

**Exploring Prejudice toward Aboriginal People:
Interviews with White Canadian University Students**

A Thesis Submitted to the College of
Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Master of Arts Degree
in the Department of Psychology
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada

By

Melanie A. Brockman

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ABSTRACT

Although Aboriginal people in Canada are subject to marginalization and racism, researchers have devoted limited attention to studying White Canadians' prejudice toward this group. In addition, little qualitative research has been conducted with individuals known to possess prejudiced attitudes. This study addressed these gaps in the literature. A two-part mixed-methods approach was employed. In Phase 1, a questionnaire was administered to 192 non-Aboriginal undergraduate students. Endorsement of old-fashioned prejudice was somewhat low, though a sizeable minority of participants (29%) scored above the midpoint on this measure. The mean score on the modern prejudice measure was above the scale midpoint, and the majority of the sample (61%) scored above the midpoint, suggesting that modern prejudice toward Aboriginal people was fairly prevalent in this sample. Phase 1 participants who scored above the midpoint on one or both prejudice measures and reported a White ethnicity were invited to participate in an interview. Interviews with 13 of these individuals (nine women and four men) were analyzed using interpretative phenomenological analysis. The themes that emerged have provided insight into the ways in which old-fashioned and modern prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people are created and maintained. The socialization process emerged as a key contributor to participants' attitudes toward Aboriginal people (e.g., internalization of stereotypes about Aboriginal people). Modern prejudiced sentiments mainly revolved around the perceived unfairness of the presumed special treatment of Aboriginal people in Canada. Ambivalence toward Aboriginal people, a core feature of modern prejudice, was also observed. Consistent with the conceptualization of old-fashioned prejudice, some participants implied that Aboriginal people possess inherent inferiorities (e.g., poor work ethic) that are responsible for the social problems they encounter. This was often linked to a perception that Aboriginal people have the choice to advance themselves, but many are content with being financially dependent on the government. It is posited that participants' apparent surface-level evaluations and understandings of Aboriginal people and social issues demonstrate that increased awareness and education may be needed among the Canadian public (e.g., regarding societal factors that serve to maintain inequality). Limitations of this study along with avenues for future research are also discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This undertaking would not have been possible without the support of several individuals. I would first like to sincerely thank my supervisor, Dr. Todd Morrison, for his guidance and support throughout my graduate studies as well as his professional, respectful, and easy-going approach to working with me. His knowledge and expertise, along with his feedback on my coursework and thesis, has been highly valuable in expanding my skills as a researcher.

I am very grateful for the advice I have received from my committee members, Dr. Melanie Morrison and Dr. Louise Alexitch. I really appreciate the positive interactions I have had with them and the time they devoted to my thesis. Dr. Morrison's expertise in the area of prejudice toward Aboriginal people and Dr. Alexitch's expertise in the area of survey research were particularly beneficial to me in light of the objectives of this research.

I would like to thank the individuals who participated in my study, especially those who devoted time and effort to participating in an interview surrounding a socially sensitive topic.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family and friends for their interest and encouragement along the way. I feel very fortunate to have such amazing people in my life. I would especially like to express thanks to my partner Brodie, whose friendship, patience, and support was tremendously instrumental in the completion of my thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PERMISSION TO USE	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	ix
1. INTRODUCTION	1
<i>1.1 Overview of Prejudice.....</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>1.1.1 Causes and correlates of prejudice.....</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>1.1.2 Types of prejudice</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>1.2 Literature Review of Prejudice toward Indigenous Peoples.....</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>1.2.1 Australian research.....</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>1.2.2 American research</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>1.2.3 Canadian research.....</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>1.2.4 Qualitative research.....</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>1.3 Measuring Prejudice.....</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>1.3.1 Approaches to measurement</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>1.3.2 The role of social desirability</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>1.4 Purpose and Objectives of this Research.....</i>	<i>24</i>
<i>1.5 Situating Myself in the Research.....</i>	<i>25</i>
2. METHODOLOGY	25
<i>2.1 Methodological Approach</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>2.2 Methodological Framework.....</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>2.3 Justification for Data Collection Methods.....</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>2.3.1 Advantages associated with conducting interviews</i>	<i>30</i>
3. PHASE 1: QUESTIONNAIRE STUDY	31
<i>3.1 Method</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>3.1.1 Participants.....</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>3.1.2 Measures</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>3.1.3 Procedure.....</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>3.2 Results and Discussion</i>	<i>35</i>

3.2.1	<i>Data screening</i>	35
3.2.2	<i>Prejudice toward Aboriginal people</i>	36
4.	PHASE 2: INTERVIEWS	45
4.1	<i>Participants</i>	45
4.2	<i>Measures</i>	48
4.2.1	<i>Interview guide</i>	48
4.2.2	<i>Follow-up questions</i>	49
4.3	<i>Procedure</i>	49
4.4	<i>Data Analysis</i>	51
4.4.1	<i>Validity in IPA research</i>	53
5.	PHASE 2 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	55
5.1	<i>Comparison between Interview Procedures</i>	55
5.2	<i>Comparison between Interview Methods</i>	55
5.3	<i>Scale Scores</i>	56
5.4	<i>Overview of Interview Results</i>	59
5.5	<i>Graphical Representation of Interview Findings</i>	59
5.6	<i>The Role of Socialization in the Formation and Maintenance of Prejudiced Attitudes toward Aboriginal People</i>	60
5.6.1	<i>Direct experiences and observations involving Aboriginal people</i>	62
5.6.2	<i>The role of others and social institutions in the formation of prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people</i>	76
5.6.3	<i>Negative stereotypes about Aboriginal people become ingrained via socialization</i>	85
5.6.4	<i>Surface evaluations and understandings of Aboriginal people and social problems</i>	96
5.7	<i>Expressions of Modern Prejudice toward Aboriginal People</i>	105
5.7.1	<i>Aboriginal people receive special treatment from the government</i>	105
5.7.2	<i>Ambivalence toward Aboriginal people</i>	122
5.8	<i>Expressions of Old-fashioned Prejudice toward Aboriginal People</i>	130
5.8.1	<i>Notions of Aboriginal people's inferiority</i>	131
5.8.2	<i>Aboriginal people have a poor work ethic and lack ambition</i>	133
5.8.3	<i>Aboriginal people are susceptible to social problems</i>	136
5.8.4	<i>Aboriginal people's social problems are related to a poor upbringing</i>	140
5.9	<i>Follow-up Questions</i>	142
6.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	144
6.1	<i>Limitations</i>	148

