the system itself had been fundamentally flawed. Hence, victory in the Second World War was seen as vindication of the democratic system. Given this, researchers were unable to seriously question societal structures. Consequently, when seeking explanations for the prevalence of prejudice it was concluded that they must be the product of extreme individuals. This belief motivated the predominant focus on the individual difference approach with its emphasis on intra-individual explanations of prejudice. Hence, from the start, the prevailing view held by these researchers of prejudice, especially in the North American context, was that

we must examine the motivational, emotional, perceptual and cognitive processes involved. This sets the problem, at the outset, as a problem in the psychology of the individual. We must seek primarily to diagnose individuals, not American culture or American people as a whole [italics original] (Krech and Crutchfield, 1948, p.445).

Although it was suggested that the historical and cultural context in which prejudice arose must be taken into account, these factors were only important in the degree to which they affected the perceptions of the individual (Krech & Crutchfield, 1948). As a consequence, it was believed that researchers must determine which motivational, emotional, perceptual, and cognitive factors left some individuals more prone to the influence of prejudice than others. Thus the focus was on measuring individual differences in susceptibility to prejudice.

2.5 The Group-based Approach

2.5.1 The Role of the Group

With a few notable exceptions, for example in the work of Sherif (1966), the role of group processes received little attention in studies of prejudice. This disregard of group processes did not merely reflect the popularity of the individual difference approach, but was due, in part, to the way in which social psychologists viewed the group. For Floyd Allport (1925) any psychology of the group must be explained in terms of interpersonal processes. The group was nothing more than the sum total of its members.

As Brown and Turner (1981) have suggested, Allport's (1924) work needs to be considered against the backdrop of two theorists, Le Bon (1900) and McDougall (1920), whose ideas largely dominated thinking about the nature of the group. Both believed that one could best understand the behaviour of groups by referring to some notion of a supra individual group mind. Inherent to this position was the belief that there is a split, or discontinuation, between the person as an individual and as a member of a group. The flavour of this viewpoint can be seen in the following quote by Le Bon (1900):

There are mobile and transitory collectivities known as crowds. Now these crowds or mobs, by the aid of which the great movements of history are accomplished, have characteristics absolutely different from those of the individuals who compose them (p. 6).

Allport (1924) saw this approach, with its metaphysical notion of the group mind, as an anathema to a scientific social psychology. The group must consist of real objects; it must have some tangible form. For Allport (1924) this was the individual. It is understandable, given this background, that researchers of this era felt little need to supplement their individual difference theories with reference to the group.

However, the dominance of the individualistic approach to the study of the group was to end in the late 70's and early 80's with the work of Tajfel (1978) and his, then, student John Turner. Although offering a broad sweeping critique of contemporary social psychology, their arguments were especially relevant for the study of prejudice. The central criticism they presented was levelled at what they saw as the overly individualistic social psychology of North America. They claimed that psychologists working in this tradition attempted, inappropriately, to apply assumptions drawn from the study of the individual to that of social phenomena (Turner & Oakes, 1997).

Tajfel (1972) feared that in attempting to construct universal laws to explain social behaviour, the experimenter was in danger of destroying the very phenomena they wished to examine. This rested on Tajfel's (1972, p.105) belief that it was a mistaken "assumption that the non-social laws of individual behaviour are the 'genotypic' foundation of social psychology", and that the fundamental psychological principals we discern when examining the individual can be extrapolated with little, or no, loss of meaning to the social world.

2.5.2 *Prejudice and the Group*

Given such a position, it was hardly surprising that the individual difference approach to the study of prejudice with its emphasis on personality, attitudes, and values would also come under fire. Tajfel's influence can be discerned in the work of Brown (1988, p. 3) who also challenged an approach to group dynamics that "has attempted to show that such phenomena as prejudice and conflict are little more than interpersonal behaviour on a larger scale"; that group behaviour was nothing more than the personal painted upon a broader social canvas. This point was especially relevant in respect to prejudice (Turner & Oakes, 1997).

Brown and Turner (1981), as well as Reynolds, Turner, Haslam, and Ryan (2001) argued that prejudice is so pervasive in our society that it was not possible to explain it by reference to a few extremely prejudiced individuals. An understanding of the psychological profile of an individual guilty of racially motivated murder may be useful, but this does not provide the complete picture. In fact, it was claimed that it provides no picture at all. Brown and Turner (1981, p. 43) maintain that "theories of interpersonal relations are unlikely to prove of much predictive value". This is because interpersonal descriptions of behaviour, which rely on individual differences, fail to explain the uniformity of responses that occur in group situations. Hence, according to this view, prejudice is a group phenomenon and any theory of prejudice must include reference to such a fact. Any theory that fails to do so will be, by definition, inadequate.

What evidence do researchers working in the social identity tradition provide in support of such claims? Why do they place such emphasis on the role of the group while downplaying the impact of individual differences? The answers to both of these questions

can be determined by a review of Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory and Turner's (1982) self-categorization theory.

2.6 Social Identity Theory

2.6.1 Categories, Groups, and Beliefs

Tajfel's (1969) primary concern was to supplement what he viewed to be an over reliance on explanations based purely on motivation or emotion. Hence, psychoanalysis, with its recourse to unconscious motives, or the evolutionary approach, which pointed to the adaptive function of aggressive behaviours, on their own provided an incomplete picture of the forces underlying prejudice. Both ignored the complex social milieu in which prejudice arose. Rather, Tajfel (1969, p.81) maintained "that the best way to predict whether a man will harbour hostile attitudes towards a particular group and what will be the content of these attitudes was to find out how he understands the intergroup situation". Therefore, for Tajfel (1969), prejudice must be understood as a group phenomenon, the manner in which an individual stands in relation, not just to his or her own group, but also to others. Thus, inherent in such an explanation was an emphasis on the importance of cognitive processes.

Tajfel (1969) claimed that we could only understand prejudice if we examined the way individuals categorise the world: the manner in which they perceive themselves as group members. Tajfel (1969) maintained that the period a person develops an understanding of their own group, as well as that of others, occurred primarily in childhood. However, he noted Piaget's (cited in Tajfel, 1969) claim that the distinctive feature of this period of development was the propensity for a child to judge a statement based primarily on its source, rather than its content. Hence, Tajfel suggested that these "so-called truths" are learnt in a period of our lives when our critical faculties are not what they are as an adult, that literally

our beliefs about other groups reflect the uncritical thinking of a child. Tajfel (1969) believed it was for this reason that people's prejudicial attitudes were so resistant to rational persuasion.

2.6.2 Personal and Social Identity

The cornerstone of Tajfel's social identity theory concerns his ideas about the self-concept. Elaborating on a distinction first proposed by Gergen (cited in Turner, 1982), Tajfel (1982) claimed that each individual's self concept consisted of two major subsystems. The first, personal identity, comprised all of those aspects that are idiosyncratic to the individual. Here are included things such as personality, habits, and various personal dispositions. Traditionally when psychologists, such as Eysenck (1978), spoke of the self, they referred to these characteristics. As if echoing the famous words of John Dunne (1624/1959, p. 108) that "No man is an island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the Continent, a part of the main", Tajfel (1982) suggested that this provides only a partial description of a person.

Tajfel (1969) claimed that men and women do not exist merely as solitary beings, but also as members of social groups. Thus, any complete description of oneself must include reference to these very groups (Tajfel, 1981). Hence, Tajfel (1981, p. 255) concluded that social identity can "be understood as that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group". Although yet to be fully articulated, we can already discern a seed that was to later germinate in the work of his, then, student John Turner; the presupposition that the act of membership involves taking on shared characteristics of the group. There was also the further assumption that this provides, at least in part, a map of an individual's complex social reality. Tajfel (1981, p.255) claims that from the "intergroup perspective of social identity, social categorization can therefore be

considered as a system of orientations which helps to create and define the individual's place in society".

Not all groups are equally important for an individual; rather Tajfel (1981) maintained that the notion of membership, in itself, implies some investment or importance for the individual in their allegiance to a particular group. Therefore, merely possessing a certain attribute, for example having red hair, is not enough to ensure group membership.

Social identity theory presented an important challenge to the way in which group membership was viewed. For Tajfel the groups to which we belong are at the core of our self-concept. The group becomes part of the self. It was this idea that Tajfel (1982) developed in his theory of prejudice. To understand the implication of this, a brief detour into the work of Festinger and his theory of social comparison is required.

2.6.3 The Self Esteem Hypotheses

Social comparison theory is based on the observation that, on any given task, individuals exhibit a desire to determine how well they are performing. Festinger (1954) went so far as to suggest that this reflected a fundamental drive in the individual to evaluate their opinions and abilities. However, this drive is not motivated solely by a desire to achieve an objective appraisal of our abilities. Rather, these abilities are likely to be assessed in a favourable light, in order to elevate our level of self esteem. For many tasks, it may be easy to objectively assess our abilities, for example the ability to jump a certain height. Yet, in the absence of these non-social objective benchmarks, individual's are forced to compare themselves with relevant others. However, as with non-social objective benchmarks, individuals have a stake in making this comparison in the most favourable light (Festinger, 1954).

While Festinger originally formulated this idea in order to explain the way in which individuals make comparisons between themselves, Tajfel (1981, p.254) suggested that such an explanation overlooked the role that group membership played, because it ignored “the fact that he is a member of numerous social groups and that this membership contributes positively or negatively, to the image he has of himself”.

Tajfel’s theory of prejudice becomes apparent when considered in light of his claim that the groups to which one belongs, in the form of social identity, become part of the self-concept. If the groups to which an individual belongs are part of the self, this striving for a satisfactory self-concept is extended to the group. Individuals not only strive to view themselves in a positive manner, but also “want their own group to be better than others” (Turner & Oakes, 1997, p.361). Hence, given that we map ourselves onto the world using social identities we have a stake in viewing our own group, and therefore our self, in a positive light (Hogg et al.,1995).

Initial support for the theory was garnered in the early 70s. A series of now famous studies, using what has become known as the minimal groups paradigm, illustrated the role of categorization. Given the prevalence of this procedure in social identity theory, a detailed discussion of one prominent study may be applicable here.

2.6.4 Minimal Groups Paradigm

Using a situation uncontaminated by a previous history of intergroup relations, Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, and Flament (1971) attempted to discern the minimal conditions required to produce prejudice. Tajfel et al. (1971) believed they had discovered such a situation in the minimal groups paradigm.

In the first study they conducted an experiment in which 14 and 15 year old school boys were presented with a task that required them to estimate the number of dots flashed on

a screen. Pupils were told that they were to be divided into two groups, based on their performance on the dot counting task. In fact, this division was unrelated to their performance, but was randomly performed by the researcher allocating half of the pupils to each group.

In the second task of the study, participants were taken to another room where they worked individually in single booths. Here they were told that they were required to allocate monetary rewards to the other participants in the study. However, the individuals to whom they were giving these rewards were not directly identified. Rather, they were represented by two pieces of information, their group allocation and a subject number. On this basis, the pupils were required to allocate rewards, both to in-group and out-group members, using a series of matrices. These occurred in three types, one where rewards were presented to two ingroup members, one in which an ingroup and outgroup member received the rewards, and finally, where both were members of the outgroup. The researchers found a tendency for participants to allocate significantly greater rewards to the ingroup.

In Tajfel et al. (1971, Study Two) they replicated these results using supposed preference for a particular painter (Klee or Kandinsky). This study also included a range of matrices designed to detect the various reward strategies that participants were using. These assessed three possible reward strategies: maximum joint profit for both groups, maximum ingroup profit and, finally, greatest difference between groups. The matrices were weighted so that certain reward strategies, such as greatest difference between groups, led to the ingroup receiving less than other alternatives, for instance, opting for maximum joint profit. Even so, Tajfel et al. (1971, Study Two) found that participants were significantly more likely to opt for this alternative.

This research led Tajfel (1970, p.98) to conclude that “Perhaps the most important principle of the subjective social order we construct for ourselves is the classification of groups as “we” and “they”-as in-groups (any number of them to which we happen to belong) and outgroups.” Furthermore, the finding that individuals attempt to produce the maximum level of differentiation between their group and others, even if ultimately this reduces overall rewards for the ingroup, was developed into the theory of intergroup distinctiveness by Tajfel (1981), Turner (1982), Brown and Turner (1981), and Oakes (1996).

Given the focus of the present thesis, only a cursory review of the literature relevant to the minimal groups paradigm is possible. However, even this points to the robustness of the phenomena. Quite trivial criteria for group allocation are enough to produce positive ingroup bias along with negative outgroup bias. Experiments, stripped bare of all the messy complications that characterise intergroup relations in the real world, have illuminated the relationship between group membership and bias. However, this very strength is, in turn, its greatest weakness, for as Jackson and Sullivan (1987, p. 471) have suggested “Future research is needed that uses existing social groups (e.g., race, age), rather than minimal groups”.

2.7 Self Categorization Theory

2.7.1 Personal and Social as a Continuum

In common with Tajfel (1981), Turner (1982) believed that the self-concept consists of two components, personal and social identity. Furthermore, he characterised these components in a similar manner to that of Tajfel. Personal identity consists of idiosyncratic aspects, while social identity reflects the groups to which an individual is a member. Hence, in reference to social identity, Turner (1982, p. 16) maintained that “individuals structure

their perception of themselves and others by means of abstract social categories, that they internalise these categories as aspects of their self concept". Although, Turner (1981) drew much from Tajfel (1978), his contribution rested on elaborating the relationship between the two types of identities.

With a series of ideas, whose early origins can be traced back to his collaboration with Tajfel, Turner (1981) suggested that a link exists between the sub-components of the self-concept. The investigation began with a description of behaviour. Tajfel and Turner (1979) claimed that a person's behaviour, in various situations, could be viewed as occurring on a continuum where at one end of the spectrum there was an

interaction between two or more individuals which is fully determined by their interpersonal relationships and individual characteristics and not at all affected by various social groups or categories to which they respectively belong. The other extreme consists of interactions between two or more individuals (or groups of individuals) that are fully determined by their respective memberships of various social groups or categories, and not at all affected by the interindividual personal relationships between the people involved (p.34).

Hence, there are certain situations in which an individual acts in relation to their personal identity and others in which the role of social identity is prominent. The level of categorisation that occurs, depends on the context or situation in which the individual finds themselves.

2.7.2 *Salience of Identities*

The claim that individuals switch between personal and social identity leads self-categorization theorists to suggest there is a dynamic relationship between the individual and the environment. Hence, Turner (1982, p.20) maintains that “different situations tend to ‘switch on’ different conceptions of self so that social stimuli are construed and social behaviour controlled in the appropriately adaptive manner”.

In order to be adaptive to the situation, in order for this switch between personal and social identity to occur, some mechanism is required for selecting between various social identities. It appears, at least according to Brown and Turner (1981), that there is something inherent in the situation itself that triggers this shift in self-concept from personal to social identity. Turner and Oakes (1997) later modified this context or situational dependent approach with the inclusion of various mediating factors inherent to the individual. Hence, they would later describe a salient identity as that which “is currently psychologically active, determining self perception at a given moment and created out of an interaction between the perceiver’s motives, expectations and theories on the social relationships and actions being represented” (Turner & Oakes, 1997, p.364).

2.7.3 *Depersonalisation*

Several processes occur when an individual’s identity is made salient. Members of a group assign common characteristics to the group as a whole. That is, they accentuate similarities between themselves and members of the in-group, while at the same time maximising perceived differences from the outgroup. Thus, they seek to maximise the contrast between their own and other groups. In doing so, they do not merely stereotype members of the outgroup as being essentially homogeneous, but apply the same criterion to

themselves to the point where “they perceive themselves as relatively interchangeable with other in-group members” (Brown & Turner, 1981, p. 39).

Turner (1981) maintains that when individuals view themselves in relation to a shared social identity they are not acting as individuals, but are depersonalised. That is, when an individual’s identity is made salient they will cease to define themselves in terms of their own idiosyncratic nature, but rather in relation to the norms of the group. Hogg et al. (1995) characterises these norms in terms of prototypes, subjective attributions including beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours, which are relevant to a given social category. Thus, social identification helps

to regulate social behaviour; they do so directly by causing group members to act in terms of the shared needs, goals and norms which they assign to themselves, and indirectly through the perceptual homogenization of others which elicits uniform reactions from the perceivers (Brown & Turner, 1981, p. 39).

Therefore, these norms should be viewed as supra-individual social goods. In one sense, they possess a certain objective quality. Take the example of what it means to be Australian. In theory, research could uncover what participants associate with an Australian identity. If it were determined that a stereotype such as ‘easygoing’ was associated with being Australian, then the individual with a salient identity should view themselves, and ingroup members, as being ‘easygoing’. Furthermore, this should occur irrespective of how ‘easygoing’ they view themselves and the ingroup when their identity is not salient.

2.7.4 *Stereotyping and its Role in Group Membership*

Self-categorization theory has led to a new way of thinking about group membership. Here there is no distinction “between individuals on the one hand and 'something else' on the other... [That] in the one case the actions are of individuals *qua* individuals, while in the other they are of individuals *qua* group members” (Brown & Turner, 1981, p.40). Here we see a marked difference between adherents of the self-categorisation approach and that of earlier researchers into group processes. For instance, Le Bon (1900) believed that participating in a group inevitably led to de-individuation, the loss of individuality. The individual intellectual faculty was subsumed in the group mind. While acting as a group member the person loses something of her or himself. Allport (1954) suggested that when others are viewed in terms of their group membership we once again lose something, that such a description ignores those idiosyncrasies that characterise an individual. However, researchers such as Brown and Turner (1981), working in the context of social identity theory, have questioned the assumption inherent to both Le Bon (1900) and Allport’s (1954) work. They asked whether it was possible to conceive of the self, distinct from the social environment in which it exists. Furthermore, they question why a description that focuses on the characteristics of the individual should be any more legitimate than one that incorporates information concerning the groups to which that individual belongs (Brown & Turner, 1981).

One of the implications arising from the arguments of researchers such as Brown and Turner (1981) was the need to re-evaluate the traditional conception of stereotypes. Hence, Oakes (1996) challenges the idea that stereotypes serve merely a data reduction function. She also disagrees with the idea that individuals are forced to construct a simplified, and hence inaccurate, picture of the world in order to make sense of the complex social reality with which they are confronted. Rather, consistent with Turner (1981) and Tajfel (1978,

1981), Oakes (1996) claims that the traditional approach to stereotypes ignores the role that categorisation plays in our self-definition. That far from mere generalisation, “categorisation enables the veridical selective representation of a complex and varying social reality, one comprising people who can be both individuals and group members” (Oakes 1996, p. 96).

2.7.5 Insufficiency of Individual Differences

From its earliest inception there has been an underlying conviction, amongst advocates of the social identity perspective, that attempting to understand prejudice using the individual difference approach is of little benefit. This idea was further reinforced with the development of self-categorization theory. The theory stressed an antagonistic relationship between personal and social identity. Therefore, to use an example first proposed by Oakes (1996, p. 104), “the more Isobel perceives herself similar to other Australians, the less she will be aware of her personal, idiosyncratic differences from them”. If this view was accepted, the role of individual differences in studying group behaviour would cease to be important. When an individual's social identity is made salient they cease to act with reference to their individual identity and become group normative. In other words, they view themselves in accordance with their social identity, interchangeable with any other group member.

Hence, it was claimed that those aspects that affect our intergroup relations occur at a group, and not interpersonal, level (Brown & Turner, 1981). Given that individual differences are associated with personal identity, when the social identity is made salient they cease to play a role. Furthermore, it was argued that it was under just such conditions that prejudice will occur. Therefore, individual differences cannot predict prejudice because “as soon as the individuals' group memberships becomes salient for whatever reason then their normative beliefs as group members should become important for them and these may differ from their

personal beliefs” (Brown & Turner, 1981, p.49). This once again reinforces Brown’s (1988) claim that we cannot explain the phenomenon of prejudice by pointing to a few extreme individuals; that intergroup bias occurs at precisely the point at which personal identity plays the smallest role in predicting behaviour.

2.7.6 Conclusion

The current chapter provided a brief overview of the history of research into prejudice, pointing to approaches drawn from both individual difference and group-based traditions. The prominent focus was on social identity and self categorisation theory, in which it was claimed that group processes explain prejudice to the exclusion of individual differences. Nonetheless, self categorization theory has not yet struck the death knell of the individual difference approach. Chapter three will present a review of one of the most prominent of these theories, authoritarianism. This variable, in the guise of the RWA scale, continues to be studied by many researchers interested in understanding prejudice (see Altemeyer, 1981, 1988, 1996; Heaven & Connors, 2001; Van Hiel & Kossowska, 2006). Furthermore, much of the research that has examined the relative role individual differences and social identities play in predicting prejudice have included measures of RWA (see for example, Verkuyten and Hagendoorn, 1998; Reynolds et al., 2001; Heaven and St. Quintin, 2003).

3 Chapter Three

The Rise and Fall and Rise of Authoritarianism

3.1 Overview

As discussed in Chapter Two, advocates of self-categorization theory claim that when a given social identity is made salient, individual differences, comprising part of the personal identity, will cease to play a role in predicting prejudice. Nonetheless, individual difference-based approaches to the study of prejudice continue to foster a good deal of support amongst researchers (see for example, Altemeyer, 1981, 1988, 1996; Sidanius, 1993; Duckitt, Wagner, du Plessis, & Birum, 2002). The present chapter will review one of the most influential of these: "The Authoritarian Personality". Drawing from roots which stem back to some of the earliest social psychological research into prejudice (Adorno et al., 1950), "The Authoritarian Personality" has had a long, and at times, troubled history.

Altemeyer's (1981) RWA scale, a contemporary measure of authoritarianism, has proven a useful tool in analysing the relationship between prejudice and personality. In turn, there has been a good deal of research into the antecedents of the authoritarian personality. Findings suggest that authoritarians have a compartmentalised mind (Altemeyer, 1996), that they view the world as a fearful place (Altemeyer, 1988), and tend to be self-righteous and mean spirited (Altemeyer, 1996).

3.2 The Authoritarian Personality

During the 1950's the publication of "The Authoritarian personality" (Adorno et al., 1950) was to alter the manner in which psychologists examined prejudice. It has been claimed that it was that decade's greatest social psychological contribution to the study of prejudice, "a huge monument (of a thousand pages) to the brief union - never revived again

afterward - of modified Marxist social theory, psychoanalysis, and empirical research of the American sort" (Young-Bruehl, 1996, p.56). Furthermore, "The Authoritarian Personality" and one of the measures it produced, the Fascist (F) scale, was to inspire numerous studies. So much so, that Altemeyer (1981, p.26) was later to quip that the F scale was so popular that it had "probably been correlated with every "personality" test ever printed, and been used in conjunction with every social psychological paradigm mentioned more than once in the journals". This could almost be true if we are to believe Sanford's (1986) claim that "The Authoritarian Personality" has been the product of over 1,800 citations.

Yet, even at the height of this popularity concerns were raised as to its validity. These criticisms can roughly be divided into two camps. The first reflected concerns over the construction of the Berkeley groups' measure of authoritarianism, the F scale. The second, in many ways more challenging criticism, questioned the idea that the F scale should be considered a personality measure. Although the F scale, itself, has largely fallen into disuse, issues concerning the status of the scale as a measure of personality still have resonance for more contemporary measures of authoritarianism.

3.3 Development of the Authoritarian Personality

It is important when considering "The Authoritarian Personality" to acknowledge the backdrop against which it was written. Echoes of the Second World War can still be heard in the text. The authors were striving to understand the atrocities that occurred in that war by looking into the psychology of the individual. Here, they were not so much by examining the profile of the leaders and decision makers, but of their followers.

The Berkeley group's focus on the role of individual characteristics did not arise because they believed situational pressures played no role in predicting prejudice, far from it. In fact, Adorno et al. (1950) were consciously aware of the role ideological climate has on the

attitudes and behaviour of any given individual. Nonetheless, they maintained that some individuals would endorse shifts in public sentiment, especially those of an antidemocratic nature, more readily than others (Adorno et al., 1950).

3.3.1 Sources of Authoritarianism

Adorno et al. (1950) were interested in determining the source of the authoritarian personality. In “The Authoritarian Personality” the role of parents, and parenting styles, were to the fore. Using clinical interviews Else Frenkel-Brunswik (Adorno et al., 1950) uncovered some of the key characteristics of the authoritarian’s parental relationship. She found that authoritarians, compared to non-authoritarians, were more likely to possess an idealised image of their parents. They glorified their parents but did so in conventional, impersonal, ways, focusing on physical characteristics or behaviours while ignoring any reference to internal dispositions. When probed more deeply, Frenkel-Brunswik discovered that high authoritarians professed less genuine feelings of affection toward their parents.

This may reflect the household environment in which authoritarians were raised. Adorno et al. (1950) found that authoritarians reported being constantly subjected to harsh discipline throughout their childhood. Furthermore, Frenkel-Brunswik (Adorno et al., 1950) found that high authoritarians, especially as a child, felt victimised by their parents. Sanford (1956) suggests that one outcome of this harsh punishment is the development of a strict and punitive superego, one that is not integrated into the ego. As a consequence these two aspects of the psyche are in a constant state of conflict. Hence, the ego seeks to free itself from the constraints of the superego at every opportunity. In fact, it desires to free itself of the superego altogether, and in doing so replace it with some external source, such as an authority figure. This invariably turns out to be the authoritarian’s parents. Hence, the authoritarian submits to their parents. The relationship with their parents then becomes the

template for future interactions with authority figures, with this parental submission closely related to submission to authority in general (Adorno et al., 1950).

3.3.2 Research Techniques

The Berkeley group examined the authoritarian personality by using a broad array of research tools. Adorno et al. (1950) viewed it as their task

to bring methods of traditional social psychology into the service of theories and concepts from the newer dynamic theory of personality and in so doing to make "depth psychological" phenomena more amenable to mass-statistical treatment (Adorno et al., 1950, p. 12).

The methodology consisted of the use of clinical interviews, along with attitude and personality scales. These scales included measures of anti-Semitism, ethnocentrism (E scale), and political and economic ideology. However, the most prominent was the anti-democratic, or pre-fascist, F scale (Adorno et al. 1950).

The F scale was to serve two purposes. Although it was designed alongside the E scale, Adorno et al.'s (1950) general measure of prejudice, it was to be more subtle, in that it avoided reference to explicitly ethnocentric issues. Secondly, it was believed that the F scale examined deeper personality dimensions than traditional ethnocentric measures.

In the years following its publication, the F scale was to become synonymous with the "The Authoritarian Personality" as a whole. For instance, Martin (2001, p. 3) claims that "The Authoritarian Personality" was "often treated simply as a 900-page test manual for the F-scale". Hence, it was not surprising that ultimately it was on the basis of the F scale's success, or failure, that the reputation of "The Authoritarian Personality" would finally rest.

3.4 Criticisms of the F scale

3.4.1 Methodological Problems

The first critical broadsides fired at "The Authoritarian Personality" brought to light some of the methodological problems inherent to the F scale. Although Adorno et al. (1950) claimed that the F scale measured a single unified personality profile, Camilleri (1959) and Christie and Garcia (1951) found that items on the F scale failed to load on a single factor. Also, the wording of items in the F scale was an object of much criticism (Altemeyer, 1969). Each of the items in the F scale were worded in the same direction, with agreement inferring endorsement of an authoritarian perspective (Small & Campbell, 1961). Given that the F scale is said to measure deference to authority, this raises some concerns. Individuals who are more conforming may agree with items of the F scale because of the direction in which they are worded, rather than on the basis of their ideological content (Bass, 1957).

3.4.2 Validity of the Scale

While these methodological criticisms were damning, criticisms as to the validity of the scale were even more telling. Adorno et al. (1950) suggested that, given the F scale was measuring deep-seated aspects of a prejudiced personality, it should be associated with measures of manifest prejudice, such as the E scale. However, Hyman and Sheatsley (1954) suggested that the high inter-correlation between the F and E scales might have been more a product of methodological shortcomings, than any real relationship between the two constructs. The two scales were developed simultaneously. While under construction a relationship between the F and E scales was taken as an indicator that the F scale was successfully measuring potential prejudice. Thus, several of the items from the F scale that

did not correlate sufficiently with its counterparts in the E scale were either modified, or on occasion, dropped completely.

This criticism is borne out by subsequent research that has shown the link between the F scale and other measures of prejudice to be less than conclusive. For example, amongst a sample of White South African students, Orpen (1971) found that scores on the F scale and measures of African prejudice were only moderately related. Furthermore, Triandis, Davis and, Takezawa (1965) found similar results with American students.

Primarily as an outcome of criticisms such as these, from the 1960s the use of the F scale, along with the construct of the authoritarian personality, fell into disfavour with many social psychologists. It was not until the early 1980s that authoritarianism was, once again, to take centre stage in the field of research into prejudice.

3.5 Authoritarian Personality Revisited

Much of the credit for the renaissance of authoritarianism can be traced to the work of Robert Altemeyer (1981). He was to pluck the construct from the reliquary of long forgotten journals and to place it once more at the forefront of work into individual differences.

Altemeyer's authoritarianism differed in many respects from that of its predecessor. In the 'Authoritarian Specter', Altemeyer (1996) lists what he sees to be key differences between his approach and that proposed by Adorno et al. (1950). On the whole, these distinctions rest on what Altemeyer (1996) views to be the superior psychometric properties of the RWA scale. These include more clearly defined attitude clusters and improved item selection. Aside from these, Altemeyer (1996) presents several criticisms which he believes strike at the theoretical underpinnings of "The Authoritarian personality".

The first relates to reservations concerning the reliance on Freudian psychoanalytic theory, with its speculative theoretical emphasis. Hence, it was questioned whether the

traditional formulation of “The Authoritarian Personality”, as endorsed by Adorno et al. (1950), could produce any testable hypotheses. Furthermore, Altemeyer (1996) raised doubts about the claims of Adorno et al. (1950) that authoritarianism is a manifestation of an overly rigid adherence to middle class values. Rather, as Altemeyer (1996, p.46) suggests, his “definition of right-wing authoritarianism focuses instead on the *individual’s* perception of the authority-endorsed norms, which may or may not be middle class norms”. Altemeyer (1996) supports this contention with research that showed that working class participants scored significantly higher on the RWA scale than their middle class counterparts.

Both of the criticisms presented by Altemeyer challenge the theoretical approach of Adorno et al. (1950); the shift from a Freudian perspective is a departure from the approach taken by the Berkeley group. However, it is Altemeyer’s second criticism that may prove more telling. As previously discussed, the Berkeley group wished to ground explanations of authoritarianism in the framework of broader social and historical influences. Hence, the authoritarian personality was seen as a product of the same forces that produced other social structures in the modern state. Whether the veracity of such an explanation is accepted or not, the concern to link the social and personal is readily apparent. Personality, through the influence of parents, reflects the impact of large-scale social forces. Of course, this is not to suggest that Altemeyer’s opposition to the Berkeley group rests on his belief that situational factors play no role. In fact, Altemeyer (1996, p.45) claims that he “knows as a card-carrying social psychologist that personal authoritarianism will interact with situational factors”. Rather, Altemeyer is wishing to question the theoretical level at which such an explanation should be posited. Hence, we see a major difference in the scope of the project to which Altemeyer believed he was dedicating himself. In Altemeyer (1981) we witness a turning away from the approach of Adorno et al. (1950), and their attempt to understand

authoritarianism in the framework of a broad overarching theory, to something far more modest. To his regret, Altemeyer (1981, p.155) concludes that

the attempt to understand authoritarian behavior by proceeding from a grand theoretical position has not taken us very far, and I am willing to try something smaller first, namely to induce a viable conceptualization of authoritarianism from empirical data.

However, such differences should not blind us to the central tenet shared by both formulations of authoritarianism. In attempting to understand prejudice, differences between individuals is an important area to explore. Furthermore, they share the belief that the authoritarian personality does not form in a vacuum partitioned from broader societal influence.

3.5.1 RWA Defined

Just because Altemeyer (1981) maintained that authoritarianism was an individual difference variable did not mean that he believed the role of situational factors should be ignored. Quite to the contrary. Like Adorno et al. (1950), he viewed authoritarianism as a measure of individual susceptibility to certain types of environmental influence. As Altemeyer (1988, p.3) suggested, RWA should be viewed as “an ‘individual’ factor, a personality variable, a ‘trait’ if you like, developed on the premise that some persons need very little situational pressure to (say) submit to authority, while others often require significantly more”. This individual difference personality or trait-like variable in which people differ, reflects an individual's propensity to submit to situational factors. Hence, high authoritarians are more prone to the influence of certain types of environments (those

involving authorities) than low authoritarians. This susceptibility to submit to authority is manifest in a set of interrelated attitudes

3.5.2 The Three Subcomponents of RWA

Altemeyer (1981) presented a conceptualisation of authoritarianism comprising three distinct, but co-varying, clusters of attitudes: authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism. The RWA scale itself “was designed to measure the covariation of [these] three traits” (Altemeyer 1988, p.131). But why these three attitude traits? Altemeyer's (1981) answer to this question appears to be primarily psychometric. He suggested that these traits each comprise facets of the authoritarian personality because, unlike others, they have been found to consistently covary with each other.

Before one is tempted to criticise Altemeyer of an unhealthy obsession with psychometrics, it is worth noting that at a theoretical level these three attitudinal clusters also appear to be complementary. Firstly, these were given the same names as the first three components of the F scale, said by Adorno et al. (1950) to measure the moral components of the authoritarian personality. Furthermore, both Adorno et al. (1950) and Altemeyer (1981) appear to conceive of these constructs in a similar manner.

The first component, or trait, of the RWA scale is Authoritarian submission, that is, the degree of submission to perceived authority figures and institutions (Altemeyer, 1981). People high in this dimension hold the belief that those in authority know best and should not be questioned. Furthermore, those high in authoritarian submission believe any individual who is critical of these authorities is merely attempting to cause trouble (Altemeyer, 1981). They desire their leaders to be strong, as this makes them feel more secure, and are likely to endorse measures that are said to ensure their security, even if these measures impinge on their civil liberties (Altemeyer, 1988).

The second component, authoritarian aggression, captures an individual's propensity to endorse violence that they believe has been sanctioned by established authorities. Although they are likely to support the use of violence, it does not mean that they will engage in such behaviour themselves (Altemeyer, 1981). At heart, authoritarians are norm followers and societal conventions prohibiting violence are likely to restrain them from personally carrying out violent actions. However, they are likely to sanction others, such as the police, in committing such acts (Altemeyer, 1981).

The final component, Conventionalism, taps the authoritarian's tendency to adhere to social norms (Altemeyer, 1981). This is especially so where these norms reflect traditional Establishment values. Hence, they report a greater belief in the Bible along with the need to adhere strongly to God's law. Furthermore, they claim that the conflicts that rack our modern world can be traced back to a failure to adhere to these laws, and that turning from the truths of our past inevitably leads to the corruption of the present (Altemeyer, 1981). Therefore, in the high RWA individual, we see a longing for an almost Arcadian conception of a simpler and, in a sense, truer past.

3.6 Authoritarianism and Prejudice

Given the nature of the authoritarian personality, it is not surprising that authoritarians have been found to be more prejudiced than their non-authoritarian counterparts. Altemeyer (1988) analysed this relationship using the Manitoba Prejudice Scale and found that authoritarian aggressive items were most highly correlated with the prejudice scale. Interestingly, however, he found the Manitoba Prejudice Scale to be also correlated with conventional and submissive items.

The RWA scale has also been found to be associated with a whole range of conservative attitudes. For instance, Altemeyer (1988) found that high authoritarians held

negative attitudes towards the promotion of women's rights. This is consistent with research by Duncan, Peterson, and Winter (1997) who found that those individuals who were high in authoritarianism were also more likely to endorse the maintenance of traditional gender roles.

Similar to findings concerning ethnic prejudice, Altemeyer (1996) found that high authoritarians tended to be homophobic. In fact, the RWA scale has been found to correlate more strongly with homophobia than ethnocentrism (Altemeyer, 1996). These findings have also been replicated in the works of Lippa and Arad (1999) who found that Authoritarians were more likely to hold negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians.

3.6.1 Posse Mentality

It has been suggested that while authoritarians endorse violence toward minority groups, they themselves are unlikely to directly engage in such behaviour. This aside, Altemeyer (1996) has found that authoritarians are far more likely to possess what he calls a "posse mentality". That is, the willingness to actively participate, along with some authority figure, in the suppression, or abolition, of members from a minority group. This conclusion was drawn from a study in which participants were asked to imagine that the Canadian government had just outlawed the existence of the Communist party. They were then required to indicate the degree of support they would provide in order for the government to achieve this aim. Possible behaviours ranged from telling friends that the new legislation was good, to actively engaging in attacks on a Communist headquarters. Although in general participants did not believe that they would engage in such behaviour, high authoritarians, far more than lows, reported that they would collude with the government. Furthermore, there was an especially strong correlation between the authoritarian aggression sub-scale and the posse scale (Altemeyer, 1996).

This review only briefly touches on the vast amount of literature concerning authoritarianism and prejudice. A more comprehensive discussion of links between RWA and the targets of prejudice, discussed in this thesis, can be found in subsequent chapters.

3.7 Source of Authoritarianism: from Freud to Bandura

It can be seen from the description of the RWA scale that there are striking similarities between Altemeyer's (1981) approach and the work of Adorno et al. (1950). However, when it comes to the proposed aetiology of authoritarianism, the crucial factors in the development of the authoritarian personality, stark differences become apparent. Altemeyer (1988) sought to cast off completely the psycho-dynamic and Marxist trappings inherent in the work of Adorno et al. (1950). In doing so, he has drawn heavily on social learning theory in order to examine the roots of authoritarianism.

Consistent with this approach, it is believed that learning occurs in two separate ways. Firstly, an individual can learn their authoritarianism first hand, through the direct teaching of sources such as their parents. Secondly, learning may occur by using others, such as parents, as models for behaviour (Bandura, 1977).

Bandura (1977) suggested that we learn by viewing the outcome of the behaviour of others. This involves using other people as models for our own behaviour. Hence, it is suggested that we store a representation of how a particular model behaved in a certain situation and draw on this to guide our own behaviour. If their behaviour leads to positive outcomes we are more likely to engage in such behaviour. Bandura (1977) claimed that we use several criteria in the selection of appropriate models. First, and foremost, he suggested that we select individuals whom we respect. Hence, it is not surprising that older, powerful figures such as parents, older siblings, and teachers are prime candidates as models. In the authoritarian household, many of these models are likely to endorse an authoritarian

perspective. Therefore, it is likely that the authoritarian learns many of their attitudes from these sources. It is for this reason that Altemeyer places such importance on the role of modelling, claiming it “to be an important channel of communication when it comes to authoritarian attitudes about society” (Altemeyer, 1996, p. 79). Given the prominence of parental influence it was believed that the role of parents should have a large impact on the authoritarian attitudes of their children. A claim that has been borne out by the research of Altemeyer (1988) who found a moderate correlation between parents and their children’s RWA scores.

3.7.1 Life Experience and the Fear of Strangers

Altemeyer (1988) also found that authoritarians reported less life experiences. He suggested that diverse experiences are more likely to place an authoritarian in situations in which authoritarian attitudes are questioned. This occurring when they meet a person whose behaviour is inconsistent with their preconceived image of how a member of a particular group should act. He tested this claim with a longitudinal study measuring students level of RWA at the beginning their university careers. Over the period of their degree, levels of authoritarianism decreased for all students. However, high authoritarians exhibited a far greater decrease in levels of RWA than low authoritarians.

One possible outcome of this lack of life experience is the authoritarian's fear of people from groups different to their own. Altemeyer (1998) claimed this is a manifestation of a generalised fear of certain unconventional figures. Thus, Altemeyer (1988, p.147) suggests that not only do high authoritarian “parents teach their children to be afraid of Communists, atheists, and homosexuals but that they teach greater fear of kidnappers, tramps, and bullies as well”. Therefore, it is not so much the ideological or political orientation of a figure that marks them as an object of fear, but the degree to which they are unorthodox.

That is, the degree to which they personify a rejection of traditional conventions. This in turn feeds a broader fear, the idea that the world is a dangerous place in which dangerous things happen (Duckitt et al., 2002).

3.8 *The Compartmentalised Mind*

3.8.1 *Authoritarianism: Not What but How*

The research of Altemeyer (1988) suggests that the image of the authoritarian parent with child upon lap, carefully, rigorously prescribing a coherent right wing ideological position is at best simplistic. Authoritarians may, on the whole, be attracted toward parties of the right, primarily because it is these parties that are more likely to preach the virtues of authority. Therefore, any analysis that looks purely at what authoritarian parents teach their children, as opposed to the manner in which it is taught, will be incomplete. So what are the conditions that are most likely to lead a child to be more authoritarian? Altemeyer (1996) suggests that an environment in which the child is not encouraged to discuss or question what they are told provides a perfect breeding ground for the development of the authoritarian personality. Altemeyer (1996, p. 93) contrasts this with the low authoritarian for whom assessing an argument involves

Thinking critically, reaching independent conclusions, and seeing whether their conclusions mesh with the other things they believe. Instead, they [high RWA's] have largely accepted what they were told by the authorities in their lives, which leaves them with time for other things, but which also leaves them underpractised in thinking for themselves.

Altemeyer (1996) claims that such a process will lead high authoritarians to view issues in a more compartmentalised manner. In fact, Altemeyer (1996) goes so far as to

describe authoritarians as having a compartmentalised mind. When completing Tomkins' (cited in Altemeyer, 1996) polarity scale, a measure of attitudes, it was found that high authoritarians tended to endorse a series of contradictory attitudes. Hence, an authoritarian who supports the notion that "Fear can make the bravest man tremble. We should not condemn failure of nerve", is also more likely to agree with the idea that "Cowardice is despicable and in a soldier should be severely punished". Altemeyer (1996) claims this reflects the distorted way in which authoritarians' process information. They tend not to examine their ideas in any great detail. They are more likely to appropriate ready-made slogans than formulate a reasoned response to a given social issue. By uncritically endorsing views accepted from authority figures, they fail to develop the critical skills required to integrate beliefs and attitudes into a coherent whole. The appropriate opinions may be selected to fit a given situation, but nonetheless, these opinions may not cohere or hang together. Hence, they are left with pockets of contradictory beliefs.

Furthermore, compared to low authoritarians, high authoritarians were far more likely to agree with any statement with which they are presented. At regular intervals, over a period of several weeks, participants were asked to rank the importance of a series of social issues (for example, drug use). Altemeyer (1996) found that 80% of high RWA's claimed the issue with which they were currently presented to be the most important. This was irrespective of the fact that they had claimed a different issue, presented on a previous occasion, to be the most important.

Because of the process of compartmentalisation, Altemeyer (1996) claims that high authoritarians are more likely, than their low authoritarian counterparts, to hold double standards. Hence, he found that in response to a series of vignettes describing an altercation between a hippy and an accountant, high authoritarians suggested a severer punishment when

the vignette described the hippy attacking the accountant than when the reverse situation was the case (Altemeyer, 1996).

Similarly, Altemeyer (1996) found double standards in relation to attitudes towards to the conduct of political parties. Authoritarian participants rated the threatening behaviour of candidates from a right of centre party toward their left of centre counterparts, as far less serious than when the reverse was the case. On the other hand, low authoritarians rated both cases of threatening behaviour as equally unfair.

While this research may offer support for the existence of a compartmentalised mind among authoritarians, it could also be claimed that it merely reflects an affective bias. Authoritarians may just like Hippies and members of left wing parties less and, as such, are less concerned about their welfare. Nonetheless, research by Wegmann (cited in Altemeyer, 1996) suggests that cognitive differences do exist between high and low authoritarians.

One possible explanation for why authoritarians hold contradictory opinions is because they are less able to remember information. This claim was supported in the study conducted by Wegmann (cited in Altemeyer, 1996). Participants first completed a copy of the RWA scale, following which they were presented with two essays, one pro- and one anti-socialised medicine. Participants were then required to answer a series of questions relating to the essays. On completion of this task the same procedure was replicated. However, in this case the essays were on the use of corporal punishment in schools. The final component of the study required participants to view a debate between two lawyers arguing the relative merits of a recent court ruling on school segregation. As in the previous two components of the study, participants answered questions about what they remembered of the debate.

Wegmann (cited by Altemeyer, 1996) found that high authoritarians had greater difficulty in correctly recalling information than low authoritarians. Furthermore, Wegmann

(cited by Altemeyer, 1996) found, using Watson and Glasser's (1980) critical thinking appraisal test, that high authoritarians were more likely to think in a less critical manner. This finding has been replicated in several studies conducted by Altemeyer (1996) in which high authoritarians, when compared to lows, scored more poorly on Watson and Glasser's (1980) measure. Furthermore, Altemeyer (1996) found that in both studies authoritarians had greatest trouble in recognising false inferences. This lead Altemeyer (1996) to conclude that high authoritarians are worse at discerning falsehoods. Why is this the case? While an ultimate solution may still elude researchers, it cannot be attributed merely to differences in intelligence levels. Altemeyer (1996) found no relationship between I.Q. and RWA scores.

As before, this inability to detect falsehoods may explain why authoritarians are less willing to challenge authority. Inconsistencies that may lead many to question the legitimacy of certain authority figures are never discerned.

3.9 RWA: Just Another F Scale?

The original formulation of the authoritarian personality was plagued by several criticisms. Its psychometric properties were questioned, but more telling was the criticism that the F scale was not, in fact, a measure of personality. Even a cursory review of the items included in the F scale raised the suspicion that the scale may be measuring something else. Rather than being a personality scale it was really a measure of attitudes. The weight of these criticisms was to lead to the eventual decline in the use of the scale in the field of prejudice research.

Much of the impetus for the rebirth of the authoritarian personality, in the guise of RWA, rested on the promise that these criticisms could be overcome (Altemeyer, 1981); that the construct through some modification would once again prove to be a useful measure. The

concept of authoritarianism may have received a severe mauling at the hands of its detractors but none of its wounds would prove to be fatal.

How successful has Altemeyer been in addressing these criticisms? Even the most ardent critic of the RWA scale would have to acknowledge that he has done much to overcome the psychometric shortcomings of the F scale. The items throughout the RWA scale are worded both in the pro-trait and con-trait direction, addressing criticisms directed at the F scale by researchers that suggested high authoritarian scores were the product of acquiescence (see for example, Couch & Keniston, 1961; Bass, 1957). Furthermore, it was found that this balanced scale still possessed an acceptable level of internal reliability (Altemeyer, 1981). However, what of the more important criticism, the suggestion that, like the F scale, the RWA scale measures a cluster of attitudes and not a type of personality?

3.9.1 The RWA Scale and Personality

Support for the view that RWA is a personality measure has been presented in studies conducted by Altemeyer along with other researcher (for example, Heaven & Bucci 2001). Heaven and Bucci (2001), using measures of the big five personality domains, found that participants who were high in RWA were also more likely to be highly conscientious. Furthermore, RWA was found to be negatively related to openness to experience. This largely supported research by Altemeyer (1996) who showed RWA to be positively related to both conscientiousness and extroversion/ surgency. Furthermore, RWA was found to be negatively related to a personality factor labelled openness/culture/intellect. Lippa and Arad (1999) also found a small, but significant, relationship between extroversion and authoritarianism amongst their male sample.

It should be noted that relationships between the RWA scale and personality measures have been far from strong. Goldberg and Rosolack (cited in Altemeyer 1996) found

moderate correlations between the RWA scale and the 'Big Five' personality dimensions. They found openness and culture to be negatively associated with authoritarianism, while conscientiousness was positively related with scores on the RWA scale. A further analysis of the 235 items which comprise Goldberg's measure of the 'Big Five' revealed that only three were strongly related, .30 or above, to scores on the RWA scale. Authoritarians viewed themselves as less philosophical, non-introspective, and, not surprisingly, more conforming.

The research cited above, appears to offer some support for Altemeyer's claim that RWA is a personality variable. Having said this, it would be expected that, given the RWA scale is meant to be a personality measure, it would possess a degree of face validity, including at least some items that refer specifically to personality. Unfortunately, this does not appear to be the case.

For instance, the instructions specifically state, "Please complete this survey, which is part of an investigation of general public opinion concerning a variety of social issues" (Altemeyer, 1988, p. 22). It then proceeds to ask respondents to report their agreement or disagreement with statements such as, "Homosexuals are just as good and virtuous as anybody else, and there is nothing wrong with being one" and "The courts are right in being easy on drug offenders. Punishment would not do any good in cases like these". Hence, in common with the F scale, it could be claimed that the RWA scale is better viewed as an attitude scale, or more correctly, a scale assessing a cluster of inter-related beliefs. This echoes Duckitt's (1992) point that,

Given that the RWA scale is considered a personality measure, it is surprising that none of the questions ask specifically about the psychology of the individual or is framed in terms of personality characteristics (e.g., "In general, how often do you think you go along with others?") (p. 207)

3.9.2 The use of RWA in the Present Study

The above critique would suggest that while RWA may be an interesting variable to examine in relation to many other areas of social psychology, its usefulness to the researcher of prejudice is limited. While on the whole this may be true, this is not necessarily so when considering the role of identities. RWA may, in part, be a measure of an individual's attitude toward minority groups, but these attitudes, like the individual's personality, values, and beliefs are a part of their personal identity. Hence, when a person's social identity is made salient, these attitudes should be shifted toward a group norm. Of course, this is not to suggest that highly prejudicial individuals will suddenly become advocates of tolerance. Rather, that low authoritarian participants will also exhibit prejudicial attitudes, thus robbing RWA of any predictive value. Therefore, there should be a shift from prejudiced attitudes associated with personal identity to those associated with the group, or group norms.

A further reason for inclusion in the present study, relates to the continued use of this scale in research on self-categorisation theory (see Verkuyten & Hagendoorn, 1999; Heaven & St Quintin, 2003). Thus, it was believed that RWA, despite its limitations, may still provide some insight into the nature of prejudice.

3.9.3 Conclusion

This review brings to light two key facets of the authoritarian personality. Although it is an individual difference variable, this does not equate to some form of individualistic reductionism. Authoritarians are more susceptible to certain environmental influences than others. The type of environmental influence is always a matter of some importance. The second issue concerns the manner in which authoritarians structure information drawn from their environment. This appears to suggest distinct differences between high and low authoritarians, implying that authoritarians cognitively categorise the world differently to

their non-authoritarian peers. The following chapter will examine another individual difference correlate: social values. Social values are believed to be at the core of our belief system (Feather, 1999), providing the soil from which attitudes, such as prejudice, are likely to grow. Therefore, the study of this variable is important given what it may disclose about intergroup bias.

4 Chapter Four

Social Values: from Freedom and Equality to Security and Harmony

4.1 Overview

Authoritarianism, in its various forms, has proven a reliable predictor of prejudice. However, the use other approaches have added much to the understanding of prejudice. The current chapter will consider one of these approaches, namely values. In the sphere of psychology, the systematic study of values begins with the work of Rokeach (1973). More recent work by researchers such as Braithwaite (1982), Feather (1977, 1994), and Schwartz (1994) have continued and extended this work. Findings from this research suggest that values play an important role in predicting a person's perceptions toward a range of social issues including national identification, norms, and intergroup prejudice.

4.2 Rokeach and Values

The contemporary study of values owes a great debt to the work of Milton Rokeach. Rokeach (1973) was not the first to discuss the importance of values and the implications they have for the understanding of social phenomena. Dating back to the classical period the question of how one should live was of central concern to thinkers such as Plato (1987) and Aristotle (1925). It is also true that Rokeach was not the first to examine values empirically. This honour falls to researchers such as Morris (1956) and Scott (1960). However, Rokeach's work was first to offer a sustained and systematic study of how individuals structure their values, a project that was to bring the study of values to the forefront of mainstream social psychology.

Rokeach (1973) sought to establish a niche for the investigation of values in a discipline that was preoccupied with the study of attitudes. So much so that Wilson (1973,

p. vii) suggested that “the measurement of attitudes was almost synonymous with social psychology”. Hence, before Rokeach’s work, when an individual was asked to report their political or social world-view they would invariably be required to respond to a series of attitude statements. While the measurement of attitudes, in itself, offered a fruitful insight into an individual’s view of their world, other equally important variables, such as values, were excluded from the realm of research.

4.2.1 Values as Abstractions

Why was Rokeach (1973) to place so much importance on the study of values? Primarily for the insight such research offers into a person’s social and political outlook. While attitudes are comprised of several beliefs that are related to a specific situation or object, values reflect a single belief; one which is “initially taught and learned in isolation of other values in an absolute all or nothing manner” (Rokeach, 1973, p. 6). Given this, values are not closely tied to any given situation or attitude. One outcome of the abstract manner in which values are learnt, relates to the role they play in guiding “actions, attitudes, judgements, and comparisons across specific objects and situations” (Rokeach, 1973, p.18).

Rokeach (1973) suggested that, while an individual may learn to endorse a particular value in isolation, on occasion they will be forced to prioritise one value above another. Hence, an individual is likely to be guided by a whole range of values, or what Rokeach (1973) described as a ‘value system’. It is this value system that forms a key component of who we are. As Feather (1999) characterises it, values are at the core of our belief system, and as such are intimately linked with our self-concept. Hence, it is clear that values are seen to be more primordial than either beliefs or attitudes.

4.2.2 *Values as Standards*

It has also been suggested that values offer a link between the self and others. At a micro-level values serve as internalised standards that reconcile personal needs with those of the broader society. On the macro level they reflect the shared understanding held in a society (Braithwaite & Blamey, 1998). How do values achieve such a task? Values reflect an “enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence” (Rokeach, 1973, p. 5). Hence, values are important to the individual because they are an expression of what they, and their society, find desirable. Simultaneously values are prescriptive, they serve as standards (Rokeach, 1973). Therefore, inherent in values is an assumed “ought-ness” about how one should behave (Feather, 1999).

4.2.3 *Instrumental and Terminal Values*

It should be noted from the quote by Rokeach (1973), that he was concerned with both end states and modes of living. Hence, it is not surprising that Rokeach (1973) was to divide values into these two broad categories. Firstly, there are instrumental values, beliefs about appropriate modes of conduct in daily life. The second set of values described end states of existence. These were labelled terminal values (Rokeach, 1973). Thus, in contrast to instrumental values, terminal values are beliefs about appropriate outcomes in an individual life or in the world as a whole. To put this distinction into some context, it could be said that an individual’s desire to live a peaceful life, to avoid discord, to seek a peaceful resolution with any potential enemies, is an example of an instrumental value. A desire for world peace, on the other hand, could best be labelled a terminal value. While a desire to live a peaceful life is not incompatible with a desire for world peace, the two are clearly distinct.

4.2.4 *Two-Value Model*

Much of Rokeach's focus, in his work on values, rested on the area of social and political issues. Central to this research was Rokeach's (1973) criticism of the traditional view, characterised by researchers such as Carlson (1934), that all political orientations can be placed on a single continuum ranging from the left at one pole to the right at the other. Rather, Rokeach (1973) suggested that political ideology could best be explained by referring to not just one dimension, but two: freedom and equality.

Rokeach (1973) claimed the four prominent political ideologies that characterised the contemporary political climate: communism, socialism, fascism, and capitalism could be located in reference to the dimensions of freedom and equality. Hence, the conservative was described as an individual who is high on freedom, while being low on equality. In contrast, the communist was high on equality but low in the freedom dimension. The socialist was said to be high on freedom and equality, while the fascist was low on both dimensions.

In order to test this premise, a series of texts, representative of each of the various political ideologies, were assessed by two judges. The basic task consisted of a content analysis designed to determine the relative frequency with which each of the texts mentioned the values freedom or equality. These were then analysed using rank order analysis. Consistent with Rokeach's (1973) premise, the socialist texts ranked highest in their frequency of reference to the value freedom, while being ranked second highest in reference to equality. Equality occurred most frequently in the communist texts, while freedom was ranked last. In the capitalist text freedom was very highly ranked, while equality scored a low ranking. Finally, positive reference toward the values of both freedom and equality occurred at the lowest frequency in the fascist text.

4.2.5 Criticisms of the Two-value Model

The two-value model of political ideology, while intuitively appealing, has not been without its detractors. These criticisms have focussed chiefly on the role freedom plays in differentiating political orientations. Mueller (1974) suggested the term freedom might mean different things to different people. Of course this should not be surprising. The term freedom has traditionally been defined in one of two ways. Either as ‘freedom from’ restriction, in social or political terms this means primarily freedom from the state. This position, most lucidly presented by John Stuart Mill (1978), could equally be described as characteristic of the modern laissez-faire capitalist, at least in relation to economic issues. The second conception refers to ‘freedom to’ access certain basic necessities. Thus, it might be suggested that while advocates of each of the political parties may endorse the notion of freedom, they do so for very different reasons.

Hence, freedom, when couched in abstract terms, will be endorsed by most. Mueller (1974) suggested that this was the case in Rokeach’s (1967, cited in 1973) social values scale. Participants are presented with a word along with a simple definition. In the case of freedom, the word “freedom” would appear followed by short phrases such as “independence, free choice”. Mueller (1974) questioned whether such a technique could rule out variability of interpretation between participants. In order to answer this, a study was performed in which undergraduate students were required to list any items that they believed tapped the value freedom or equality. This was an attempt to ground these values in less abstract terms. At the same time, participants were required to indicate their political orientation. These were divided into the five groups believed to broadly tap the range of political opinion in America: Liberal Democrat, moderate Democrat, Independent, moderate Republican, or conservative Republican.

It was found that liberal democrats scored highest on both scales. This was consistent with Rokeach's model. However, contrary to Rokeach's two-value model, conservative Republicans scored lowest in both, with Liberal Democrats scoring significantly higher on the freedom scale than conservative Republicans. If the two-value model was correct, no difference between advocates of either political position should have occurred. On further inspection, Mueller (1974) noted that some items in the freedom measure might have been rejected by conservatives because of their perceived immorality. However, when a second sample was presented with a modified version of the scale, from which these "immoral" items were excluded, the same pattern was uncovered.

The findings, at least on the face of it, appear to support Mueller's (1974) contention that freedom, when couched in less abstract terms, will differentiate between liberals and conservatives. Of course, Rokeach may question whether we are still talking about values, at least in the way in which he conceived them. Values are by their very nature abstract; the attempt to capture them with reference to very specific items may be missing the point.

Equally problematic for Rokeach were findings uncovered by Cochrane, Billig, and Hogg (1979) amongst a British sample. Rokeach (1973) had great difficulty in directly testing the two-value model of political ideology. This was because the American sample he used contained too few participants who could truly be labelled either Communist or Fascist. It was suggested by Cochrane et al. (1979) that the political environment in Britain at that time, in contrast to that of America, consisted of representatives from each of the four political orientations discussed by Rokeach. Hence, along with the Conservative and Labour (socialist) parties, there were also a large number of individuals who supported either the Communist Party or National Front. Previous work by Billig (cited in Cochrane et al., 1979) had found that members of the National Front tended to endorse a fascist ideology.

Consequently, Cochrane et al. (1979) suggested that a study performed in Britain might provide a more comprehensive test of Rokeach's (1973) model. Hence, they presented members from the Conservative, Labour, National Front, and Communist parties with Rokeach's value survey. An additional community sample also completed the survey. Subsequently, participants completed a measure that assessed their political orientation, along with their level of political activity. It was found, analysing the sample as a whole, that the difference in ranking between Communists and supporters of the National Front was greatest for the value equality, with Communists ranking this value more highly. Communists also ranked the value world peace significantly more highly, with the inverse being the case for values such as family security and national security. However, there was no significant difference between the two groups in the importance placed on freedom. When the data for those respondents who labelled themselves as being activists was analysed separately, equality was again the biggest discriminator between Communists and members of the National Front. However, different patterns occurred for the value freedom. National Front and Conservative activists both rated freedom significantly higher than their Labour and Communist counterparts. This runs counter to Rokeach's (1973) model that would suggest members of the Labour party should have rated freedom highly, while for the member of the National Front this should have been low on their list of priorities.

As a rejoinder to Cochrane et al.'s (1979) critique, Rokeach (1979) questions the interpretation given to their findings. Rokeach (1979) claims that it is one thing to determine that advocates of a particular ideology, in a particular culture, at a given historical period, endorse a certain set of values. It is very different to suggest that these "are the main values underlying or explaining differences among major political ideologies" (Rokeach, 1979, p.169). In other words, for any supposed advocate of a political ideology there could be a

range of factors that may explain deviations from the value structure predicted by Rokeach (1973). For example, the individual may have aligned themselves with a particular party for other than ideological reasons. Even if they are ideologically motivated, their understanding of that ideology may be far from complete.

However, Rokeach's (1979) primary explanation for the differences between the findings of Cochrane et al. (1979), and those predicted by the two-value model, is to attribute them to factors inherent in British politics of the late 70's. For example, the implications of being a Fascist in a Liberal democracy, such as Britain in 1979, may be starkly different to endorsing the same political agenda in Germany of the late 1930's. Hence, Rokeach (1979) appears to be suggesting that while the two-value model may be useful in explaining political ideology as an abstract concept, it has little to say about the way these ideologies are manifested in the lives of individuals. This, of course, may not be a concern for Rokeach (1979), but it does question the usefulness of the Value survey as a tool for investigating political ideology in the framework of contemporary social psychology.

The role of values, in political affiliation, was also examined in an Australian sample. Thannhauser and Caird (1990) presented participants from each of the four major political parties with terminal values drawn from Rokeach's (1973) value survey. The sample included members of each of the parties, along with participants who described themselves as party voters. It was found that Labor and Democrat participants endorsed equality values significantly more highly than Liberal or National party participants. However, there was no significant difference between any of the groups in their endorsement of freedom values.

At first sight, this would appear to run contrary to Rokeach's model. However, as the authors point out, it needs to be acknowledged that each of the political orientations analysed were relatively moderate. When viewed with this point in mind, the opposite conclusion

could be reached. Both Labor and the Democrats, despite their obvious differences, may be placed under the umbrella term: social democrat. According to Rokeach (1973) we should expect advocates of such parties to endorse highly both freedom and equality. Equally, the Liberal and National parties are seen as supporters of capital. Hence, according to Rokeach, while endorsing freedom they should be less concerned with equality. These are the very results which Thannhauser and Caird (1990) uncovered.

While the work of Thannhauser and Caird (1990) was broadly supportive of the two-value model, it raised another important question. The inability for the value 'freedom' to differentiate between political orientations in Western countries such as the USA, England, and later Australia, suggests that a different measure, more sensitive to the ideological subtleties in these cultures, was needed. It was against the backdrop of these debates that Braithwaite and Law's (1985) Social Values Inventory was developed.

4.3 A New Model of Social Values

Braithwaite rejected Rokeach's two-value model. Yet, despite this, Rokeach's approach was to prove a lasting influence on her work. Like Rokeach (1973), she viewed values as overarching beliefs about what is good or desirable, guiding and moulding our attitudes toward issues in our social world. Similarly, like Rokeach, Braithwaite (1998a) was critical of the traditional view, as characterised by the work of Adorno et al. (1950) and Wilson (1973), which suggested that an individual's attitudes or values should cohere around one or other pole of the political continuum. She argued that the left/ right dichotomy that appears to characterise ideological thought in countries, such as Australia, reflects the adversarial style of these political systems. While an individual may possess values that are consistent with both sides of the political divide, they are forced to trade off either their

liberal or conservative values whenever they seek to engage in the political process (Braithwaite, 1998b).

Aside from these similarities, there were also some marked differences. Braithwaite (1982), like Mueller (1974) and Cochrane et al. (1979), was critical of Rokeach's two value model of political ideology. Like these authors, she was concerned with the ambiguous nature of the term freedom. Braithwaite (1982) also criticised the fact that Rokeach's (1973) social value scale included only one item to measure each of the value dimensions: security and equality. When viewed against the backdrop of these criticisms, Rokeach's contention that the orthogonal dimensions of freedom and equality provided a more sophisticated model of political ideology than a simple left/right continuum was still open to debate. In order to test Rokeach's (1973) premise, a new measure, free from the shortcomings of Rokeach's (1973) social values scale, was needed. This was the task which Braithwaite and Law (1985) sought to accomplish.

4.3.1 Construction of the Social Values Inventory

The study began with participants reviewing Rokeach's (1973) value survey and suggesting modifications that they believed would improve the clarity of the scale. The outcome of this process was an 18-item measure of social values (Braithwaite and Law, 1985). Along with additional items, Braithwaite and Law's (1985) measure included a seven point Likert rating scale. This differed from the procedure used by Rokeach (1973) where participants were required to rank, in order of preference, each value. This rank ordering introduced some potential problems. For example, participants may endorse two values equally and yet be required to make an artificial distinction between them. The rating approach used by Braithwaite and Law (1985) avoided this problem.

Braithwaite, (1982) presented the 18 items of the newly labelled social values inventory to participants selected from the Brisbane region. When the responses were factor analysed it was discovered that two factors explained the bulk the variance; the first factor included items such as a desire for greater “international cooperation”, “social progress and social reform”, and “greater economic equality”, as well as the wish for “world peace”. This factor was labelled 'International harmony and equality' . As Braithwaite (1982) pointed out, it bears a striking similarity to the equality dimension proposed by Rokeach (1973). Hence, so far at least, the results were broadly consistent with the two-value model. Nonetheless the second component differed markedly from Rokeach’s model. Labelled 'National strength and order', this component was comprised of items such as a desire for “national greatness”, “the rule of law”, “national security”, and “national economic development” (Braithwaite, 1982). A second study, using a university student sample, produced similar results (Braithwaite, 1982).

4.3.2 Validation of the Measure

The findings of Braithwaite (1982) appeared to suggest a new two-value model, comprising the dimensions 'International harmony and security' and 'National strength and order'. However, this model had only been assessed using one set of scales, Braithwaite and Law’s (1985) social value inventory. This raised the question as to whether the security and harmony orientations were mere artefacts of a single inventory. Were there other values associated with an individual's social and political outlook which Braithwaite and Law’s (1985) inventory did not measure? In order to answer such questions, Braithwaite (1998a) analysed archival data from 1977 in which participants had completed the Goal, Mode, and Social Values Inventory (Braithwaite & Law, 1985), along with a range of other measures of values. These measures included scales such as Rokeach’s (1973) value scale, Morris’s

(1956) ways to live scale, and Scott's (cited in Braithwaite, 1998a) Foreign Policy Goals and Personal Values measure.

In order to assess political ideology, as indicated by level of conservatism, Wilson and Patterson's (1968) C-Scale was also included. Items that were found to correlate significantly with the C-scale were then analysed using a principal components analysis. This analysis produced four components. The first included items from each of the scales that measured concerns relating to control, order, and status. Hence, not surprisingly, Braithwaite (1998a) labelled this factor 'security through order and status'. The second factor was labelled 'religiosity and personal restraint', while the third included items said to tap 'humanistic and expressive concerns'. The final component, 'personal accomplishment', represented a need to achieve in three spheres: academically, in physical development, and socially.

It was found, using regression analysis, that concern for 'security through status and order' along with 'religiosity and personal constraint' were significant predictors of conservatism, as measured by the C-Scale. 'Humanistic and expressive concerns' were also found to be a significant predictor, although with an inverse relationship. The fourth component, 'personal accomplishment', was not related to level of conservatism.

Although using different measures, the findings largely supported the taxonomy of values presented in Braithwaite and Law's (1985) social values inventory. Thus, 'security through status and order' measuring aspects similar to that of the 'National strength and order' scale, was positively correlated to conservatism. In turn, there was a negative correlation between conservatism and 'humanistic and expressive concerns', a component very similar to the 'International harmony and equality' scale. Hence, this study not only revealed a similar component structure to that of the social values inventory, but also found a similar pattern

between these components and social attitudes to that uncovered in studies using the social values inventory (see for example, Braithwaite, 1997).

4.3.3 The Social Value Inventory and Political Ideology

One of the chief criticisms of Rokeach's (1973) two-value model had been the inability of this approach to differentiate between political ideologies using both value dimensions. Hence, while it was found that endorsement of equality differentiated supporters of parties to the left or right, freedom did not. In order, to determine whether Braithwaite's model would fall prey to the same problem, Heaven (1990, 1991) performed a series of studies in which he examined the relationship between values and the endorsement of economic beliefs, along with participants' voting intentions. Heaven (1990) had participants complete Braithwaite and Law's (1985) social values inventory, along with Furnham's (cited by Heaven, 1990) economic beliefs scale. This measure was designed to tap level of endorsement for left and right wing economic concepts. It was found, using regression analysis, that 'National strength and order' was the only significant predictor of right wing economic beliefs. Interestingly, however, while 'International harmony and equality' proved to be a significant predictor of left wing beliefs it was not the strongest. Negative relationships with the values 'National strength and order', 'propriety in dress and manners', and 'thriftiness' were also predictive of left wing beliefs.

While 'International harmony and equality' and 'National strength and order' have been shown to differentiate between left and right wing beliefs, the ability to account for differing political orientations was still an open question. This was addressed in a subsequent study by Heaven (1991). Following completion of Braithwaite and Law's (1985) value survey, participants indicated the party they intended to vote for in the next federal election. Participants could select from one of five alternatives: undecided, Democrats, Australian

Labor Party (ALP), Liberal, or National party. Heaven (1991) found that both value dimensions played a role in differentiating an individual's endorsement of a particular party. It was found that both Democrats and ALP supporters, parties to the left of Australian politics, were more likely to endorse the value 'International harmony and equality', while Liberal and National Party supporters, parties to the right of centre, strongly endorsed 'National strength and order'.

While there appeared to be some support for Braithwaite's model in the Australian context, the cross-cultural validity of the measure was yet to be established. This point is especially salient when it is remembered that Braithwaite and Law's (1985) measure was constructed using Australian participants. Hence, the suggestion that the measure may be idiosyncratic to that population needed to be addressed. Heaven, Stones, Nel, Huysamen, and Louw (1994) investigated this question in a South African context. The study, which was conducted just before the historic 1994 election which saw Nelson Mandela elected as President of South Africa, drew students from four universities in South Africa. The universities were selected in an attempt to reflect the range of political and ethnic diversity in the country. However, as the authors acknowledge, a sample drawn from a university population can never be truly representative of the population as a whole.

The participants were required to indicate which party they would vote for in a general election. Along with a not sure option, participants could nominate one of eight political parties. These parties were, in order of ideology from left to right, the South African Communist Party (SACP), Pan African Congress (PAC), African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Party (DEM), Inkatha Freedom Party (INK), Labour Party (LAB), National Party (NAT), and Conservative Party (CON). It was found that those on the left, that is supporters of SACP, PAC, ANC, and DEM, were more likely to endorse 'International

harmony and equality' than those on the right: INK, NAT, and CON supporters. However, the pattern for 'National strength and order' was less clear. While supporters of the right wing parties, on the whole, endorsed this value dimension, it also found advocates in two of the left wing parties, the PAC and ANC.

4.3.4 The desirability of both Harmony and Security Values

The research conducted by Heaven (1991) and Heaven et al. (1994) suggested that, unlike the two-value model, the harmony and security dimensions, on the whole, accurately predicted political allegiance. However, this does not mean that individuals can be neatly placed, solely, in one of the two value orientations. Rather, Braithwaite (1998a) suggests that many individuals simultaneously hold conservative and liberal values. Hence, the likelihood of holding one value domain does not decrease the likelihood of holding the other (Braithwaite, 1994). Braithwaite (1998a) suggests that most individuals have discovered that harmony values, with an emphasis on a sense of co-operation, as well security values, with a focus on order, each have a role to play in a society. The value orientations 'National strength and order' and 'International harmony and equality' far from being in opposition, are complementary.

The contention that individuals endorse both value orientations is consistent with a study by Heaven (1991) who found that 'National strength and order' and 'International harmony and equality' were positively related. In a similar vein, Braithwaite (1994) found that 'International harmony and equality' and 'National strength and order' both contributed in explaining the variance associated with conservatism. If this is the case, how are respondent's scores on the 'National strength and order' and 'International harmony and equality' scales to be interpreted? How are these values related to a person's beliefs and attitudes? Braithwaite (1994, p 68) suggests "that social attitudes and political behaviour

need to be understood in terms of the relative dominance of one value orientation over the other, rather than in terms of the absolute strength of either value orientation". Hence, it is the relative balance of each of these value orientations that is important.

4.3.5 Value Balance Model

Instead of two value orientations, Braithwaite suggests that there are four. Some individuals are harmony orientated, being high in 'International harmony and equality' while being low in 'National strength and order' (Braithwaite, 1994). At the other end of the spectrum are those who could be considered security orientated, individuals who strongly endorse 'National strength and order' values while showing little support for 'International harmony and equality' values. Rokeach's (1973) method, which required participants to rank values in order of preference, may have been sensitive to this type of prioritising of one's values. However, the value balance model allows for the teasing out of value orientations that would not be accessible using Rokeach's approach. The dualist and moral relativist are two such value orientations. The dualist is described as an individual who strongly endorses both 'International harmony and equality' and 'National strength and order'. At the other end of the spectrum are the moral relativists; those low in 'International harmony and equality' and 'National strength and order'.

4.3.6 Conclusion

The study of values has a long history. Nonetheless, development, both theoretically and methodologically, has not stood still. Rokeach's social values scale has spawned several new scales, such as Schwartz's (1994) value survey, and Braithwaite and Law's (1995) social values inventory, that have developed on Rokeach's initial work. In turn, the theoretical understanding of values has evolved. Thus, in Braithwaite's value balance model, four value

orientations have been uncovered. As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Nine, the study of social values, and in particular the value balance model, offers the potential for insight into the way in which individuals view themselves and their society. Furthermore, if, as Rokeach (1973) and Braithwaite (1994) suggest, values play a fundamental role in determining an individual's ideological orientation, it is here too that we may discover some of the key issues that underlie prejudice.

In the next chapter two variables that may underpin key psychological processes associated with social identification will be discussed. The individual difference variable PNS, which taps a person's need to structure their environment, along with SCO, a measures of an individual's propensity to engage in social comparisons, reflect key examples of a new approach to individual differences; one in which personality variables are seen as dynamic, reflecting the situational context in which they are found.

5 Chapter Five

Situationally Dynamic Individual Difference Variables

5.1 Overview

PNS, while dispositional, is especially sensitive to environmental influences (Neuberg & Newsom, 1993), as such it represents an example of what Levy (1999) has labelled the new generation of individual difference variables. Another example of this new generation is Gibbons and Buunk's (1999) Iowa-Netherlands Comparison Orientation Measure (INCOM). This scale measures the propensity for individuals to engage in social comparisons. Together they embody a new way of conceiving of individual differences, as dynamic variables whose influence alters depending on the situational context.

These variables are also free of the ideological baggage that characterises many of the traditional measures found to predict prejudice, such as RWA (Altemeyer, 1988) and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) (Sidanius, Devereux, & Pratto, 1992). For instance, the PNS scale does not explicitly contain material of an ideological nature, rather “the scale items appear to assess individual preferences for structure and organisation without assessing attitudes toward social and political issues” (Neuberg & Newsom, 1993, p. 115).

The current chapter will attempt to illustrate the value of PNS and INCOM as tools for understanding prejudice. In relation to the PNS scale, it will examine the background of the measure before attempting to construct a picture of the individual high in PNS. One of the central themes of the chapter is the idea that the PNS scale needs to be viewed as two interrelated, but distinct, sub-scales: desire for structure and response to lack of structure. Further, that the two facets, measured by these sub-scales, reflect distinct ways of processing information about the world. Although research focusing directly on PNS and prejudice has been limited (see for example, Smith & Gordon, 1998; Perreault & Bourhis, 1999), results,

even at this preliminary stage, suggest that PNS may prove a vital tool in understanding inter-group hostility. The INCOM measure is newer still and, as of yet, there is no research that has explored the relationship between this variable and prejudice. Nonetheless, given that it is an individual difference measure of social comparison, a key process underlying intergroup bias in social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981), it is plausible that study of this variable will offer some insight into the dynamics of prejudice.

5.2 *PNS*

The PNS scale was developed by Thompson, Naccarato, and Parker (cited in Smith & Gordon, 1998) in 1989. In its original form it was conceived of as a uni-dimensional measure. Nonetheless, in a seminal paper, Neuberg and Newsom (1993) suggested that the PNS scale might be measuring two interrelated constructs.

Neuberg and Newsom (1993, p. 131) started with the observation that items in the PNS scale such as “I don’t like situations that are uncertain” or “I enjoy the exhilaration of being in unpredictable situations” may not just be measuring a personal need for structure. Instead they argued that these items may depict a more specific need, a response to a perceived lack of structure in situations. Further, this was tapping something different to items such as “I find that a consistent routine enables me to enjoy life more” or “I like to have a place for everything and everything in it’s place”, that appear to be measuring an individual's desire for order in their everyday life (Neuberg & Newsom, 1993, p. 131). In line with these presuppositions, it was found, using a confirmatory factor analysis, that a two-factor solution consistent with a distinction between desire for structure and response to lack of structure best explained the data.

The researchers then went on to explore functional differences between the two components. Neuberg and Newsom (1993) suggested that these differences might lie in the

way in which participants high in desire for structure and response to lack of structure ordered their social and non-social world. They employed a card-sorting task, previously used by Linville (1982, cited in Neuberg & Newsom, 1993), in an attempt to measure cognitive complexity. Here participants were required to sort cards into groups based on whether or not they believed they went together. Participants were allocated to one of four possible cards sorts: two non-social and two social. The first non-social card sort consisted of pictures of furniture, while the second comprised cards of differing colour. The social card sorts included a series of trait words of which participants were asked to either think about in respect to the elderly or, using the same trait words, to sort with reference to themselves. These responses were then analysed for complexity.

Overall, it was found that PNS was related to less complexity in each of the card-sorting tasks. When the two sub-scales were examined separately, it was discovered that the response to lack of structure scale was negatively related with complexity in all four card-sorting tasks. However, with the desire for structure scale, only the furniture and colours card-sorting tasks reflected less complexity, with no relationship between desire for structure and the elderly or self card sort.