6.2 Conclusion 150

7. REFERENCES 150

APPENDIX A: ANTI-FAT ATTITUDES SCALE..... 164

APPENDIX B: PHASE 1 DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS 165

APPENDIX C: MODERN HOMONEGATIVITY SCALE - GAY MEN..... 167

APPENDIX D: PREJUDICE TOWARD ABORIGINALS SCALES 168

APPENDIX E: RIGHT-WING AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE 170

APPENDIX F: SOCIAL DOMINANCE ORIENTATION SCALE 172

APPENDIX G: VERBAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR PHASE 1..... 173

APPENDIX H: ID CODE QUESTIONS IN QUESTIONNAIRE 175

APPENDIX I: CONTACT INFORMATION FORM 176

APPENDIX J: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET 177

APPENDIX K: PHASE 1 DEBRIEFING FORM 180

APPENDIX L: INTERVIEW GUIDE..... 181

APPENDIX M: PHASE 2 DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS 185

APPENDIX N: INTERVIEW FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS 186

APPENDIX O: E-MAIL INVITATION FOR INTERVIEWS 188

APPENDIX P: INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT FOR INTERVIEWS 189

APPENDIX Q: PHASE 2 CONSENT FORM 191

APPENDIX R: TRANSCRIPT RELEASE FORM..... 198

APPENDIX S: CLOSING STATEMENT FOR INTERVIEWS 199

APPENDIX T: PHASE 2 DEBRIEFING FORM..... 200

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Ethnic Background and Political Orientation of Questionnaire Participants	32
Table 2	Endorsement of O-PATAS Items	38
Table 3	Endorsement of M-PATAS Items	40
Table 4	Correlations among Theoretically Relevant Variables	45
Table 5	Demographic Characteristics of Interview Participants	47
Table 6	Interview Participants' Scale Scores in Phase 1	57
Table 7	Notation Used in Extracts	60
Table 8	Pedersen et al.'s (2011) Mechanisms for Reducing Prejudice	147

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Graphical Representation of Interview Findings	61
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A-FAS	Anti-Fat Attitudes Scale
F	Face-to-face
IM	Instant messaging
MHS-G	Modern Homonegativity Scale - Gay Men
M-PATAS	Modern Prejudiced Attitudes toward Aboriginals Scale
O-PATAS	Old-fashioned Attitudes toward Aboriginals Scale
RWA	Right-wing authoritarianism
SDO	Social dominance orientation
U of S	University of Saskatchewan

1. INTRODUCTION

European colonialism in Canada served to systematically erode Aboriginal culture and place Aboriginal people at a considerable social disadvantage relative to the White majority (Shepard, O'Neill, & Guenette, 2006). Morrison, Morrison, Harriman, and Jewell (2008) discuss the history of the Canadian government's implementation of several oppressive and assimilative policies, such as the residential schooling system, all of which had deleterious consequences for Aboriginal people (e.g., the loss of their culture and language, experiences of sexual and physical abuse at residential schools). Such practices have had a lasting, intergenerational impact on Aboriginal people, as evidenced by the prevalence of social issues that currently afflict the Aboriginal population (e.g., poverty, substance abuse, physical and mental health problems, educational and employment disparities in relation to non-Aboriginal people). Research has shown that Canada's Aboriginal people have been the ongoing victims of negative stereotypes, prejudice, and institutional and interpersonal discrimination (Morrison et al., 2008). Together, these findings are a strong indication that, in the roughly 500 years since Europeans first arrived in Canada, there has been perpetual tension between White people and Aboriginal people.

Stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination toward minority racial groups have long been prominent topics of inquiry in social psychology. Due to the historical significance of White-Black racial politics in the United States (Dovidio, 2001), a plethora of studies have been conducted on White Americans' prejudice toward Black Americans. Far fewer U.S. studies have assessed White Americans' prejudice toward Native Americans (Eitle & Steffens, 2009) even though, akin to the situation in Canada, this group has experienced significant intergenerational trauma as a result of colonization. In fact, Native Americans evidence the poorest health of any ethnic group in the U.S. (Brave Heart, Chase, Elkins, & Altschul, 2011). As with the U.S. and Canada, in Australia, the Aboriginal population has experienced a host of social problems as a result of colonialism and racism (Pedersen & Barlow, 2008); however, few studies have empirically examined the reasons behind the White majority's negative attitudes toward Aboriginal Australians (Pedersen, Griffiths, Contos, Bishop, & Walker, 2000). Similarly, in Canada, despite the societal milieu discussed above, researchers in social psychology have devoted surprisingly little attention to studying White Canadians' stereotypes of, and prejudice toward, Aboriginal people (Morrison et al., 2008). In sum, although several Indigenous Peoples across the world are subject to marginalization and oppression (Brave Heart et al., 2011), a

review of the literature reveals that more research is needed if White people's prejudice toward Indigenous groups is to be meaningfully redressed. The detrimental impact that racism has on the physical and mental well-being of individuals belonging to minority racial groups is well established (Nadal, 2011), and the social marginalization experienced by these groups remains unabated despite significant decreases in blatant expressions of prejudice and discrimination over time (Dovidio, 2001). These facts underscore the ongoing need to refine and expand our understanding of prejudice as well as the cognitive and affective mechanisms that underlie it.

Across all of the studies reviewed focusing on Indigenous, Aboriginal, or Native American persons, several use members of these groups as participants and focus on topics such as personal experiences of prejudice and discrimination (e.g., Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010; Galliher, Jones, & Dahl, 2011). These types of studies are valuable because they shed light on the nature and effects of victimization; however, it is equally important to illuminate the thought processes and feelings of the perpetrators of this victimization. Such insights are crucial to theory and measurement development and to the creation of strategies aimed at reducing racism and racial inequality.

This study set out to address the aforementioned gaps in the literature by advancing our understanding of prejudice toward Aboriginal people in Canada. This was achieved by conducting in-depth interviews with White individuals who evidenced prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people. This type of research may be especially timely in Canada given the current social context of heightened attention to Aboriginal issues. For example, within the last few years, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) national news program has covered a number of stories pertaining to Aboriginal people, such as the deplorable living conditions of several First Nations reserves across Canada (e.g., Attawapiskat First Nation in Ontario; "Special Report," 2011) and Idle No More, a social movement based on opposition to federal government legislation that is said to infringe upon Aboriginal rights ("Idle No More Rally," 2012). In addition, last year the CBC ran a documentary series that profiled Aboriginal people and provided a glimpse into the history and present state of the (strained) non-Aboriginal-Aboriginal relationship in Canada (Crichton, 2011).