The authors suggest the findings from the card sort task may offer insights into the differing ways in which individuals, high in desire for structure and response to lack of structure, process information. They propose that in attempting the card sorting tasks two approaches present themselves. Either a participant can draw on pre-existing category representations or, alternatively, they may use a more online form of processing, seeking to impose structure on information as it is encountered. Neuberg and Newsom (1993) suggest that in their study participants high in desire for structure may have used processes consistent with the first approach, while the second approach may have been employed by those high in

response to lack of structure. Their conclusions rest on the assumption that those high in response to lack of structure, given the confusing nature of the card sort task, would seek to impose order using online processing in each of the four card sorts. Because these participants were not restricted to the usage of pre-existing representations, categorisation was possible even for those card sorts for which they possessed ill-defined categories: for instance, the elderly and self card sort task. However, for the individual high in desire for structure, these ready-made representations were only available for commonly experienced stimuli such as furniture and colours.

If Neuberg and Newsom's (1993) interpretations, which they admit to be highly speculative, were correct it would suggest that individuals high in PNS structure their environment in one of two distinct ways: either in the form of a stable division of the environment into categories, an approach typified by the person high in desire for structure, or, as is the case with the individual high in response to lack of structure, by seeking to impose order on what appears to them as a chaotic and confusing world. The work of Neuberg and Newsom (1993) suggests that PNS should be thought of as two distinct sub-scales rather than a single personality dimension.

5.2.1 PNS, Authoritarianism, and Intolerance of Ambiguity

The introduction of any new construct carries with it the obligation of illustrating its relationship to more established measures. Of special interest here is work examining the relationship between PNS and traditional predictors of prejudice. Neuberg and Newsom (1993) found moderate correlations between the Balanced F scale (Byrne, 1974, cited in Neuberg & Newsom, 1993) and both of the PNS sub-scales. This was also the case for Rokeach's (1960) dogmatism scale. Similar results were uncovered by Leone, Wallace, and

Modglin (1999) who found that the PNS scale was related to Troidahl and Powell's (1965) short dogmatism scale.

Neuberg and Newsom (1993) and Leone et al. (1999) each found PNS to be positively related to RWA, with Leone et al. (1999) further finding a relationship between PNS and dogmatism. However, it should be noted that these correlations, although significant, were moderate. Therefore, while there was some overlap between PNS and both RWA and dogmatism, it appears that PNS is tapping something distinct from these measures.

Researchers have also examined the relationship between PNS and measures of cognitive style. For instance, Leone et al. (1999) found Budner's (cited in Leone et al., 1999) intolerance of ambiguity scale to be positively related to PNS.

In a related area, Schultz and Searleman (1998), using the Einstellung task, explored possible links between PNS and mental rigidity. In the Einstellung task participants are presented with a series of problems, each of which can be solved by following the same rule. This is followed by a further series of problems that require a new rule to be learnt and applied. It is suggested that when presented with the second series of problems, participants high in rigidity should continue to apply the rule learnt from the first set longer than their less rigid counterparts. Schultz and Searleman (1998) believed that the propensity to continue to apply a rule, known as a mental set, might be affected by two factors. The first is the differing strategies individuals use when structuring information gathered from their environment, one measure of this being PNS. The second was level of stress. Brand, Schneider, and Arntz, (cited in Schultz & Searleman, 1998) found that when problem solving under noisy conditions individuals high in rigidity responded faster, but made more mistakes, than their less rigid counterparts. It was suggested that similar results might be found for participants high in PNS. This in fact turned out to be the case. Whereas in the non-stressful

condition there was no relationship between mental set and PNS, in the stressful condition PNS was found to be significantly related with the propensity to form a mental set. The findings of Schultz and Searleman (1998) demonstrate a key facet of PNS. The fact that PNS was related with the tendency to develop a mental set in the stressful condition only, points to the dynamic nature of the construct. This research therefore suggests “an interaction between personality and situations where motives, heuristics, or schemas are activated through contextual cues” (Schultz & Searleman, 1998, p.309).

The findings of both Leone et al. (1999) and Neuberg and Newsom (1993) point to some convergence between PNS and traditional measures of dogmatism and authoritarianism. We should expect some similarity in content between that of the PNS scale and these other measures, given that each, in part, tap rigidity in thinking. However, measures of authoritarianism, such as the RWA scale, and those designed to assess dogmatism, for instance Rokeach 's (1960) Dogmatism scale, have been the object of some criticism. Although they were designed to tap personality, it has been argued that they are actually measuring ideology (Ray, 1982), a criticism that cannot be directed against the PNS scale. The findings of Leone et al. (1999) also point to an overlap between PNS and intolerance to ambiguity. Once again, this might reflect the propensity for individuals high in PNS to seek clear and well-defined boundaries in their life. Nonetheless, the work of Schultz and Searleman (1998) also suggests that PNS is a dynamic variable influenced by situational cues.

5.2.2 PNS and Occupational Strain

The relationship between occupational strain and PNS has produced a good deal of research. A review of this work may prove important not so much for what it reveals about occupational strain, important though this may be, but in what it discloses about key

differences between the two sub-scales. Kivimaki, Elovainio, and Nord (1996) investigated the determinants of stress amongst female hospital employees. Using structural equation modelling they found that response to lack of structure was positively associated with increased strain. Inversely, desire for structure was negatively related to strain. Interestingly, the two sub-scales were strongly and positively correlated.

Kivimaki et al. (1996) suggest that response to lack of structure may reflect intolerance to the ambiguous aspects of an environment, and hence a conscious desire to impose order on the environment, an enterprise accompanied by a sense of stress. In contrast, those high in desire for structure draw on strictly defined and stable cognitive structures. This interpretation is consistent with Neuberg and Newsom's (1993) findings that suggested that response to lack of structure was related to the online processing of information, while desire for structure reflects the use of crystallised, stable, cognitive categorisations.

This earlier research was replicated in a study by Elovainio and Kivimaki (1999). Here the researchers were also interested in investigating another variable that may mediate stress: job complexity. It was believed that PNS, especially the response to lack of structure sub-scale, might have a greater impact on stress in high complexity occupations. This in fact turned out to be the case. As in research by Kivimaki et al. (1996), desire for structure was negatively related to occupational strain while response to lack of structure was positively related. Furthermore, there was an interaction between response to lack of structure and job complexity. Hence, in low complexity occupations response to lack of structure was unrelated to strain. However, response to lack of structure was found to predict occupational strain in occupations rated as highly complex.

What does this research imply? Like in Schultz and Searleman's study (1998), PNS was affected by environmental factors. However, in this instance desire for structure and

response to lack of structure were associated with very different behaviours. Research by Elovainio and Kivimaki (1999) thus lends support for the notion that people who are high in response to lack of structure may be more responsive to environmental influences. For instance, response to lack of structure was predictive of stress only when an individual was confronted with a highly complex situational environment.

5.3 *Stereotypes*

Research examining the links between PNS and prejudice has been limited. Nonetheless, the available literature suggests that PNS is related to the propensity to engage in certain forms of stereotyping.

5.3.1 *Erroneous Stereotypes*

Erroneous stereotypes are often characterised by their simplicity. Complex, contextual, information is ignored, or simplified, which in turn influences the way in which an individual integrates their knowledge of a group. Schaller, Boyd, Yohannes, and O'Brien (1995) claim that this arises because of limited statistical reasoning inherent in the cognitive processing of all individuals. It is further suggested that the propensity to use erroneous stereotypes may differ between individuals. Hence, some people may be more prone to adopt these more simplistic conclusions than others. Schaller et al. (1995) argue that the personality variable PNS, which reflects a need to impose structure on information, may be a useful place to begin this search.

They required participants to judge the intelligence of two groups labelled A and B. They were informed that participants in both groups had differing personalities, but were given no further information. Participants were then presented with 50 anagrams said to have been completed by either members of group A or B. The anagrams differed in length, and

hence difficulty, being either five or seven letters long. Furthermore, the ratio of five to seven letter anagrams differed between groups, with responses to seven letter anagrams in group A occurring at a far greater proportion of the than those reported for group B. The success rate also differed between groups A and B. Participants were presented with a list of responses in which members of group B had completed more anagrams than those of group A. Nonetheless, when the relative difficulty of the anagrams solved was taken into account, members of group A should have been deemed more successful. Hence, the authors suggest that participants using simplistic statistical reasoning will claim that members of group B are more intelligent, while the more complex statistical reasoners will draw this same conclusion about members from group A. Consistent with this hypotheses, participants high in PNS rated group B as being more intelligent while the reverse was the case for those low in PNS. This supported the notion that individuals high in PNS are more likely to form erroneous stereotypes. The authors suggest that this finding “strengthens the argument that PNS influences group stereotype formation primarily through the process in which individuals encode, categorize, and store group-relevant information” (Schaller et al., 1995, p. 553).

5.3.2 Illusory Correlations

In a related area, Gordon (1997) examined the role PNS plays in predicting illusory correlations. Traditionally, an illusory correlation is said to occur when an individual falsely believes that two events are related when this is not the case. Where this occurs in a situation in which a person has no prior knowledge about the subject of this perceived correlation, it is labelled a distinctiveness-based illusory correlation. It is claimed that research into distinctive-based illusory correlations may offer some insight as to why negative behaviours are often disproportionately attributed to members of minority groups (Hamilton & Gifford, 1976).

The focus of Gordon's (1997) work was to determine if the propensity to create these distinctiveness-based illusory correlations was mediated by PNS. Using the classic paradigm of Hamilton and Gifford (1976), participants were presented with a series of statements, both positive and negative, said to be descriptive of two groups (A and B).

Although the ratio of negative to positive statements was equal for both groups, for Group A participants received a total of 26 statements (18 positive and 8 negative), while for Group B they only received 13 items (9 positive and 4 negative). After a filler task, participants were asked to recall as much information concerning the two groups as they could. Overall, it was found that high PNS participants were more likely to exhibit an illusory correlation than low PNS participants were. That is, they recalled a greater proportion of negative statements for Group B and a greater proportion of positive statements for group A, in comparison to the ratio of statements with which they were initially presented.

Schaller et al.'s (1999) research into erroneous stereotypes, along with Gordon's (1997) work examining illusory correlations, suggest limitations in the way high PNS individuals process social information. Consequently, this raises the question as to what impact these limitations might have on the types of attitudes high PNS individuals hold toward minority groups.

5.4 PNS, Identity and Prejudice

Neuberg and Newsom (1993) found that individuals high in PNS were more likely to use negative gender stereotypes. Participants read two versions of a scenario that differed only in respect to the gender of the target. Hence, half of the participants received a scenario that stated that the target was a university student called Michelle, while for the other half the

scenario referred to a university student named Richard. The scenario was then followed by a series of negative female trait on which participants were to evaluate the targets.

Responses were analysed using an ANOVA. A significant PNS (high/ low group) x Target Sex (male/ female) interaction was discovered suggesting that participants in the high PNS group were significantly more likely to attribute negative female traits to the female target. In the low PNS group there no differences in the traits attributed to either gender target.

Smith and Gordon (1998) found PNS to be positively correlated with both the attitudes toward lesbians and the attitudes toward gay men scales, indicating that those higher in PNS exhibited a tendency to view lesbians and gay men more negatively. The same relationship was uncovered using a combined measure of these two scales. However, the relationships between PNS and all three measures, while significant, were quite small. The authors maintain that if it were not for the large sample size, 539 participants, it would be questionable as to whether any of the relationships would have reached significance. Consistent with this conclusion, Hodson and Esses (2005), using a smaller sample, found no relationship between PNS and prejudice towards Canadians of African descent.

Perreault and Bourhis (1999) analysed PNS and ingroup bias in the context of social identity theory. Previous research by Gagnon and Bourhis (cited in Perreault & Bourhis, 1999) found that some individuals felt greater identification for their ad hoc group than others. This lead Perreault and Bourhis (1999) to ask which factors underlie these differences? The researchers believed that examining the individual difference variables authoritarianism and PNS might provide some answers to this question.

In order to assess the impact of these variables, Perreault and Bourhis (1999) presented participants with Kallan and Taylor's (cited in Perreault & Bourhis, 1999) French

Canadian abbreviated adaptation of Adorno et al.'s (1950) F and E scales, the F scale as a measure of authoritarianism and the E scale to measure ethnocentrism. These participants also received a French version of the PNS scale. Seven days later they took part in a minimal groups paradigm study in which they were required to allocate money to anonymous participants. As in the traditional minimal groups paradigm, irrespective of allocations, all participants received the same amount of money. Before performing this task participants were divided into one of two conditions. In the first they were allocated to a group, while in the second participants were able to choose between one of two groups. Measures of in-group identification were also obtained. Furthermore, participants rated, on a seven-point scale, their perceived degree of control over their group allocation.

When participants completed the traditional minimal group matrices it was found that participants from both conditions tended to favour their group. However, this effect was greater for participants who selected their group, as opposed to those randomly allocated to a group. As for the role of the individual difference variables, it was found that PNS was related to both degree of ingroup identification and level of authoritarianism. However, there was no significant relationship between PNS and level of ethnocentrism, perceived control, and discriminatory behaviour, as measured by Tajfel's matrices. Interestingly, while both authoritarianism and ethnocentrism were significantly related to in-group identification, neither significantly predicted level of discriminatory behaviour. However, ingroup identification was significantly related to level of discriminatory behaviour. When the data were further analysed, using path analysis, it was found that the only direct path to discriminatory behaviour was from ingroup identification, with both perception of control and ethnocentrism mediated through this variable.

Does the research of Perreault and Bourhis (1999), Smith and Gordon (1998), and Hodson and Esses (2005) suggest that even if PNS was to promote our understanding of prejudice its contribution would be minimal? While no one would wish to claim that PNS predicts a phenomenon as complex as prejudice to the exclusion of other variables, it may be too early to suggest that its study would be of little or no value. The research of Smith and Gordon (1998), Perreault and Bourhis (1999), and Hodson and Esses (2005) each used the PNS scale as a single uni-dimensional scale. However, Neuberg and Newsom (1993) have shown that the PNS scale is multidimensional, consisting of two sub-scales: desire for structure and response to lack of structure. Furthermore, work by Kivimaki et al. (1996), Elovainio and Kivimaki (1999), and Neuberg and Newsom (1993) suggest that these scales are associated with differing patterns of behaviours. Hence, it may be profitable to ask what differences may have occurred if the two sub-scales had been analysed separately.

Nonetheless, researchers such as Schaller et al. (1995) have claimed that while personality variables, such as PNS, may be able to explain the formation of stereotypes in weak social contexts, such as those in the laboratory, in the real world they appear to be less influential. This, of course, is an open empirical question and one that deserves to be answered.

5.5 Social Comparison: Iowa Netherlands Comparison Orientation Measure

Another relatively new individual difference variable, which like PNS appears to measure individual susceptibility to situational influence, is the INCOM, which stands for the Iowa Netherlands Comparison Orientation Measure. Festinger (1954) claimed that when a person assesses their level of achievement on a particular task they use the performance of others as a benchmark. Hence, they engage in social comparisons. Festinger (1954) appeared to believe that this was a fundamental drive in the human organism. However,

several researchers have suggested that some individuals are more likely to engage in social comparisons than others (Steil & Hay, 1997). This differing need to engage in social comparisons has been labelled SCO, short for social comparison orientation. (Gibbons & Buunk, 1999).

What type of individual is more likely to engage in social comparisons? Gibbons and Buunk (1999) claim that the high SCO individual is characterised by their concern with what others think. They are interested in how another person might act if faced with a situation similar to their own. This interest in the opinions of others is coupled with a sense of uncertainty about themselves. Further, it is believed that comparison with others serves to reduce these feelings of uncertainty.

Gibbons and Buunk (1999) constructed the INCOM scale in order to measure individual differences in the propensity to engage in social comparisons. In support of the validity of their scale, Gibbons and Buunk (1999) found that participants scoring high on the INCOM were more likely to attempt to determine how their fellow participants had performed on a computer assignment. In a similar task, Van der Zee, Oldersma, Buunk, and Bos (1998) presented a group of cancer patients with a computer programme containing interviews with fellow patients. These were in fact fictitious interviews constructed by the researchers to depict cancer patients who were doing either better or worse than the average cancer patient. The participants were free to work through the computer programme at their own pace exploring as many, or as few, of the interviews as they chose. Degree of social comparison was measured in terms of the time spent and number of interviews read.

There was a significant relationship between scores on the INCOM and number of interviews viewed. Although more modest, there was also a significant relationship between

scores on the INCOM and length of time reading interviews. This finding was replicated with a sample of nurses (Buunk, Van der Zee, & VanYperen, 2001).

Subsequent work has revealed the importance of SCO for understanding areas as diverse as burnout (Buunk, Ybema, Gibbons & Ipenburg, 2001), feelings of relative deprivation in the work place (Buunk, Zurriaga, Gonzalez-Roma & Subirats, 2003), and jealousy in interpersonal relationships (Dijkstra & Buunk, 2002).

5.6 Conclusion

PNS and SCO offer a new approach to the study of prejudice, one that may further serve to illustrate the relationship between the individual and the group. The literature reviewed throughout this chapter points to the dynamic nature of PNS. It also reveals some of the key differences between the desire for structure and response to lack of structure sub-scales. While the desire for structure sub-scale tends to be associated with stable representations, the response to lack of structure sub-scale reflects the need to impose structure on what is perceived as a disordered environment. Further, the two sub-scales also appear to reflect two differing affective responses to the need for order. Given these differences it is suggested that both scales should be related to prejudice, albeit differently. The literature on SCO and intergroup relations while sparse, to say the least, paints the picture of an individual who seeks information through comparison with others. In social identity theory it is this process, when inexorably extended to one's group, that becomes the touchstone of intergroup bias (Tajfel, 1981).

The next chapter will proceed to examine empirically the links between interpersonal and intergroup variables in the prediction of prejudice. One of the central claims of self categorisation theory is that when an identity is made salient, individual differences should cease to predict prejudice (Brown & Turner, 1981). This contention will be examined by

exploring participants' attitudes towards two minority groups who have been the victims of prejudice in Australia: homosexuals and Aboriginals.

6 Chapter Six

Prejudice towards Aboriginals and Homosexuals: The Impact of Individual Differences and Social Identities

6.1 Overview

The literature reviewed thus far suggests that prejudice needs to be examined in the context of both individual difference and group-based approaches. In order to investigate this point more closely the current chapter will focus on two traditional targets of prejudice in Australia: Australian Aboriginals and homosexuals.

The study of attitudes towards Aboriginals and homosexuals suggests that a significant proportion of Australians view both groups in a negative light. For instance, studies have found that participants report the desire for greater social distance from Australian Aborigines than other ethnic groups (Gallois, Callan, & Parslow, 1982). Similarly, Black-Gutman and Hickson (1996) found that children 9-12 years of age viewed Aboriginal Australians more negatively than Euro or Asian Australians. Homosexuals are also the target of hostility with figures in Australia revealing that gay males are four times more likely to be the victim of assault than their heterosexual peers (Thompson, 1995). Such findings suggest that if prejudice is to be understood in an Australian context, the study of attitudes towards both Aboriginals and homosexuals will prove an important place to start.

6.2 Early Research into Aboriginal Prejudice

In the mid 1990's Walker (1994) commented on the paucity of work in the area of Aboriginal prejudice. This, in part, can be explained by the relative infancy of the field. It was not until the late 1960s that researchers such as Beswick and Hills (1969, 1972) first examined attitudes towards Aboriginals. Unfortunately, in these studies, items referring to

Aboriginals comprised only a small component of larger scales designed to measure attitudes towards several minority groups. Before analysis participants' responses toward all of the groups were pooled together to produce a single measure of ethnocentrism. Therefore, while the authors concluded that participants viewed Aboriginals negatively, they did so on the basis of examining mean scores for individual items.

Western (1969) concentrated more directly on attitudes toward Aboriginals. This work focused primarily on the impact of intergroup contact. Attitudes toward Aborigines were measured in two locations, in a small city identified as "Urbania" and a country town labelled "Bush Town". It was found that participants from Urbania were more positive in their attitudes toward Aboriginals than were their counterparts from Bush Town. Furthermore, in both locations, increased contact was related with positive attitudes toward Aboriginals. Smith (1978) uncovered a similar pattern amongst junior grade students. Once again level of prejudice was related to intergroup contact, with those students reporting greater contact with Aboriginals also reporting attitudes that were more positive.

Larson (1978) examined the attitudes of Australians toward Aboriginals. Factor analysing responses from a sample of North Queensland university students, he found three components. The first, accounting for 65% of the variance, appeared to measure a 'Positive attitude toward Aborigines'. The second, 'Negative Aboriginal stereotypes', consisted of items that reflected negative beliefs about Aboriginals. These included statements describing Aboriginals as dirty, lazy, and noisy. The third component, 'dependency', was comprised of items reflecting the belief that Aboriginals were ill adapted to modern society, and consequently, were overly dependent on the rest of Australians.

The belief that Aboriginals were poorly adapted was also uncovered in a study by Marjoribanks and Jordan (1986). They used a sample of secondary school pupils from two

ethnic groups: Australian Aboriginals and Anglo-Australians. The pupils were required to rate members of their own ethnic group as well as members of the other. Hence, Australian Aboriginals rated their own, as well as the Anglo-Australian group, with the Anglo-Australian participants following a similar procedure. The findings revealed that while Anglo-Australians rated themselves highly on each of the attributes, they were less flattering in their appraisal of Australian Aboriginals. Interestingly, the same pattern did not arise in the Australian Aboriginal group. While they were positive in the assessment of their own group, they were even more positive in their judgement of the Anglo-Australian group. Responses were then factor analysed. In the case of Anglo-Australians' perceptions of Australian Aboriginals, only one general factor was uncovered. This was a negatively oriented set of stereotypes which Marjoribanks and Jordan (1981) labelled 'poorly socialised citizens'.

6.3 Aboriginal Prejudice: New for Old

Throughout the late 1970s and into the 1980s there was increasing awareness that the apparent decrease in prejudice, often reported in research, may not be all it seems (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996). Prejudice still existed, but was expressed in different forms (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981). It was no longer acceptable to openly express prejudicial attitudes. Rather, these attitudes were articulated in a manner which, at least on the surface, possessed some legitimacy. The expression of this prejudice was often couched in terms of an opposition to welfare or legislation designed to reduce inequalities suffered by minority groups. Attempts were made to measure this new form of prejudice using more subtle instruments than those already available. These efforts lead to the construction of scales such as McConahay et al.'s (1981) Modern Racism Scale (MRS).

Since the early 1980's a good deal of research has focused on the differences between old-fashioned and modern racism. Work by Walker (1994), using what Pedersen and Walker (1997) were to later label as a measure of old fashioned prejudice, revealed the persistence of Aboriginal prejudice amongst a sample of Perth residents. Although attitudes were generally more favourable than those previously uncovered by Western (1969), Walker (1994) notes that they differed little to those found in studies by Larson (1978, 1981).

Pedersen and Walker (1997) suggest that even these findings may underestimate levels of prejudice. They claim that measures, such as those used in Walker (1994), do not accurately reflect the true level of prejudice in a population. In order to test this premise, Pedersen and Walker (1997) conducted a study in which measures of both old fashioned (Walker, 1994) and modern Aboriginal prejudice were completed by participants. The measure of modern prejudice used was a version of the MRS, previously modified by Augoustinos, Ahrens and Innes (1994) for the measurement of prejudice towards Aboriginals. They found little evidence of overt or blatant prejudice towards Aboriginals in a Perth sample, with only a quarter of participants scoring above the mid-point on a measure of old fashioned prejudice. Nonetheless, the presence of more subtle forms of prejudice was more prevalent, with more than half of the participants scoring above the mid point of the modern prejudice scale. The same pattern was uncovered by Hill and Augoustinos (2001). They found levels of prejudice, overall, to be relatively low. Nonetheless, participants exhibited a greater level of modern as opposed to old-fashioned prejudice.

In a further study, Pedersen, Griffiths, Contos, Bishop, and Walker (2000) investigated regional differences in the endorsement of both old fashioned and modern prejudice. They explored two regions, the city of Perth and Kalgoorlie. The authors point out that while Perth is a relatively cosmopolitan city, Kalgoorlie is a rural town noted for its

prejudicial attitudes toward Aborigines. While no differences in levels of old fashioned prejudice were found between the two locations, participants from Kalgoorlie reported significantly higher levels of modern prejudice than their counterparts from Perth. Hence, the differences in prejudice between urban and rural participants, previously uncovered in the work of Western (1969), arose only in relation to the modern prejudice scale.

The findings of Pedersen and Walker (1997), Pedersen et al. (2000), and Hill and Augoustinos (2001) suggest that despite appearances, prejudice toward Australian Aborigines still exists. Nonetheless, it is more subtle and needs to be assessed with equally subtle measures, such as the MRS.

6.4 Correlates of Prejudice towards Aborigines

Research examining the correlates of Aboriginal prejudice has been relatively sparse. Nonetheless, both individual differences and group-based explanations have been explored. For instance, in the context of individual differences, Braithwaite (1997) found the social value 'National strength and order' to be significantly related to the opposition of benefits for Aborigines, a policy supported by those high in 'International harmony and equality'. Though not directly a measure prejudice, such attitudes do appear to reflect negative attitudes towards Aborigines. The study of authoritarianism and anti-Aboriginal prejudice has produced several studies.

6.4.1 Authoritarianism and Prejudice towards Aborigines

Larson performed two studies in which he examined the impact of authoritarianism on Aboriginal prejudice. Larson (1978) measured level of authoritarianism amongst a sample of undergraduate university students. On the basis of their scores on Adorno et al.'s (1950) F scale, participants were divided into thirds, with comparisons drawn between the top and

bottom third. It was found that the top third of participants were significantly more negative in their attitudes toward Aboriginals than the bottom third.

Larson (1981) replicated this experiment using a Townsville community sample. Overall, he found the community sample to be more prejudiced toward Aboriginals than that of the student sample used in Larson (1978). While the agreement with positive items was roughly equivalent for both the community and student samples, the community sample indicated far greater agreement with the negative items of the scale. As for authoritarianism, high scores on the F scale were related with less contact and more negative attitudes toward Aborigines.

6.4.2 Aboriginal Prejudice and Social identity

Research based on social identity theory has produced little work directly examining prejudice toward Aboriginals. One of the few exceptions is a study by Fraser and Islam (2000). They explored social identities in the context of symbolic and blatant prejudice, constructs very similar to that of modern and old-fashioned prejudice. Participants' level of social identification was assessed by measuring their race-specific relational orientation, that is the degree to which a participant was sensitive to the benefits received by members of minority groups. Fraser and Islam (2000) found that while relational orientation was correlated with the blatant racism scale, this relationship was far stronger for the symbolic racism scale. The authors suggest, given the focus in social identity theory on group relations, that their findings point to the importance of social identity theory for understanding symbolic racism.

However, it needs to be questioned as to whether their assessment of race-specific orientation was really a valid measure of social identity. Fraser and Islam (2000) used a two-item measure of relational orientation. To cite one example, "Housing loans and welfare

assistance are being given to Aboriginal people on much better terms than to other Australians” (Fraser & Islam, 2000, p. 136). It is hard to see how this differs from items in their Australian Symbolic racism scale such as “Too much money is being spent on welfare payments and housing for Aboriginal people” (Fraser & Islam, 2000, p. 136). While the relational orientation item may explicitly focus on differences between Aborigines and other Australians, such a comparison is also implied in the symbolic racism item. Furthermore, given that these items appear to cover related topics, it is difficult to discern why one should be deemed a measure of symbolic racism, while the other taps relational orientation. Given the similarity of such items, is it so surprising that the two scales were so highly related? Furthermore, is such an operationalisation consistent with self-categorization theory? While it would appear that the theory suggests both prejudice and an increased focus on relational orientation toward outgroups may be the product of a salient identity, they are not measures of it.

Heaven and St Quintin (2003) have also studied anti-Aboriginal prejudice, examining the impact of both social identities and individual differences. Participants were allocated to either a personal or national identity condition. In the first, participants received material designed to bring their personal identity to prominence, while the second condition was intended to focus participants’ attention on their national identity. They found, consistent with self-categorization theory, that ingroup stereotypes (group factors) were related to prejudice in the national identity condition only. However, in contradiction to self-categorization theory, the individual differences variables RWA and SDO were related to prejudice in both the national and personal identity conditions.

6.5 *Homosexual Prejudice*

Unlike racism, homosexual prejudice is still largely seen as socially acceptable (Carmichael & Shontz, 1996). This, in turn, has detrimental effects on victims of this prejudice, with lesbian and gay men reporting constant fear of violence or harassment (Herek, 1993). The perpetuation of negative attitudes towards homosexuals has not been restricted to that of the layperson; until relatively recently the discipline of psychology characterised homosexuality as deviant. In fact, it was not until 1973 that it was eliminated from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, the chief diagnostic tool used throughout Australia and the United States (O'Donohue & Caselles, 1993).

The earliest psychological studies of homosexual prejudice can be traced back to the 1960s (Berry & Marks, 1969). In the relatively short passage of time that has followed, research into homosexual prejudice has blossomed into a topic of considerable importance. Thus, it is not surprising that such an interest has translated into the production of a considerable body of work, the breadth and depth of which is too large to examine here. Consequently, given the focus of the current review, only literature concerning the correlates of homosexual prejudice will be presented here.

6.5.1 *Authoritarianism and Prejudice towards Homosexual*

One of the most reliable correlates of homosexual prejudice has proven to be authoritarianism. Altemeyer (1996, p.26) states that it “may explain hostility towards gays and lesbians better than any other personality variables”. Such a belief appears to be shared by many researchers. From the earliest work, such as that of Berry and Marks (1969), through to contemporary studies by Rubinstein (2003), researchers have focused on authoritarianism as an important correlate of anti-homosexual prejudice.

It has been found that individuals who are highly religious are also more likely to hold anti-homosexual attitudes (Fulton, Gorsuch, & Maynard, 1999). Laythe, Finkel, and Kirkpatrick (2001) examined the role of RWA and religious fundamentalism as a predictor of anti-homosexual attitudes. When performing multiple regression analyses, they found religious fundamentalism and RWA were both significant predictors of prejudice toward homosexuals, although RWA explained the greater part of the variance.

This replicated previous work by Wylie and Forest (1992) who found both religious fundamentalism and RWA to be significant predictors of homophobia. However, when these, along with several demographic variables, were analysed using multiple regression analyses, it was found that only RWA and being male were significant predictors of homophobia. Whitley and Lee (2000) examined the role that variables such as RWA, SDO, political-economic conservatism, and dogmatism play in predicting anti-homosexual attitudes. They found that while all variables were related to anti-homosexual attitudes, RWA was the strongest predictor.

This literature points to the important role that RWA plays in predicting anti-homosexual attitudes. Beyond religious fundamentalism, SDO, dogmatism, and conservatism, RWA is a unique predictor. The question as to why this should be the case has been the focus of work by researchers such as Altemeyer (1988), Isay (1989), and Madon (1997).

6.5.2 Co-correlates of RWA and Homosexual prejudice

Attempts have been made to determine the aetiology of homosexual prejudice. By using a partial correlation approach, Altemeyer (1988) sought to uncover the variables that mediate the relationship between RWA and attitudes toward homosexuals. He found just two variables had a significant impact on this relationship. Only when self-righteousness and the fear that the world is a dangerous place were partialled out, did the correlation between RWA

and Altemeyer's (1988) attitudes towards homosexual scale decrease significantly. This led Altemeyer (1988) to the conclusion that a combination of self-righteousness and fear of homosexuals fuels the authoritarian's homosexual prejudice.

Madon (1997) has suggested that homophobia arises from a belief that homosexuals violate gender norms (Madon, 1997). This has led Isay (1989) to claim that it is not homosexuality per se, but the expression by males of what is viewed as feminine, which is at the heart of anti-homosexual attitudes. In order to test this assumption, Madon (1997) asked participants to rate how typical a series of attributes were of male homosexuals. When these responses were factor analysed two components were uncovered. The first consisted of attributes describing positive female qualities, while the second comprised attributes that appeared to be inconsistent with 'acceptable male gender roles'.

How do the above findings relate to RWA? Haddock, Zanna, and Esses (1993) suggest authoritarians hold rigid gender norms. Hence, the relationship between RWA and anti-homosexual attitudes may arise because authoritarians view homosexuals as contravening values that they hold dearly. In order to investigate this hypothesis they examined three variables: stereotypes of homosexuals, affective feelings toward homosexuals, and symbolic beliefs. This last variable assessed whether participants believed homosexuals violated key values or norms held by society. Participants were divided into a high and low group by performing a median split on the basis of their scores on the RWA scale, with a separate multiple regression analysis performed for each. In the low RWA group significant contributions were made by stereotypes and affect, but not symbolic beliefs. In contrast, for high RWAs, only the symbolic belief that homosexuals violate social norms associated with gender roles contributed significantly to predicting anti-homosexual attitudes. The work of Madon (1997) and Haddock, Zanna, and Esses (1993), exploring anti-

homosexual prejudice, illustrates the central importance of values for the understanding of gender roles. Researchers have also examined a broader range of values.

6.6 Prejudice towards Homosexual and Values

The role social values play in predicting prejudice towards homosexual has received little attention. A study by Heaven and Oxman (1999) explored predictors of negative stereotypes toward both gays and lesbians. In relation to values, Heaven and Oxman (1999) found 'National strength and order' to be associated with negative stereotypes toward gay men, while an inverse relationship was uncovered between these same stereotypes and 'International harmony and equality'. While the same pattern occurred between 'International harmony and equality' and stereotyping of lesbians, 'National strength and order' was not significantly related to the endorsement of lesbian stereotypes. Overall, the findings of this study suggest that homosexual prejudice may be influenced by a broader range of values than those associated with gender roles.

6.7 Aims and Hypotheses

The current study will examine predictors of prejudice towards Australian Aboriginals and homosexuals. Western (1969) and Beswick and Hill (1969) found prejudice toward Aboriginals to be prevalent in Australia. More recent work by Pedersen and Walker (1997) as well Pedersen et al. (2000), and Hill and Augoustinos (2001) have found evidence of continued prejudice towards Aboriginals, although in its more subtle form.

Findings stretching back to the work of Berry and Marks (1969) through to that of Wylie and Forest (1992), Haddock et al. (1993), Altemeyer (1996), Laythe et al. (2001), and Rubinstein (2003) illustrate the central role which authoritarianism plays in predicting anti-homosexual prejudice. While the relationship between values and anti-homosexual attitudes

has been a topic of little exploration, the work of Heaven and Oxman (1999) suggests it may be a fruitful area to examine.

Consistent with self-categorisation theory, Fraser and Islam (2000) found relational orientation to be related to both blatant and subtle prejudice. In turn, research by Heaven and St Quintin (2003) uncovered a significant relationship between ingroup stereotypes and Aboriginal prejudice. Nonetheless, they also found individual differences to be predictors of Aboriginal prejudice even when participants' social identities were salient. This finding, coupled with the fact that the study of Fraser and Islam (2000) used a problematic measure of identities, points to the need for further work in this area. As it stands, the relationship between social identity and Aboriginal prejudice is still an ambiguous one.

Nonetheless, clear hypotheses can be drawn from the central assumptions of self-categorization theory. Consistent with the theory, it is expected that under the right circumstances social identities will play not only a vital, but exclusive, role in predicting behaviour. That is, when an identity is made salient, individual difference variables will cease to be predictive (Turner, 1982). Hence, an additional aim of the current study is to examine this claim more closely. Thus, in the light of the research presented and in the context of the aforementioned aims, the following hypotheses were tested.

H₁: Consistent with self-categorisation theory, it was predicted that prejudice toward Aboriginals will be positively related to the degree of identification as a White Australian.

H₂: It was further predicted that endorsement of a Heterosexual identity will be related to anti-homosexual attitudes.

H₃: Finally, it was predicted that for participants' with salient social identities, RWA, 'National strength and order', and 'International harmony and equality' would be unrelated to prejudice toward both Aboriginals and homosexuals.

6.8 Method

6.8.1 Participants

The study consisted of 144 undergraduate students from a regional Australian university who participated for course credit. Respondents provided a range of demographic material. These included their sex, age, and political party they would vote for in a general election. The demographic characteristics of the sample is shown in Table 6. 1.

Table 6. 1
Demographic breakdown of the sample

| | <i>N</i> | <i>%</i> |
|----------------------|----------|----------|
| Gender | | |
| Women | 79 | 54.9 |
| Men | 65 | 45.1 |
| Age | | |
| 19 to 29 years | 129 | 89.6 |
| 30 to 39 years | 10 | 6.9 |
| 40 to 49 years | 4 | 2.8 |
| 50 to 59 | 1 | .7 |
| 60 or over | 0 | 0 |
| Party | | |
| Green | 19 | 13.2 |
| Australian Democrats | 18 | 12.5 |
| Labor party | 44 | 30.6 |
| Liberal party | 24 | 16.7 |
| National Party | 4 | 2.8 |
| None of these | 31 | 21.5 |
| Failed to respond | 4 | 2.8 |

As can be seen in Table 6. 1, there was a reasonably even distribution of men and women. However, respondents were predominately young to middle aged with no participants over the age of 60. In terms of political orientation, the sample was biased to the left with the bulk of participants stating they would vote for centre/ left parties at the next

election. While it is not claimed that the present sample is representative of the Australian population, it appears diverse enough for comparison purposes.

6.8.2 *Materials*

Each participant received a booklet consisting of several scales.

i) Braithwaite and Law's (1985) Social Values Inventory

The social values inventory is comprised of two sub-scales. The first, 'International harmony and equality', consists of eight items, and produced a satisfactory Cronbach coefficient alpha of .83, after the deletion of two weak items. The second sub-scale, 'National strength and order', a four item scale, produced an alpha of .73.

Responses were scored on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 "I reject this as a guiding principle in my life" through to 7 "I accept this as of the greatest importance as a guiding principle in my life". Given Braithwaite and Law's (1985) contention that values are by definition desirable, the scale is asymmetric, skewed toward the positive end of the spectrum.

ii) Altemeyer's (1981) Right-wing Authoritarianism

The second scale presented to participants was Altemeyer's (1981) Right-Wing Authoritarian Scale. In the present study a shortened ten-item version, previously used by Heaven and Connors (2001), was administered to participants. Participants responded to each of the items using a five-point Likert scale, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The scale produced a satisfactory Cronbach co-efficient alpha of .81

The RWA scale was designed to measure three interrelated components of authoritarianism: a) authoritarian submission, b) authoritarian aggressive, and c) conventionalism. Altemeyer (1981) maintains that these three components are strongly

interrelated, and that RWA should be interpreted as a uni-dimensional construct. Hence, consistent with this, the present study used total scores for the RWA scale.

iii) White Australian and Heterosexual identity

In order to assess strength of White Australian and heterosexual identification, two five-item measures of identity were used. Both measures were based on scales constructed by Hinkle, Taylor, and Fox-Cardamone (1989). This multi-dimensional scale was designed not only to assess strength of identification, but also affect and importance of group membership. Participants' responses were recorded using a five-point Likert scale, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. In the present study the White Australian scale, with one item deleted, produced an alpha level of .85, while the heterosexual scale produced an alpha of .86. In order to disguise the purpose of the study the White Australian and heterosexual identity scales were presented alongside measures of conservative, socialist, feminist, and religious identities.

iv) Vignettes

In an attempt to make White Australian and Heterosexual identities salient, participants were presented with two vignettes, with the order of presentation balanced across conditions. That is half the participants first received the vignette designed to make their White Australian identity salient, while for the other half of the sample the vignette associated with the Heterosexual identity was presented first.

Both vignettes drew from incidents that had been reported in an Australian national newspaper. The first vignette, based on an article that appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, described an incident in which a man shot an Aboriginal youth in the leg after accusing his friend of stealing. This occurred against a backdrop of a series of crimes that, according to some locals, had allegedly been committed by Aboriginal youths in the area.

The second vignette, also reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, referred to an incident in which a teenage boy was beaten by his fellow secondary schools students because of the suspicion that he may be gay. Participants received the vignettes in an attempt to make both their White Australian and heterosexual identities salient. It was thought that this may be achieved by presenting vignettes depicting a member of an outgroup closely associated with the social identity being measured. For example, the focus on ethnicity inherent to the vignette describing the Aboriginal boy who was shot, should bring to prominence the identity of those individuals who feel strong affiliation with White Australians as a group.

v) Measures of Prejudice

The dependent variables assessed in the present study were the levels of prejudice displayed toward Aboriginals and homosexuals. To ascertain the level of outgroup bias in relationship to the Aboriginal vignette, Augoustinos et al.'s (1994) six-item measure of subtle racism toward Aborigines was presented to participants. This scale has proven to be a useful measure of more subtle, or modern, forms of prejudice (see for example, Pedersen & Walker, 1997; Pedersen et al., 2000). It includes items such as "Over the last few years the government has shown more respect for Aborigines than they deserve". In the present study this scale, with two weak items deleted, produced an alpha level of .82.

Prejudice toward homosexuals was measured with a six-item scale. It was based on a scale by Mosher and O'Grady (1979), but also included items from the MRS scale modified for the purposes of the current study. The scale contained items such as "Homosexuals have more influence on government policy than they should". An alpha level of .84 was uncovered after the deletion of two weak items. Participants responded to both measures using a five-point Likert scale which ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

Finally, demographic information was also obtained. This consisted of measures of age and gender. Participants were also asked which political party they would vote for if an election were held today. Choices ranged from the Greens on the left through to the National Party on the right.

6.8.3 Procedure

Participants completed the questionnaire anonymously and in private. Testing was performed in a laboratory in groups of up to six students. The study took 30 minutes to complete and was followed by a session in which the students were debriefed.

6.9 Results

6.9.1 Overview

Both individual difference and group-based variables were tested to determine which would best predict prejudice toward Aboriginals and homosexuals. Firstly, each of the scales were subjected to a reliability analysis using Cronbach's coefficient alpha. Items that reduced reliability were extracted. A series of independent *t* tests examined differences between men and women in mean scores for each of the scales. Demographic, prejudice, identity, value, and RWA scales were then correlated using Pearson correlations. In order to determine whether individual difference variables, such as RWA, 'National strength and order', and 'International harmony and equality' would predict prejudice once the variance associated with social identities was accounted for, a series of partial correlations was performed. Finally, using prejudice towards Aboriginals and Homosexuals as dependent variables, stepwise regression analyses were performed to determine the relative importance of values, RWA, and social identities.

6.9.2 Analysis of Differences between Men and Women

In order to determine whether significant differences were present between the male and female participants, independent t tests were performed. The results of this analysis can be found in Table 6. 2.

Table 6. 2

Mean scores and standard deviations for male and females

| | Total | | Female | | Male | | Difference | |
|------------------------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|----------|
| | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>t</i> |
| International Harmony and Equality | 5.25 | .79 | 5.31 | .80 | 5.17 | .77 | .14 | 1.08 |
| National Strength and Order | 4.30 | .95 | 4.21 | .86 | 4.41 | 1.04 | -.20 | -1.28 |
| RWA | 2.54 | .64 | 2.49 | .59 | 2.60 | .70 | -.11 | -1.04 |
| Anti-Homosexual attitudes | 2.18 | .84 | 1.95 | .71 | 2.47 | .91 | -.52 | -3.84** |
| Prejudice towards Aboriginals | 2.34 | .89 | 2.20 | .79 | 2.52 | .97 | -.32 | -2.18* |
| White Australian Identity | 3.58 | .78 | 3.65 | .74 | 3.48 | .83 | .17 | 1.18 |
| Heterosexual Identity | 4.07 | .80 | 4.02 | .84 | 4.13 | .75 | -.11 | -.83 |

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

The mean scores for total group, displayed in Table 6. 2, suggest that participants were only moderately prejudiced toward both homosexuals ($M = 2.18$) and Aboriginals ($M = 2.34$). In the case of values, consistent with the premise of Braithwaite and Law (1985), participants appeared to view the values of 'National strength and order' ($M = 4.30$) as well 'International harmony and equality' ($M = 5.25$) as of some importance. In relation to identities, participants, on the whole, tended to identify themselves as moderately heterosexual ($M = 4.07$) and White Australian ($M = 3.58$)

As can be seen from Table 6. 2, significant differences between males and females were found for only two variables. In the case of anti-homosexual attitudes ($t = -3.84$, $df = 141$, two tailed $p < 0.01$), males ($M = 2.47$) were significantly more prejudiced than females ($M = 1.95$). The results concerning Aboriginals ($t = -2.17$, $df = 142$, two tailed $p < 0.05$)

revealed a similar pattern, with males ($M = 2.52$) exhibiting a greater level of prejudice than females ($M = 2.20$).

6.9.3 Correlations

The relationships between the White Australian identity, individual difference variables, demographics, and Aboriginal prejudice were explored using Pearson correlations. Because of the significant differences between males and females in level of prejudice toward homosexuals and Aboriginals, the effect of gender was partialled out. The results of this analysis can be seen in Table 6. 3.

Table 6. 3
Partial correlations, controlling for gender, between each variable and prejudice towards Aboriginals

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
|---------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. International harmony and equality | _____ | | | | | | |
| 2. National strength and order | .40** | _____ | | | | | |
| 3. RWA | -.11 | .40** | _____ | | | | |
| 4. White Australian identity | -.06 | .27* | .36** | _____ | | | |
| 5. Age | .09 | .01 | -.06 | -.12 | _____ | | |
| 6. Voting intention | -.07 | .27* | .35** | .02 | .02 | _____ | |
| 7. Prejudice towards Aboriginals | -.21* | .21* | .57** | .27** | -.04 | .30** | _____ |

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

As can be seen in Table 6. 3, and consistent with hypothesis one, White Australian identity was significantly related with Aboriginal prejudice ($r(89) = .27, p < .01$). However, contrary to hypothesis three, both RWA ($r(89) = .57, p < .01$) and 'National Strength and Order' ($r(89) = .21, p < .05$) were related to prejudice towards Aboriginals. Furthermore, also contrary to hypothesis three, there was a negative relationship between 'International harmony and equality' ($r(89) = -.21, p < .01$) and Aboriginal prejudice. Another correlation of note is that between Aboriginal prejudice and voting intention ($r(89) = .301, p < .01$),

suggesting that voters for parties toward the right were more likely to hold negative attitudes towards Aboriginals.

The correlates of homosexual prejudice were also examined. Once again the effects of gender were partialled out.

Table 6. 4

Partial correlations, controlling for gender, between each variable and prejudice towards homosexuals

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
|---------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. International harmony and equality | _____ | | | | | | |
| 2. National strength and order | .39** | _____ | | | | | |
| 3. RWA | -.08 | .40** | _____ | | | | |
| 4. Heterosexual Identity | .03 | .39** | .44** | _____ | | | |
| 5. Age | .03 | .01 | -.08 | -.05 | _____ | | |
| 6. Voting intention | -.07 | .30** | .37** | .27** | -.03 | _____ | |
| 7. Anti-Homosexual attitudes | -.12 | .34** | .65** | .37** | .09 | .42** | _____ |

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 6. 4 reveals that heterosexual identity was significantly related to anti-homosexual attitudes ($r(101) = .37, p < .01$). This supports hypothesis two, and in turn self categorisation theory. Contrary to hypothesis three, 'National strength and order' ($r(101) = .34, p < .01$) and RWA ($r(101) = .65, p < .01$) were significantly related to anti-homosexual attitudes. However, the relationship between 'International harmony and equality' and Aboriginal prejudice failed to reach significance ($r(101) = -.12, p > .05$). As in the case of Aboriginal prejudice, voting intention ($r(101) = .42, p < .01$) was significantly correlated with anti-homosexual attitudes. Hence, voting for right of centre political parties was related to a greater level of anti-homosexual attitudes.

Turner (1982) claimed that when a person's social identity is made salient they cease to view themselves in terms of their personal identity. In turn, outgroup attitudes should be predicted by social identities, and not individual differences. Yet, contrary to this prediction,

it was found that individual differences and social identities predicted prejudice toward both groups. In order to determine if the relationship between individual difference variables and prejudice can be explained by their shared variance with social identities, a series of partial correlations was performed.

Table 6. 5
Partial correlations, controlling for gender and identities, between individual difference variables and Aboriginal and homosexual prejudice

| <i>Controlling for White Australian Identity</i> | Aboriginal Prejudice |
|--|----------------------|
| RWA | .44** |
| International Harmony and Equality | -.27** |
| National Strength and Order | .12 |
| <i>Controlling for Heterosexual Identity</i> | Homosexual Prejudice |
| RWA | .54** |
| National Strength and Order | .11 |

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

As can be seen in Table 6. 5, the relationship between RWA and Aboriginal prejudice ($r(118) = .44, p < .01$) was significant even when controlling for White Australian identity. Partialing out the variance associated with White Australian identity also failed to affect the relationship between 'International harmony and equality' and Aboriginal prejudice ($r(118) = -.27, p < .01$). However, in the case of the final individual difference variable, controlling for White Australian identity did have a significant impact. Here the relationship between 'National strength and order' and Aboriginal prejudice ($r(118) = .12, p > .05$) was reduced to non-significance.

Regarding prejudice toward homosexuals, Table 6. 5 reveals that this variable was significantly related to RWA ($r(135) = .54, p < .01$), even when partialing out the variance associated with heterosexual identity. However, in the case of 'National strength and order', controlling for heterosexual identity did reduce the relationship with homosexual prejudice to non-significance ($r(135) = .11, p > .05$).

The fact that both individual difference and group-based variables were found to predict prejudice towards Aboriginals and homosexuals raised the question as to whether they each make a unique contribution. Conducting stepwise regressions may prove useful in attempting to determine this.

6.9.4 Regression Analyses

In an endeavour to determine the best predictors of both Aboriginal and homosexual prejudice, a series of stepwise regression analyses was performed. Given the claims of Tajfel (1981) and Turner (1987) that social identity should explain the larger part of the variance associated with prejudice, heterosexual and White Australian identity were the first variables entered into their respective regression analysis. The demographic variables were entered next, while the individual difference variables were entered last. Variables were only entered if they had an F score significant at the .05 level.

Table 6. 6

Significant predictors of prejudice towards Aboriginals and homosexuals

| Dependent Variable | Independent Variables | Beta | <i>t</i> | Sig. | <i>R</i> ² |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|------|----------|------|-----------------------|
| 1. Aboriginal Prejudice | 1. Right Wing Authoritarianism | .50 | 5.02 | .00 | .35 |
| | White Australian Identity | .08 | .82 | .42 | |
| | Voting Intention | .14 | 1.55 | .13 | |
| 2. Homosexual Prejudice | Right Wing Authoritarianism | .51 | 6.40 | .00 | .55 |
| | Sex | .24 | 3.44 | .00 | |
| | Voting Intention | .19 | 2.46 | .02 | |
| | Heterosexual Identity | .07 | .90 | .37 | |

For Aboriginal prejudice three differing models were considered. While model one, in which White Australian identity only was entered, did obtain statistical significance ($F(1, 91) = 5.70, p < .05, R^2 = .06$), model two, which also included voting intention, produced a significant increase in the F score ($F(2, 91) = 9.01, R^2 = .17$). The third and final model, in which RWA was added, further increased the F score significantly ($F(3, 91) = 16.05, R^2 = .35$) (see Table 6). Table 6. 6 shows that only RWA significantly predicted greater levels of Aboriginal prejudice ($\beta = .50, t = 5.02, p < .01$).

In examining homosexual prejudice four models were explored. The first model, which included heterosexual identity only, was found to be significant ($F(1, 102) = 16.58, R^2 = .14$). However, model two, in which voting intention was also entered, lead to a significant increase in the F score ($F(2, 101) = 20.87, R^2 = .29$). Model three, in which sex was added, obtained statistical significance ($F(3, 100) = 18.86, R^2 = .36$), while the final model depicted in Table 6, which included RWA, produced an F score significantly better than the other

three models ($F(4, 99) = 30.04, R^2 = .55$). Table 6. 6, shows that RWA ($\beta = .51, t = 6.40, p < .01$), sex ($\beta = .24, t = 3.44, p < .01$), and voting intention ($\beta = .19, t = 2.46, p < .05$) were all positively predictive of a greater level of anti-homosexual attitudes. Hence, the model suggests that high authoritarians, males, and voters for right of centre political parties were more likely to endorse anti-homosexual attitudes.

6.10 Discussion

The results from Study One offered partial support for the hypotheses. Hypotheses one and two were both supported, with White Australian and heterosexual identities predicting prejudice toward Aboriginals and homosexuals respectively. This is consistent with social identity theory, which suggests that a person's identity will be an important predictor of negative outgroup bias (Tajfel, 1981).

However, contrary to self-categorization theory and hypothesis three, individual difference variables also proved to be significant predictors of prejudice toward both groups. Hence, consistent with the work of Larson (1978), prejudice toward Aboriginals was significantly related to authoritarianism. The fact that such a relationship was uncovered using a different measure of authoritarianism, amongst samples collected over twenties years apart, points to the continued importance of this variable in understanding Aboriginal prejudice.

RWA was also strongly related to anti-homosexual attitudes. This finding is consistent with a long line of research into authoritarianism and prejudice toward homosexuals (Berry & Marks, 1969; Laythe et al., 2001). Given the lack of research examining RWA and homosexual prejudice in the Australian context, it is interesting to note the consistency of the findings between the current study and this previous work.

The stepwise regression analyses pointed to differences in the predictors of Aboriginal and homosexual prejudice. While the regression analyses for Aboriginal prejudice suggested that only RWA contributed significantly to the model, in the case of homosexual prejudice, gender and voting intention also made unique contributions to the model. How might these differences be explained? While interpretation based on differences between regression models is at best speculative, and hence should be treated with some caution, it may nonetheless throw some light on the differences that exist between these two types of prejudice. The differences uncovered may add weight to Wylie and Forrest's (1992) claim that prejudice based on sexual preference is far more widely accepted than that based on ethnicity. The predictive value of demographic factors in homosexual prejudice suggests that these attitudes are not just held by individuals with a particular dispositional profile (for example, RWA), but significant subsets of the population (males and voters for right of centre parties). Nonetheless, having said this, it should be noted that in the current study prejudice toward Aboriginals ($M = 2.34$) was significantly greater ($t = 2.32$, $df = 142$, two tailed $p < .05$) than for homosexuals ($M = 2.18$)

The relationship between 'National strength and order' and anti-homosexual attitudes replicates the work of Heaven and Oxman (1999). The fact that anti-homosexual attitudes were related to 'National strength and order' suggest that homosexual prejudice may, in part, be motivated by the belief that homosexuals violate core values of society as a whole. Nonetheless, it should be noted that 'National strength and order' was also significantly related to prejudice toward Aboriginals, a finding consistent with Braithwaite (1997) who found this value dimension was related to an opposition to benefits for Aboriginals. Hence, the relationship between 'National strength and order' and prejudice toward both Aboriginals and homosexuals may be more reflective of a form of generalised outgroup bias.

Considering the literature reviewed in this chapter, the relationship between RWA, values, and prejudice toward both Aboriginals and homosexuals should come as no surprise. However, in the current study vignettes were presented to participants in an attempt to make their social identities salient. Thus, it should be expected, consistent with self-categorization theory, that such relationships would largely disappear.

The failure of social identities to predict prejudice is especially troubling when the results of the partial regressions are taken into account. Even when the covariance associated with social identity was partialled out, individual differences still predicted prejudice toward Aboriginals and homosexuals. Further, regression analyses revealed that social identities did not significantly contribute to models explaining prejudice toward both groups. How might these results be understood?

Two possible explanations present themselves. Firstly, it may suggest that the link between identities and prejudice is more complex than that proposed by advocates of self-categorization theory. Unfortunately, as it stands the current study can say little about what these possible links may be.

Secondly, it could be claimed that the vignettes were ineffective in making the relevant identities salient. Regrettably, the current study failed to include any measure of salience, and hence, such a conclusion is possible. However, before drawing this inference two points need to be made. Firstly, it is difficult to determine what might be a relevant measure of salience. Although measures have been constructed (see for example, Verkuyten & Hagendoorn, 1998), their validity is yet to be established.

Secondly, it raises issues as to the robustness of salience as a phenomenon. Social categorization is increasingly acknowledged as one of the premier theories of intergroup relations (Billig, 2002). Implicit in this is the assumption that the theory will predict

behaviour in a wide variety of social situations. That it is a tool that enables researchers to gain insights into intergroup interactions that characterise every day life, as well as interactions that occur in extreme situations. If in a laboratory setting where an explicit attempt to make an identity salient fails, what role will identities play in influencing behaviour in more ambiguous contexts? If salience is such a fickle phenomenon what use is it in understanding intergroup behaviour?

In response to this, a proponent of self categorization theory may argue that it was not so much an issue of whether an identity was made salient, but whether it was the right one, that the identity made salient may not have been that which the researcher supposed. This criticism touches on an inherent danger in using vignettes. Vignettes often do not merely describe a single behaviour, but a series of behaviours. This in turn, leaves open the possibility that they may make identities salient which were not intended by the researcher, or may equally fail to make intended identities salient. There may be a further problem in the way in which vignettes were used. The working assumption in the current study was that presenting ingroup members with a vignette describing members of an outgroup would make that participant's identity salient. This, in fact, may not be the case. Once again the lack of a manipulation check makes it impossible to test such a claim. Nonetheless, although such a procedure does introduce several potentially confounding steps to the identity manipulation, it may offer a plausible simulation as to how identities are made salient in real life situations involving intergroup contact.

Furthermore, these criticisms cannot offer a complete explanation as to why, in the current study, social identities failed to play a more prominent role in predicting prejudice toward Aboriginals and homosexuals. If this was the case, why were social identities related to measures of prejudice at all? It was not so much that social identities failed to play a role

in predicting prejudice, but rather that individual difference variables also played a unique and distinct role.

Nonetheless, using such a technique may have unfairly minimised the impact of social identities, raising the need to employ not merely a less problematic manipulation of social identity, but some measure to assess the success of this endeavour. The next chapter will explore attitudes toward another ethnic group who have been the object of a good deal of prejudice: Asians. In so doing, an attempt will be made to overcome some of the limitations of the present study.

7 Chapter Seven

PNS and Social Identities: Placing the Role of Individual Differences in Context

7.1 Overview

Prejudice towards Asians appears to be an enduring phenomenon of Australian public life. Throughout the 1990s there was a heightening of anti-Asian sentiment in Australia. The Anti-Discrimination Board reported a marked increase in the incidence of racial vilification concerning Chinese, Filipinos, Vietnamese, and Aboriginal residents (The Daily Telegraph, 18 October 1996). Such views also found voice in Australia's national parliament. In her maiden speech to the Australian Parliament, Pauline Hanson, co-founder of the One Nation Party, accused Asian immigrants of engaging in crime and drug smuggling. She further stated that she believed that Australia was in danger of “being swamped by Asians” (Australian House of Representatives Hansard for 10th September 1996). While the events of September 11, 2001, with its accompanying “War on Terror”, may have shifted the focus of prejudice towards immigrants from the Middle East (Ibish, 2003), there is little to suggest that negative attitudes towards Asians have disappeared.

7.2 Attitudes towards Asians

Work by Taft (1959) focused on how Australians viewed people from Asia. Taft (1959) asked Australian participants to rate how favourably they regarded immigrants from 13 countries. Of the 13 countries, Koreans and Japanese were ranked 12 and 13. Taft (1959) also found that participants claimed to be least familiar with people from these countries.

Research by Richardson and Taft (1968) suggested that participants possessed more positive attitudes towards Asians than those revealed in Taft's (1959) study. Nonetheless, they were still rated as the least desirable of potential immigrants. While it may be tempting

to view Australians' attitudes towards Asians as one of greater tolerance over time, it appears that public attitudes have tended to fluctuate. For instance, by 1964 fewer than 16% of respondents opposed immigration from Asia (Callan, 1976). In contrast, a Morgan Gallup Poll conducted in February 1979 indicated that 56.8% of respondents believed that Australia should be taking less Vietnamese refugees.

7.3 Stereotypes of Asians

More recent work has focussed on the stereotypes Australians hold of Asians. There has been an ongoing debate concerning the existence, or otherwise, of an Asian stereotype. Do Australians think of people from the Asian continent using the collective label Asian, or do they think of people from this region in terms of their country of origin?

Research by Borresen (1982) examined American stereotypes of Vietnamese immigrants. It was found that, in comparison to Americans, they were perceived to be more sincere, hard working, courteous, thrifty, and kind. However, they were also viewed as being more unhealthy, authoritarian, and tense than Americans. The similarity of these descriptions to those previously found in research examining stereotypes of Chinese and Japanese immigrants led Borresen (1982) to conclude that these reflect a general Asiatic stereotype, rather than one specific to each of these cultures.

In contrast, research suggests that Australians do make such distinctions. Pittam, Kashima, and Iwawaki (1990) found that Australians' stereotypes of Taiwanese were more negative than that of the Japanese. The authors argue that this points to the use of national, as opposed to a global Asiatic, stereotypes. A study by McKay and Pittam (1993) examining stereotypes of Vietnamese produced similar findings. Here they found that Australians used more positive adjectives when describing the Vietnamese ethnic group, than when they were describing Asians as a global ethnic group.

These studies suggest that participants can, and do, differentiate between immigrants from different Asian countries. Does this imply that for Australians the term Asian has no meaning, or do Australians think of people from Asia in terms of varying levels of abstraction: as both coming from a region as well as from a specific country? If the first premise were correct, it could be expected that participants would fail to respond to questionnaires concerning attitudes towards Asians in any consistent and coherent manner, an argument that does not appear to be borne out by research. For instance, Walker (1994) found that Australian participants have no difficulty in completing a questionnaire concerning attitudes towards Asians. This would suggest that while it is important to acknowledge that Australians' attitudes towards people from various Asian countries may differ, it is still possible and meaningful to assess attitudes towards Asians as a collective group.

7.4 Prejudice toward Asians

Early research examining prejudicial attitudes towards Asians suffered several limitations (Beswick & Hills, 1969, 1971). As in their research into Aboriginal attitudes, results for Asians were not scaled separately to that of the other ethnic groups. Therefore, little can be discerned other than the fact that attitudes towards Asians were largely negative.

Walker (1994) found a number of relationships between demographic indicators and prejudice toward Asians. He determined that Asian prejudice was negatively related to having obtained a higher education level, as well as holding a left wing political orientation. Furthermore, he found that participants who rated themselves as working class exhibited significantly higher levels of Asian prejudice than those who classified themselves as middle class.

Bochner and Harris (1984) also found gender differences in attitudes towards immigrants from Vietnam. They found that Australian participants were more likely to use

negative, and less likely to use positive, attributes when comparing Vietnamese settlers to themselves. However, the use of negative attributes occurred solely for the male half of the sample, with females rating both Australians and Vietnamese equally favourably.

Research examining prejudice towards Asians, scarce though it may be, presents a clear picture. Overall, Australians view immigrants from Asia negatively. Early work by Taft (1959) found that Australians regarded immigrants from Asian countries least favourably. These negative attitudes were also reflected in research conducted by Beswick and Hill (1969, 1971). In addition, gender and social class were found to be related to prejudice toward Asians (Borresen, 1982; Walker, 1994). Research has also explored individual difference and group-based correlates of Asian prejudice.

7.5 Correlates of Asian Prejudice

7.5.1 Authoritarianism

Morris and Heaven (1986) investigated the role authoritarian attitudes play in predicting prejudice toward Vietnamese immigrants in a Toowoomba and Canberra sample. They included measures of self-esteem, authoritarian dominance (Ray, 1976, cited in Morris & Heaven, 1986), conformity (Pettigrew, 1958, cited in Morris & Heaven, 1986), as well as Ray's (1979, cited in Morris & Heaven, 1986) balanced F scale, as their measure of authoritarian attitudes. They found the best predictor of both prejudiced attitudes and prejudiced behavioural intentions in both regions was authoritarian attitudes.

7.5.2 The Role of Social identity

In the Australian context, there has been a relatively small number of studies that have examined the role of social identification in predicting prejudice towards Asians. In one of

the few examples, Johnson, Terry, and Louis (2005) pitted the individual difference variable authoritarianism, against subjective beliefs concerning intergroup relations. They wished to examine the subjective beliefs of a group with a dominant status: White Australian. The authors claim, consistent with social identity theory, that subjective beliefs such as perceptions of the legitimacy, permeability, and stability of intergroup differences will be related to prejudice in this group. Regression analyses revealed that while the strongest predictor of prejudice was authoritarianism, subjective beliefs also uniquely predicted prejudice towards Asians. This study pointed to the importance of both individual difference and group-based explanations of prejudice.

Heaven and St. Quintin (2003) also explored the role of both social identities and individual difference variables in the context of Asian prejudice. This study was, in part, an attempt to replicate the findings of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998) using an Australian sample. Hence, in order to place Heaven and St. Quintin's (2003) research in some context, it may prove useful to review this earlier work.

Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998) sought to establish whether personal and social identity play differing roles in predicting prejudice. They presented Dutch participants with an individual difference measure, RWA, as well as a measure of group factors, ingroup stereotypes. Here they used a technique generally designed to measure outgroup stereotypes (see for example, Jonas & Hewstone, 1987) in which they asked participants to estimate the percentage of Dutch people who possessed a particular attribute or stereotype. The use of this technique was based on the belief that when an individual's identity is made salient, they will view the ingroup in a normative manner and will "act in terms of those beliefs and standards that define the salient identity" (Verkuyten & Hagendoorn, 1998, pp. 100-101). A principal components analysis of ingroup stereotypes produced a single factor that suggested

participants viewed Dutch people as favouring gender equality, tolerance, modesty, Dutch culture, and hospitality.

Participants were then divided into one of two conditions. Those in the personal identity condition were presented with a passage asking them to think of themselves as an individual. This was followed by a series of items designed to focus their attention on their personal identity. In turn, the passage presented to participants in the national identity condition asked them to think of themselves as a member of their national group. This was followed by a number of items intended to increase the participant's awareness of their national identity.

They found that, in the personal identity condition, prejudice towards Turkish migrants was related to RWA, but not to ingroup stereotypes. In the national identity condition the inverse was the case, with prejudice towards Turkish migrants related to ingroup stereotypes, but not RWA. Verkuyten and Hagendoorn's (1998) first study contained a relatively small sample; hence they sought to replicate this study using a larger one. They also included a second target group: Germans. A principle components analysis of ingroup stereotypes produced two components: beneficence and dominance. A similar pattern to that of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn's (1998) first study was uncovered. Thus, in the personal identity condition prejudice was related to RWA, but not ingroup stereotypes, with the inverse pattern occurring in the national identity condition, namely a positive relationship between prejudice and ingroup stereotypes, but not RWA. However, some differences did occur. For instance, prejudice towards Germans and Turkish migrants was predicted by different ingroup stereotypes. Accordingly, in the national identity condition, prejudice towards Germans was predicted by the dominance self stereotype component. Prejudice towards Turkish migrants, on the other hand, was negatively related to the beneficence

component. Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998) suggest that these findings are consistent with self-categorisation theory, that different aspects of a person's national identity will be predictive of prejudice depending on which outgroup is being evaluated. Thus, social identity is dynamic and contextual reflecting the social reality of intergroup relations.

Overall, it would appear that Verkuyten and Hagendoorn's (1998) research is largely supportive of self-categorisation theory. However, before drawing such a conclusion, it may first prove prudent to consider some issues raised by this study. Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998) suggest ingroup stereotypes are a group factor, but it is a little unclear as to what they measure. They claim, consistent with Turner (1982), that when a person's identity is made salient they are more likely to view themselves, and the ingroup as a whole, in a group normative or stereotypical manner. However, they present participants with their measure of ingroup stereotypes prior to any identity manipulation. Hence, they seem to be suggesting that group normativeness is a predictor, as opposed to an outcome, of a salient identity, a conclusion that is totally at odds with the central tenets of self-categorisation theory. Thus, although the authors do not explicitly state this, it would appear that ingroup stereotypes are being used as some type of measure of ingroup identity or affiliation. If this in fact were the case, it raises further difficulties in the interpretation of the results. The ingroup stereotypes that loaded on the beneficence component were negatively related with prejudice toward Turkish migrants. Hence, contrary to the conclusions of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998), and that of self-categorisation theory, espousing standards or beliefs that were stereotypically Dutch was negatively related to prejudice, at least in relation to the Turkish migrants.

This research is open to a further confound uncovered by Altemeyer (1988). He found that people high in prejudice were more likely to overestimate the percentage of people who share their views. This offers another possible interpretation of the results. To take the

findings of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998, Study 1), it may be that those participants who did not support gender equality or tolerance were likely to overestimate the percentage of their fellow citizens who shared their opinion. This may explain why those participants who failed to endorse these ingroup stereotypes were also more prejudiced toward the Turkish outgroup. It was not so much that ingroup stereotypes were a cause of prejudice, or even a measure of this cause, but another by-product. The findings of the Verkuyten and Hagendoorn's (1998) second study may be explained in a similar manner. While such an interpretation is speculative, it does point to the need for further research in order to address such issues.

Heaven and St.Quintin (2003) sought to replicate the results of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998) in Australia, examining prejudice toward Aboriginals and Asians. In addition, they included another individual difference measure traditionally related to prejudice: SDO (Sidanius, 1993). Although, like Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998) they measured group factors using ingroup stereotypes, they also included Hinkle et al, 's (1989) alternate measure of national identity.

In contrast to the findings of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998), they found RWA to be related to prejudice in both the personal and national identity conditions with the same pattern occurring for SDO. Hinkle et al.'s (1989) measure of ingroup identification was unrelated to prejudice in both conditions; however, ingroup stereotypes exhibited a similar pattern to that found in Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998). Hence, ingroup stereotypes were related to prejudice towards both ethnic groups in the national identity, but not the personal identity condition. This would suggest some support for self-categorization theory. However, as the authors note, this relationship was negative, not positive. That is, those

participants who were more prejudiced were less likely to endorse ingroup stereotypes, the inverse of what self-categorisation would propose.

Reynolds et al. (2001) also examined the impact that social context has on the relationship between RWA and prejudice. They attempted to make a series of identities salient, and found differences in the strength of relationship between RWA and the modern racism scale. As in Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998), when participants focused on their Australian identity the relationship between RWA and the MRS was not significant. In turn, when participants focused on their gender, the relationship between RWA and the MRS was strongest. The authors suggest that results such as this point to the “need to move way from context-independent personality toward an examination of the impact of collective psychology in interaction with social structural factors on attitudes and actions” (Reynolds et al., 2000, p. 7).

Few would disagree with the need to focus on the situational context. Nonetheless, it is possible that Reynolds et al. (2000) portray RWA in an overly restrictive light. Adorno et al.'s (1950) original formulation of authoritarianism, as measured by the F scale, was said to assess susceptibility to propaganda of an anti-democratic kind. Further, Altemeyer (1988) claims that RWA measures individual susceptibility to situational pressure. Both definitions appear to place central emphasis on the situational context. Both would imply that you cannot understand the relationship between authoritarianism and prejudice unless you understand the broader social context in which such an association takes place. Hence, it can be questioned whether the claim that authoritarianism is an example of context-independent personality variable is a legitimate criticism.

7.5.3 *PNS and Prejudice*

The research of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998) and Reynolds et al. (2000), consistent with self-categorisation theory, would suggest that prejudice is a dynamic process influenced by situational factors. However, this raises a further question, are all individuals equally influenced by the same situational context? What factors, if any, might have an impact on this process? One candidate may be personality variables. Neuberg and Newsom (1993) found that participants high in response to lack of structure, rather than drawing on pre-existing cognitive categories, were more open to situational influence because they processed information in an online manner. This may suggest one promising place to start.

Work exploring the impact of PNS on prejudice has been rare and less than promising. Smith and Gordon (1998) found a weak, but significant, relationship between the PNS scale and negative attitudes towards gay men and lesbians. In turn, Hodson and Esses (2005) found PNS to unrelated to prejudice towards Canadians of African descent. Nonetheless, this research used the PNS scale as a uni-dimensional measure. Neuberg and Newsom (1993) have argued that the PNS scale should be thought of as two separate but related measures. Hence, it is interesting to ask what may have been uncovered if Smith and Gordon (1998) and Hodson and Esses (2005) had examined the two PNS sub-scales separately.

Unfortunately, no work thus far has examined the relationship between PNS, RWA, and prejudice. However, an interesting study explored the impact of a related construct: Need For Closure (NFC). Van Hiel, Pandelaere, and Duriez (2004) sought to explore the relative effects that NFC, RWA, and SDO have in predicting prejudice. A principle components analysis on the NFC scale produced two factors labelled Need For Simple Structure (NFSS) and decisiveness, respectively. NFSS measures a preference for order as

well as discomfort in being in unpredictable situations. Hence, this component would appear to be measuring aspects similar to those tapped by the PNS scale.

Van Hiel et al. (2004) pitted two structural equation models against each other. In the first, the individual difference variables RWA and SDO were to predict prejudice via NFSS and Decisiveness, while in the second model the order was reversed. Hence, NFSS and Decisiveness were linked to prejudice via RWA and SDO. It was claimed that the two models might give some insight into the development of RWA and SDO. The model suggesting that the link between NFSS and prejudice was mediated through RWA and SDO was found to fit the data best. When further analysis was performed the researchers discovered that the impact of NFSS on prejudice was completely mediated through RWA, while being only partly mediated through SDO. The authors interpreted this as implying that cognitive styles, such as those associated with NFC, underpin the development of RWA and SDO, this being especially true in the case of RWA. This suggests that cognitive styles are the bedrock on which authoritarian beliefs develop. Given this, Van Hiel et al. (2004) question the idea that RWA should be thought of as a personality variable, suggesting that it may be better viewed as a measure of an individual's beliefs system.

This finding reiterates the importance of understanding cognitive styles in predicting prejudice, and the mediational role that belief systems such as RWA play. A study of variables such as PNS and NFC may also provide insight into the motivational forces underlying social identification.

7.5.4 Subjective Uncertainty and PNS

Hogg (1996), and Hogg and Abrams (1993) have re-examined the motivational role of group identification. They claim that uncertainty reduction, not self-esteem, may be the primary drive underlying the need for group belonging. Drawing on self-categorisation

theory, Hogg (1996) suggests that the process of depersonalisation, in which the individual takes on the norms and values of the group, provides both certainty and meaning. Individual subjective uncertainties are swept away as one adopts the shared norms of the group. Hogg (1996) suggests that this search for certainty occurs only in relation to those aspects of a person's life on which some importance is placed. In this sense, the groups to which a person belongs can be viewed as a reflection of those issues in which an individual has a strong need for certainty.

The claim that people seek to alleviate uncertainty by identifying themselves with their ingroup has been supported by the research of Hogg and Grieve (1999) and Mullin and Hogg (1998). Using the minimal groups paradigm these researchers found that outgroup bias was apparent only for high identifiers placed in an uncertain context. Whenever uncertainty was reduced, identification and ingroup bias were found to be unrelated. Further, it was found that ingroup identification was related to decreased levels of uncertainty. This work has focused on responses to situational or task related uncertainty while ignoring individual differences. In fact, consistent with self-categorisation theory, Hogg (1996) has questioned the usefulness of examining individual differences.

Nonetheless, some of the subjective uncertainty literature points to the possible role of individual differences. For instance, Sussman and Hogg (cited in Hogg & Grieve, 1999) found that the number of clubs which new students reported joining was significantly related to their level of self-rated certainty concerning self at university. It might be the case that joining a lot of clubs reduced uncertainty, but the other alternative is equally plausible: an individual's level of uncertainty was predictive of group joining behaviour. The propensity for those high in PNS to actively impose meaning on their environment as a way of avoiding

uncertainty suggests that the study of this variable might also play a role in understanding some of the processes underlying group belonging.

7.6 Aims and Hypotheses

Morris and Heaven (1986) found that participants endorsing authoritarian attitudes were also more likely to advocate both prejudicial attitudes and prejudicial behavioural intentions towards Vietnamese immigrants, an outcome that replicates well established links between authoritarianism and prejudice (see for example, Adorno et al., 1950; Altemeyer, 1981, 1988, 1996). The role of social identities has been more ambiguous. With results largely consistent with self categorization theory, Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998) found that RWA was predictive of prejudice only in the personal identity condition. In turn, in the national identity condition, the sole correlate of prejudice was ingroup stereotypes.

This stands in contrast to the results of Heaven and St Quintin (1998) who revealed that although ingroup stereotypes predicted prejudice toward Asians when participants' identities were made salient, so did individual difference variables. A finding that refutes the exclusive role of social identities posited by self-categorisation theory. This would suggest that in predicting prejudice, the role of both social identities and individual difference variables is still an open question.

Finally, research by Van Hiel et al. (2004) suggests that cognitive styles associated with individual difference variables, such as PNS, may provide greater insight into both RWA and prejudice. In turn, PNS may also provide a greater understanding of the processes underlying group identification. There has been increased focus in self-categorisation research on the motivational role of uncertainty reduction (Hogg, 1996; Mullin & Hogg, 1998; Hogg & Grieve, 1999). Neuberg and Newsom (1993) claim that people high in PNS possess a strong need for structure and certainty. Hence it is plausible that PNS may predict

psychological processes associated with group membership. Thus, the following hypotheses were formulated.

H₁: Consistent with the research of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998), it was predicted that in the personal identity condition RWA, but not Australian identity, will be related to prejudice toward Asians.

H₂: In the national identity condition it was predicted that Australian identity, but not RWA, will be related to prejudice toward Asians.

H₃: Given the role group belonging is believed to play in uncertainty reduction, it was predicted that those participants with a need for greater structure and certainty, as measured by the PNS sub-scales, will exhibit stronger levels of Australian identity.

7.7 Method

7.7.1 Participants

Participants were 142 first year psychology students attending a regional Australian University. They completed the study in order to gain course credit. Participants provided a range of demographic material that included their gender, age, and political party they would vote for if a general election were held today. This demographic material is reported in Table 7. 1.