1.1 Overview of Prejudice

Dovidio (2001) defines prejudice as "an unfair negative attitude toward a social group or a person perceived to be a member of that group" (p. 829). Prejudiced attitudes constitute a core

facet of racism, a broader societal phenomenon (Pederson & Barlow, 2008) comprised of stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination, which together serve as structural barriers that place minority racial groups at a social disadvantage relative to the majority racial group (in most cases, White/Caucasian people). The central role of prejudice in creating and reinforcing these barriers is apparent in two ways. First, for a given racial minority group, it has been shown that higher-prejudiced individuals are more likely than lower-prejudiced individuals to believe that the negative cultural stereotypes associated with that group are accurate (e.g., Devine & Elliot, 1995; Morrison et al., 2008). Second, some research indicates that racial prejudice may be a precursor to engagement in discriminatory behaviour (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002).

1.1.1 Causes and correlates of prejudice. Conceptualizations of the origins of prejudice have shifted over time in response to changing societal and academic contexts (Choma & Hodson, 2008), moving from a focus on psychopathology (e.g., faulty personality traits) to an emphasis on normal processing (e.g., transmission of prejudice via socialization), and finally, to a multidimensional approach that recognizes both explicit and implicit forms of prejudice (Dovidio, 2001). According to Feather and McKee (2008), the causes of prejudice are multifaceted; that is, prejudice may have “deep roots in social learning, family and group dynamics, self-interest, social identification, and in structural variables within a society” (p. 88).

Researchers have uncovered certain individual difference variables that tend to predict what types of people will be more prejudiced than others. Two of the main variables discussed in the literature are right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and social dominance orientation (SDO). Altemeyer (2006) describes RWA as a personality trait pertaining to one’s endorsement along three attitudinal dimensions: submission to the established authority figures in one’s society (e.g., government officials), aggression in the name of these authority figures, and conventionalism (i.e., conformity to established societal norms). Possessing a high level of RWA is typically associated with a rigid, closed-minded stance toward out-groups (Nesdale, Robb , & Van Oudenhoven, 2011) and is, therefore, related to prejudice. SDO refers to one’s general attitudinal preference in terms of intergroup relations (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Individuals with a higher level of SDO typically exhibit a preference for ideologies and policies that serve to sustain hierarchical (i.e., unequal) relations among social groups; consequently, SDO tends to correlate with prejudice. Studies that have examined variables in

relation to prejudice have found that RWA and SDO often emerge as the strongest predictors of prejudice (e.g., Altemeyer, 1998; Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003).

Certain demographic and psychological variables tend to correlate with prejudice as well, including age, gender, regional location, education level, and political orientation (Pedersen et al., 2000; Pedersen, Clarke, Dudgeon, & Griffiths, 2005). For instance, studies have found that individuals who are older, male, live in non-urban areas, have lower levels of education, and are politically conservative hold more prejudiced attitudes than people who do not belong to these categories (e.g., Feather & McKee, 2008; Morrison et al., 2008; Morrison & Morrison, 2002; Pedersen et al., 2000; Pedersen, Beven, Walker, & Griffiths, 2004; Pedersen & Walker, 1997).

1.1.2 Types of prejudice. Traditionally, psychologists focused their efforts on studying blatant expressions of prejudice, whereas the last few decades have witnessed a shift toward examining both blatant and subtle forms of this construct (Brochu, Gawronski, & Esses, 2008). Blatant prejudice is also referred to as traditional or old-fashioned prejudice and involves the perceived innate inferiority of a social group (Morrison et al., 2008; Pincus, 2000) as well as overtly prejudiced attitudes (e.g., viewing verbal insults toward minority groups as acceptable; Clark & Tate, 2008). The label “old-fashioned” is used to denote that, due to social norms moving toward egalitarianism, it is no longer “politically correct” to openly express prejudiced views (Pedersen et al., 2000). Moreover, the introduction of legislation deeming discrimination illegal has resulted in increasingly fewer overt acts of discrimination (Dovidio, 2001). While old-fashioned prejudice persists and, thus, should remain a key focus of research, it has been recognized that unconscious and indirect expressions of bias also must be taken into account (Dovidio, 2001). Indeed, it is contended that contemporary prejudice is becoming progressively more ambiguous, disguised, and covert, creating challenges in its identification and assessment (Sue et al., 2007). Further, Van Dijk (1992) asserts that the denial of prejudice is one of the hallmarks of contemporary prejudice. For example, disclaimers such as “I’m not racist, but...”, followed by negative sentiments about out-groups’ general character or about equity-promoting programs, are becoming increasingly commonplace in order to present “negative views of out-groups as reasonable and justified, while at the same time protecting speakers from charges of racism and prejudice” (Augoustinos & Every, 2010, p. 251; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000). According to Augoustinos and Every (2010), speaking about race is now primarily organized

around the denial of being racist, with accusations of racism often seen as more socially taboo than racism itself.

Two of the most commonly studied contemporary forms of prejudice are modern prejudice and aversive prejudice. These constructs were developed in response to the evolving nature and expression of prejudice, which is largely influenced by social, political, and historical contexts (Dovidio, 2001). For instance, it has been argued that, while most White people now reject notions of the biological inferiority of racial minorities, many still possess negative feelings but in a new context: the belief in equal opportunity (Pincus, 2000).

The theory of modern prejudice holds that individuals may be ambivalent about their feelings toward certain social groups (McConahay, 1983). That is, negative attitudes, informed by cognitive biases (e.g., due to perceiving minorities as out-groups) and societal influences (e.g., stereotypes), may be incongruent with certain positively-valenced values (e.g., equality) or sympathy for disadvantaged out-groups (Bell & Esses, 2002). Such individuals may perceive themselves as non-prejudiced (Pincus, 2000) and may exhibit prejudice or discrimination overtly only when it can be justified on non-prejudicial grounds (e.g., Morrison & Morrison, 2002). In other words, the context must be ambiguous enough to allow for a reasonable, non-prejudicial explanation for actions that could otherwise be interpreted as prejudicially motivated (McConahay, 1986). This allows individuals to possess negative biases but to act in ways that serve to uphold their egalitarian self-image (Durrheim & Dixon, 2004). Modern prejudice is said to reflect moral concerns that minority groups are “making illegitimate (or unnecessary) demands for changes in the status quo” (Morrison & Morrison, 2002, p. 18) or that they receive unfair advantages (e.g., preferential government spending or policies; Durrheim & Dixon, 2004). Related to the latter point is the belief that equality means people should be evaluated and rewarded on the basis of their personal merit and achievements rather than their membership in a particular social category (Pincus, 2000).