Table 7.1

Demographic breakdown of the sample

| | <i>N</i> | <i>%</i> |
|-------------------------|----------|----------|
| Gender | | |
| Female | 79 | 55.6 |
| Male | 63 | 44.4 |
| Age | | |
| 19 to 29 years | 125 | 88.0 |
| 30 to 39 years | 11 | 7.7 |
| 40 to 49 years | 5 | 3.5 |
| 50 to 59 years | 1 | .7 |
| 60 or over | 0 | 0 |
| Party | | |
| Green | 23 | 16.2 |
| Australian Democrats | 12 | 8.5 |
| Labor party | 53 | 37.3 |
| Liberal party | 34 | 23.9 |
| National Party | 1 | .7 |
| One Nation | 1 | .7 |
| None of these | 14 | 9.9 |
| Failed to specify party | 4 | 2.8 |

As can be seen in Table 7. 1, there was a relatively even distribution of males and female participants. However, the sample was predominately young with 88% of participants

under the age of 30, and less than one percent aged 50 or over. As for voting intentions, it can be seen from Table 7. 1 that participants, on the whole, intended to vote for left or centre/ left political parties. While it cannot be claimed that the sample is representative of the Australian population as a whole, it is nonetheless diverse enough for comparison purposes.

7.7.2 Material

i) Altemeyer's (1981) RWA Scale

As in Study One, the shortened ten-item version of Altemeyer's (1981) RWA Scale was used. Responses were recorded on a five-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. After the deletion of two weak items the scale produced an alpha of .84.

ii) PNS Scale

The PNS scale (Thompson et al., cited in Neuberg & Newsom, 1993) was initially constructed as a uni-dimensional measure of an individual's desire to structure their world. However, research by Neuberg and Newsom (1993) found that the PNS scale consisted of two inter-related, but distinct, sub-scales: desire for structure, consisting of four items, and response to lack of structure with eight items.

Participants responded to the each item using a six-point Likert scale that ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. In the present study the desire for structure scale produced a co-efficient alpha of .76, after the deletion of a single weak item, while the response to lack of structure sub-scale, with one weak item deleted, produced an alpha of .78.

iii) Social Identity Measure (Hinkle et al., 1989)

Strength of Australian identity was assessed with a six-item scale based on measures constructed by Hinkle et al. (1989). The first item consisted of a yes/ no question asking participants whether or not they viewed themselves as Australian. The data of those participants who answered no were omitted from further analyses. Items were also included

that measured the strength of participants' Australian identity, along with their feelings about being Australian. Finally, participants were asked about the importance they placed on being Australian. All items were scored on a five point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. In the present study the scale produced an alpha of .81. In an attempt to disguise the true focus of the study, the Australian identity measure was presented with scales assessing a range of other identities. These included measures of socialist, religious, and feminist identities.

Identity Conditions

Participants were then randomly allocated to one of two conditions. Depending on condition, participants received a questionnaire designed to make either their national or personal identity salient.

iv) National Identity

In the national identity condition, participants received a series of measures intended to make their national identity salient. These were based on scales used in a study by Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998). Firstly, participants were presented with a paragraph designed to focus their attention on their national identity. It asked participants to think of themselves in terms of the groups to which they belong. Participants were especially instructed to think of themselves as members of their national group. Further, while thinking of themselves as a group member, they were asked to compare their group with others.

This paragraph was followed by series of items relating to participants' national identity. Hence, it asked participants to list their country of birth, mother tongue, and the country of which they were a citizen. Finally, participants received Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) collective self-esteem scale. The measure is said to tap an individual's perception of the collective esteem of their group. Consistent with Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998), it

was believed that focusing participants' attention on the collective welfare of the group was likely to make participants' national identity salient.

v) Personal Identity

Participants in the personal identity condition received a similar paragraph, but with a few key differences. Here the focus was on their personal identity. Hence, participants were asked to think of themselves as an individual. Furthermore, they were instructed to compare themselves with other individuals. They were further asked which hobbies they enjoyed, the year of their birth, and if they placed a good deal of importance on their personal appearance.

Participants also completed Rosenberg's (1965) personal self-esteem scale. Consistent with the rationale behind the use of the collective self-esteem scale, it was believed that focusing participants' attention on their personal self-esteem would help to make their personal identity salient.

After the identity manipulation all participants proceeded to complete the following measures.

vi) Walker's (1994) Attitudes to Asians scale

The dependent measure was attitudes toward Asians. In order to assess this, Walker's (1994) attitudes to Asians scale was used. This scale consists of 10 items. Responses were recorded on a five point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree through to strongly agree. Research by Walker (1994) has shown this measure to possess a very good level of reliability with an alpha of .91. It includes items such as "Asian migrants are as friendly as people born in Australia" and "I would not like an Asian to be my boss". In the current study it produced an alpha of .82, after the deletion of two weak items.

vii) Demographic Information

A range of demographic information was sought from participants. This included their age, gender, and the party they would vote for if an election were held today.

viii) Manipulation Check

Participants then completed a manipulation check. As in the study by Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998), participants rated how they had answered the questionnaire using a ten-point scale. A rating of one suggested that they had answered the questionnaire as a unique individual, while a score of ten indicated they had answered the questionnaire as an Australian.

Finally, participants completed a series of questions, to which they responded using a ten-point scale, designed to tap their perception of ingroup and outgroup proto-typicality. The first asked them to assess how similar they believed Australians were to each other, while the second asked how similar they believed Asians were.

7.7.3 Procedure

On arrival at the laboratory participants were randomly assigned to either the national or individual identity condition. With the exception of the identity manipulation, all participants received the same questionnaire. The study took approximately 30 minutes to complete, after which participants were debriefed as to nature of the study.

7.8 Results

7.8.1 Overview

The current study sought to examine the predictors of prejudice in both the personal and national identity conditions. To determine the reliability of each measure, Cronbach's coefficient alpha analysis was performed. Items that reduced reliability were extracted. To assess differences between the national and personal identities conditions attributable to sampling error, independent t tests were performed for each of the scales. Differences associated with gender were examined in a like manner. The prejudice, identity, PNS, and RWA scales, along with the demographic variables, were then correlated using Pearson correlations. Finally, a general linear model was used in order to attain greater insight into the predictive value of each of the variables.

7.8.2 Manipulation Check

To assess whether the manipulation made participants' identities salient, a check was performed. The inclusion of a measure assessing the strength of identity enabled this important factor to be incorporated into the analyses. Therefore, strength of Australian identification and the manipulation check were analysed using Pearson correlations. It was found that, in the personal identity condition, Australian identity was unrelated with participants answering the questionnaire as an Australian ($r(66) = .11, p > .05$).

In the National identity condition, Australian identity was significantly related to how participants answered the questionnaire, with these participants reporting that they were more likely to have answered the scale while thinking of themselves as Australian ($r(76) = .39, p < .05$). Finally, in order to determine if the relationship between Australian identity and how

participants answered the scale was stronger for the national identity condition, as opposed to personal identity condition, a test for differences in strength of correlation was performed ($z = 1.73, p < .05, 1 \text{ tail}$). The result suggested that the identity manipulation was successful.

7.8.3 Analysis of Differences between Men and Women, and Identity Conditions

In order to determine whether there were significant gender differences on the measures, a series of independent t tests were performed. A similar analyses was performed comparing the national and personal identity conditions. The results of this analysis can be found in Tables 7. 2 and 7. 3.

Table 7. 2

Mean scores and standard deviations for national and personal identity conditions

| | Total | | National Identity | | Personal Identity | | Difference | |
|-------------------------------|----------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|------------|----------|
| | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>t</i> |
| Desire for Structure | 3.65 | 1.04 | 3.52 | 1.07 | 3.79 | .99 | -.27 | -1.56 |
| Response to lack of Structure | 3.41 | .88 | 3.43 | .90 | 3.38 | .86 | .05 | .31 |
| RWA | 2.60 | .74 | 2.54 | .76 | 2.66 | .72 | -.12 | -.97 |
| Prejudice towards Asians | 2.36 | .75 | 2.38 | .80 | 2.34 | .69 | .05 | .36 |

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

It can be seen from Table 7. 2 that there were no significant differences, on any variables, between the personal and national identity conditions. Participants, on average, appeared to view Asians in a moderately positive light, with a mean score below the mid-point of Walker's attitudes to Asians scale ($M = 2.36$). For each of the other scales, participants scored toward the mid range.

Table 7. 3
Mean scores and standard deviations for male and females

| | Female | | Male | | Difference | |
|-------------------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|----------|
| | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>t</i> |
| Australian Identity | 4.10 | .62 | 3.90 | .79 | .20 | 1.66 |
| Desire for Structure | 3.68 | 1.06 | 3.60 | 1.03 | .08 | .46 |
| Response to lack of Structure | 3.45 | .96 | 3.35 | .76 | .11 | 1.04 |
| RWA | 2.56 | .69 | 2.65 | .79 | -.09 | -.75 |
| Prejudice towards Asians | 2.31 | .77 | 2.43 | .72 | -.12 | -.96 |

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 7. 3 reveals that there were no significant differences between males and females on any of the variables.

7.8.4 Correlations

In order to examine the roles that group and individual based variables play in predicting prejudice, Pearson correlations were performed on the data from both the national and personal identity conditions.

Table 7. 4
Correlations between each of the variables in the personal identity condition

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
|----------------------------------|-------|-------|------|------|-------|------|----|
| 1. Desire for Structure | — | | | | | | |
| 2. Response to Lack of Structure | .60** | — | | | | | |
| 3. RWA | .32** | .34** | — | | | | |
| 4. Australian Identity | .13 | -.03 | .21 | — | | | |
| 5. How Similar are Australians | .06 | .04 | .12 | .27* | — | | |
| 6. How Similar are Asians | -.05 | -.10 | .10 | .20 | .77** | — | |
| 7. Prejudice Towards Asians | .44** | .41** | .25* | -.03 | .28* | .26* | — |

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

It can be seen from Table 7. 4, that in the personal identity condition RWA was significantly related with prejudice towards Asians ($r(65) = .25, p < .05$). This was consistent with both self-categorisation theory and hypothesis one. In addition the two PNS

sub-scales, desire for structure ($r(65) = .44, p < .01$) and response to lack of structure ($r(65) = .41, p < .01$), were also related to Asian prejudice. Furthermore, as predicted, there was no significant relationship between strength of Australian identity and prejudice towards Asians ($r(64) = -.03, p > .05$). Other relationships of note included the correlation between Asian prejudice and the perception that Australians are all similar to each other ($r(65) = .28, p < .05$). Viewing Asians as being similar to each other was also related to Asian prejudice ($r(65) = .26, p < .05$).

While Australian identity was unrelated to prejudice, there was a significant relationship between participants identifying themselves as Australian and the perception that Australians are very similar to each other ($r(65) = .27, p < .05$). Finally, both desire for structure ($r(66) = .32, p < .01$) and response to lack of structure ($r(66) = .34, p < .01$) were significantly related to RWA.

Table 7. 5

Correlations between each of the variables in the national identity condition

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
|----------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|-----|----|
| 1. Desire for Structure | — | | | | | | |
| 2. Response to Lack of Structure | .67** | — | | | | | |
| 3. RWA | .45** | .46** | — | | | | |
| 4. Australian Identity | .02 | .05 | .21 | — | | | |
| 5. How Similar are Australians | .21 | .35** | .32** | .05 | — | | |
| 6. How Similar are Asians | .04 | .19 | .16 | .13 | .62** | — | |
| 7. Prejudice Towards Asians | .14 | .15 | .29* | -.09 | .21 | .22 | — |

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 7. 5 indicates that for participants in the national identity condition, Australian identity was unrelated to prejudice towards Asians ($r(76) = -.09, p > .05$). Thus, hypothesis two was not supported. Furthermore, RWA was related to Asian prejudice ($r(76) = .29, p < .05$), also failing to verify hypothesis two. These findings, in combination, would appear to offer little support for self-categorization theory. Unlike in the personal identity condition,

both desire for structure ($r(76) = .14, p > .05$) and response to lack of structure ($r(75) = .15, p > .05$) were unrelated to prejudice towards Asians.

Contrary to hypothesis three, neither desire for structure ($r(76) = .02, p > .05$) nor response to lack of structure ($r(75) = .05, p > .05$) were related to Australian identity. However, response to lack of structure was significantly related to viewing the ingroup (Australians) as similar to each other ($r(75) = .35, p < .01$), a non-significant relationship in the personal identity condition.

7.8.5 *General Linear Model*

A general linear model was used to determine the best predictors of Asian prejudice in both the personal and national identity conditions. Hence, in both identity conditions Walker's (1994) attitudes to Asians scale was entered as the dependent variable, whereas RWA, desire for structure, response to lack of structure, and Australian Identity were entered as covariates.

There were differences across conditions in the relationship between ingroup homogeneity and individual difference variables. Thus, separate linear models were performed for the personal and national identity conditions, with ingroup homogeneity as a dependent variable. Also entered as covariates were RWA, desire for structure, response to lack of structure, and Australian Identity.

Table 7. 6

Results for General Linear Model examining the predictors of prejudice and ingroup homogeneity in the personal and national identity conditions

| Predictors | <i>Attitudes towards Asians</i> | | | <i>Ingroup Homogeneity</i> | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------|----------|----------------------------|----------|----------|
| | <i>F</i> | <i>t</i> | η^2 | <i>F</i> | <i>t</i> | η^2 |
| <i>Personal Identity</i> | | | | | | |
| RWA | 1.02 | 1.01 | 0.02 | 0.24 | 0.49 | 0.00 |
| Desire for Structure | 8.32 | 2.89** | 0.12 | 0.30 | 0.55 | 0.01 |
| Response to Lack of Structure | 2.05 | 1.43 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.18 | 0.00 |
| Australian Identity | 0.83 | -0.91 | 0.01 | 3.71 | 1.93 | 0.06 |
| <i>National Identity</i> | | | | | | |
| RWA | 6.38 | 2.53* | 0.08 | 2.96 | 1.72 | 0.04 |
| Desire for Structure | 0.03 | 0.18 | 0.00 | 0.29 | -0.54 | 0.00 |
| Response to Lack of Structure | 0.02 | -0.13 | 0.00 | 3.98 | 2.00* | 0.05 |
| Australian Identity | 2.35 | -1.53 | 0.03 | 0.03 | -0.17 | 0.00 |

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 7. 6 reveals that in the personal identity condition, the only variable to have a significant impact on attitudes towards Asians was desire for structure, which explained 12 % of the variance. In the national identity condition, RWA, explaining 8% of variance, was the only variable to significantly predict attitudes towards Asians. Thus, the results reveal that in both the personal and social identity conditions, the only significant predictors of Asian prejudice were individual difference variables.

In relation to ingroup homogeneity, Table 7. 6 shows that response to lack of structure alone, had a significant impact on attitudes towards Asians in the national identity condition, explaining 5 % of the variance. None of the variables in the personal identity condition were significant.

7.9 Discussion

The results offered only mixed support for the hypotheses. Consistent with hypothesis one, in the personal identity condition individual difference variables were related to Asian prejudice, while social identification was unrelated. In contrast, the second hypothesis was not supported. Australian identity failed to predict prejudice in the national identity condition. Furthermore, the finding that RWA was related to prejudice toward Asians was also inconsistent with self-categorization theory and hypothesis two. Finally the PNS scales were unrelated to Australian identification, thus failing to support hypothesis three. Nonetheless, in the national identity condition, response to lack of structure was related to another indicator of group belonging, ingroup homogeneity.

The findings would suggest that national identity had little impact on prejudice towards Asians. Australian identity was unrelated to prejudice in either the national or personal identity conditions. In contrast, individual differences played an important role with RWA a strong predictor of Asian prejudice in both conditions. This would suggest that participants in this study did not exhibit the shift of self-definition apparent in studies such as Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998). Furthermore, unlike Study One of the present thesis, this result cannot be attributable to problems with identity manipulation. Indeed the manipulation check, based on that of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998), indicated that participants in the national condition who identified strongly with their nation were more likely to report that they answered the questionnaire while thinking of themselves as Australian.

These results would appear to be at odds with self-categorization theory, and consistent with the findings of Heaven and St. Quintin (2003). These authors also showed that RWA was related to prejudice in both the personal and national identity conditions. While they found ingroup stereotypes to be related to prejudice, Hinkle et al.'s (1989)

measure of strength of ingroup identification was not. Furthermore, the relationship they found between ingroup stereotypes and prejudice was a negative one. That is, characterising Australians in a stereotypical manner was related to lower levels of prejudice.

As in Heaven and St. Quintin (2003), Hinkle et al.'s (1989) scale was unrelated to prejudice towards Asians. The lack of relation between these two measures may be explained by an idea first presented by Brown and Williams (1984). They observed that what it means to endorse a given identity is open to a multiplicity of interpretations. In other words, what it means to be a group member may mean different things to different people. This may be especially true of national identities. Hence, people may possess a diverse range of views as to what typifies an Australian. For some, this may reflect the belief that Australians espouse multi-culturalism and tolerance, while for others the views of the radical right may be closer to the mark. This is in contrast to measures of ingroup stereotypes, such as those used in Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998), that often present a participant with a very narrow range of attributes said to be typical of one's national group. Participants' endorsement of these stereotypes may, in turn, reflect a degree of self-selection. An individual who strongly identifies with being "Australian", but does not describe this identification in terms of the attributes supplied by the researcher may be deemed to have little, or no, ingroup identification. In other words, researchers who use this approach may not just be measuring national identification, but a particular type of national identification.

Although the effect of situational context was not apparent in the relationship between RWA and prejudice, it did appear to have an impact on another individual difference variable included in the study. In the personal identity condition, both desire for structure and response to lack of structure were strongly related to prejudice towards Asians. However, in the national identity condition, prejudice was unrelated to both of the PNS sub-scales.

Interestingly, although in the personal identity condition response to lack of structure was unrelated to ingroup homogeneity, both variables were strongly related in the national identity condition. In fact, the general linear model revealed response to lack of structure to be the only variable to have a significant impact on ingroup homogeneity.

This would suggest that, in the national identity condition, those high in response to lack of structure were more likely to view ingroup members as being similar to each other. This finding can be interpreted in the light of subjective uncertainty reduction theory. Hogg (1996) suggests that group membership serves to reduce uncertainty through the process of group normativeness. Individual uncertainties are diminished once the group member begins to endorse shared norms. The view that the ingroup shares norms, and that ingroup member are similar, may be an appealing way for individuals high in response to lack of structure to reduce feelings of uncertainty, and in so doing, impose order and structure on their social world.

Why this should occur in the national identity condition only, raises some interesting questions. Neuberg and Newsom (1993) claim that people high in response to lack of structure seek to impose order on information as it is encountered; that they engage in the on-line processing of structural information. This would suggest that such individuals are highly responsive to any information that would enable them to impose structure on their environment. An identity manipulation, in which participants are asked to focus on their national identity, may be one such informational cue.

The general linear model on data from the personal identity condition revealed that desire for structure was the only variable to have any significant impact on levels of prejudice towards Asians. Those high in desire for structure are believed to divide the environment into stable categories (Neuberg & Newsom, 1993). It appears that such individuals tend to do

the same thing with their social environment. Thus, for the person high in desire for structure, the belief that there is a place for everything and everything in its place appears to be true for outgroup members as well as for everyday objects.

The fact that this variable played such a significant role in the personal identity condition only, may also be explained by the research of Neuberg and Newsom (1993). They found that in contrast to response to lack of structure, desire for structure reflects a more stable structuring of the environment, one less open to situational influence. Thus, such individuals may chronically divide the world into groups irrespective of the situational context. However, in the national identity condition, the situational influence on all participants to focus on both the ingroup and outgroup may have reduced this relationship to non-significance.

As it stands, the current study offers little support for self-categorisation theory. Not merely were individual difference variables predictive of prejudice in both conditions, but even in the national identity condition, Australian identity appeared to play no role in predicting prejudice towards Asians. It is possible that the differences between the current study and that of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998) may relate to the way in which national identity was measured. Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998) used a narrow range of stereotypes believed to be descriptive of being Dutch. The current study used Hinkle et al.'s (1989) measure, in which national identity is open to a multiplicity of interpretations.

This then raises an important question: do people differentiate between these differing conceptions of what it means to be Australian, and further, do all Australians equally endorse these different conceptions? Finally, might a greater and more complex understanding of these differences be garnered through research into individual differences? These questions are the focus of the next study.

8 Chapter Eight

A Contemporary Measure of Australian Auto-stereotypes

8.1 Overview

What it means to be Australian has probably always been a contentious issue. Debates concerning Australian identity stretch back to Federation (Emy & Hughes, 1991). Nonetheless, the clash of views as to what a true Australian is, or should be, appear to be more pronounced now than ever. Proponents on either side of debates on immigration, trade policy, and foreign affairs have evoked Australian values to support their respective cases. The terms Australian and un-Australian themselves have not escaped these debates, used by advocates from both the left and right of Australian politics. As journalist Craig McGregor (cited in Schwarz, 2004, p. 214) noted, the word “‘un-Australian’ has been used a lot recently, about anything from goons and guard dogs used during the waterfront dispute to the threat of a national strike, and by everyone from John Howard to Pauline Hanson to the veteran green bans campaigner Jack Munday”.

The prominence of Australian values in these debates points to two important issues. Firstly, it reflects the belief, at least by those who use them, that an appeal to Australian values will have an impact on the so-called ‘average Australian’. Secondly, it is clear from these debates that there is great divergence in how the label ‘Australian’ is used. In fact, Schwarz (2004) suggests that the use of terms such as un-Australian gain rhetoric utility from their conceptual emptiness. This would appear to imply a vast vacuum in Australian’s self definition. But is this the case; do the Australian populace as a whole share this conceptual emptiness, or do they possess a clear image of what it means to be Australian? This is a question researchers examining auto-stereotypes have sought to address. The study of auto-stereotypes is grounded in work on intergroup conflict, and as a consequence, draws on many

of the same theoretical suppositions. Thus, before exploring research into Australian auto-stereotypes, a brief review of some of the key theories of intergroup stereotypes may prove beneficial.

8.2 History of the Study of Stereotypes

The study of stereotypes is a consuming interest for many social psychologists, although, interestingly, the field has had a relatively short history. While stereotypes are generally defined in relation to the role they play in the perception of social groups (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002), the term was originally drawn from the world of printing. In the 1929 version of the concise Oxford dictionary a stereotype is described as a moulded printing plate used for repetitive printing runs. It was largely Walter Lippman's 1922 book, 'Public Opinion', that was to popularise, not only the term stereotype, but the field itself (Pickering, 2002). In a precursor to much of the work in social cognition research, Lippman (1922) suggested that stereotypes were images of groups held in the head of the individual. That these were the pictures a person holds of the world that reflects our tastes, and habits, in which "we find the charm of the familiar, the normal, the dependable; its grooves and shapes are where we are accustomed to find them" (Lippman, 1922, p. 21).

While contemporary researchers share many of the assumptions held by Lippman (1922), there has been ongoing debate as to the purpose of stereotypes. Divided roughly into two camps are advocates of self categorisation theory, and what is referred to, often pejoratively, as the cognitive miser approach.

8.2.1 Two Approaches to Stereotypes

Influenced by work in the field of cognitive psychology, researchers working in the cognitive miser approach began to examine cognitive limitations and the role stereotypes

played in overcoming these limitations. It was suggested that stereotypes enabled the individual to deal with the over abundance of information inherent to the social environment. Drawing on pre-existing beliefs about groups as a whole, and therefore individual members of that group, freed cognitive resources for other tasks (Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, & Ruderman, 1978). Nonetheless, these benefits came at a cost. Given that stereotyping draws on generalised beliefs about a group it will, by implication, be less accurate than perceptions grounded on the individual characteristics of a person. Numerous studies have presented support for the central tenets of the theory (Macrae, Milne, & Bodenhausen, 1994; Pendry & Macrae, 1994). Hence, it has been found that participants are more likely to use stereotypes about an ethnic group when engaging in an additional cognitive task (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991). The authors claim this finding offers support for the idea that individuals fall back on the use of stereotypes when cognitive resources are limited.

In contrast to the cognitive miser approach, researchers working in the self-categorisation tradition claim stereotypes, far from presenting a cognitively simple and inaccurate representation of social reality, reflect the dynamic nature of intergroup relations (Oakes, 1996). Thus, viewing a person in group stereotypical terms reflects the social realities of that person as a group member, and is no less accurate than viewing a person as an individual. The level at which such perceptions are made (intergroup or interpersonal) reflect their context. Central to the theory is the claim that people do not only use stereotypes in relation to outgroups, but also stereotype themselves; that this self stereotyping, or categorising, is crucial to a person's self concept (Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1982).

Even in this cursory review of the two approaches, several important differences are readily apparent. Firstly, for self categorisation theorists there is the belief that group stereotypes are no less accurate than descriptions that depict either ingroup or outgroup

members in terms of their individual characteristics. Secondly, although not exclusive to the self categorisation approach, there is an increased focus on the view that stereotyping occurs just as readily when describing oneself as when one describes outgroup members. In fact, it is self categorisation theory that has largely been responsible for renewed interest in auto-stereotypes.

8.3 Auto-stereotypes

Thus far the discussion of stereotypes has focused on the description of outgroups. Nonetheless, there has been continued interest in exploring the stereotypes members use to describe their own groups. Research into auto-stereotypes has been performed in a number of countries, North and South America (Marin & Salazar, 1985; Triandis, Lisansky, Setiadi, Chang, Marin, & Betancourt, 1982), Lebanon (Lindgren & Tebchera, 1971), and Japan (Iwao & Triandis, 1993) to name but a few. There has also been a small, but dedicated, research tradition that has focussed on Australian auto-stereotypes.

8.3.1 Australian Auto-stereotypes

As a part of a broader study, Marjoribanks and Jordan (1986) measured the auto-stereotypes of a sample of Australian school children from grades 9 and 11. Responses from Anglo and Aboriginal Australians were analysed separately. A factor analysis of responses from the Australian Aboriginal students produced four factors. The first, labelled 'well-socialised', comprised attributes such as being "reliable" and having a "strong sense of right and wrong". The second factor, including the characteristics, "having a definite purpose in life" and "being motivated" was labelled 'go getting'. The third factor consisting of the attributes, "non-aggressive", "a good provider", and "careful with money" was labelled 'good citizens'. Finally the fourth factor, labelled 'socially acceptable', included items such as

“speaking good English” and “being clean and tidy”. Anglo-Australians described themselves in very similar ways to that of the Australian Aboriginal students. Nonetheless, the factor analysis of their responses produced only two factors. The first, 'well socialised', consisted of characteristics such as “go-getting”, “socialised”, “trustworthy”, and having a “strong sense of right and wrong”. The second factor, which the authors labelled 'good citizens', comprised the attributes “non-aggressive”, “law-abiding”, and “careful with money”.

McAndrew, Akande, Bridgstock, Mealey, Gordon, Scheib, Akande-Adetoun, Odewale, Morakinyo, Nyahete, and Mubvakure (2000), as part of a study into the auto- and hetero-stereotypes of citizens from a number English speaking countries, found that Australians viewed themselves to be more “friendly”, “open-minded”, and “generous” than nations such as America and Britain. With the exception of Americans, they also viewed themselves as less “religious”, “polite”, and more “aggressive”.

It is clear from this summary of research examining Australian auto-stereotypes that there is little common agreement as to how the so called “average Australian” should be described. While this may reflect real differences in how Australians view themselves, it is more likely that this disparity arose from the differences in measures used or the differences in samples; school children and adults. A series of studies by Haslam employed a standard set of measures, the Katz and Braly (1935) check-list method. The primary focus of this research was to explore both situational and historical changes in auto-stereotype consensus.

8.3.2 Australian Auto-stereotypes and Self Categorisation Theory

Haslam, Oakes, McGarty, Turner, Reynolds, and Eggins (1996) found that situational context had a significant impact on stereotype consensus. Drawing on research into informational influence, they suggest that one likely outcome of a disagreement between a

person's own view and that of their fellow group members is the increased likelihood that they will change their view to be consistent with the ingroup. They explored this idea using a sample of Australian students. Consistent with their hypothesis, they found that participants exhibited greater levels of stereotype consensus when an ingroup member confirmed pre-existing Australian stereotypes, compared to the condition in which an ingroup member contradicted these same attributes.

The attributes said to typify the average Australian were “happy-go-lucky”, “pleasure loving”, and “sportsmanlike”. Unfortunately, the authors failed to disclose the process by which they selected these attributes. Although their study did illustrate the impact of situational changes on the endorsement of a narrow subset of Australian auto-stereotypes, it is an open question as to whether such an effect would be apparent with a broader selection of national stereotypes.

Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, and Turner (1999) explored differences in stereotype consensus amongst Australian students. Consistent with self categorisation theory, it was believed that making a person's national identity salient should lead to stronger ingroup normativeness, reflected in a greater level of agreement concerning national stereotypes. They divided participants into a personal and national identity condition. In support of their hypotheses they found greater levels of stereotype consensus amongst participants in the national identity condition, compared to those in the personal identity condition. Further, they found that participants in the national identity condition were also more likely to use positive stereotypes in describing their ingroup (Australians). While the research of Haslam et al. (1996) and Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, and Turner (1999) shows that situational factors have an impact on stereotype consensus, there is some evidence to suggest that stereotype consensus itself may be diminishing.

Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, and Mein (1999) examined changes in Australians' self-stereotyping over a five year period. The focus of this work was to determine whether consensus in Australian self-stereotypes were stable, or reflected changes in intergroup relations in the broader society. They believed that consensus in self stereotyping would differ depending on the level of agreement there is in the broader society concerning what it means to be Australian. The authors argue that the late 1990's, a time in which there was great division over issues such as Aboriginal reconciliation and immigration, would be associated with less consensus in Australian auto-stereotypes when compared to earlier periods in which there was greater agreement concerning these fundamental issues.

As predicted, consensus in Australian self-stereotypes fluctuated in a manner that appeared to reflect changes in the broader social climate. Hence, when examining Australian auto-stereotypes, in a series of studies conducted from 1992 to 1997, an overall decrease in stereotype consensus was apparent. While this research supports the notion that self-stereotyping is embedded in the broader social milieu, it also raises further questions. Does the impact of self-categorisation on intergroup relations fluctuate in a like manner? If self-stereotypes are more divergent at certain historical periods, does it follow that this will lead to greater variability in group norms? Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, and Mein (1999, p. 276) suggest that "in the wake of the so-called 'Hanson phenomenon' it may be harder for Australian students to see themselves and act *as Australians* -with a shared set of beliefs and values". They maintain that divergence of Australian norms would lead students to focus on their Australian student identities, a subset of the broader Australian identity.

Nonetheless, this is only one possible alternative. It is equally plausible that such divergence would lead to greater disparity in how individuals view what it means to be Australian. Hence, students may still identify themselves as Australian, but draw on a

tradition in which Australia is viewed as a multicultural country, compared to one in which the views of Pauline Hanson¹ are the norm. Of course, it might be suggested that this itself reflects two types of Australian identity. Nonetheless, this would imply a distinct identity for any ideological position, a process which would lead to an over proliferation of identities, few of which, possessing any real meaning. Hence, it is questionable whether people identify themselves as multicultural Australian, Hasonite Australian, or socialist with a certain ambivalence over the privatisation of public commodities Australian. The contention that identities may not possess a shared meaning for all individuals was further explored in research by Brown and Williams (1984) and Brown et al. (1986).

8.3.3 Identity the Same Thing for All People?

Brown et al. (1986) investigated the relationship between social identification and outgroup bias in a work place setting. The target of this research was a paper products factory comprised of several distinct departments. They found little relationship between degree of identification with participants' department and how favourably they rated other departments in the paper factory, an indication of outgroup bias. This replicated previous work by Brown and Williams (1984) exploring social identification and intergroup bias between departments in a bread factory. They found no consistent relationship between identification with a participant's department and perceiving their own department as being more friendly, or providing a greater contribution to the running of the factory. In fact, these two variables were negatively related for one of the departments. Such findings lead Brown and Williams (1984, p. 562) to conclude “that SIT [social identity theory] will need to be revised to take account of the possibility that social identity may have a different meaning,

¹ Pauline Hanson was the co-founder of the One Nation Party in Australia. This party promoted policies such as reducing immigration and welfare payments.

and different consequences, for different types of groups”. This research also has potential consequences for self categorisation theory. It would appear that, irrespective of the strength of identification, there was little agreement as to how the department, as a group, should be viewed (i.e. friendliness, relative contribution). As Brown and Williams (1984, p.561) put it, “group identification is not the same thing to all people”.

8.4 *Aims*

The work of Haslam et al (1996) and Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, and Turner (1999) showed identification to be related to greater consensus and favourability in Australian auto-stereotypes. Nonetheless, given Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, and Mein's (1999) finding of reduced consensus among auto stereotypes, it is important to determine what percentage of Australians share common Australian auto-stereotypes. Such a task is even more critical in the light of Brown and Williams' (1984) claim that identification may mean different things to different people.

Nonetheless, given the dynamic and changing nature of Australian self descriptions (Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, & Mein, 1999), before such a task can be attempted it is necessary to obtain contemporary descriptions of how Australians view themselves. This point is especially salient given that previous researchers have often failed to disclose how they obtained their Australian auto-stereotypes (Haslam et al., 1996). In turn, those who have, either used old, and possibly outdated (Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds & Mein, 1999), inventories of stereotypes or, in the case of McAndrew et al. (2000), used a small number of attributes employed across a broad number of countries. Both approaches run the risk of measuring only a small subset of attributes applicable to a given chronological and geographic context. Thus, the current study was performed in order to obtain a more comprehensive overview of how contemporary Australians think of themselves.

8.5 Method

8.5.1 Participants

67 undergraduate university students completed the questionnaire as part of a class exercise. Fourteen of these participants were excluded because they did not identify themselves as Australian, leaving a total of 53 participants. A break down of the sample on demographic information including gender, age, and political party one would vote for at the next election is presented in Table 8. 1.

Table 8. 1

Demographic breakdown of the sample

| | <i>N</i> | <i>%</i> |
|-------------------------|----------|----------|
| Gender | | |
| Female | 38 | 71.7 |
| Male | 15 | 28.3 |
| Age | | |
| 19 to 29 years | 43 | 81.1 |
| 30 to 39 years | 9 | 17.0 |
| 40 to 49 years | 1 | 1.9 |
| 50 to 59 | 0 | 0 |
| 60 or over | 0 | 0 |
| Party | | |
| Green | 14 | 26.4 |
| Australian Democrats | 1 | 1.9 |
| Labor party | 17 | 32.1 |
| Liberal party | 13 | 24.5 |
| National Party | 7 | 13.2 |
| None of these | 0 | 0 |
| Failed to specify party | 1 | 1.9 |

As can be seen from Table 8. 1, the sample was predominately female 38 (71.7%), with only 15 (28.3%) male participants. Further, with only one participant above 40 years of age, the sample tended to be young. While a large proportion of the sample claimed they

would vote for left of centre parties, 37.9% of participants stated that right of centre parties would receive their vote at the next election.

8.5.2 Materials

i) Australian Attribute Measure.

Participants were presented with a free response questionnaire containing the following instructions:

Australians differ from each other in many ways. However, underlying these differences are some key similarities. In the spaces provided below, place any adjectives that you believe describes the typical Australian. These do not need to be placed in any particular order. Furthermore, there are no correct or incorrect answers.

This was followed by a number of blank lines in which participants could write down any attribute which they believed to be typical of the average Australian.

ii) Australian Identity Screen.

This comprised a single yes/ no question in which participants indicated whether they viewed themselves as Australian. The data of those participants who answered no were omitted from further analyses.

iii) Demographic Information.

In order to ascertain characteristics of the sample, a series of demographic variables were obtained from participants. These consisted of participants' gender and age.

Furthermore, participants were asked to indicate which party they would vote for if a federal election were held today.

8.5.3 *Procedure*

Participants received the questionnaire in class with a request that they completed it anonymously and without discussion. They then returned the questionnaire to the researcher at which point they were debriefed as to the nature of the study. The task took approximately 15 minutes to complete.

8.6 *Results*

Participants generated a total of 155 separate attributes they believed to be typical of the average Australian. Using a technique similar to that of Augoustinos et al. (1994), two independent judges assessed words for semantic similarity. Where there was disagreement between judges the experimenter made the final decision as to which attributes were included. Inter-rater reliability was evaluated by determining the percentage of agreement between judges. In the current study there was 78.3% agreement between the two judges, which compares favourably to the 77.5% agreement reported by Augoustinos et al. (1994).

Of the synonyms that were clustered together, the word that participants nominated most frequently was selected as the attribute to represent all of the words. For instance, if judges nominated the attributes “good sense of humour” and “humorous” as semantically similar, the fact that five participants nominated “good sense of humour”, as opposed to two nominations for “humorous”, meant that the attribute “good sense of humour” was selected.

Attributes were only included if five percent of participants nominated them as typical of the average Australian. Degree of acceptable stereotype consensus differs appreciably between studies. For instance, Hraba, Hagendoorn, and Hagendoorn (1989) only included auto-stereotypes if they were generated by 15% of all participants. In turn, Madon (1997) included any attribute that was mentioned by more than one participant. This was done on the assumption that such stereotypes were shared, and did not reflect idiosyncratic personal

belief. Any criterion will reflect a certain level of arbitrariness. Nonetheless, it was believed that setting percentage of consensus at levels such as those of Hagendoorn and Hraba (1989) may artificially eliminate the individual variance which the current study seeks to explore. The use of a 15% cut-off rests upon the assumption that only popular national stereotypes are important to ingroup members. However, it is possible that there are a diverse set of stereotypes that, while not universally held, are endorsed by significant subsets of the population. A lower cut-off, with the subsequent increase in the number of auto-stereotypes included, means that this study will be more sensitive to this diversity of opinion. The final 27 attributes, along their frequency of nomination, are presented in Table 8. 2.

Table 8. 2

Final list of attributes selected, their frequency (N), and the percentage of participants who nominated each attribute

| Attribute | N | % |
|----------------------|----|------|
| Adventurous | 3 | 5.7 |
| Carefree | 6 | 11.3 |
| Caring | 3 | 5.7 |
| Coarse | 4 | 7.6 |
| Dependable | 4 | 7.6 |
| Down to earth | 3 | 5.7 |
| Freedom Loving | 3 | 5.7 |
| Friendly | 43 | 81.1 |
| Fun Loving | 10 | 18.9 |
| Good sense of Humour | 7 | 13.2 |
| Happy | 3 | 5.7 |
| Hard-working | 9 | 17.0 |
| Helpful | 4 | 7.6 |
| Independent | 3 | 5.7 |
| Laid Back | 34 | 64.2 |
| Loyal | 3 | 5.7 |
| Multicultural | 7 | 13.2 |
| Open-minded | 3 | 5.7 |
| Out-door loving | 5 | 9.4 |
| Outgoing | 11 | 20.8 |
| Patriotic | 3 | 5.7 |
| Prejudiced | 3 | 5.7 |
| Sports Orientated | 23 | 43.4 |
| Tolerant | 5 | 9.4 |
| Unassuming | 3 | 5.7 |
| Welcoming | 3 | 5.7 |
| White (Caucasian) | 3 | 5.7 |

As can be seen from Table 8. 2, a large proportion of participants (81.1%) viewed Australians as “friendly”. Other attributes to be widely endorsed were “laid back” (64.2%), “sport orientated” (43.4%), and “outgoing” (20.8%). At the other end of the spectrum there were a considerable number of attributes which, while not widely held, were proposed by several of the participants. The attributes “adventurous”, “caring”, “down to earth”,

“freedom loving”, “happy”, “independent”, “loyal”, “open-minded”, “patriotic”, “prejudiced”, “unassuming”, “welcoming”, and “White (Caucasian)” were all referred to by 5.7 % of participants.

8.7 Discussion

The current study, although primarily designed to construct a measure of Australian auto-stereotypes, provides some, albeit limited, insight into Australians' perceptions of themselves. The first thing that can be noted is the diversity of attributes participants used to describe the average Australian. Further, some of these descriptions appear to be contradictory. Thus, while some participants described Australians as prejudiced, they were also depicted as tolerant and multi-cultural.

Consistent with self categorisation theory, a number of stereotypes were widely endorsed, such as the notion that Australians are “laid back”, “sport orientated”, and “outgoing”. Nonetheless, only nine of the 27 attributes were nominated by over 10% of participants. This would imply the presence of at least two tiers of Australian auto-stereotypes, those widely held, such as viewing Australians as “friendly”, “laid back”, “sport oriented”, and “outgoing”, and a second tier of auto-stereotypes concerning which there is a great deal less agreement. It is also interesting that attributes from this first tier were similar to those used in Haslam et al.'s (1996) study of Australian stereotypes. Nonetheless, the current findings would suggest that many other, potentially important, auto-stereotypes may not have been included in that study.

It should be noted that the sample may not be strictly representative of the general Australian population. Hence, participants tended to be young, female, and vote for centre/left political parties. This may suggest that the stereotypes generated are more homogeneous than those held by the population at large. Given this, the range of stereotypes nominated is

even more surprising. It can therefore be concluded that while certain stereotypes are widely shared, the diversity of attributes proposed, along with the infrequency with which many of these attributes were nominated, suggest great divergence in the way this sample viewed the typical Australian.

It would be tempting to view the current findings as support for the idea that Australians do not share a single image of the typical Australian, and that, consistent with Brown and Williams (1984), being Australian means different things to different people. Nonetheless, it needs to be acknowledged that researchers such as Hogg (1996) have argued that not every social identity is associated with a clear set of norms and stereotypes. It may be the case that Australian identity is just one example of this. Even so, does this imply that the norms associated with these identities are totally disparate, or are there underlying commonalities amongst them? Similarly, if being Australian does mean different things to different people, are there some common characteristics amongst individuals who hold these differing views? Or more precisely, will these differing conceptions of what it means to be Australian be related to individual differences? This idea will be explored more thoroughly in the following chapter.

9 Chapter Nine

Australian Auto-stereotypes and their Relationship to Value Orientations

9.1 Overview

The role of norms is central to self categorisation theory. A salient identity leads an individual to perceive their fellow group members in a normative manner. In other words, a person will view themselves and the rest of the ingroup as interchangeable with each other (Turner, 1982). It is this tendency that, according to self categorisation theorists, is at the heart of concordant group behaviour (Reicher, 2001). This would appear to imply that there should be extensive agreement amongst group members as to the norms which their group endorse. Nonetheless, how well does the theory explain national identities? In a modern multi-cultural state, such as Australia, how widely are ingroup norms shared?

Curran (2004) maintains that since Menzies², there has been continued debate concerning Australia's national identity. Further, that this debate is reflected in the differing, and often contradictory, images of nationhood presented by subsequent Prime Ministers. This view echoes that of Donald Horne (1964) who, in “The Lucky Country”, questioned the existence of an Australian identity after the collapse of Britishness as a defining ethos of the culture.

This aside, Wesley and Warren (2000) have suggested the presence of distinct 'currents of thought' in Australian society. Rather than one general world-view, they point to the existence of at least three. In performing a currents of thoughts analysis on a series of Australian foreign policy statements, they discovered several currents of thought which they believe point to underlying philosophies concerning Australia and its place in the world, philosophies that attest to the needs and concerns of different sectors of Australian society.

² Menzies was a conservative Australian Prime Minister who held office in the post Second World War years.

The first, traditionalism, reflects a desire to maintain traditional Australian values. In the context of international relations, the traditionalist focuses on Australia's strong economic, cultural, and military ties with traditional allies such as the UK and the USA. In contrast, Seclusionism stresses the uniqueness of Australia and Australians. As such, Seclusionists see no necessity for Australia to be involved in international affairs, but believe that Australians should focus on the needs of their own nation. Finally, Internationalism emphasises the importance of multilateral solutions. Internationalists are more likely to be multicultural, focusing on human rights and the environment.

The observations of writers such as Horne (1964), Curran (2004), and Wesley and Warren (2000) question the notion of a single Australian identity, an interpretation supported by the findings of Study Three of the current thesis. In that study a number of diverse attributes were nominated as typical of the average Australian.

Nonetheless, several unanswered questions remain. Firstly, do Australians depict themselves using a collection of heterogeneous attributes, or are there discernible patterns in these descriptions? In other words, will Australian national images cluster into one, or several, groups of auto-stereotypes? Secondly, if these clusters exist, will there be any relationship between endorsing a particular set of Australian auto-stereotypes and a person's score on traditional individual difference measures? That is, will knowing something about the individual's personality, values, and attitudes indicate something about the national self image they are likely to endorse? Finally, which individual differences, if any, are likely to be related to the endorsement of Australian auto-stereotypes? Although there may be numerous candidates, the study of social values, with a focus on broad overarching beliefs, may be one promising place to start.

9.2 *Values and Social Attitudes*

Researchers such as Braithwaite, Gatens, and Mitchell (2002) believed the study of social values to be fundamental for the understanding of how an individual views the world. It is claimed that values underlie a broad range of beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies (Rokeach, 1973; Braithwaite et al., 2002). Braithwaite et al. (2002) proposed the existence of two distinct world-views. Security values serve to guide the division of limited resources, while the way in which societies share resources is a central focus of harmony values (Braithwaite et al., 2002). This, in turn, leads to two distinctive outlooks in how an individual views her or himself and their relation to society. The “security model envisages integration and relationship building as an outcome of individual improvement, [while] the harmony orientated model sees relationship building and community integration as the means to individual improvement” (Braithwaite et al., 2002, p.240). Given this disparity in world-views, it is hardly surprising that the endorsement of either a security or harmony orientation has been associated with differing perspectives on a range of social issues.

Braithwaite (1997) found that participants high in 'International harmony and equality', a measure of harmony orientation, were more likely to support attitudes such as the need for greater employment opportunities for women, income redistribution, as well as benefits for Aborigines. In a similar vein, they were likely to oppose uranium mining and a tougher approach to crime control. In contrast, participants high in 'National strength and order', measuring aspects of an individual's security orientation, took an opposing view. Hence, they were against increased employment opportunities for women, greater income redistribution, and benefits to Aborigines. Furthermore, they were strongly supportive of uranium mining and greater crime control measures.

'National strength and order' was also associated with voting for parties toward the political right, and 'International harmony and equality' for those of the left. Additionally, social values were related to participants' level of political activism. Hence, participants high in 'International harmony and equality' indicated their willingness to engage in political protest, while political activism was negatively related to the endorsement of 'National strength and order' values. Blamey and Braithwaite (1997a) also found that political identification was predicted by an individual's value orientation. Participants were asked to indicate their political identification using a 10 point scale, with a low score indicating a left of centre political identification and a high score a political identity towards the right. Using regression analysis it was found that both harmony and security values made a significant contribution to the model, albeit, with inverse coefficients. Thus, in predicting political identification, harmony values produced a negative beta coefficient while a positive coefficient was found in relation to security values.

Research such as that by Braithwaite (1997) and Blamey and Braithwaite (1997a) suggests that 'National strength and order' and 'International harmony and equality' are related to differing sets of beliefs and attitudes, and that these value orientations appear to reflect distinct ways of viewing the nature of the society.

9.3 Value Balance Model and Social Attitudes

As discussed in Chapter Four, Braithwaite (1994) believed the 'International harmony and equality' and 'National strength and order' scales could be combined to produce four value orientations. Thus, a person high in 'National strength and order' and low in 'International harmony and equality' was considered to be security orientated. In turn, an individual high in 'International harmony and equality' and low 'National strength and order' was deemed to be harmony orientated. Participants high on both scales were labelled

dualists, with the final group, those low in 'National strength and order' and 'International harmony and equality', characterised as moral relativists.

When Braithwaite (1994) analysed participants' attitudes in the context of the value balance model, it was found that the harmony oriented exhibited a similar pattern of responses to those high in 'International harmony and equality', while the attitudes of the security oriented were similar to that of participants high in 'National strength and order'. Thus, while the security oriented supported uranium mining and tougher crime control, they opposed Aboriginal benefits, income redistribution, and increased employment opportunities for women. In contrast to the security oriented, harmony oriented individuals took an opposing view on each of these issues. The responses of the dualist and moral relativist on the other hand, tended to reflect a middle of the road approach. When responding to these social issues their scores were more likely to be in the mid range.

9.3.1 Moral Relativists and Dualists

Braithwaite (1994) established that both the dualist and moral relativists endorsed positions toward the middle of the political continuum, between that of the harmony and security orientated. Braithwaite (1998b) also found this to be the case, however with one exception: dualists were more likely to endorse the idea that people who break the law should receive stronger penalties, while the inverse was the case for the moral relativists.

Attitudes towards the environment have also produced differences between dualists and moral relativists. Blamey and Braithwaite (1997b) found that dualists believed the environment should be preserved because of its intrinsic worth. In contrast, moral relativists viewed the worth of the environment in terms of the uses to which it could be put.

Why is it that, with the exception of the findings reported above, both moral relativists and dualists support middle of the road attitudes? Even though dualists and moral relativists

exhibit similar attitudes, Braithwaite (1998b) believes they result from entirely different motivations. Her focus has primarily been on the characteristics of the moral relativist. She claims that the moral relativist fails to exhibit any consistent pattern of value orientation. Hence, it is difficult to determine what particular attitude they will express in any given situation. Braithwaite (1998b) suggests two possible explanations for this. Either relativists are prepared to place their values to one side while they actively consider each particular issue on its merits or, alternatively, they are merely apathetic, with no interest in the political process. The first interpretation would presuppose that relativists are active critics of issues, un-swayed by appeals to broad overarching ideologies. In many ways the second interpretation would suggest the opposite, that they are politically disinterested.

Braithwaite (1998b) sought to test the premise that moral relativists focus only on their own personal needs and are apathetic about social issues. She postulated that if the apathy hypothesis is correct, dualists, when compared to moral relativists, should exhibit a tendency to prioritise social over personal values. Thus, when responding to Rokeach's value scale, they would be more likely to endorse society-orientated values such as freedom, National security, and equality. This, in fact, did not turn out to be the case with relatively little difference occurring between dualists and relativists.

Little evidence was found for the premise that relativists are generally disinterested in social issues. However, there was some support for the alternative interpretation. Namely, that relativists avoid overarching generalisations, and "seek more contextual information than dualists in forming their judgements" (Braithwaite & Blamey, 1998, p.364). In a study conducted by Braithwaite (1998b) it was established that relativists were significantly more likely to use a 'depends on the situation' response to items in Scott's Personal Value scale.

9.4 Values and Identification

If Rokeach (1973), Feather (1979), and Braithwaite and Blamey (1998) are correct, values play a fundamental role in reconciling the needs of the individual with those of their society. In turn, the study of values may also indicate something about the allegiance individuals feel towards their nation. Feather (1994) focused on the role that values play in predicting an individual's level of national identification. He suggests that values may affect the degree to which an individual identifies with their nation. However, Feather (1994) is keen to distinguish national identification from national identity. While national identity is a component of a person's social identity, "national identification refers to a person's affective attitude towards the nation" (Feather 1994, p.36). Of course, it could be suggested that while distinct, national identity and national identification should be related. In fact, measures of identification (see for example, Hinkle et al., 1989) often include a measure of affective affiliation with the in-group. Nevertheless, this point does not minimise the importance of examining values in the context of national identification.

Feather (1994) asked participants from an Australian sample to indicate the nation with which they identified. Only the data of those participants who identified themselves as Australian were further analysed. Two items, designed to tap participants' identification with Australia, were also included. Finally, values were assessed using Schwartz's (1992) value survey. Like Braithwaite and Law's (1985) social values inventory, the design of this measure was also influenced by Rokeach's social values scale. When analysed on the basis of gender, it was found that for males Australian identification was positively related to power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, and security values. For females a similar pattern was uncovered. Hence, national identification was associated with achievement, hedonism, universalism, benevolence, conformity, and security values. The key differences

between genders appeared to rest on those values related to power and equality, as measured by the values universalism and benevolence. When the data were pooled, it was found that power, achievement, hedonism, self-direction, conformity, and security proved to be significant correlates of Australian identification. Hence, equality values ceased to be predictive of identification.

Feather (1994) suggests that a person will identify with a nation if they believe it promotes values they espouse. If this is the case, participants in Feather's (1994) study believed that Australia promoted hedonism, power, and achievement, but not equality, as measured by the value universalism. This is consistent with the view that Australian society promotes a carefree, hedonistic lifestyle in which individuals, often against the odds, are able to achieve their goals. However, it appears to contradict the idea that Australia is an egalitarian nation. One interpretation is that such a belief is unfounded, that for many Australians egalitarianism is unimportant. While this may be the case, another interpretation suggests itself. For an individual high in universalism, the idea of identifying him or herself with any one nation may be anathema. It is true that identifying with one's nation is not, of necessity, the same thing as being nationalist. Nonetheless, a person high in universalism may be more wary of endorsing any position that could be viewed in such terms.

9.5 *Aims and Hypotheses*

The literature reviewed would imply two distinct ways in viewing the role of society and a person's place in it. Braithwaite (1997) found that participants high in 'International harmony and equality' tended to endorse a range of progressive or left wing policies. The inverse was the case for those high in 'National strength and order' who indicated that they would oppose these same policies. With reference to the value balance model, with the exception of issues concerning law and order and the environment, dualists and moral relativists have tended to endorse middle of the road attitudes (Braithwaite, 1994, 1998b).

Feather (1994) found that the values hedonism, power, and achievement, but not equality, were related to identification with Australia. Nonetheless, the observations of Curran (2004), Donald Horne (1964), and the research of Wesley and Warren (2000) would imply that there is no single set of Australian auto-stereotypes. Further, like value orientation, divergence in national self image seems to reflect key differences in ideology. This, therefore, would imply that an individual's balance of values may be related to distinct conceptions of what it means to be Australian. In the light of this literature, the following hypotheses were made.

H₁: The auto-stereotypes endorsed as typical of the 'average Australian' will be multi-dimensional.

H₂: Endorsement of these national auto-stereotype dimensions will be differentially related to participant's value orientation.

9.6 Method

9.6.1 Participants

204 undergraduate university students participated in the study for additional course credit. The demographic breakdown of the sample is presented in Table 9. 1.

Table 9. 1

Demographic breakdown of the sample

| | <i>N</i> | % |
|-------------------------|----------|------|
| Gender | | |
| Female | 170 | 83.3 |
| Male | 34 | 16.7 |
| Age | | |
| 19 to 29 years | 193 | 94.6 |
| 30 to 39 years | 9 | 4.4 |
| 40 to 49 years | 2 | 1.0 |
| 50 to 59 | 0 | 0 |
| 60 or over | 0 | 0 |
| Party | | |
| Green | 38 | 18.6 |
| Australian Democrats | 13 | 6.4 |
| Labor party | 73 | 35.8 |
| Liberal party | 37 | 18.1 |
| National Party | 3 | 11.5 |
| None of these | 40 | 19.6 |
| Failed to specify party | 0 | 0 |

As can be seen from Table 9. 1, the sample was largely female $N = 170$ (83.3 %) and young ($N = 193$), with 94.6% of participants aged 19 to 29. Participants also tended to be orientated to the left of the political spectrum, with 60.8% of participants claiming they would vote for centre/left parties if a federal election were held today.

9.6.2 *Materials*

i) Braithwaite and Law's (1985) Social Values Inventory

Braithwaite and Law's (1985) social values inventory is comprised of two sub-scales, the 'International harmony and equality' scale, consisting of eight items, and the 'National strength and order' scale with four items. In the current study the 'National strength and order' scale produced an alpha of .76, while 'International harmony and equality' scale produced a satisfactory Cronbach coefficient alpha of .85.

Responses to all items were recorded using a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 "I reject this as a guiding principle in my life" through to 7 "I accept this as of the greatest importance as a guiding principle in my life". Consistent with Braithwaite and Law's (1985) claim that values are a reflection of what a society deems desirable, the scale is skewed toward the positive end of the spectrum.

ii) Australian Auto-stereotypes Measure

Participants received the 27 attributes generated in Study Three. They were asked to nominate the percentage of Australians they believed possessed each attribute. As in Verkuyten and Hagendoorn's (1998) study, participants responded using an 11 point scale in 10% increments. Hence, a 1 indicated that participants believed that no Australians were characterised by a particular attribute, a 2 indicated that the attribute typified 10% of Australians, through to 11 which reflected a belief that the attribute was characteristic of 100% of Australians.

iii) Hinkle et al.'s (1989) Social Identity Scale.

A six item scale, based on a measure constructed by Hinkle et al. (1989), was included in the study. The first screening item required participants to respond to a 'yes/ no' question in which they indicated if they viewed themselves as Australian. The data of all 'no' respondents were omitted from the study. Subsequent items measured various aspects of

participant's identity including its strength, importance, as well as how they felt about being Australian. Participants responded to items using a five-point Likert scale that ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The scale produced an alpha level of .84.

Finally, demographic information was obtained from participants. This included their gender, age, and political party for which they intended to vote.

9.7 Results

9.7.1 Overview

An attempt was made to determine any underlying patterns that existed in the auto-stereotypes endorsed by participants. Hence, a principle components analysis was conducted. Items from each of the components were subjected to a reliability analysis using Cronbach's coefficient alpha. Items which reduced reliability were extracted. The final items from each component formed three distinct Australian auto-stereotype measures: 'Positive ingroup regard', 'traditional Australian', and 'open-minded/ independent'.

The relationship between the Australian auto-stereotype measures and Braithwaite and Law's (1985) social values inventory were then examined using partial correlations. The inclusion of two measures of group factors, national auto-stereotypes and Hinkle et al.'s (1989) measure of social identity, enabled comparison between these two approaches to be made. Thus, Pearson correlations were performed between these two measures. Finally, a series of one way ANOVAs were performed. This explored differences between each of the value orientations in the percentage of Australians participants believed were characterised by the auto-stereotype measures.

9.7.2 *Structure of Australian Attributes*

In order to determine the underlying structure of Australian auto-stereotypes, a principle components analysis was conducted. Components with eigenvalues greater than unity were extracted. Six components emerged, with the scree test suggesting a three component solution. Given that there was no assumption that the stereotype components should be unrelated, an oblimin rotation was performed using three factors. Loadings greater than .45 were regarded as significant. Table 9. 2 shows the loadings, on the three rotated components, for each Australian auto-stereotype.

Table 9. 2

Factor loadings of Australian stereotypes after oblimin rotation

| Attribute | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| Adventurous | .233 | .608 | .053 |
| Carefree | .160 | .604 | -.022 |
| Caring | .697 | -.027 | .273 |
| Coarse | -.179 | .650 | -.032 |
| Dependable | .689 | .064 | .008 |
| Down to earth | .244 | .377 | .315 |
| Freedom Loving | .390 | .006 | .274 |
| Friendly | .714 | .135 | -.043 |
| Fun Loving | .650 | .288 | -.126 |
| Good sense of Humour | .162 | .570 | .234 |
| Happy | .495 | .097 | .260 |
| Hard-working | .153 | .077 | .501 |
| Helpful | .809 | -.009 | .048 |
| Independent | .144 | .200 | .499 |
| Laid Back | -.017 | .642 | .164 |
| Loyal | .434 | .289 | .196 |
| Multicultural | -.159 | .148 | .610 |
| Open-minded | .278 | .039 | .519 |
| Out-door loving | .250 | .625 | -.011 |
| Outgoing | .188 | .649 | .064 |
| Patriotic | .178 | .111 | .353 |
| Prejudiced | -.047 | .408 | -.526 |
| Sports Orientated | .177 | .607 | .025 |
| Tolerant | .626 | -.030 | .268 |
| Unassuming | -.037 | .349 | .498 |
| Welcoming | .565 | .102 | .342 |
| White (Caucasian) | .457 | .001 | -.213 |

Loadings > .45 are in bold face

The principal component analysis produced three interpretable components. Items that loaded on a component at .45 or above, were used to construct separate stereotype measures. The initial list of items for each of these scales were subjected to a Cronbach coefficient reliability analysis. Items which diminished the reliability of the scales were excluded.

a) Positive Ingroup Regard Component

As can be seen in Table 9. 2, the first component consisted of a selection of positive attributes. Thus, participants believed Australians to be “caring”, “dependable”, “friendly”, “fun loving”, “happy”, “helpful”, “tolerant”, “welcoming”, and “White (Caucasian)”. Given the general positive nature of the auto-stereotypes nominated, this component was labelled 'positive ingroup regard'. After the deletion of one weak item, “White (Caucasian)”, the measure produced a good level of reliability with an alpha of .89.

b) Traditional Australian Component

The second component consisted of Australian stereotypes traditionally used in studies such as Haslam et al. (1996). Thus, with the attributes “adventurous”, “carefree”, “coarse”, “good sense of humour”, “laid back”, “out-door loving”, “outgoing”, and “sports orientated”, the component was titled 'traditional Australian'. With the deletion of the attribute “coarse”, the measure produced an acceptable co-efficient alpha level of .86.

c) Open-minded/ independent Component

Table 9. 2 indicates that a combination of open-minded and multi-cultural attributes characterised the third component. Participants depicted Australians as “hard-working”, “independent”, “multicultural”, “open-minded”, “(un) prejudiced”, and “unassuming”. After the deletion of one weak item, “(un) prejudiced”, the scale produced a Cronbach coefficient alpha of .67.

9.7.3 *Partial Correlations*

Given Braithwaite's (1994) claim that it is the balance of values, and not their magnitude, that should predict a person's belief system, partial correlations were performed. Thus, the relationship between each of Braithwaite and Law's (1985) social value scales and stereotypes was examined, while controlling the variance associated with the other. It was

believed that measuring the relationship between Australian auto-stereotypes and 'National strength and order', while controlling for 'International harmony and equality', would tap stereotypes associated with an individual's security orientation. In a like manner, the relationship between harmony orientation and Australian auto-stereotypes will be best assessed by partialing out the variance associated with the 'National strength and order' scale. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 9. 3.

Table 9. 3
Partial correlations between values and Australian stereotypes, consecutively controlling for both 'National strength and order' and 'International harmony and equality'

| | National Strength and Order |
|---|------------------------------------|
| <i>Controlling for International Harmony and Equality</i> | |
| Positive ingroup regard | .22* |
| Traditional Australian | .18* |
| Open-minded/ independent | .13 |
| | International Harmony and Equality |
| <i>Controlling for National Strength and Order</i> | |
| Positive ingroup regard | .09 |
| Traditional Australian | .06 |
| Open-minded/ independent | .15* |

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

As can be seen from Table 9. 3, when controlling for 'International harmony and equality', both 'positive ingroup regard' ($r(195) = .22, p < .05$) and 'traditional Australian' ($r(195) = .18, p < .05$) stereotypes were significantly related to 'National strength and order'.

These findings indicated that a security orientation was related to viewing Australians as possessing positive attributes, and describing the average Australian using traditional stereotypes. In contrast, describing Australians as open-minded and independent was unrelated to this value orientation ($r(195) = .13, p > .05$).

The inverse pattern was uncovered for harmony oriented participants. Thus, while the 'open-minded/ independent' stereotype scale was significantly related to 'International harmony and equality' ($r(195) = .15, p < .05$), this was not the case for the 'positive ingroup regard' ($r(195) = .09, p > .05$) or 'traditional Australian' stereotype components ($r(195) = .06, p > .05$) scales.

The relationship between Hinkle et al.'s (1989) social identity measure and ingroup stereotypes, as used in Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998), was assessed in order to determine degree of overlap between these two approaches.

Table 9. 4
Correlations between ingroup stereotypes and Hinkle et al.'s (1989) measure of social identification

As Table 9. 5 indicates, there were strong relationships between Hinkle et al.'s (1989) measure of Australian identity and the 'positive ingroup regard' ($r(200) = .26, p < .01$) and 'open-minded/ independent' ($r(199) = .24, p < .01$) stereotype scales. The 'traditional Australian' stereotype measure was unrelated to Australian identity ($r(200) = .07, p > .05$).

9.7.4 Value Balance Model

In order to explore the value balance model in greater detail, a series of one-way ANOVAs were performed. A measure of each of the four value orientations was obtained by dividing, at the median, participants' scores on the 'International harmony and equality' (median = 5.7) and 'National strength and order' (median = 5) scales. Participants who scored above the median on both scales constituted the dualist group, while those below the medians the moral relativists. Similarly, those who scored above the median on the 'International harmony and equality' and below on the 'National strength and order' scales were labelled harmony orientated, while participants with the inverse pattern comprised the security oriented group. Participants from each of the value orientation groups were then compared on the basis of their endorsement of each stereotype component. Mean scores and standard deviations are presented in Table 9. 6.

Table 9. 5
Means and standard deviations on Australian stereotypes for each value orientation

| | | <i>N</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> |
|--------------------------|------------------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Positive ingroup regard | | | | |
| | Harmony | 39 | 6.47 | .96 |
| | Security | 24 | 6.84 | 1.11 |
| | Moral Relativist | 54 | 5.99 | 1.01 |
| | Dualist | 52 | 6.92 | 1.04 |
| | | 169 | | |
| Traditional | | | | |
| | Harmony | 39 | 6.48 | 1.07 |
| | Security | 24 | 6.88 | 1.14 |
| | Moral Relativist | 54 | 5.95 | 1.15 |
| | Dualist | 52 | 6.65 | 1.30 |
| | | 169 | | |
| Open-minded/ independent | | | | |
| | Harmony | 39 | 5.87 | .90 |
| | Security | 24 | 6.00 | 1.23 |
| | Moral Relativist | 54 | 5.60 | 1.04 |
| | Dualist | 51 | 6.28 | 1.07 |
| | | 168 | | |

The ANOVA for 'positive ingroup regard' suggested significant differences between value orientations ($F(3, 165) = 8.43, p < .01$). Post hoc testing using Tukeys HSD revealed that the security oriented ($M = 6.84, SD = 1.11$) scored significantly higher, than moral relativists ($M = 5.99, SD = 1.01, p < .01$), on the 'positive ingroup regard' scale. Similarly, dualists ($M = 6.92, SD = 1.04$) depicted significantly greater percentage of Australians using attributes from this scale than moral relativists ($M = 5.99, SD = 1.01, p < .01$).

The same pattern occurred for 'traditional Australian' stereotypes ($F(3, 165) = 4.85, p < .01$). Thus, the security oriented ($M = 6.88, SD = 1.14$) scored significantly higher on the 'traditional Australian' stereotype scale than did moral relativists ($M = 5.95, SD = 1.15, p < .01$). In turn, dualists ($M = 6.65, SD = 1.30$) also scored significantly higher than moral relativists ($M = 5.95, SD = 1.15, p < .05$).

Finally, the ANOVA for the 'open-minded/ independent' stereotype measure also pointed to differences between conditions ($F(3, 164) = 3.67, p < .01$). In this instance, post hoc tests using Tukeys HSD revealed that dualists ($M = 6.28, SD = 1.07$) scored significantly higher on this scale than moral relativists ($M = 5.60, SD = 1.04, p < .01$).

In conclusion, it is clear from the findings that the endorsement of Australian auto-stereotypes, far from being universal, differed depending on participant's value orientation. Here there was a consistent pattern in which moral relativists, when compared to the dualists and security orientated, characterised a significantly smaller percentage of Australians in relation to attributes in each of the national auto-stereotypes scales.

9.8 Discussion

The findings offered general support for the hypotheses. Firstly, principal components analyses suggested that Australian auto-stereotypes are best described by using at least three separate components. The first containing the attributes “caring”, “dependable”, “friendly”,

“fun loving”, “happy”, “helpful”, “tolerant”, “welcoming”, and “White (Caucasian)” would appear to point to Australians' belief that they are, on the whole, nice, friendly people. It is difficult to determine if this component reflects Australians' genuine like of their ingroup, or an uncritical view of Australia and Australians. Hence, it may have been the case that these participants believed it unpatriotic and un-Australian to characterise their fellow citizens in a negative light. This aside, the presence of such a component may not be restricted to an Australian population. With the exception of “White (Caucasian)”, it may be the case that any national group asked to describe themselves would use similar positive attributes.

The second component, labelled 'traditional Australian', consisted of stereotypes such as “adventurous”, “carefree”, “coarse”, “good sense of humour”, “laid back”, “out-door loving”, “outgoing”, and “sports orientated”. This component contained many stereotypes traditionally attributed to Australians (see for example, Ward, 1958). It is interesting that studies such as Haslam et al (1996) have tended to use measures drawing exclusively on similar stereotypes. Nonetheless, the current results would suggest this taps only one facet of Australian auto-stereotypes.

The final component, 'open-minded/ independent', consisted of the items “hard-working”, “independent”, “multicultural”, “open-minded”, “(un) prejudiced”, and “unassuming”. This component would appear to capture an image of Australians as multicultural and open-minded.

Like Wesley and Warren (2000), the current study uncovered three distinct views of what it means to Australian. Further, there were some similarities between these studies. Thus, the traditionalist and internationalist currents of thought bear some similarity to the 'traditional Australian' and 'open-minded/ independent' auto-stereotype components uncovered in the current study. However, given the differing focus of the studies, it is not

surprising that there were differences. Nonetheless, in sympathy with the views of Wesley and Warren (2000), the current study suggests that any consideration of Australians' view of themselves, and their nation, must note the inherent differences which individuals will exhibit.

While it may be suggested that each component uncovered in the present study offers a differing way of describing oneself as Australian, it does not imply that these are the only ways in which Australians describe themselves. The original pool of stereotypes was generated by undergraduates. Further, the current study was completed using a separate group of undergraduates. This suggests that a more diverse group drawn from the broader community may have nominated other stereotypes, implying there may be even greater diversity in Australian auto-stereotypes than that described in the current study.

Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998) used auto-stereotypes as a measure of ingroup belonging. Given such an approach, one would expect ingroup stereotypes to be related to other measures of group allegiance, such as Hinkle et al.'s (1989) social identification measure. The difference between the two measures is not just the manner in which they measure group belonging, but the type of group belonging measured. For ingroup stereotypes, participants are presented with a range of stereotypes said to be typical of their nation, while Hinkle et al.'s (1989) measure taps a participant's national identification with their group irrespective of how that group is conceived. In other words, the approach of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998) required participants to agree with a set of attributes if they were to be considered to have identified with their group, while Hinkle et al.'s (1989) measure did not.

The 'positive ingroup regard' and 'open-minded/ independent' auto-stereotype components were significantly related to Hinkle et al.'s (1989) measure. Nonetheless, there

was no significant correlation between Hinkle et al.'s (1989) measure and the 'traditional Australian' component. This result is important because it was this auto-stereotype component that consisted of many of the same stereotypes used in studies such as Haslam et al. (1996). Thus, any narrow selection of national stereotypes may run the risk of excluding many attributes important to individuals in that nation. Further, this would imply that many individuals who identify with their national group do not necessarily endorse many of the stereotypes commonly attributed to that group.

The study went on to test the hypothesis that variations in Australian auto-stereotypes may, in turn, be related to an individual's value orientation. Partialing out the variance associated with 'International harmony and equality' led to a significant relationship between 'National strength and order' and both the 'positive ingroup regard' and 'traditional Australian' auto-stereotype measures. The inverse pattern was uncovered for 'International harmony and equality'. Thus, there was a significant relationship between 'International harmony and equality' scale and the 'open-minded/ independent' auto-stereotype measure, once the variance associated with 'National strength and order' was partialled out. Studies by Braithwaite (1997, 1998b) have consistently illustrated the relationship between 'National strength and order', 'International harmony and equality', and the two poles of the ideological spectrum. It is tempting to view the auto-stereotypes, 'positive ingroup regard' and 'traditional Australian', as consistent with a right of centre ideology, and 'open-minded/ independent' consistent with that of the centre/ left. This may be the case for the security orientation. Nonetheless, it should be noted that when analysed in the context of the value balance model, the harmony oriented did not significantly differ from those with any other value orientation in the degree to which they endorsed each of the national auto-stereotypes.

This appears consistent with the findings of Feather (1994). He found that the value universalism, a measure of equality, was unrelated with Australian identification. However, it may be the case that the findings of Feather (1994), as well as that of the current study, have little to do with how Australians identify themselves. Rather, the results may illustrate the nature of the values Universalism and 'International harmony and equality'. Both tap Internationalism. Thus, in the case of the current study, participants high in 'International harmony and equality' may have been reticent to endorse the stereotypes of any one nation, given that this is at odds with their internationalist views. Further, this could have occurred irrespective of whether the auto-stereotypes presented were consistent with a left of centre political ideology, or not.

In relation to the dualist and moral relativist value orientations, the findings were, at least on the surface, inconsistent with the work of Braithwaite (1994). Unlike in Braithwaite's research, which focused on the study of political attitudes, participants endorsing moral relativist and dualist value orientations did not score in the mid-range on any of the stereotype measures. For each of the stereotype measures moral relativists scored lowest, while, with the exception of the 'traditional Australian' measure, dualists scored highest. Nonetheless, the findings should be viewed in the broader light of the value balance model. In the current study auto-stereotypes and not social attitudes were measured. It has been argued that moral relativists exhibit a reticence in appealing to over-arching principles but “prefer judging each situation on its merits” (Braithwaite, 1998b, p. 228). This preference may have been reflected in their judgement of Australians. Thus, they would be less likely to favour the use of any stereotype said to describe the average Australian, preferring to assess each Australian on their individual merits. Further, it is plausible that dualists, who by definition are more likely to approve each of the values espoused by their

society, will in turn extend this endorsement to the auto-stereotypes commonly held by their national group.

In summary, it would appear that what it means to be Australian differs depending on who one asks. The current study revealed the existence of three separate clusters of Australian stereotypes. Equally importantly, these stereotypes were endorsed by differing groups of people, as measured by differences in value orientation. This raises important implications for some of the ideas central to self categorisation theory. If individuals, once depersonalised, are likely to view themselves in a group normative manner, it needs to be asked which norms they are endorsing. If the current findings are correct, this question cannot be understood without studying individual differences. This once again illustrates the central role that individual differences play in understanding intergroup behaviour.

The next chapter brings together two key ideas presented in the thesis. The first is the role of situationally dynamic individual difference variables, in this instance PNS. The second explores endorsement of different sets of Australian auto-stereotypes and the impact these have on the expression of prejudicial attitudes.

10 Chapter Ten

SCO and Perceptions of Group Belonging: the Impact of Situational Context

10.1 Overview

Social identity and self categorisation theorists have tended to downplay the role of individual differences in their explanation of intergroup relations. This is based on the assumption that stable personality variables are unable to account for the dramatic, and often rapid, changes that occur in intergroup relations (Reynolds et al., 2001). Nonetheless, it is possible that such a critique underplays the situationally dynamic nature of individual differences; that certain personality variables make some individuals more susceptible to situational influences than others. For instance, Study Two of this thesis showed that the individual difference measure PNS was especially sensitive to environmental influence. In the self categorisation literature there has been increasing focus on the role of subjective uncertainty reduction as a motive for group belonging (Hogg & Mullin, 1999).

Given that PNS is a measure of individual differences in the need for structure and certainty (Neuberg & Newsom, 1993), such situational variance is interesting. It suggests that not only do individual differences underlie processes inherent to group belonging, but that they are also responsive to environmental influences. Nonetheless, uncertainty reduction is not the only motive that has been proposed to explain group behaviour. Tajfel (1981) suggested that increased self esteem, which relies on the psychological process of social comparison, influences the way in which individuals perceive not only outgroups, but also the ingroup. Relatively recently Gibbons and Buunk (1999) constructed a scale that measures the propensity for individuals to engage in social comparisons, the INCOM. Such a development provides an opportunity to re-examine Tajfel's theory concerning the motivational processes underlying group belonging.

10.2 The Importance of Social Comparison in Social Identity Theory

Tajfel (1981) believed that social comparisons underlie social identification. It could be argued that social comparison forms the bedrock of Tajfel's (1981) theory of intergroup bias. Tajfel believed the groups to which individuals belong become part of their self concept. He coupled this with Festinger's (1954) observation that individuals strive to maintain a satisfactory self concept by making, often self-servingly biased, comparisons with others. This led Tajfel (1981) to conclude that such a tendency should extend to the intergroup level. Thus, there should be both positive ingroup, and negative outgroup, bias.

Tajfel's initial self esteem hypothesis has largely fallen out of favour. This decline, in part, is attributable to the lack of clear, consistent, empirical research testing Tajfel's theory (Rubin & Hewstone, 1988). There has been little standardisation, not just in methodology, but also in the theoretical presuppositions underlying the work. For instance, researchers have conceptualised the self-esteem hypothesis in two distinct ways: lower self esteem prompting an individual to engage in group bias, or an elevated level of self esteem arising from intergroup bias. In other words, some studies (see for example, Hunter, Platos, Howard, & Stringer, 1996) have treated self esteem as a motive for intergroup bias, while others, such as Brockner and Chen (1996), have treated it as an outcome of bias. Debate has also centred on the type of self esteem measured. Much focus has been on personal self esteem, yet Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) and Turner (1999) maintain that collective self esteem should be measured. Finally, a comprehensive review by Rubin and Hewstone (1988) suggested that support for the self esteem hypothesis, in whatever form, was far from equivocal. The self esteem hypothesis may not be as prominent as it once was, nonetheless, this has not diminished the important role of social comparisons in self categorisation theory.

10.3 *Meta-contrast and Social Comparison*

Self categorisation theory owes much to the original formulation of Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory, although it has continued to develop in several unique ways. One product of this evolution has been an increased awareness of the dynamic nature of social identification. Here an “emphasis on categorization as highly variable and context-dependent produces a concomitant emphasis on the context-dependence of perceived similarity and difference, the major *outcome* [italics original] of categorization” (Oakes, 1996, p. 103). This emphasis on perceived difference and similarity is grounded on the comparisons individuals make concerning their ingroup, and that of outgroups. In doing so they engage in a process labelled meta-contrast, a key measure of social identification (Turner, 1987).

Meta-contrast measures perceived intra-group differences compared with perceived differences with the outgroup. In one sense, meta-contrast incorporates an attempt to determine when an individual's identity will be made salient. Thus, for instance, an individual is more likely to categorise themselves and other ingroup members as Australian if they believe differences between Australians are less than those between Australians and a relevant comparative group, for example, New Zealanders. As a consequence, the propensity to categorise oneself, as well as others, as a group member will always reflect the context in which these comparison are made. Thus, it could be claimed that the process of comparison is not just at the heart of meta-contrast, but of self categorization theory. While Festinger (1954) focused on inter-individual comparisons, Tajfel (1981) made it clear that this ignored the importance social groups play in a person's self definition. Social comparisons are never solely individual, but always reflect a person's perception of their ingroup. The work of Oakes (1996) and Turner (1987), amongst others, illustrate the continued importance of social comparison, a process inherent to the principle of meta-contrast.