Modern prejudice also involves the denial that prejudice and discrimination against minorities still exist, resulting in a lack of support for strategies and policies designed to address these issues (Blatz & Ross, 2009; Brochu et al., 2008). Thus, structural barriers which continue to place certain groups at a relative disadvantage are not recognized, and the existence of social problems among these groups is generally thought to be of their own making (e.g., viewing higher levels of poverty among Black people in the U.S. as a function of the Black population’s

general lack of motivation; Pincus, 2000). Denying the existence of prejudice and discrimination (i.e., believing that all groups have equal opportunity) links with the idea of racial colour-blindness, an ideology characterized by the denial, unawareness, or minimization of race and racism as well as White people's dominant position in society (i.e., White privilege; Bell, 2003; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000; Thompson & Neville, 1999; Todd, Spanierman, & Aber, 2010). In line with contemporary conceptualizations of racial attitudes, higher levels of colour-blindness have been found to correlate with modern prejudice (e.g., Neville et al., 2000).

As mentioned, colour-blindness is associated with White people's lack of awareness or acknowledgement of White privilege, which, in turn, is related to some of the core tenets of modern prejudice. Within an American context, Pincus (2000) states that, due to ideological and structural changes over time, "Whiteness" has been socially constructed in a manner that has resulted in the formation of certain shared racial attitudes. Pincus's summary of the literature surrounding these attitudes points to five main trends: (1) innocence (i.e., acknowledging past racism but asserting that oneself is not responsible, denying involvement in racism, and proclaiming strong support for equality); (2) denial of White privilege (i.e., rejecting the notion that Whites are advantaged, that institutional discrimination still exists, and that Whites have accrued socio-economic advantages due to discrimination in past generations); (3) racial minorities have transitioned from victims to undeserving beneficiaries of preferential government treatment (i.e., legislation now prevents discrimination; therefore, social disparities are assumed to be reflective of "cultural deficiencies" among racial minorities [p. 5]); (4) Whites are the real victims (i.e., strategies such as affirmative action represent a reversal of discrimination, with Whites now becoming the oppressed racial group); and (5) Whites' economic woes are created by racial minorities (i.e., Whites' anxiety and resentment toward tough economic times is targeted at racial minorities and affirmative action rather than at reducing structural barriers). Overall, then, it can be seen that modern racial prejudice is a complex phenomenon that appears to be, in part, related to three inter-related factors: the belief in equal opportunity, colour-blind ideology, and social constructions of Whiteness.

Aversive prejudice is similar to modern prejudice in that it is subtle and covert and may be exhibited by individuals who hold egalitarian views. According to Dovidio (2001), these individuals do not perceive themselves to be prejudiced but possess negative biases of which they may be consciously unaware or attempt to dissociate from their non-prejudiced self-image.

This implicit prejudice can lead to acts of discrimination, though they may be subtle and unintentional. As with modern prejudice, due to these individuals' conscious endorsement of egalitarianism, their prejudice or discrimination typically emerges when it can be rationalized on non-prejudicial grounds (e.g., lack of appropriate job qualifications). Using aversive prejudice as a framework, Sue et al. (2007) developed the concept of racial microaggressions to account for biased behaviours (e.g., dismissive gestures or tone of voice) that individuals may be unaware of but occur frequently in inter-racial interactions. Specifically, racial microaggressions are defined as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group" (p. 273). Importantly, Sue et al. contend that almost all inter-racial interactions are susceptible to microaggressions and that, despite their subtle and often inadvertent nature, they can have detrimental consequences for recipients.

Although modern and aversive prejudice share similarities, Brochu et al. (2008) highlight two important differences between them. First, modern prejudice generally pertains to individuals who are politically conservative (e.g., espousal of individualistic work ethic values, such as the belief that success and rewards should be earned via hard work; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995). On the other hand, aversive prejudice tends to be associated with individuals who are politically liberal (e.g., evidence support for the amelioration of racial inequality; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Second, while both forms of prejudice revolve around the concept of egalitarianism, the denial that discrimination still exists is only a tenet of modern prejudice.

As suggested by Nelson (2006), the theoretical definitions of old-fashioned and contemporary forms of prejudice may be indicative of a continuum of conscious negativity, where individuals possessing aversive prejudice are the least aware, those holding modern prejudice are somewhat more aware, and those endorsing old-fashioned prejudice are the most explicitly aware. It is also likely that, despite the ostensibly less hostile negativity associated with contemporary prejudice, negative feelings remain ubiquitous but manifest themselves in the form of resentment/anger or fear (e.g., due to the perceived advantages afforded to minorities at the expense of the majority) rather than contempt or disgust on the basis of perceived biological inferiorities. Regardless of potential differences between modern and old-fashioned negativity, however, both serve to maintain racial inequality.

As per this review, it can be seen that prejudice and its myriad expressions, causal influences, and reinforcing factors remain complex social issues that require further study.

1.2 Literature Review of Prejudice toward Indigenous Peoples

As indicated previously, relatively few studies falling under the rubric of prejudice have focused on Aboriginal people as the target group. Further, within the body of literature on prejudice and racism toward Aboriginal people, limited attention has been directed at examining the nature of, and underlying reasons for, majority group members' negative stereotypes and prejudiced attitudes. In line with the aim of the current study (i.e., exploring the factors associated with White Canadians' prejudice toward Aboriginal people), only research that has assessed prejudice from the perspective of the majority group will be discussed, with an emphasis on findings that relate to the potential causes and correlates of participants' prejudice. As almost all of the studies retrieved involve Australian, American, and Canadian samples, this review is organized by location. Lastly, due to the qualitative focus of this study, the section concludes with a review of the qualitative literature in this area.

1.2.1 Australian research. Pedersen et al. (2000) conducted a community survey with rural and urban non-Aboriginal participants and observed that, in both locations, the endorsement of factually incorrect statements regarding Aboriginal Australians was strongly associated with both old-fashioned and modern prejudice. The perceived functions of participants' attitudes were also measured, and the two groups differed in their responses: urban participants were more likely to perceive a value-expressive function (i.e., attitudes reflect one's core values and beliefs), whereas rural participants perceived more of an experiential-schematic function (i.e., attitudes are formed by personal experiences and observations). The former finding was interpreted in relation to values associated with modern prejudice (e.g., Aboriginal people should be treated the same as everybody else and not receive "special treatment"), and the latter was believed to stem from exposure to anti-social behaviours as a result of more Aboriginal people living in rural areas compared to urban ones. Taken together, these results indicate that negative attitudes toward Aboriginal Australians are formed on the basis of both values and personal experiences (Pedersen et al., 2005). In another study that looked at the function of attitudes, Griffiths and Pedersen (2009) conducted a community survey and found that 68% of the sample reported a value-expressive function, while 30% indicated that their attitudes serve an experiential-schematic function. Hence, the findings of these two studies suggest that, for Australians living

in an urban setting, the most important function of their attitudes appears to be the expression of their values (e.g., equal opportunity).

Pedersen et al. (2004) assessed the role of empathy and guilt in prejudiced attitudes. The researchers utilized a general index of empathy comprised of two forms: empathic concern for others (affective component) and perspective-taking (cognitive component). Collective guilt was defined as feelings of guilt over past and present injustices against Aboriginal people. A community sample participated in Part 1 of the study, where less formal education, age (older), lower empathy, and lower collective guilt emerged as predictors of more negative attitudes. The researchers note that this is evidence of the interplay between individual and social processes in the formation of negative attitudes toward Aboriginal Australians.

A study by Barlow, Louis, and Hewston (2009) involved an investigation of the relationship between White university students' friendships with Aboriginal people and old-fashioned prejudice. Results indicated that those reporting friendships with Aboriginal people held more favourable attitudes toward the group as a whole, whereas those with fewer or no such friendships were more likely to perceive out-group rejection of contact attempts, experience intergroup anxiety, hold prejudiced attitudes, and indicate a desire to avoid contact with Aboriginal people. It was, therefore, concluded that intimate contact with out-group members has the potential to reduce intergroup anxiety and prejudice, while the lack of such experiences may serve to maintain prejudice and avoidance.

To examine the relationship between modern prejudice toward Aboriginal people and value priorities, Feather and McKee (2008) measured university students' ratings of the importance of a set of values. The researchers proposed a new conceptualization of prejudice in terms of how it relates to specific values and their underlying motivations rather than general value dimensions (e.g., egalitarianism). Results indicated that those endorsing power values (e.g., dominance over people) and security values (e.g., safety and stability of self and society) were more prejudiced. In contrast, deeming universalism (e.g., equality, social justice) and benevolence (e.g., honesty, forgiveness) to be important values was associated with lower levels of prejudice. On the basis of these results, the researchers contend that analyzing value systems in this manner can serve as a useful tool in expanding our understanding of prejudice.

Some studies have looked at people's attitudes toward gestures of reconciliation by the Australian government. For example, using a sample of White university students, Harth,

Hornsey, and Barlow (2011, Study 1) manipulated whether Aboriginal people accepted or rejected a government apology; a control group received no information about the Aboriginal response. Although prejudice was not measured, it was found that self-reported anger was significantly higher in the rejection condition than in the acceptance and control conditions. Thus, the researchers state that attempts at reparation do not necessarily translate into intergroup reconciliation. In another study, it was found that those who were high in symbolic (i.e., modern) racism and perceived the in-group as deprived relative to Aboriginal people were more likely to be in opposition to government redress (Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2007). Symbolic racism emerged as a significant predictor of relative deprivation, while feelings of group-based anger associated with relative deprivation fully mediated the relationship between relative deprivation and willingness to take political action against a government apology. That is, with anger included in the model, no direct association was observed between symbolic racism and the willingness to engage in political action; rather, anger accounted for the relationship between relative deprivation and desire for political action (i.e., those who felt more anger toward their relative deprivation indicated greater willingness to take political action). Lastly, a study which involved a community survey showed that group-based guilt for majority group wrongdoings was related to support for an apology by the Australian government (McGarty, Pedersen, Leach, Mansell, Waller, & Bliuc, 2005, Study 1). Perceiving that non-Aboriginal people are relatively advantaged compared to Aboriginal people also predicted support for an apology.

A few studies have examined the notion of perceived consensus as it relates to prejudice toward Aboriginal Australians. Pedersen, Griffiths, and Watt (2008) surveyed individuals from both rural and urban settings and observed a positive linear relationship between participants' prejudice and their estimates of community support for their attitudes toward Aboriginal people (i.e., as levels of prejudice increased, estimates of community support increased). Further, those who were highly prejudiced displayed larger overestimates of support for their prejudicial attitudes than did low-prejudiced individuals. These findings were replicated by Watt and Larkin (2010), who note that the "illusion of strong support" for one's negative views could increase the likelihood that one will act upon those views (p. 724).

Morton, Hornsey, and Postmes (2009) investigated the relationship between prejudice and essentialism (i.e., perceiving that a social group inherently possesses certain characteristics). As expected, a relationship was observed between White participants' essentialist beliefs and

prejudice. However, when prejudiced participants were presented with information indicating that White people were being excluded on the basis of certain racial criteria, this association was not evident. As a result, the researchers suggest that prejudiced White people may endorse essentialist beliefs when they serve to exclude those they wish to exclude, but reject such beliefs when they perceive that they are being used to exclude White people.

Lastly, Nesdale et al. (2011) assessed the relationship between two psychological variables (intercultural effectiveness and RWA) and modern prejudice toward Aboriginal people. Intercultural effectiveness refers to one's capacity to effectively deal with cultural diversity, and Van der Zee and Van Oudenhoven (2000, 2001) have identified that this construct is comprised of five components: (1) cultural empathy (the ability to identify with individuals from a variety of cultural groups); (2) open-mindedness (having a non-judgemental view toward the cultures of out-groups); (3) emotional stability (the extent to which one can remain calm in stressful situations); (4) social initiative (the tendency to adopt an action-oriented approach to handling problems); and (5) flexibility (the aptitude to learn from experiences and adjust to new cultural environments). Using a sample of university students, negative correlations were observed between prejudice and three of the foregoing components: open-mindedness, cultural empathy, and flexibility. In addition, consistent with previous research, RWA and prejudice were highly correlated. A multiple regression analysis that included the dimensions of intercultural effectiveness as predictors and prejudice as the criterion revealed that open-mindedness was the lone significant predictor of prejudice toward Aboriginal people. Hence, the researchers suggest that, although the results point to a link between intercultural effectiveness and prejudice, it appears that the former may extend beyond individuals' feelings toward racial out-groups (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000, 2001).

1.2.2 American research. Only two American studies that investigated the factors underlying negative attitudes toward Native Americans/American Indians could be located. Rouse and Hanson (1991) set out to assess status-based prejudice, which is thought to stem from perceived intergroup resource competition and elicit strong emotional reactions. Using samples of college students in three different states, the goal of the study was to test whether status-based prejudice accounted for variations in views toward American Indians by social context. That is, two of the states (North Dakota and Wisconsin) had witnessed resource conflicts involving American Indians which were highly publicized, while the remaining state (Texas) had not and,

therefore, served as the comparison group. It was hypothesized that, due to mass media depictions of American Indians, the three samples would not differ in their knowledge of stereotypes but would differ in their status-based attitudes. This was supported, as significant differences were not observed among the samples with respect to factual knowledge scores and cultural stereotypes of American Indians (i.e., beliefs pertaining to their way of life; e.g., migratory). However, personal stereotypes of American Indians (i.e., beliefs about individual traits associated with group membership; e.g., lazy), which the researchers described as more evaluative in nature, were more negative in the North Dakota and Wisconsin samples than in the Texas sample. Further, in comparison to the Texas sample, the other two samples were less likely to support self-determination for American Indians and were more likely to think that American Indians only had themselves to blame for their social position. As well, with regard to perceived resource competition (i.e., status-based attitudes), it was found that the North Dakota and Wisconsin samples reported more disagreement over “special privileges” afforded to American Indians, such as hunting and fishing rights, and over the honoring of treaties and land claims. In light of these findings, the researchers conclude that negative stereotyping of American Indians may vary in accordance with perceived resource competition, providing support for the notion that intergroup competition is a key facet of prejudice.