10.4 SCO

While Festinger (1954) believed the propensity to engage in social comparisons was a fundamental drive, some researchers have suggested this need may differ amongst individuals (Steil & Hay, 1997). Gibbons and Buunk (1999) labelled the tendency to engage in social comparisons as one's social comparison orientation. Gibbons and Buunk (1999) also constructed a measure designed to assess individual differences in the desire to make social comparisons, the INCOM. It has been found to be a reliable predictor of the propensity to engage in social comparisons in a variety of different contexts (see for example, Buunk, Van der Zee & Van Yperen, 2001; Van der Zee, Oldersma, Buunk & Bos, 1998).

Given the relatively recent focus on individual differences in social comparison, it is not surprising that there is little work on group processes. Nonetheless, there are some findings to suggest that SCO may have an impact on how others are perceived. Michinov and Michinov (2001) explored the role SCO plays in information seeking. Work by Newcomb (1961) established a tendency, known as the similarity effect, for people to like those who are similar to themselves. Michinov and Michinov (2001) found this effect to be moderated by a person's level of SCO. More specifically, while participants low in SCO preferred those who were similar to themselves, high SCOs preferred both similar and dissimilar others. The authors suggest that this may reflect the confusion and uncertainty inherent in the self knowledge of high SCO participants. Hence, they engage not only in knowledge confirmation, but are concerned with knowledge construction. They seek information from others, irrespective of how similar they are, in an attempt to determine what they should think. In contrast, low SCOs, more assured in their self knowledge, seek out similar others who are likely to confirm their beliefs. While the study examined interpersonal similarity, it is possible that these results may extend to the intergroup level. Thus, high

SCOs may be less likely to depend on the ingroup for knowledge confirmation, and will draw on outgroup sources, even if these are perceived to differ from the ingroup.

10.5 Australian Auto-stereotypes

Study Four illustrated the presence of three different clusters of Australian stereotypes. Furthermore, these were related to different value orientations. The body of literature examining Australians' national self-image is not large. In fact, to gain an insight into the differing ways in which Australians describe themselves, it is necessary to go outside of the field of social psychology.

Ward (1958) claimed that the Australian self-image was forged in relation to Australia's rugged environment. In his 1958 book "The Australian Legend", he suggested that the image of the bushman, most at home in the outdoors, was at the heart of the Australian self-image. Hodges (1992), in turn, traces the popularisation of this image through the work of authors such as Banjo Patterson. Once again, the work of both Patterson, and to a lesser extent Henry Lawson, paint the picture of the rugged, independent bushman living by their wits in a largely hostile environment.

Carlyon (2001) suggests that the bush was not the only source of Australian auto-stereotypes. He claims that despatches from the First World War, and especially Gallipoli, moulded Australians' self-image from that of outpost of Britain to something quite distinct. Newspaper reports of the war presented Australian soldiers as unique; in turn this uniqueness was believed to be characteristic of the nation that bore them. Carlyon (2001) maintains that the legacy of Gallipoli was a self-image of Australians as brave, carefree, casual, and, above all, loyal to one's mates.

These authors present a consistent view of the Australian self-image. Irrespective of the source, Australians are depicted as rugged, independent, outdoors men, women, on the

whole, appear to be absent from the Australian national self-image. The conflict of the First World War supplemented these with stereotypes of Australians as brave, carefree, casual, and loyal.

Simmons (2004) maintains that Australian stereotypes have not remained static. Reviewing Australian films from the 1930s to the late 1990s, he observed a shift in the way in which Australians are depicted. Paralleling the work of Ward (1958) and Hodges (1992), Simmons (2004) notes that early films portrayed Australians against the backdrop of the bush. This was a largely masculine world. Although women were depicted, they were often only in token roles. Films such as “On Our Selection” (1932) and later “The Overlanders” (1946) extolled the virtues of mateship, solidarity, and self-reliance. In contrast, from the late 1990s images of the bush largely disappear from the screen. In films such as “Looking for Alibrandi”, they were replaced with scenes that reflect the multi-cultural experience, and with issues of being a woman in contemporary Australian society.

While the films of any particular era do not necessarily depict a transparent image of contemporary national consciousness, and while any review of these films will necessarily be selective, it seems reasonable to believe that films may provide some reflection of how a nation views itself. If so, the current review would imply a significant change in Australians' self image. There appears to be a shift from the bush myth to something far more diverse and complex. It is interesting then that attributes from of the 'traditional Australian' scale, discussed in Chapter Nine, such as adventurous, carefree, and outdoor loving appear consistent with views from the 1930s and 1940s, so vividly portrayed in the work of Ward (1958) and Hodges (1992).

10.6 Aims and Hypotheses

Research by Verkuyten and Hagendoorn explored the relationship between intergroup bias, individual differences, and group factors, respectively. It was found that when participants' personal identity was salient, the individual difference variable RWA was related to prejudice. In contrast, ingroup stereotypes, a measure of group factors, were related to prejudice in the national identity condition only. Heaven and St Quintin (2003) and Study Two of this thesis failed to show the same pattern. In Heaven and St. Quintin (2003), and Study Two, RWA was related to prejudice in both conditions. In contrast, Australian identity was unrelated to Asian prejudice, irrespective of whether participant's personal or national identity was made salient. Nonetheless, Study Two used a different measure of group factors, Hinkle et al.'s (1989) measure of strength of identification. Thus, it is possible that differences in results between Verkuyten and Hagendoorn's (1998) study and that of Study Two, may reflect differences in the measures used. Hence, in order to investigate this possibility, the current study once again examined the relationship between group factors and prejudice, but used a measure of ingroup stereotypes based on that of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998).

Tajfel (1981) suggested that Festinger's theory of social comparison was incomplete because it ignored the fact that an individual's social identity plays an important role in their self concept. He suggested that this would affect the way in which a person views their own group as well as that of others. Nonetheless, Gibbons and Bunk (1999) maintain that the need for social comparison is greater for some individuals than others. Michinov and Michinov's (2001) finding, that high SCOs seek out dissimilar as well as similar others, may imply that such individuals will possess stronger liking, and hence less bias, toward outgroup members. Nonetheless, it should be noted that this work focussed on the interpersonal level,

and it is an open question as to whether this pattern will be exhibited at the intergroup level.

Thus, it seems reasonable to expect, given the prominent role of social comparison in social identity theory, that individual differences in SCO will be related to strength of group belonging and outgroup bias. Further, that this relationship should be stronger when the focus lies on an individual's social identity.

H₁: Consistent with the research of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998), it is predicted that ingroup stereotypes will be related to prejudice towards Asians in the national identity condition only. Thus, there will be no relationship between these two variables in the personal identity condition.

H₂: In the national identity condition, SCO will be related to measures of group belonging including ingroup homogeneity, meta-contrast, and prejudice. In the personal identity condition, SCO will be unrelated to perceptions of group belonging.

10.7 Method

10.7.1 Participants

192 undergraduate university students, who participated in the study as a compulsory component of their coursework.

Table 10. 1

Demographic breakdown of the sample

| | <i>N</i> | <i>%</i> |
|-------------------------|----------|----------|
| Gender | | |
| Female | 162 | 84.4 |
| Male | 30 | 15.6 |
| Age | | |
| 19 to 29 years | 181 | 94.3 |
| 30 to 39 years | 9 | 4.7 |
| 40 to 49 years | 2 | 1.0 |
| 50 to 59 | 0 | 0 |
| 60 or over | 0 | 0 |
| Party | | |
| Green | 36 | 19.0 |
| Australian Democrats | 11 | 5.7 |
| Labor party | 70 | 36.0 |
| Liberal party | 34 | 18.0 |
| National Party | 3 | 11.6 |
| None of these | 38 | 19.8 |
| Failed to specify party | 0 | 0 |

The sample was predominately female ($N = 162$), with only 30 males. It was also young, with 94.2% of participants in the 19-29 age group and only 11 participants aged above 30. In relation to political orientation, overall participants claimed that they would vote for left of centre parties ($N = 117$) at the next federal election, with only 37 participants maintaining that they would vote for right of centre parties.

10.7.2 Materials

i) Gibbons and Buunk's (1999) Iowa – Netherlands Comparison Orientation Measure (INCOM)

The INCOM consists of 11 items to which participants respond using a five-point Likert scale. Gibbons and Buunk (1999) found the scale to be multi-dimensional, consisting of an ability and opinions component. Nonetheless, they suggest, given the strong correlation between the two components, that all items should be used wherever possible. In the present study the scale produced a satisfactory Cronbach coefficient alpha of .81, with no items deleted.

ii) Australian Identity Screen

The measure of Australian identity consisted of a single item that asked participants if they identified themselves as Australian.

iii) Australian Auto-stereotypes Measure

The Australian auto-stereotypes measure is comprised of three scales drawn from the stereotype components uncovered in Study Four. The 'positive ingroup regard' stereotype scale, with nine items, produced an alpha of .90 after the deletion of one weak item. Consisting of eight items, the 'traditional Australian' scale produced an alpha of .87 after the deletion of a single weak item. The final, eight item, scale, 'open-minded/ independent', produced an alpha level of .67 with the deletion of one weak item.

Using an 11-point Likert scale, participants rated the percentage of Australians they believed possessed each attribute. Thus a rating of 1 reflected the belief that no Australian possessed a particular attribute, while a rating of 11 indicated that the respondent believed that the stereotypes was typical of 100% of Australians.

iv) Meta-Contrast Measure

The meta-contrast measure comprises four items, and is designed to assess level of perceived difference between ingroup and outgroup. It included items such as “The Australian and Asian way of life is:” and “The temperament of Asians and Australians are:”. Responses were recorded on a five-point Likert scale ranging from very similar to very dissimilar. After the deletion of two weak items, the scale produced a satisfactory alpha of .76.

v) Identity Conditions

Participants were randomly assigned to either the national or personal identity condition. Identities were manipulated using the same procedure described previously in Chapter Seven.

vi) Walker’s (1994) Attitudes toward Asians Scale

In order to measure Asian prejudice, Walker’s (1994) attitudes towards Asians scale was included. This scale comprises 10 items to which participants responded using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Previous research indicated that the scale possesses a good level of reliability with an alpha level of .91 (Walker, 1994). In the current study the scale produced a co-efficient alpha of .88.

vii) Manipulation Check

In order to determine whether the manipulation proved successful, a check, based on Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998)’s measure, was included. This asked participants to indicate how they had answered the questionnaire. Possible responses ranged from 1, suggesting that they had answered as a unique individual, through to 10, which implied that they had answered the questionnaire as an Australian.

Also included were measures of ingroup and outgroup homogeneity. The first asked participants to respond to the statement that Australians are very similar to each other. The

second included the same statement. but this time with reference to Asians. Participants responded to both using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

10.7.3 Procedure

On arrival at the laboratory participants were randomly assigned to either the national or personal identity condition. Participants in both conditions received the same questionnaire, with the exception that participants in the national identity condition received several alternative questions, along with a passage designed to focus their attention on their national group, while the passage and questions in the personal identity condition focused participants' attention on themselves as an individual. The task took approximately 30 minutes to complete, after which participants were debriefed as to the nature of the study.

10.8 Results

10.8.1 Overview

A manipulation check was performed in order to establish if the identity manipulation was successful. Potential differences on the measures, between males and females, were examined using *t* tests. The same procedure was followed to explore differences between the identity conditions. Pearson correlations were conducted to examine the relationship between comparison orientation, ingroup stereotypes, and prejudice for both the personal and national identity conditions. Finally, structural equation modelling was performed in an attempt to explore mediational effects of individual differences and group processes on Asian prejudice.

10.8.2 Manipulation Check

A *t* test indicated that, compared to the personal identity condition ($M = 4.44$), participants in the national identity condition ($M = 5.19$) were significantly more likely to state they answered the questionnaire as Australian $t(186) = 2.20, p < .05$. Thus, indicating that the manipulation was successful.

10.8.3 Analysis of Differences between both Men and Women, and between Identity Conditions

Independent groups *t* tests were performed to assess differences on each of the measures for males and females, and between the identity conditions. The results are presented in Tables 10. 2 and 10. 3.

Table 10. 2

Mean scores and standard deviations for national and personal identity conditions

| | Total | | National Identity | | Personal Identity | | Difference | |
|--------------------------|----------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|------------|----------|
| | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>t</i> |
| Positive ingroup regard | 6.50 | 1.11 | 6.41 | 1.19 | 6.59 | 1.02 | -.18 | -1.12 |
| Traditional Australian | 6.45 | 1.19 | 6.47 | 1.27 | 6.43 | 1.11 | .04 | .21 |
| Open-minded/ independent | 6.01 | 1.06 | 5.96 | 1.05 | 6.06 | 1.07 | -.10 | -.63 |
| SCO | 3.63 | .57 | 3.65 | .62 | 3.62 | .53 | .03 | .34 |
| Prejudice towards Asians | 2.41 | .76 | 2.47 | .76 | 2.34 | .75 | .13 | 1.14 |

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

The results presented in Table 10. 2 indicate no significant differences between the national and personal identity conditions in participants' scores on any of the variables.

Table 10. 3

Mean scores and standard deviations for males and females

| | Female | | Male | | Difference | |
|--------------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|----------|
| | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>t</i> |
| Positive ingroup regard | 6.49 | 1.13 | 6.58 | 1.02 | -.09 | -.40 |
| Traditional Australian | 6.46 | 1.22 | 6.40 | 1.01 | .06 | .28 |
| Open-minded/ independent | 6.08 | .99 | 5.63 | 1.31 | .45 | 2.15* |
| SCO | 3.65 | .59 | 3.55 | .48 | .10 | .81 |
| Prejudice towards Asians | 2.42 | .76 | 2.31 | .73 | .11 | .69 |

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 10. 3 shows a significant difference between males ($M = 5.63$) and females ($M = 6.08$) in relation to the 'open-minded/ independent' stereotype scale ($t = 2.15$, $df = 187$, two tailed $p < 0.05$). None of the other differences were significant. Although a significant difference occurred between men and women on the 'open-minded/ independent' stereotype scale, it was decided to use the total sample in further analysis because of the small number of men in the sample.

10.8.4 Pearson Correlations

In order to gain some insight into the processes occurring in the personal and national identity conditions, data from each condition were analysed separately.

Table 10. 4

Correlations between each of the variables in the personal identity condition

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. |
|-----------------------------|------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|-----|----|
| 1. Comparison Orientation | — | | | | | | | |
| 2. Positive ingroup regard | .10 | — | | | | | | |
| 3. Traditional Australian | -.01 | .63** | — | | | | | |
| 4. Open-minded/independent | .12 | .58** | .50** | — | | | | |
| 5. Prejudice towards Asians | .10 | .15 | .11 | .12 | — | | | |
| 6. Ingroup Homogeneity | .08 | .15 | .22* | .19 | .18 | — | | |
| 7. Outgroup Homogeneity | .19 | -.01 | .12 | .08 | .18 | .74** | — | |
| 8. Meta-contrast | .13 | -.03 | .13 | -.03 | .46** | .15 | .17 | — |

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

As can be seen from Table 10. 4, each of the stereotype components were significantly related with each other. Consistent with hypothesis one, the relationship between prejudice towards Asians and the ingroup stereotypes, 'positive ingroup regard' ($r(94) = .15, p > .05$), 'traditional Australian' ($r(94) = .11, p > .05$), and 'open-minded/independent' ($r(94) = .12, p > .05$) was not significant. Consistent with hypothesis two, SCO was unrelated to Asian prejudice ($r(95) = .10, p > .05$), measures of ingroup ($r(96) = .08, p > .05$), and outgroup homogeneity ($r(96) = .19, p > .05$).

The stereotype component 'traditional Australian' was significantly related to ingroup homogeneity ($r(95) = .22, p < .05$), while the other auto-stereotype measures were unrelated to any variable. Further, meta-contrast was significantly related to prejudice towards Asians ($r(95) = .47, p < .01$). Thus, those who believed Australians and Asians were very different were also more likely to hold negative attitudes towards people from Asia. Finally, both ingroup and outgroup homogeneity were unrelated to either Asian prejudice or meta-contrast.

Table 10. 5

Correlations between each of the variables in the national identity condition

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. |
|-----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|----|
| 1. Comparison Orientation | — | | | | | | | |
| 2. Positive ingroup regard | .07 | — | | | | | | |
| 3. Traditional Australian | .08 | .69** | — | | | | | |
| 4. Open-minded/independent | .18 | .69** | .66** | — | | | | |
| 5. Prejudice towards Asians | .10 | .17 | .21* | .09 | — | | | |
| 6. Ingroup Homogeneity | -.25* | .13 | .16 | -.03 | .28* | — | | |
| 7. Outgroup Homogeneity | -.18 | .19 | .26* | .12 | .32** | .61** | — | |
| 8. Meta-contrast | .25* | .12 | .16 | .07 | .57** | .09 | .28** | — |

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

It can be seen from Table 10. 5, that in partial support of hypothesis two, SCO was related to meta-contrast and ingroup homogeneity. However, there was no significant relationship between outgroup homogeneity and SCO ($r(96) = -.18, p > .05$). The relationship between ingroup homogeneity and SCO was negative ($r(96) = -.25, p < .05$).

That is, those high in comparison orientation were less likely to perceive ingroup members as being the same. In contrast, the relationship between SCO and meta-contrast was positive ($r(96) = .25, p < .05$). In partial support of hypothesis one, prejudice towards Asian was significantly related to 'traditional Australian' stereotypes ($r(93) = .21, p < .05$). Nonetheless, the relationship between prejudice towards Asians, and both the 'positive ingroup regard' ($r(93) = .17, p > .05$) and 'open-minded/ independent' auto-stereotype measures ($r(92) = .09, p > .05$) was not significant.

In other findings of note, 'traditional Australian' stereotypes were significantly related to outgroup homogeneity ($r(95) = .26, p < .05$). Thus, those who endorsed 'traditional Australian' auto-stereotypes were more likely to perceive Asians as being the same. Measures of perceived ingroup homogeneity ($r(96) = .29, p < .01$), outgroup homogeneity ($r(96) = .31, p < .01$), and meta-contrast ($r(96) = .58, p < .01$) were all related to prejudice towards Asians.

10.8.5 Differences in Strength of Correlations between Conditions

Table 10. 5 shows that in the national identity condition, SCO was negatively related to perceiving the ingroup in an homogeneous manner, while the relationship between these two variables in the personal identity condition was not significant. In order to determine whether there were significant differences between conditions, the correlation coefficients were converted into z scores. This showed that the correlation between SCO and ingroup homogeneity differed between the conditions ($z = 2.3, p < .05, 2 \text{ tail}$).

10.8.6 Structural Equation Modelling

Structural equation modelling was performed in order to assess the impact of both individual differences and group-based factors on prejudice. A benefit of structural equation

modelling is that enables a researcher to explore the effect of mediational variables. No modelling was performed for data from the personal identity condition. The presence of only one significant correlate of anti-Asian prejudice made a search for mediational variables redundant.

In the national identity condition, two theoretical models were explored.

Theoretical model One. Tajfel (1981), as well as researchers such as Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998), state that group factors will predict prejudice once a person's social identity is salient. In turn, other outcomes arise, such as viewing both ingroup and outgroup members in a more homogeneous manner and perceiving greater difference between the ingroup and outgroup (meta-contrast). Thus, a structural equation model was performed in order to explore these assumptions more closely.

Theoretical model Two. Tajfel (1978) also suggested that social comparisons underlie perceptions of both the ingroup as well as that of the outgroup. It is therefore possible that SCO, an individual difference measure of the propensity to engage in social comparisons, may also predict the same group processes, i.e. prejudice, ingroup and outgroup homogeneity, and meta-contrast. Thus an alternative model, testing this possibility, was also conducted on data from the national identity condition.

10.8.7 Measures of Fit

Curran, Bollen, Chen, Paxton, and Kirby (2003, p. 208) have pointed out that “Assessing model fit is one of the most controversial issues in structural equation modelling”, each index of fit possessing its strengths and weaknesses. Hence, in the current study a number of indices were examined. Baseline models such as the Normed Fit Index (NFI) and the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) compares the current model with both that of the saturated, or perfectly fitted model, and independence model. The independence model assumes no fit

with the data. Bentler and Bonett (1980) suggest that a NFI of over .9 implies a good fit, while for the CFI values near 1 imply a good fit. The Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) provides an indication of error in the default model. Browne and Cudeck (1993) claim that a figure of less than .08 indicates a reasonable level of fit. A traditional measure of fit is that of the χ^2 and χ^2/df . These give an indication of how well the default model fits the data. Here it is expected that a good fitting model will produce a non-significant chi square.

10.8.8 Testing theoretical Model One

Consistent with theoretical Model One, it was expected that the stereotype measures, 'positive ingroup regard', 'traditional Australian', and 'open-minded/ independent' would have significant impact on the perception of group belonging and prejudice. Thus, a model was run that included ingroup stereotypes, meta-contrast, prejudice towards Asians, ingroup and outgroup homogeneity. Indices revealed that theoretical Model One fitted the data poorly $\chi^2 (7, N = 96) = 187.66$, $\chi^2/df = .26.81$, $NFI = .25$, $CFI = .19$, and $RMSEA = .52$. Thus, it was decided to modify the model.

Studies, such as Haslam et al. (1996), have tended to use attributes similar to those in the 'traditional Australian' measure. Moreover, this measure was the only auto-stereotype scale to be significantly related to prejudice in the national condition. Thus, in order to present the strongest case for the role of group factors, it was decided to further analyse the impact of ingroup stereotypes solely in relation to this measure. Results revealed that the modified version of theoretical Model One, including 'traditional Australian' stereotypes only, also failed to fit the data ($\chi^2 (3, N = 96) = 48.39$, $\chi^2/df = 16.13$, $NFI = .54$, $CFI = .50$, and $RMSEA = .40$).

10.8.9 Testing theoretical Model Two

Theoretical Model Two would imply that SCO should have a significant impact on the group factors, prejudice towards Asians, meta-contrast, ingroup and outgroup homogeneity. Nonetheless, the findings failed to support this premise, with the model producing a poor fit ($\chi^2(3, N = 96) = 52.62$, $\chi^2/df = 17.54$, $NFI = .53$, $CFI = .49$, $RMSEA = .42$).

10.8.10 The final versions of Model One and Two

The focus of the current analyses was to explore the relative merits of group factors (ingroup stereotypes) and individual differences (SCO) in explaining prejudice. Thus, it was decided to further examine both Model One and Two while excluding outgroup homogeneity. The decision to do so was based on the fact that the exclusion of outgroup homogeneity produced a significant improvement in the χ^2 of both models, Model One ($\chi^2/dif = 46.69$, $p < .01$) and Model Two ($\chi^2/dif = 49.81$, $p < .01$). The results of the structural equation modelling analysis for the final version of Model One is presented in Figure 10. 1, while the final version of Model Two is presented in Figure 10. 2.

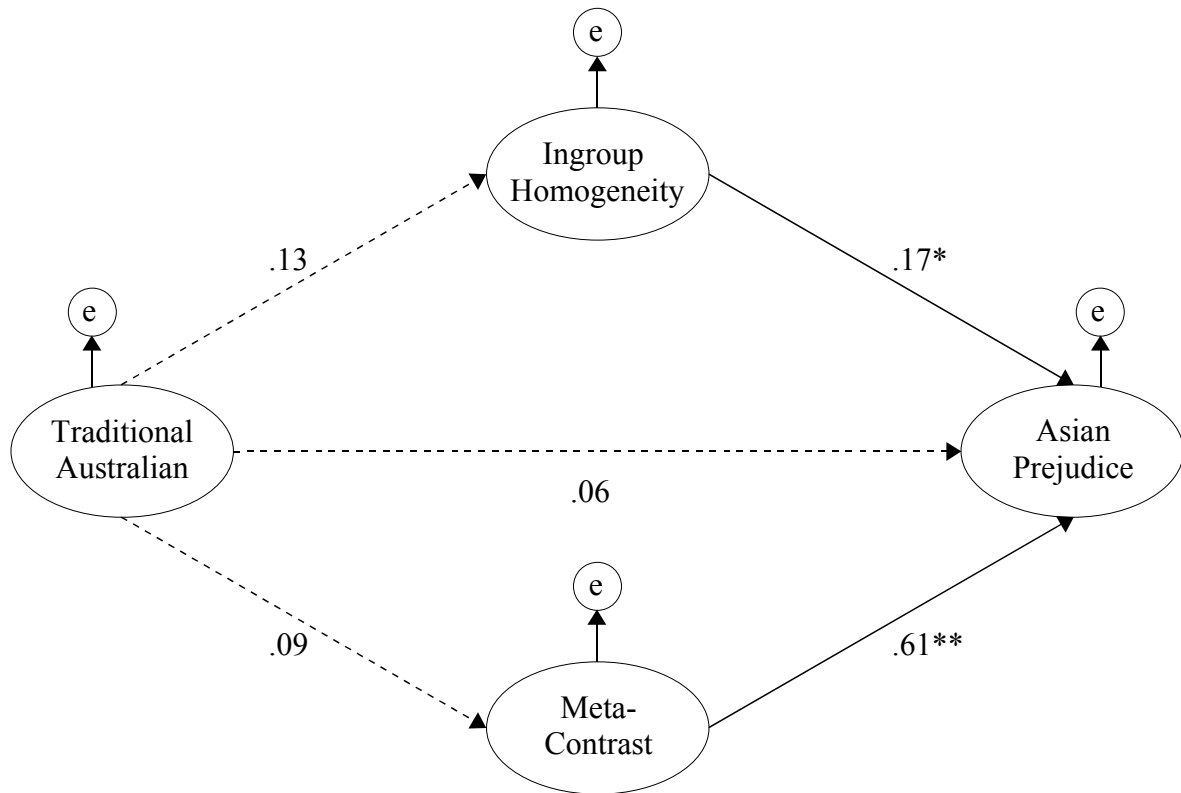


Figure 10. 1. Standardised maximum likelihood coefficients from the national identity condition ($N = 96$) for the structural equation model with the latent variables: 'traditional Australian' auto-stereotypes, ingroup homogeneity, meta-contrast and prejudice towards Asians. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

The fit indices show that the final version of Model One fitted the data well $\chi^2 (2, N = 96) = 1.70$, $\chi^2/df = .83$, $NFI = .97$, $CFI = 1.00$, and $RMSEA = .00$. It can be noted from Figure 10. 1, that the paths from 'traditional Australian' auto-stereotypes to both ingroup homogeneity ($[beta] = .13, p > .05$) and meta-contrast ($[beta] = .09, p > .05$) were not significant. This was also true of the direct path from 'traditional Australian' auto-stereotypes to prejudice towards Asians ($[beta] = .06, p > .05$). In contrast, the paths from ingroup homogeneity ($[beta] = .17, p < .05$) and meta-contrast ($[beta] = .61, p < .01$) to prejudice were significant.

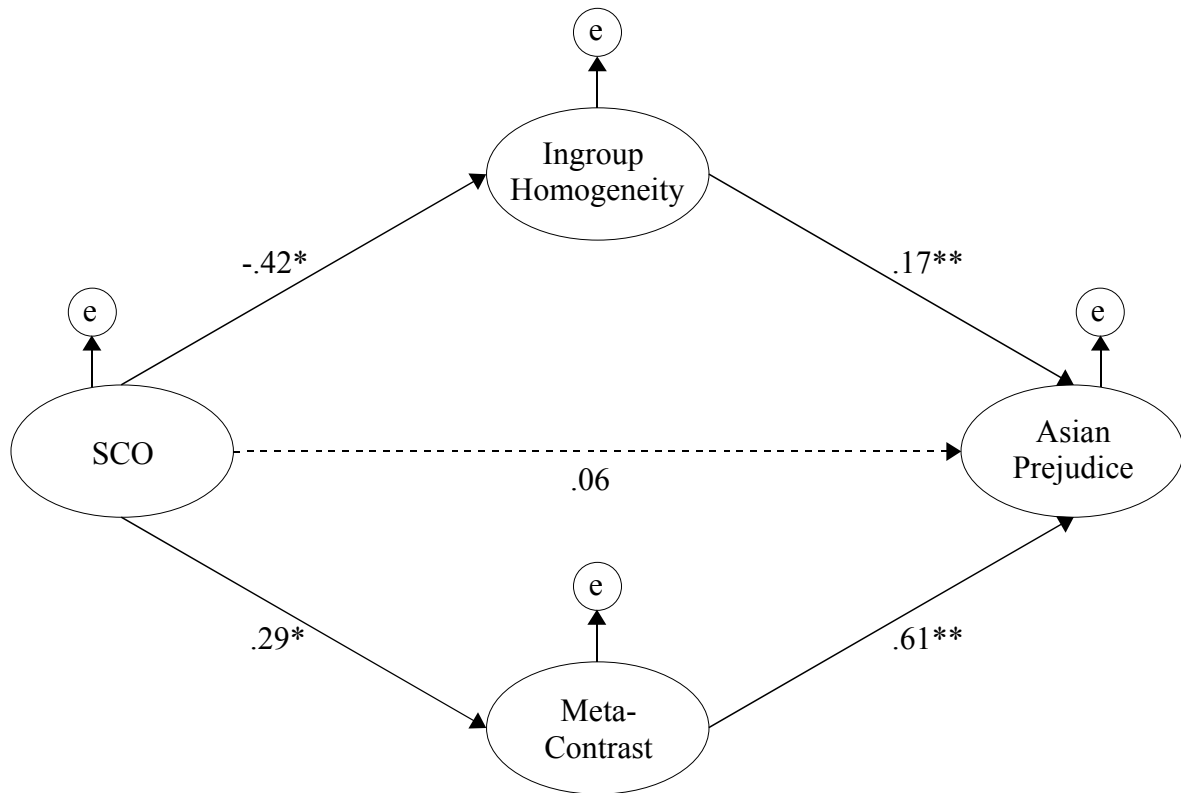


Figure 10. 2. Standardised maximum likelihood coefficients from the National identity condition ($N = 98$) for the structural equation model with the latent variables: SCO, ingroup homogeneity, meta-contrast and prejudice towards Asians. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

The results of the fit indices reveal that the final version of Model Two fitted the data well $\chi^2 (2, N = 96) = 2.81$, $\chi^2/df = 1.40$, $NFI = .95$, $CFI = 9.8$, and $RMSEA = .06$. Concerning SCO, structural equation modelling shows a similar pattern to that uncovered in the Pearson correlations. As can be seen from Figure 10. 2, the path from SCO to both ingroup homogeneity ($[\beta] = -.42, p < .05$) and meta-contrast ($[\beta] = .29, p < .05$) were significant, as were the paths from ingroup homogeneity ($[\beta] = .17, p < .01$) and meta-contrast ($[\beta] = .61, p < .01$) to prejudice towards Asians. The direct path from SCO to prejudice towards Asian was not significant ($[\beta] = .06, p > .05$).

While both models fitted the data well, structural equation modelling revealed that for ingroup stereotypes the paths to prejudice, both direct and indirect, were not significant. In the model that included SCO, while there was no direct path to Asian prejudice there were

two indirect paths, via ingroup homogeneity and meta-contrast. This suggests that while the individual difference variable SCO had a significant impact on prejudice towards Asians, albeit indirectly, this was not the case for ingroup stereotypes.

10.9 Discussion

The current findings offered partial support for the hypotheses. Consistent with hypothesis two, the relationship between SCO and measures of group belonging differed depending on the situational context. The exception being that of outgroup homogeneity, which was unrelated to SCO in either the national or personal identity conditions. In the national identity condition there was a significant relationship between SCO and the perceived meta-contrast between the ingroup (Australians) and outgroup (Asians). Given that the meta-contrast scale only measures perceived differences between groups, it is not possible to determine if the contrast with the outgroup was made in a positive or negative light.

Nonetheless the presence of this relationship is largely consistent with social identity theory. Tajfel (1981) claimed that social comparison was intimately tied to the process of positive distinctiveness, the desire to view the ingroup as distinct from other groups. In the current study high SCO participants, who had their social identity primed in the national identity condition, perceived greater meta-contrast between the ingroup and outgroup.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that while SCO is a measure of social comparison, it is also an individual difference variable. Thus it was not social comparison per se that was related to meta-contrast, but individual differences in the propensity to engage in these comparisons.

A similar pattern was uncovered in relation to ingroup homogeneity. Once again there was no relationship between this variable and SCO in the personal identity condition,

while in the national identity condition ingroup homogeneity and SCO were significantly and negatively correlated.

The structural equation modelling on data from the national identity condition enabled a more complex examination of the relationship between both ingroup stereotypes, SCO, and measures of group belonging and outgroup prejudice. Structural equation modelling revealed no significant paths, either directly or indirectly, from 'traditional Australian' auto-stereotypes to prejudice towards Asians. In the case of SCO, while correlations revealed no significant relationship to Asian prejudice, structural equation modelling implied the existence of two indirect paths through ingroup homogeneity and meta-contrast. Interestingly, the coefficients were in opposite directions. Hence, there was a negative path from SCO to ingroup homogeneity, while the path from SCO to meta-contrast was positive. Nonetheless, the path from both meta-contrast and ingroup homogeneity to prejudice towards Asians was positive. These findings point to the importance of individual differences for understanding intergroup relations. They suggest that some of the outcomes of social identification may, in turn, reflect the impact of individual differences.

The negative relation between SCO and ingroup homogeneity is puzzling. A possible solution may be drawn by returning to the social comparison literature. Festinger (1954) suggested that individuals do not necessarily treat everyone as an equally valid criterion for social comparison. Hence, a student completing an introductory psychology course is not likely to compare the quality of their work with that of one their teachers. Rather, they would be more likely to focus on how they performed with reference to peers in the their class. Thus, individuals only compare themselves with those whom they believe to be valid benchmarks. It could be suggested that when there is external pressure to engage in intergroup comparisons, the ingroup becomes a greater focus of social comparison because

the ingroup is more likely to be viewed as a valid criterion group for comparison.

Nonetheless, comparison with the ingroup would entail a need to perceive greater ingroup variability, given that it is impossible to use members of the ingroup as a benchmark if it is believed they are all the same, an issue that is particularly salient when it is considered that participants themselves are a member of that group. These points taken in combination lead to the plausible, if speculative, conclusion that high SCOs will be motivated to perceive greater homogeneity in their own group, especially when the ingroup is presented as a relevant criterion group.

There was partial support for hypothesis one. While ingroup stereotypes were unrelated to Asian prejudice in the personal identity condition, they were in the national condition. Nonetheless, a significant correlation occurred only in the case of one Australian auto-stereotype measure: 'traditional Australian'. The 'positive ingroup regard' and 'open-minded/ independent' measures were unrelated to prejudice. The same pattern arose for outgroup homogeneity. Thus, the 'traditional Australian' measure was related to outgroup homogeneity in the national identity condition only. These findings are even more interesting when it is noted that in Study Four, 'traditional Australian' was the only auto-stereotype component unrelated to the measure of Australian identity based on Hinkle et al.'s (1989) scale. Further, it was this component that was endorsed most strongly by the security oriented, a variable that has been shown to be related to a right of centre political world-view (Braithwaite, 1994). Thus, the current findings imply that it is not the endorsement of ingroup stereotypes *per se* that is related to prejudice, but those that reflect a particular ideological perspective.

The findings of the current study bring together two separate strands prevalent throughout this thesis. The first strand focused on the dynamic nature of individual

differences. Study Five has shown that the relationship between individual differences, in this case SCO, and indicators of group belonging differ depending on the situational context. The second strand focussed on the nature of social identification. This study illustrated that while the relationship between ingroup stereotypes and prejudice was significant, this was true for only one of the three auto-stereotype components, 'traditional Australian'. In turn, this stereotype component was shown in Study Four to be related to a conservative value orientation. This implies that prejudice is related to holding a particular set of Australian auto-stereotypes. The final chapter will provide an overview of the main findings, and their implications for both individual difference and group-based explanations of prejudice.

11 Chapter 11

Summary of Findings and their Theoretical Implications

11.1 Overview

This thesis sought to re-examine some of the key ideas underlying social identity and self categorisation theory. The current chapter summarises the studies reported in this thesis, and discusses the findings in the light of two questions: firstly, is there a discontinuation between individual difference and group-based explanations of intergroup behaviour, and secondly, do all individuals identify with their group in the same way.

11.2 Summary of Findings

11.2.1 Study One

Turner (1982) claimed that when a person's social identity is salient, they will cease to act in relation to their personal identity. Given that individual differences are an aspect of one's personal identity, they should play no role in predicting prejudice. The first study, reported in Chapter Six, sought to test this claim. If Turner (1982) is correct, a salient White Australian and heterosexual identity should, to the exclusion of individual differences, predict prejudice toward Aboriginals and homosexuals respectively. While it was found that White Australian and heterosexual identity were related to prejudice toward both groups, so was RWA and the social values 'International harmony and equality' and 'National strength and order'. Correlations revealed that partialing out the variance associated with social identities did not significantly reduce the relationship between RWA and both Aboriginal and homosexual prejudice, although it did have an impact on certain social values. Consistent with this, multiple regression analyses showed that individual difference variables explained

the greater part of the variance. The findings of Study One imply that the impact of individual differences are not diminished when participants' identities are made salient.

11.2.2 Study Two

Study Two, described in Chapter Seven, went on to explore the situationally dynamic nature of individual differences and their links to perceptions of group belonging. Using a paradigm based on Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998), participants had either their personal or national identity made salient. The study used a different measure of group factors, Hinkle et al.'s (1989) measure of strength of identification. This was because of certain problems with Verkuyten and Hagendoorn's (1998) measure. For instance, they found that Dutch participants who believed that the average Dutch person was tolerant were less likely to be prejudiced, even though Verkuyten and Hagendoorn's (1998) had suggested that tolerance was stereotypically Dutch, and hence related to greater levels of outgroup bias.

The second study found that Australian Identity was unrelated to prejudice towards Asians in either the social or personal identity conditions. In contrast, RWA was related to Asian prejudice not just in the personal identity, but also the national identity condition, findings contrary to key ideas in self categorisation theory.

The study went on to explore the role of situationally dynamic individual difference variables. PNS reflects an individual's need to structure their environment. As such, it is a variable that should be especially sensitive to situational influence. The relationships between the PNS sub-scales and perceptions of group belonging differed depending on the situational context. Thus, response to lack of structure and desire for structure were related to prejudice in the personal identity condition, while response to lack of structure was related to ingroup homogeneity in the national identity condition. This suggests that there may be a dynamic relationship between response to lack of structure and situational context. The fact

that, contrary to self-categorisation theory, strength of Australian identification was unrelated to prejudice is consistent with Brown and Williams' (1984) claim that identities mean different things to different people.

11.2.3 Study Three

In the light of Brown and Williams' (1984) arguments, the third study, which can be found in Chapter Eight, went on to extend the findings from Study Two. It asked whether national auto-stereotypes are widely shared.

Attributes nominated by participants were subjected to a content analysis by independent raters, a process which produced 27 attributes. These reflected a broader range of attributes than those used in previous research (see for example, Haslam et al., 1996, 1999). Further, a number of contradictory attributes were nominated. For instance, while some participants suggested the average Australian was multi-cultural, others believed them to be prejudiced. Such findings question the notion of a single Australian identity.