Eitle and Steffens (2009) surveyed White university students to test the association between religious affiliation and beliefs about the source(s) of Native American-White and Black-White inequality. (Results pertaining only to the former are discussed here.) Participants selected among three modes of explanation: person-centered (i.e., inequality is due to characteristics of Native Americans, such as lack of motivation), structural (i.e., inequality is due to institutional discrimination), and mixed (i.e., inequality is due to both individual characteristics and institutional discrimination). There were four categories of religious affiliation: Catholic, mainline Protestant, evangelical (i.e., conservative) Protestant, and no affiliation. Results indicated that both types of Protestants were equally more likely to attribute inequality to individual factors compared to those with no affiliation. It was also found that structural explanations were less likely among Catholics than among those with no affiliation, and Catholics were more likely to choose a mixed explanation than were both types of Protestants. Thus, the results support the idea that religion may play a role in shaping people’s attitudes toward Native Americans.

1.2.3 Canadian research. Langford and Ponting (1992) examined the influence of a variety of factors on Canadians' attitudes toward government policies directed at Aboriginal people. The main purpose was to identify the dynamics underlying non-Aboriginal Canadians' views on Aboriginal-related policies, as public opinion polls had suggested that non-Aboriginal people generally expressed sympathy toward Aboriginal people, yet the majority also opposed offering them "special" arrangements. The variables measured were defined as follows: (1) prejudice involves negative affect; (2) ethnocentrism pertains to an attitude that one's culture is superior to those of out-groups; (3) economic conservatism refers to support for the current distribution of wealth, power, and income in Canadian society; (4) perceived group conflict involves a belief that Aboriginals receive preferential government treatment, which, consequently, results in the government neglecting the needs of non-Aboriginal people; and (5) perceived personal threat is based on three factors: size of the out-group (smaller represents less threat; e.g., provinces with lower proportions of Aboriginal people), actions of the out-group (political passivity represents less threat; e.g., provinces with fewer Aboriginal political disputes), and personal circumstances (those well-established in life should perceive less threat; e.g., older individuals).

Analyses were based on data from a national probability survey of non-Aboriginal Canadians, and the three dependent variables included support for Aboriginal self-governance, support for special status, and priority for Aboriginal issues. Four main findings emerged. First, prejudice and perceived group conflict interacted with each other in influencing responses: with regard to support for Aboriginal self-governance or special status, less favourable responses were observed when higher levels of prejudice were combined with higher perceived group conflict. A similar trend was observed for priority for Aboriginal issues, although perceived group conflict was found to have an effect even at lower levels of prejudice (i.e., the standardized regression coefficient was $-.39$, whereas the coefficients were $-.11$ and $-.04$ for the other two dependent variables, respectively, at lower prejudice levels). Second, economic conservatism was a strong correlate, independent of the other factors. Third, ethnocentrism played a minor independent role in the models tested (i.e., standardized coefficients ranged from $-.00$ to $-.19$). Finally, perceived group conflict, prejudice, and economic conservatism explained a moderate to large proportion of the variance in responses on the three dependent variables (i.e., standardized coefficients ranged from $-.16$ to $-.73$). Perceived personal threat was shown to have a modest impact, with

British Columbia residents responding relatively unfavourably (possibly due to several publicized unresolved land claims), older Canadians expressing more support (presumably because their personal circumstances are more secure), and Quebec residents placing the lowest priority on Aboriginal issues (perhaps due to a preference to affirm Quebec's rights). The researchers conclude that the results illustrate the "dynamics of backlash politics," in which prejudice interacts with perceived group conflict to generate strong opposition to reforms aimed at Aboriginal people (p. 158). They also note that it appears as though economic conservatism plays a key role in shaping non-Aboriginal Canadians' views on Aboriginal issues.

In a series of three studies, Haddock, Zanna, and Esses (1994) measured the role of stereotypes and other aspects of intergroup attitudes in university students' evaluations of Aboriginal people. In accordance with the conceptualization of attitudes as overall evaluations that take multiple sources of information into account (i.e., cognitive, affective, and behavioural/experiential factors), the goal was to examine the differential roles of certain variables in predicting attitudes toward Aboriginal people. Additionally, the researchers sought to test the evaluative implications of two different types of cognitive information: trait-based (i.e., stereotypic) beliefs and what they identified as symbolic beliefs, defined as "beliefs that social groups violate or promote the attainment of cherished values, customs, and traditions" (p. 84). In all three studies, attitudes toward Aboriginal people were measured via a feeling thermometer that ranged from 0° (extremely unfavourable) to 100° (extremely favourable), with the words "very," "quite," "fairly," and "slight" placed at 10° intervals.

Study 1 involved an assessment of participants' stereotypic and symbolic beliefs of, and affective responses to, the category "Native Indians." Scores on the three measures correlated positively with each other; however, the correlations were deemed not overly high ($r = .50$ or less), leading the researchers to conclude that the measures elicited different types of responses. This was particularly evident for the correlation between stereotypic and symbolic beliefs ($r = .24$), providing support for the notion that these two types of beliefs are distinct. In terms of predicting attitudes, stereotypic beliefs emerged as a significant predictor in the first step of a hierarchical regression, though this effect was rendered non-statistically significant once symbolic beliefs and affective responses were entered in the second step. Hence, when symbolic beliefs and affective responses were taken into account, the unique contribution of stereotypic beliefs when considered alone was diminished. This is in line with Devine's (1989) assertion that

stereotypic knowledge does not necessarily translate into prejudice. Of the three variables, affective responses provided the strongest unique contribution to the prediction of attitudes.

Initially, the purpose of Study 2 was to replicate the findings of Study 1; however, the 1990 Oka Crisis in Quebec, a tense land dispute between local Mohawk individuals and the town of Oka that received considerable media attention, afforded the researchers an opportunity to test the impact of a significant socio-political event on participants' views. Specifically, it was thought that members of the Mohawk Warriors Society, who featured prominently in the media and were seen as pushing for social change, could serve to heighten participants' symbolic beliefs. A similar pattern of correlations was observed among the three predictor variables. Differences emerged, however, in the correlations between these variables and attitudes: while the stereotypic beliefs-attitudes correlation did not change, the affective responses-attitudes correlation decreased slightly and the symbolic beliefs-attitudes correlation increased somewhat. With regard to the hierarchical regression analysis, the findings were similar to those from Study 1, with one exception: symbolic beliefs rather than affective responses emerged as the strongest unique predictor of attitudes. The researchers speculated that, due to media depictions of the Oka crisis, participants may have associated "Native Indians" with the Mohawk Warriors subgroup rather than Aboriginal people as a whole, which may have, in turn, brought symbolic beliefs to mind due to perceiving the subgroup as advocates for rapid social change.

In light of the fairly low percentages of variance accounted for in Studies 1 and 2 (22% and 16%, respectively), Study 3 investigated the role of two behavioural sources of information in predicting attitudes: frequency of contact and quality of past experiences with Aboriginal people. Results indicated that stereotypic beliefs, affective responses, and attitudes did not correlate with frequency of contact. However, it was found that more positive past experiences were associated with more favourable attitudes; thus, quality versus frequency of contact was more important in terms of evaluating Aboriginal people. Consistent with Studies 1 and 2, stereotypic beliefs did not uniquely predict attitudes once symbolic beliefs and affective responses were entered into the regression analysis. Together, the three original predictors accounted for 26% of the variance in attitudes, and adding quality of past experiences in a third step resulted in an additional 6% accounted for. With all four predictor variables entered, only quality of past experiences and symbolic beliefs emerged as statistically significant predictors of attitudes. Taken together, Haddock et al. (1994) conclude that the findings of these studies are consonant with a

“multicomponent conceptualization” of attitudes, such that cognitive, affective, and behavioural sources of information appear to contribute to the formation of evaluations of Aboriginal people (p. 100).

Using a sample of predominantly English Canadian university students, Donakowski and Esses (1996) studied the influence of labels on attitudes toward Aboriginal people. The investigation was premised on the finding that the labels and language people use can induce positive or negative perceptions of the social group to which they apply. Five different labels were examined: Aboriginal Peoples, First Nations People, Native Canadians, Native Indians, and Native Peoples. The labels Native Canadians and First Nations People elicited the most unfavourable evaluations. For the Native Canadians label, the researchers propose that it may be the case that this label induced comparisons with the in-group (i.e., English Canadians), thereby evoking a threat to a view of the in-group as the “real” Canadian group. With regard to the First Nations People label, the researchers reason that, because symbolic beliefs (e.g., Aboriginal people threaten national unity) were found to partially mediate evaluations, this label might have reminded participants of Aboriginal people working toward political autonomy (e.g., Assembly of *First Nations*); therefore, participants may have based their attitudes on their beliefs regarding Aboriginal people’s political status.

Bell and Esses (1997) studied the nature of ambivalent attitudes toward Aboriginal people in a sample of undergraduate students. In this context, the researchers describe ambivalence as the co-existence of positive and negative feelings toward Aboriginal people (i.e., attitudinal conflict, a central feature of modern and aversive prejudice; Bell & Esses, 2002). It was proposed that ambivalent individuals should be susceptible to a response amplification effect; that is, they should display more variability in their responses to minority group members than in their responses to non-minority group members. In addition, it was posited that priming either the positive or negative dimension of ambivalent attitudes may result in responses in the primed direction. In contrast, non-ambivalent individuals are not expected to display this pattern, since their attitudes should be more uniformly positive or negative and, hence, consistently lead to responses that are congruent with the dominant valence of their attitudes.

The response amplification effect was tested by measuring participants’ level of ambivalence and inducing positive or negative mood states to prime the positive or negative dimensions of ambivalent attitudes. Consistent with predictions, ambivalent participants rated

Aboriginal people more favourably when a positive mood was induced as compared to when a negative mood was induced. As well, ambivalent participants indicated more support for privileges (e.g., tax breaks) for Aboriginal people in the positive mood condition than in the negative mood condition. Neither of these effects was observed for non-ambivalent participants, nor did ambivalent participants display this pattern of results when Canadians were the target group. Thus, the findings provide support for the response amplification effect and for the potential role of mood states in ambivalent individuals' evaluations of Aboriginal people. According to the researchers, an implication of these results is that ambivalent attitudes appear to create instability in responses to Aboriginal people. Consequently, ambivalent individuals may be more or less likely to respond to Aboriginal persons or issues in a favourable manner depending on whether the positive or negative dimension of their attitudes is activated at a given point in time.

In a similar line of research, again using undergraduate participants, Bell and Esses (2002) examined the response amplification effect in relation to ambivalent individuals' motivation to alleviate the tension created by their attitudinal conflict. In Study 1, the researchers assessed the relationship between response amplification and reading a positive or negative essay about Aboriginal land claims (i.e., strongly in favour of or strongly against land claims, respectively). Ambivalent participants rated Aboriginal people more favourably after reading the positive essay than after reading the negative essay, which was not the case for non-ambivalent participants; therefore, a response amplification effect was observed among the former. Study 2 set out to investigate whether this effect is motivated by an attempt to reduce ambivalence, which individuals may perceive as an aversive state. This was tested by presenting participants with an essay stating that ambivalence is either positive (i.e., it is beneficial to see the good and the bad in people and consider both sides of an issue) or negative (i.e., it is not beneficial to see the good and the bad in people and consider both sides of an issue). It was thought that, if response amplification stems from a motivation to alleviate ambivalence, then ambivalent participants who read the negative essay should exhibit response amplification, while this should not be the case for ambivalent participants who read the positive essay. As with Study 1, participants also read either a positive or negative essay regarding Aboriginal land claims. In line with predictions, ambivalent participants in the negative motive condition rated Aboriginal people more favourably when they read the positive land claims essay as compared to when they read

the negative essay; this effect was not observed among ambivalent participants in the positive motive condition. Hence, there was evidence of a motivational basis for the response amplification effect, whereby ambivalent participants who may have felt motivated to reduce their ambivalence were more likely to evaluate Aboriginal people in accordance with the valence of the message they read.

Vorauer, Main, and O'Connell (1998) conducted three studies to investigate White university students' perceptions of how they are viewed by Aboriginal people. This was based on the idea of meta-stereotypes, which refer to in-group members' beliefs about the (negative) stereotypes that out-group members ascribe to the in-group. In turn, the perception that one is being viewed as having undesirable traits may lead to negative feelings toward out-groups or avoidance of intergroup contact. The results of Study 1 demonstrated the existence of primarily negative meta-stereotypes among participants (e.g., arrogant, closed-minded). Personalized meta-stereotypes (i.e., beliefs about an individual Aboriginal person's expectations of the participant in an imagined interaction) were assessed in Study 2. Results indicated that increased expectations of being stereotyped were associated with less anticipated enjoyment, and more anticipated negative emotions, in the interaction. In addition, higher prejudice levels¹ were related to increased expectations of being stereotyped. The researchers posit that personalized meta-stereotypes foster negative feelings toward intergroup interactions, which can, in turn, lead to the formation of prejudiced attitudes. Lastly, in Study 3, students' judgments in an ostensible partner task with an Aboriginal student were measured, and it was found that high-prejudiced individuals were more likely to feel that the Aboriginal student stereotyped them. In sum, these studies illustrate that White people's meta-stereotypes may be a precursor to the development and/or maintenance of prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people.