11.2.4 Study Four

Although Study Three revealed a broad range of attributes said to be typical of the average Australian, it was still an open question as to whether these were merely a larger sample of a single homogeneous Australian identity? The findings from Study Four would suggest not. Using the same technique as Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1989), participants rated the percentage of Australians they believed possessed each of the attributes. Responses were then factor analysed, producing three factors. The first, 'positive ingroup regard', included attributes such as "caring", "helpful", and "friendly". The 'traditional Australian' component included stereotypes often thought of as typically Australian, such as being "laid back", "out-door loving", and "sports orientated". The final 'open-minded/ independent'

component contained a mixture of multi-cultural attributes, “unprejudiced”, “open-minded”, and “multicultural” as well as the attribute “independent”.

These differing Australian auto-stereotypes were related to participants' value orientations. Thus, when compared to moral relativists, dualists were significantly more likely to depict Australians using attributes from each of the stereotype components. Further, the security orientated exhibited the same pattern, scoring significantly higher than moral relativists on both the 'positive ingroup regard' and 'traditional Australian' components. This would suggest that, not only do Australians describe themselves in a variety of different ways, but the propensity to do so is related to individual differences.

It was also found that Hinkle et al.'s (1989) measure of strength of identification, which like ingroup stereotypes is a measure of group belonging, was related to the 'positive ingroup regard' and 'open-minded/ independent' components, but not the 'traditional Australian' component. This was especially interesting given that studies, such as Haslam et al. (1996), have tended to use stereotypes similar to those found in the 'traditional Australian' component.

11.2.5 Study Five

The final study, presented in Chapter Ten, brought together two of the central themes explored in the thesis. Study Two revealed that the relationship between the individual difference variable PNS and measures of group belonging differed depending on the situational context. Study Five attempted to determine if this situational dynamism is restricted to PNS, or will be exhibited by other individual difference variables. Like PNS, SCO is potentially linked to processes underlying social identification. This was inherent in Tajfel's (1978) claim that social comparison was not just crucial in perceptions of the outgroup, but also in how the ingroup is perceived.

Study Five, once again using the paradigm of Verkuyten and Hagendoorn (1998), demonstrated a significant relationship between SCO and meta-contrast for the national condition only. The relationship between SCO and ingroup homogeneity also differed between conditions, although in the opposite direction to that hypothesised. Thus, while there was no significant relationship between SCO and ingroup homogeneity in the personal identity condition, the two variables were negatively related in the national identity condition. This implies that the higher the participant's level of SCO, the more likely they are to believe that the ingroup is heterogeneous. This finding was interpreted in the light of social comparison literature. It was suggested that, in the national identity condition, the ingroup is more likely to be viewed as a relevant standard for comparison. Nonetheless, comparing oneself to a group, of which one is a member, leads to special difficulties. If I am to determine whether I am better or worse than another, then it is essential that I believe that these others differ from me. In other words, that there is some variability in the ingroup. This need, of course, is at odds with perceiving the ingroup as being the same. While this interpretation was deemed speculative, the findings nonetheless point to the situationally dynamic nature of individual differences.

Finally, it was found, consistent with self categorization theory, that in the personal identity condition ingroup stereotypes were unrelated to any indicator of group belonging. In the national identity condition, by contrast, only one of the ingroup stereotype components, 'traditional Australian', was found to be related to outgroup prejudice. This finding lends support for the idea that it is important to consider the type of ingroup stereotype, and its potential individual difference correlates, when exploring the relationship between social identity and prejudice.

11.3 Implication of Findings

Overall the findings point to a more complex relationship between social identification and group belonging than self categorisation theory would imply. This point is more readily apparent when exploring the findings of the thesis in the light of questions proposed at the start of the chapter.

Firstly, it was asked if there was a discontinuation between individual and group-based explanations of group behaviour. The importance of the first question is borne out by the disagreements between researchers using differing approaches to the study of prejudice. If, as Turner (1987) believes, individual differences tell us little about the conditions that lead to intergroup hostility, then these research traditions have little to teach each other. Nonetheless, if the disagreements between individual difference and group-based explanations are overstated, then an exploration of both approaches may add a great deal to the quest of understanding intergroup prejudice. Collectively, the findings of the thesis suggest that the second alternative is more likely.

Study One illustrated that individual differences continued to be of importance even when the variance associated with social identities were partialled out. Study Two demonstrated the dynamic nature of individual differences. For instance, although the two PNS sub-scales were related to Asian prejudice in the personal identity condition only, the response to lack of structure scale was related to perceptions of ingroup homogeneity in the national identity condition. Thus, it was not so much the case of individual differences failing to predict perceptions of ingroup and outgroup members when a person's identity was salient, but rather that they did so in different ways. This conclusion was further borne out by the results from Study Five. SCO was related to several measures of group belonging (ingroup homogeneity and meta-contrast) in the national condition only. These findings

suggest that there is no sharp discontinuation between individual difference and group-based explanations of group behaviour. Nonetheless, it cannot be assumed that the impact of individual differences will play out the same, irrespective of situational context. Hence, it is suggested that the results point not only to a need for greater understanding concerning social identification, but to a greater acknowledgement of the situationally dynamic nature of individual differences.

In many ways a subordinate question of the first, is the attempt to determine how the individual identifies with their group. From the earliest formulation of social identity theory, strength of identification has always played a vital role in the prediction of group behaviour. Nonetheless, there has been no attempt to determine why it is that some individuals identify more with their group than others. Related to this, is the idea that individuals may think of their group in different ways, that they may proscribe differing attributes to their group. This point is especially important given the prominence of ingroup norms in self categorisation theory. Once a person's identity is made salient, it is believed that they are more likely to view themselves in a group normative manner. This is one of the reasons cited for the inadequacy of individual difference based theories. Nonetheless, the impact of this argument is largely diminished if perceptions of ingroup norms differ from individual to individual, even more so if there are individual differences in, not just the endorsement, but the content of group norms. It therefore begs the question as to whether a fuller understanding of these differences may not be garnered by examining traditional individual difference measures.

This view is supported in the results of Studies Three and Four. Study Three revealed that Australians nominated a diverse range of attributes believed to be typical of their national group. More importantly, Study Four showed that there were discernible patterns in these auto-stereotypes. Returning once again to the central theme of this thesis, endorsement of

these stereotype components were related to differences in value orientation. Thus, individual differences were shown to underlie the auto-stereotypes and, by extension, norms held by members of the ingroup (Australian). Taken collectively, the findings imply that both group and individual difference based explanations are inexorably intertwined.

11.4 Limitations

Each of the studies used questionnaires. It is always difficult to determine the relationship between participants' stated attitudes and their actual behaviour. Having said this, it is difficult to determine how other methodologies would provide a researcher with the rich information obtained through this technique. A second limitation stems from the use of a student population. Given the focus in these studies was on attitudes towards minority groups, it raises questions as to how responses drawn from the general population may have differed. Nonetheless, it should be noted, much of the research (see for example, Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003; Verkuyten & Hagendoorn, 1998) performed in this area has used a similar convenience based sample pool. Thus, in one sense, this deficiency makes the current research more comparable to this earlier work. Aside from these issues, there are some more specific limitations.

In Study One vignettes were used in an attempt to make identities salient. This approach was employed in order to better simulate the manner in which identities become salient in real life settings. Nonetheless, no check was included to determine if the manipulation proved successful. This may have brought into question the results of Study One. Hence, social identities may not have predicted prejudice merely because participants' identities were not made salient. Fortunately, the inclusion of manipulation checks in Studies Two and Five addressed this issue.

11.5 Future directions

The current findings offer partial insights into issues not just relevant for social identity theory, but for the study of individual differences. It could be claimed that individual difference theorists have always acknowledged the impact of environmental context. Nonetheless, the current findings add weight to an approach (see for example, Levy, 1999) which seeks to explore this contextual nature in a more explicit manner. Hence, researchers into prejudice have too often treated individual differences as static variables, a characteristic of a particular person, however, prejudice is an action which occurs in a particular situational context. It appears that it is often too tempting to view prejudice as a noun rather than a verb. Returning more specifically to the current findings, future research will be required to determine if the dynamic links between PNS, SCO, and measures of group belonging will occur for other individual difference variables. Are these individual difference variables just the tip of the iceberg?

The finding that endorsement of Australian auto-stereotypes not only differed amongst ingroup members, but that these differences were related to participants' value orientation, implies that social identification cannot be conceived of as a generic process. Hence, it is beholden on future researchers not merely to explore the impact of individual differences, but the broader social context in which social identities are forged. As Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, and Mein (1999) suggest, consensus in national stereotypes will differ depending on broader social issues. Periods of less consensus may lead to greater divergence in national auto-stereotypes, and, in turn, greater divergence in ingroup norms. The links between individual difference variables and processes associated with social identity (ingroup stereotypes, and ingroup homogeneity) may potentially address some of the problems still bewitching social identity theory.

11.6 A Final Word

The focus of this thesis has been to explore potential convergence between group-based explanations, as typified by social identity and self categorisation theory, and individual difference variables. Much of this research has stressed the inadequacies of an exclusively group-based explanation of prejudice. This emphasis should not be taken to imply any lack of merit in these group-based theories. In fact, it might be suggested that social identity theory has made the single greatest contribution to the study of intergroup conflict in social psychology. Nonetheless, it may also be argued that a continued disregard for earlier traditions is not only detrimental to the study of prejudice, but to social identity theory itself. Thus it is time to look, not for differences, but commonalities between the two approaches that have been so influential in the study of prejudice.

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Appendix A
Questionnaire for Study One Reported in Chapter Six

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG
Department of Psychology

PERCEPTION OF OTHERS

The present study is conducted as a component of a doctoral thesis. This research is supervised by Dr Patrick Heaven, in the department of psychology at the University of Wollongong.

This study is concerned with the way in which individuals perceive objects, and other people. It will take approximately 30 minutes to complete.

Participation is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from this study at any time. All information provided will be treated with the strictest confidence, used for research purposes only.

Should you have any inquiries concerning this study, please contact the secretary of the University of Wollongong Research Ethics Committee on (042) 213079.

Thank you for your help in this important area of research.

Peter Leeson

CONSENT FORM

I am willing to participate in this present study. I realise the data collected will be used only for the purposes of the present study. Furthermore, I understand that I am free to withdraw from this study any time I choose.

..... /...../.....

We all hold different values. Some values mean more to us than others. Indicate the degree to which each of the following phrases reflect your values by using the following seven point scale. There are no correct or incorrect answers.

RATING SCALE

1. I reject this as a guiding principle in my life
2. I am inclined to reject this as a guiding principle in my life
3. I neither reject nor accept this as a guiding principle in my life
4. I am inclined to accept this as a guiding principle in my life
5. I accept this as important as a guiding principle in my life
6. I accept this as very important as a guiding principle in my life
7. I accept this as of the greatest importance as a guiding principle in my life

1. A good life for others: improving the welfare of all people in need.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. National greatness: being a united, strong, independent, and powerful nation.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. Rule by the people: involvement by all citizens in making decisions that effect their community.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. International cooperation: having all nations working together to help each other.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. National economic development: having greater economic progress and prosperity for the nation.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Social progress and social reform: readiness to change our way of life for the better.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. A world at peace: being free from war and conflict.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. The rule of law: punishing the guilty and protecting the innocent.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. A world of beauty: having the beauty of nature and the arts (music, literature, art, etc).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Human dignity: allowing each individual to be treated as someone of worth.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. National security: protection of your nation from enemies.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. Equal opportunity for all: giving everyone an equal chance in life.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. Greater economic equality: lessening the gap between the rich and the poor.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. Preserving the natural environment: preventing the destruction of nature's beauty and resources.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

| | Strongly Agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|---|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| 1. It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion, than listen to the knockers in our society who are trying to create doubt in our minds. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. There is nothing immoral or sick in somebody being a homosexual. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law order. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. In these troubled times, laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with the agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring things up. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. It is important to protect fully the rights of radicals and deviants. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. Once our government leaders and the authorities condemn the dangerous elements in our society, it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stamp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. Some of the worst people in our country nowadays are those who do not respect our flag, our leaders, and the normal way things are supposed to be done. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. The real keys to a "good life" are obedience, discipline, and sticking to the straight and narrow. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

We all belong to different groups. Some of us belong to more groups than others.
Please indicate whether you identify yourself as belonging to each of the following groups.
Circle either YES or NO

| | | |
|----------------------|------------|-----------|
| 1. Australian | Yes | No |
|----------------------|------------|-----------|

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|
| 2. Religious | Yes | No |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | |
|------------------------|------------|-----------|
| 3. Heterosexual | Yes | No |
|------------------------|------------|-----------|

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | |
|----------------------------|------------|-----------|
| 4. White Australian | Yes | No |
|----------------------------|------------|-----------|

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | |
|--------------------|------------|-----------|
| 5. Feminist | Yes | No |
|--------------------|------------|-----------|

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

6. Homosexual**Yes****No**

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

7. Socialist**Yes****No**

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

7. Conservative**Yes****No**

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Below is a short description of an incident. Please read it carefully, and then answer the questions that follow.

Faggot, his classmates called him, faggot or poofter. So the boy sat alone during his lunch break, a solitary figure on a schoolyard bench, nearby, other boys milled around, kicking a football; some chatted to girls.

The boy had fair skin, spoke a bit like a girl, and was useless at football. One of his classmates came over to him and got real close, saying "how ya goin'?", as he dug his fingers hard into the boy's ribs. He continued: "We know what you are".

The ritual had begun. The others swooped across, taunting at first, dancing about him calling out "fag", "gay boy", and "bummer". The boy, terrified, cowered and tried to run. Then the physical stuff began: pushing, shoving, slapping. Someone punched him and, as lie fell, someone else kicked him.

Please answer the following questions as honestly as possible. Just draw a circle around the number that best reflects your attitude:

1. Homosexuals should be excluded from positions such as coaching and teaching school.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

2. What consenting adults do ill private is nobody's business, as long as they do not hurt other people.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

3. Homosexuals have more influence on government policy than they should.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

4. Homosexuals should stay in their own gay bars and not flaunt their deviance.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

5. Prejudice toward homosexuals is still a major problem in Australia.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

6. Pro-homosexual laws have gone too far in this country.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

Below is a short description of a second incident. As in the case of the first passage it would be appreciated if you would read it carefully and answer the questions that follow.

A small country town had been racked with a spate of petty thefts over a period of several months. Groups of children congregated every night outside the local shopping centre, swearing at customers, stealing food, and breaking bottles.

The incidence of serious crimes had also increased, with the town recording the highest break and enter rate in the state; stores had to be barricaded, while cars were constantly being stolen. Many of the townsfolk placed the blame for these incidents on the aboriginal children; some residents even spoke of forming vigilante groups.

One day events came to a head. A man called an Aboriginal youth over to his car, pointed a shotgun at him, and accused him of stealing property from his house. When the youth ran away the man shot in the direction of his friends wounding one in the leg.

Please answer the following questions as honestly as possible. Just draw a circle around the number that best reflects your attitude:

1. Aborigines have more influence on government policy than they ought to have.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

2. Discrimination against Aborigines is still a major problem in Australia.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

3. Aborigines are getting too demanding in their push for land rights.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

4. Over the last few years the government has shown more respect for Aborigines than they deserve.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

5. It is easy to imagine the anger of Aborigines in Australia.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

6. Aborigines should not push themselves in where they are not wanted.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

Would you please provide the following background information?

1. What is your age? (circle the appropriate number)
 1. 18-29 years
 2. 30-39 years
 3. 40-49 years
 4. 50-59 years
 5. 60 years or older.

2. What is your sex?
 1. Female
 2. Male

3. If a federal election were held today which party would receive your first preference?
 1. Green
 2. Australian Democrats
 3. Labor party
 4. Liberal party
 5. National party
 6. None of these

Thank you for your co-operation

Appendix B
Questionnaire for Study Two Reported in Chapter Seven

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG
Department of Psychology

PERCEPTION OF OTHERS

The present study is conducted as a component of a doctoral thesis. This research is supervised by Dr Patrick Heaven, in the department of psychology at the University of Wollongong.

This study is concerned with the way in which individuals perceive other people. It will take approximately 30 minutes to complete.

Participation is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from this study at any time. All information provided will be treated with the strictest confidence, used for research purposes only.

Should you have any inquiries concerning this study, please contact the secretary of the University of Wollongong Research Ethics Committee on (02) 42214457.

Thank you for your help in this important area of research.

Peter Leeson

CONSENT FORM

I am willing to participate in this present study. I realise the data collected will be used only for the purposes of the present study. Furthermore, I understand that I am free to withdraw from this study any time I choose.

.....

...../...../.....

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

| | Strongly Agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|---|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| 1. It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion, than listen to the knockers in our society who are trying to create doubt in our minds. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. There is nothing immoral or sick in somebody being a homosexual. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law order. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. In these troubled times, laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with the agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring things up. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. It is important to protect fully the rights of radicals and deviants. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. Once our government leaders and the authorities condemn the dangerous elements in our society, it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stamp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. Some of the worst people in our country nowadays are those who do not respect our flag, our leaders, and the normal way things are supposed to be done. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. The real keys to a "good life" are obedience, discipline, and sticking to the straight and narrow. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

We all belong to different groups. Some of us belong to more groups than others.
Please indicate whether you identify yourself as belonging to each of the following groups.
Circle either YES or NO

| | | |
|----------------------|------------|-----------|
| 1. Australian | Yes | No |
|----------------------|------------|-----------|

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|
| 2. Religious | Yes | No |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | |
|--------------------|------------|-----------|
| 3. Feminist | Yes | No |
|--------------------|------------|-----------|

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|
| 4. Socialist | Yes | No |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | |
|------------------------|------------|-----------|
| 5. Conservative | Yes | No |
|------------------------|------------|-----------|

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Read each of the following statements and decide how much you agree with each according to your attitudes, beliefs and experiences. It is important for you to realise that there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers to these questions. People are different, and we are interested in how you feel. Please respond according to the following 6-point scale

RATING SCALE

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Strongly disagree | 4. Slightly agree |
| 2. Moderately disagree | 5. Moderately agree |
| 3. Slightly disagree | 6. Strongly agree |

1. It upsets me to go into a situation without knowing what I can expect from it.

1 2 3 4 5 6

2. I'm not bothered by things that interrupt my daily routine.

1 2 3 4 5 6

3. I enjoy having a clear and structured mode of life.

1 2 3 4 5 6

4. I like to have a place for everything and everything in its place.

1 2 3 4 5 6

5. I enjoy being spontaneous.

1 2 3 4 5 6

6. I find that a well-ordered life with regular hours makes my life tedious.

1 2 3 4 5 6

7. I don't like situations that are uncertain.

1 2 3 4 5 6

8. I hate to change my plans at the last minute.

1 2 3 4 5 6

9. I hate to be with people who are unpredictable.

1 2 3 4 5 6

10. I find a routine enables me to enjoy life more.

1 2 3 4 5 6

11. I enjoy the exhilaration of being in unpredictable situations

1 2 3 4 5 6

12. I become uncomfortable when the rules in a situation are not clear.

1 2 3 4 5 6

Presented to Participants in the Personal Identity Condition

People differ from each other in all kinds of ways and every person is a unique individual. One person loves music and another likes to take a walk, and one person likes to read while another likes to go out. How do you differ from other people? The next questions are about you as an individual.

1. What type of hobbies do you enjoy?
2. What year were you born?
3. Would you say that your personal appearance was of great importance to you?

Yes/No

Circle the number that best reflects how you feel about the following questions.

4. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

5. At times I think I am no good at all.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

6. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

7. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

8. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

Presented to Participants in the National Identity Condition

People belong to all kinds of groups, such as sports clubs, political parties, religious groups, as well as a nation. These groups differ from each other. Furthermore, they can compare themselves with each other. One sports club can compare itself with another, one political party with another, and one national group with another. The next questions are about your national group.

1. What was your country of birth? _____
2. What was your mother's native tongue? _____
3. What nationality appears on your passport? _____

Circle the number that best reflects how you feel about the following questions.

4. I often regret that I belong to some of the social groups I do.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

5. In general, others respect the social groups that I am a member of.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

6. The social groups I belong to are an important reflection of who I am.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

7. I often feel I'm a useless member of my social groups.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

8. I feel good about the groups I belong to.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

9. Most people consider my social groups, on the average, to be more ineffective than other social groups.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

10. I feel I don't have much to offer to the social group I belong to.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

Please answer the following questions as honestly as possible. Just draw a circle around the number that best reflects your attitude:

1. Allowing Asians to immigrate to Australia benefits Australian society.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

2. I would not like an Asian to be my boss.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

3. More Asians should be allowed to migrate to Australia.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

4. Asian migrants are as friendly as people born in Australia.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

5. Australia must be very careful not to let too many Asians into the country or they'll take over the place.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

6. Asians are very productive people and should be allowed to settle in Australia.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

7. I wouldn't like any member of my family to marry an Asian immigrant.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

8. Australia should aim at closer contact with Asian countries.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

9. One trouble with Asian business people in Australia is that they stick together and prevent other people having a fair chance in competition.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

10. Asian and white people don't mix well.

Strongly agree **Strongly Disagree**
1 2 3 4 5

Please rate how you thought about yourself whilst answering the questions on the previous page.

I as a Unique Person

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

I as an Australian

How similar do you consider Australians to be?

Very **Somewhat** **Not at all**
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

How similar do you consider Asians to be?

Very **Somewhat** **Not at all**
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

How similar are Asians to your typical Australian?

Very **Somewhat** **Not at all**
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Would you please provide the following background information?

1. What is your age? (circle the appropriate number)

1. 18-29 years
2. 30-39 years
3. 40-49 years
4. 50-59 years
5. 60 years or older.

2. What is your sex?

1. Female
2. Male

3. If a federal election were held today which party would receive your first preference?

1. Green
2. Australian Democrats
3. Labor party
4. Liberal party
5. National party
6. One Nation
7. None of these

Appendix C
Questionnaire for Study Three Reported in Chapter Eight

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

Department of Psychology

Description of the average Australian

The present study is conducted by Peter Leeson as a component of a doctoral thesis. This research is supervised by Dr Patrick Heaven, in the department of psychology at the University of Wollongong.

This study seeks to determine how Australians perceive themselves. Along with providing some demographic information, you will be required to produce a series of adjectives that you believe describes the average Australian. The task will take approximately 30 minutes to complete.

Participation is completely voluntary. You are free to refuse to consent without fear of any penalty. Furthermore, even if you do choose to participate you are free to withdraw from this study at any time. All information provided will be treated with the strictest confidence, stored securely. Furthermore, this data will be used for research purposes only.

Should you have any inquiries concerning this study, feel free to ask the researcher, Peter Leeson. Furthermore, if you have any concerns about this research you are free to contact the Complaints Officer, Human Research Ethics Committee, University of Wollongong on (02) 4221 4457.

Thank you for your help in this important area of research.
Peter Leeson

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG
Department of Psychology

Description of the average Australian

Peter Leeson & Dr Patrick Heaven

I have been given information about the study 'Description of the average Australian' and discussed the research project with Peter Leeson who is conducting this research as part of PHD by research supervised by Dr Patrick Heaven in the department of Psychology at the University of Wollongong.

I understand that, if I consent to participate in this project I will be asked to provide some demographic information. Furthermore, I will also be required to produce a series of adjectives that I believe describes the average Australian. I further understand that this task will take approximately 30 minutes to complete.

I have been advised of the potential risks and burdens associated with this research, such as the confidentiality of my responses, and have had an opportunity to ask Peter Leeson any questions I may have about the research and my participation.

I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary, I am free to refuse to participate, and I am free to withdraw from the research at any time. My refusal to participate or withdrawal of consent will not in any way affect my relationship with the Department of Psychology or my relationship with the University of Wollongong.

If I have any enquiries about the research, I can contact Peter Leeson on 42214513 or Dr. Patrick Heaven on 4221 3742. Further if I have any concerns or complaints regarding the manner in which the research is, or has been, conducted, I can contact the Complaints Officer, Human Research Ethics Committee, Office of Research, University of Wollongong on 42214457.

By signing below I am indicating my consent to participate in the research entitled Description of the average Australian conducted by Peter Leeson, as it has been described to me in the information sheet and in discussion with Peter Leeson. I understand that the data collected from my participation will be used for purposes of a doctoral thesis and a journal publication, and I consent for it to be used in that manner.

Signed

Date

.....
Name (please print)

...../...../.....

.....

Australians differ from each other in many ways. However, underlying these differences, there are also some key similarities. In the spaces provided below, place any adjectives that you believe describes the typical Australian. These do not need to be placed in any particular order. Furthermore, there are no correct or incorrect answers.

The typical Australian is:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Do you think of yourself as being Australian

Yes

No

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about being Australian.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|---------------------------|---|---|------------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Would you please provide the following background information?

1. What is your age? (circle the appropriate number)

1. 18-29 years
2. 30-39 years
3. 40-49 years
4. 50-59 years
5. 60 years or older.

2. What is your sex?

1. Female
2. Male

3. If a federal election were held today which party would receive your first preference?

1. Green
2. Australian Democrats
3. Labor party
4. Liberal party
5. National party
6. None of these

Thank you for your co-operation

Appendix D
Questionnaire for Study Four Reported in Chapter Nine

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG
Department of Psychology

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE AUSTRALIAN?

The present study is conducted by Peter Leeson as a component of a doctoral thesis. This research is supervised by Dr Patrick Heaven, in the department of psychology at the University of Wollongong.

This study seeks to determine how Australians perceive themselves and their fellow Australians. You will be required to complete a series of questionnaires concerning a range of social issues. Further, you will be asked to provide some demographic information. The task will take approximately 30 minutes to complete.

Participation is completely voluntary. You are free to refuse to consent without fear of any penalty. Furthermore, even if you do choose to participate you are free to withdraw from this study at any time. All responses to the questionnaire are anonymous. To ensure this, consent forms are completed separately from the questionnaire, to avoid identification of participants. Moreover, any information provided will be treated with the strictest confidence, stored securely. Furthermore, this data will be used for research purposes only.

Should you have any inquiries concerning this study, feel free to ask the researcher, Peter Leeson. Furthermore, if you have any concerns about this research you are free to contact the Complaints Officer, Human Research Ethics Committee, University of Wollongong on (02) 4221 4457.

Thank you for your help in this important area of research.
Peter Leeson

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG
Department of Psychology

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE AUSTRALIAN?

Peter Leeson & Dr. Patrick Heaven

I have been given information about the study 'What does it mean to be Australian? Values, identity, and prejudice' and discussed the research project with Peter Leeson who is conducting this research as a component of a PHD by research supervised by Dr Patrick Heaven in the department of psychology at the University of Wollongong.

I understand that if I consent to participate in this project I will be asked to provide some demographic information. Furthermore, I will also be required to answer a series of questions concerning a range of social issues. I further understand that this task will take approximately 30 minutes to complete.

I have been advised of the potential risks and burdens associated with this research, such as confidentiality, which I have been informed will be addressed by ensuring my responses will be anonymous. Further, I have had an opportunity to ask Peter Leeson any questions I may have about the research and my participation.

I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary, I am free to refuse to participate, and I am free to withdraw from the research at any time. My refusal to participate, or withdrawal of consent, will not affect my relationship with the Department of Psychology or my relationship with the University of Wollongong.

If I have any enquiries about the research, I can contact Peter Leeson on 42214513 or Dr. Patrick Heaven on 4221 3742. Further if I have any concerns or complaints regarding the manner in which the research is, or has been, conducted, I can contact the Complaints Officer, Human Research Ethics Committee, Office of Research, University of Wollongong on 42214457.

By signing below I am indicating my consent to participate in the research entitled 'what does it mean to be Australian? Values, identity, and prejudice' conducted by Peter Leeson, as it has been described to me in the information sheet and in discussion with Peter Leeson. I understand that the data collected from my participation will be anonymous, used for purposes of a doctoral thesis and a journal publication, and I consent for it to be used in that manner.

Signed

Date

.....

...../...../.....

Name (please print)

.....

We all hold different values. Some values mean more to us than others. Indicate the degree to which each of the following phrases reflect your values by using the following seven point scale. There are no correct or incorrect answers.

RATING SCALE

1. I reject this as a guiding principle in my life
2. I am inclined to reject this as a guiding principle in my life
3. I neither reject nor accept this as a guiding principle in my life
4. I am inclined to accept this as a guiding principle in my life
5. I accept this as important as a guiding principle in my life
6. I accept this as very important as a guiding principle in my life
7. I accept this as of the greatest importance as a guiding principle in my life

1. A good life for others: improving the welfare of all people in need.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. National greatness: being a united, strong, independent, and powerful nation.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. Rule by the people: involvement by all citizens in making decisions that effect their community.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. International cooperation: having all nations working together to help each other.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. National economic development: having greater economic progress and prosperity for the nation.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Social progress and social reform: readiness to change our way of life for the better.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. A world at peace: being free from war and conflict.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. The rule of law: punishing the guilty and protecting the innocent.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. A world of beauty: having the beauty of nature and the arts (music, literature, art, etc).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Human dignity: allowing each individual to be treated as someone of worth.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. National security: protection of your nation from enemies.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. Equal opportunity for all: giving everyone an equal chance in life.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. Greater economic equality: lessening the gap between the rich and the poor.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. Preserving the natural environment: preventing the destruction of nature's beauty and resources.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

This section is concerned with the perception of people. In relation to the following list, indicate the percentage of Australians you believe possess the following attributes.

1. Laid Back

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

2. Hardworking

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

3. Sport orientated

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

4. Good sense of humour

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

5. Multicultural

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

6. Patriotic

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

7. Open minded

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

8. White (Caucasian)

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

9. Outgoing

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

10. Loyal

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

11. Friendly

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

12. Carefree

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

13. Prejudiced

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

14. Fun loving

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

15. Out-door loving

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

16. Dependable

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

17. Tolerant

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

18. Caring

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

19. Helpful

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

20. Adventurous

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

21. Coarse

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

22. Down to earth

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

23. Freedom Loving

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

24. Happy

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

25. Welcoming

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

26. Independent

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

27. Unassuming

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

We all belong to different groups. Some of us belong to more groups than others.
Please indicate whether you identify yourself as belonging to each of the following groups.
Circle either YES or NO

| | | |
|----------------------|------------|-----------|
| 1. Australian | Yes | No |
|----------------------|------------|-----------|

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|
| 2. Religious | Yes | No |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | |
|--------------------|------------|-----------|
| 3. Feminist | Yes | No |
|--------------------|------------|-----------|

If yes, then please answer the following questions by circling the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to this group.

| | Strongly agree | | | Strongly Disagree | |
|--|-----------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---|
| a) I identify with this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I am glad to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I do not consider this group to be important. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) It is important for me to belong to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) I feel strong ties to this group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Would you please provide the following background information?

1. What is your age? (circle the appropriate number)
 1. 18-29 years
 2. 30-39 years
 3. 40-49 years
 4. 50-59 years
 5. 60 years or older.

2. What is your sex?
 1. Female
 2. Male

3. If a federal election were held today which party would receive your first preference?
 1. Green
 2. Australian Democrats
 3. Labor party
 4. Liberal party
 5. National party
 6. None of these

Thank you for your co-operation

Appendix E
Questionnaire for Study Five Reported in Chapter Nine

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG
Department of Psychology

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE AUSTRALIAN?

The present study is conducted by Peter Leeson as a component of a doctoral thesis. This research is supervised by Dr Patrick Heaven, in the department of psychology at the University of Wollongong.

This study seeks to determine how Australians perceive themselves and their fellow Australians. You will be required to complete a series of questionnaires concerning a range of social issues. Further, you will be asked to provide some demographic information. The task will take approximately 30 minutes to complete.

Participation is completely voluntary. You are free to refuse to consent without fear of any penalty. Furthermore, even if you do choose to participate you are free to withdraw from this study at any time. All responses to the questionnaire are anonymous. To ensure this, consent forms are completed separately from the questionnaire, to avoid identification of participants. Moreover, any information provided will be treated with the strictest confidence, stored securely. Furthermore, this data will be used for research purposes only.

Should you have any inquiries concerning this study, feel free to ask the researcher, Peter Leeson. Furthermore, if you have any concerns about this research you are free to contact the Complaints Officer, Human Research Ethics Committee, University of Wollongong on (02) 4221 4457.

Thank you for your help in this important area of research.
Peter Leeson

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG
Department of Psychology

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE AUSTRALIAN?

Peter Leeson & Dr. Patrick Heaven

I have been given information about the study 'What does it mean to be Australian? Values, identity, and prejudice' and discussed the research project with Peter Leeson who is conducting this research as a component of a PHD by research supervised by Dr Patrick Heaven in the department of psychology at the University of Wollongong.

I understand that if I consent to participate in this project I will be asked to provide some demographic information. Furthermore, I will also be required to answer a series of questions concerning a range of social issues. I further understand that this task will take approximately 30 minutes to complete.

I have been advised of the potential risks and burdens associated with this research, such as confidentiality, which I have been informed will be addressed by ensuring my responses will be anonymous. Further, I have had an opportunity to ask Peter Leeson any questions I may have about the research and my participation.

I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary, I am free to refuse to participate, and I am free to withdraw from the research at any time. My refusal to participate, or withdrawal of consent, will not affect my relationship with the Department of Psychology or my relationship with the University of Wollongong.

If I have any enquiries about the research, I can contact Peter Leeson on 42214513 or Dr. Patrick Heaven on 4221 3742. Further if I have any concerns or complaints regarding the manner in which the research is, or has been, conducted, I can contact the Complaints Officer, Human Research Ethics Committee, Office of Research, University of Wollongong on 42214457.

By signing below I am indicating my consent to participate in the research entitled 'what does it mean to be Australian? Values, identity, and prejudice' conducted by Peter Leeson, as it has been described to me in the information sheet and in discussion with Peter Leeson. I understand that the data collected from my participation will be anonymous, used for purposes of a doctoral thesis and a journal publication, and I consent for it to be used in that manner.

Signed

Date

..... /...../.....
Name (please print)

.....

Most people compare themselves from time to time with others. For example, they may compare the way they feel, their opinions, their abilities, and/or their situation with those of other people. There is nothing particularly 'good' or 'bad' about this type of comparison, and some people do it more than others. We would like to find out how often you compare yourself with other people. To do that we would like to ask you to indicate how much you agree with *each* statement below, by using the following scale.

| | I Strongly Disagree | | | I Strongly Disagree | | |
|---|--------------------------------|---|---|--------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. I often compare how my loved ones (boy or girlfriend, family members, etc.) are doing with how others are doing. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 2. I always pay a lot of attention to how I do things compared with how others do things. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 3. If I want to find out how well I have done something, I compare what I have done with how others have done. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 4. I often compare how I am doing socially (e.g., social skills, popularity) with other people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 5. I am not the type of person who compares often with others. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 6. I often compare myself with others with respect to what I have accomplished in life. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 7. I often like to talk with others about mutual opinions and experiences | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 8. I often try to find out what others think who face similar problems as I face. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 9. I always like to know what others in a similar situation would do | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 10. If I want to learn more about something, I try to find out what others think about it. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 11. I <i>never</i> consider my situation in life relative to that of other people | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |

Do you identify yourself as Australian?
(Circle either YES or NO)

Yes No

This section is concerned with the perception of people. In relation to the following list, indicate the percentage of Australians you believe possess the following attributes.

1. Laid Back

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

2. Hardworking

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

3. Sport orientated

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

4. Good sense of humour

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

5. Multicultural

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

6. Open minded

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

7. White (Caucasian)

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

8. Outgoing

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

9. Friendly

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

10. Carefree

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

11. Prejudiced

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

12. Fun loving

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

13. Out-door loving

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

14. Dependable

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

15. Tolerant

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

16. Caring

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

17. Helpful

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

18. Adventurous

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

19. Coarse

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

20. Happy

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

21. Welcoming

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

22. Independent

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

23. Unassuming

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

Presented to Participants in the Personal Identity Condition

People differ from each other in all kinds of ways and every person is a unique individual. One person loves music and another likes to take a walk, and one person likes to read while another likes to go out. How do you differ from other people? The next questions are about you as an individual.

1. What type of hobbies do you enjoy?
2. What year were you born?
3. Would you say that your personal appearance was of great importance to you?

Yes/No

Circle the number that best reflects how you feel about the following questions.

4. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

5. At times I think I am no good at all.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

6. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

7. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

8. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

Presented to Participants in the National Identity Condition

People belong to all kinds of groups, such as sports clubs, political parties, religious groups, as well as a nation. These groups differ from each other. Furthermore, they can compare themselves with each other. One sports club can compare itself with another, one political party with another, and one national group with another. The next questions are about your national group.

1. What was your country of birth? _____
2. What was your mother's native tongue? _____
3. What nationality appears on your passport? _____

Circle the number that best reflects how you feel about the following questions.

4. I often regret that I belong to some of the social groups I do.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

5. In general, others respect the social groups that I am a member of.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

6. The social groups I belong to are an important reflection of who I am.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

7. I often feel I'm a useless member of my social groups.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

8. I feel good about the groups I belong to.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

9. Most people consider my social groups, on the average, to be more ineffective than other social groups.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

10. I feel I don't have much to offer to the social group I belong to.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

5

Please answer the following questions as honestly as possible. Just draw a circle around the number that best reflects your attitude:

1. Allowing Asians to immigrate to Australia benefits Australian society.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

5

Strongly Disagree

2. I would not like an Asian to be my boss.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

5

Strongly Disagree

3. More Asians should be allowed to migrate to Australia.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

5

Strongly Disagree

4. Asian migrants are as friendly as people born in Australia.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

5

Strongly Disagree

5. Australia must be very careful not to let too many Asians into the country or they'll take over the place.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

5

Strongly Disagree

6. Asians are very productive people and should be allowed to settle in Australia.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

5

Strongly Disagree

7. I wouldn't like any member of my family to marry an Asian immigrant.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

5

Strongly Disagree

8. Australia should aim at closer contact with Asian countries.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

5

Strongly Disagree

9. One trouble with Asian business people in Australia is that they stick together and prevent other people having a fair chance in competition.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

5

Strongly Disagree

10. Asian and white people don't mix well.

Strongly agree

1

2

3

4

5

Strongly Disagree

Please rate how you thought about yourself whilst answering the questions on the previous page.

I as a Unique Person

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

I as an Australian

The following questions refer to similarity of Asians and Australians

The values Australians and Asians hold are:

**Very
Similar**

1 2 3 4

**Very
Dissimilar**

5

The Australian and Asian way of life is:

**Very
Similar**

1 2 3 4

**Very
Dissimilar**

5

One the whole, Asians and Australians are:

**Very
Similar**

1 2 3 4

**Very
Dissimilar**

5

The temperament of Asians and Australians is:

**Very
Similar**

1 2 3 4

**Very
Dissimilar**

5

Australians are all very similar to each other.

**Strongly
Disagree**

1 2 3 4

**Strongly
Agree**

5

Asians are all very similar to each other.

**Strongly
Disagree**

1 2 3 4

**Strongly
Agree**

5

Would you please provide the following background information?

1. What is your age? (circle the appropriate number)
 1. 18-29 years
 2. 30-39 years
 3. 40-49 years
 4. 50-59 years
 5. 60 years or older.

2. What is your sex?
 1. Female
 2. Male

3. If a federal election were held today which party would receive your first preference?
 1. Green
 2. Australian Democrats
 3. Labor party
 4. Liberal party
 5. National party
 6. One Nation
 7. None of these