A study by Corenblum and Stephan (2001) was designed to test a model of old-fashioned prejudice with Aboriginal and White participants. (Results pertaining only to the latter are discussed here.) This study was based on the integrated threat model of prejudice, in which the underlying principle is that perceived threats from an out-group predict prejudice, and perceived threats are theorized to mediate the relationships between antecedent (i.e., distal) factors and prejudice. The model consists of four types of perceived threat: real threats (e.g., economic),

¹ This research employed a general prejudice scale that included a variety of ethnic groups and, thus, was not specific to Aboriginal people.

symbolic threats (e.g., differences in values), intergroup anxiety (i.e., anticipated negative feelings in interactions), and negative out-group stereotypes. The four distal factors in the model include negative intergroup contact experiences, identification with the in-group, perceived intergroup conflict, and perceived status differences. Partial support for the model was found among participants, as all four of the perceived threat variables predicted prejudice toward Aboriginal people and mediated the relationship between two of the distal factors (negative intergroup contact and perceived conflict) and prejudice. The distal factors of in-group identity and perceived status differences were not related to prejudice. Overall, the strongest predictor of prejudice toward Aboriginal people was intergroup anxiety.

Werhun and Penner (2010) explored benevolent prejudice, a condescending form of prejudice that operates under a guise of benevolence but can serve to undermine an individual's competency. The study involved non-Aboriginal university students who took part in a mock competency-based decision task. To assess benevolent prejudice, students were instructed to read an essay supposedly written by a fellow student and then rate the degree to which they would be willing to provide the student with "extra writing help." All students read the same essay and were, therefore, provided with equal performance criteria; the race of the writer was manipulated to be either Aboriginal or White. Using a mock newspaper article, participants were also primed with one of two types of implicit theories regarding intelligence: entity theory (i.e., intelligence is a fixed attribute) and incremental theory (i.e., intelligence is a flexible attribute). Lastly, participants were primed with either images of negative Aboriginal stereotypes (e.g., a homeless person) or neutral images. It was posited that, in the context of viewing stereotypical and entity theory primes, a greater willingness to help an Aboriginal student compared to a White student would imply a belief that Aboriginal people are incompetent and, hence, demonstrate benevolent prejudice. In support of this, exposure to both stereotypical and entity theory primes resulted in a greater willingness to help the Aboriginal student. However, intentions to help Aboriginal and White students did not differ with exposure to a stereotypical image but an incremental theory prime. Thus, the researchers suggest that viewing intelligence as flexible appeared to mitigate the impact of stereotypes on evaluations of Aboriginals people's competence.

Finally, Beaton, Dovidio, and LeBlanc (2011, Study 2) conducted research with White adolescents to investigate the relationship between bias suppression and traditional (i.e., old-fashioned) prejudice in making justice judgments. The hypothetical offender was either White or

Aboriginal, and participants were tasked with two types of judgments: blatant/negatively-oriented (length of sentence in a rehabilitation centre) and subtle/positively-oriented (evaluation of potential for rehabilitation). For individuals who scored low on bias suppression, prejudice was associated with longer sentences for the Aboriginal offender compared to the White offender. In contrast, for those scoring high on bias suppression, prejudice did not predict differential sentences according to the race of the offender. According to the researchers, this indicates that differences in the capacity to self-regulate bias appear to play a key role in blatant/negatively-oriented judgment biases. In terms of ratings on offenders' potential for rehabilitation, participants scoring higher on traditional prejudice tended to deem White offenders as having greater potential regardless of level of bias suppression. This finding suggests that subtle/positively-oriented forms of bias or racial inequality may act as expressions of traditional prejudice. The researchers state that, because this form of bias may not have seemed discriminatory to participants, self-regulation of their bias may not have been a factor in their responses.

1.2.4 Qualitative research. Against a backdrop of racial tension in Australia, Augoustinos, Tuffin, and Rapley (1999) analyzed university students' informal talk with respect to Aboriginal social issues. The objective was to highlight patterns of talk about Aboriginal people from open-ended group discussions. Some of the themes that emerged from the discussions included perceptions of colonialism as merely a lifestyle incompatibility (i.e., the British were superior, Aboriginal people were primitive) and denying or downplaying racism (e.g., Aboriginal people are too sensitive and make unwarranted claims of prejudice and discrimination). The researchers conclude that patterns of both old-fashioned and modern prejudice were evident in these discussions. Further, negative constructions of Aboriginal people/issues were common among the university students, suggesting that patterns of racist discourse remain a concern even among those presumed to espouse more open-minded beliefs. Another Australian study involving university students focused on affirmative action programs and disadvantage (Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Every, 2005). In two group discussions, opposition to such programs was frequently rationalized on the basis of meritocratic ideals (i.e., individual achievement should determine outcomes, not membership in a particular social category). It also appeared that participants took their own social status for granted and assumed that the advantages of the majority group were earned and not due to their race. In general, participants constructed their opposition to

affirmative action as reflecting a belief in equity while denying that it stemmed from racism. The researchers point out that these types of constructions may have racist consequences in that they serve to perpetuate White privilege and minority group disadvantage.

Only two interview-based studies relevant to prejudice toward Aboriginal people could be located. The first of these was a Canadian study that explored female nurses' health care encounters with First Nations women (Browne, 2007). It was found that nurses frequently framed their perceptions of First Nations women as quiet and passive in terms of "cultural issues" that were at times frustrating due to the fast-paced nature of their work. Some also noted difficulties in establishing connections with First Nations patients due to uncertainty with respect to whether a patient might be quiet/passive or "angry with White people" (p. 2170). Instances of nurses drawing distinctions between "us" and "them" were also observed, and nurses often interpreted their experiences in reference to societal representations of Aboriginal people. Browne (2007) states that, while nurses may not intentionally "other" their patients, for some nurses, tensions exist between their egalitarian ideals and seemingly innocuous, subtle practices that may serve to reinforce Aboriginal people's marginalized status.

An Australian study by Moran (2009) utilized in-depth interviews with a diverse sample to examine the ways in which non-Aboriginal people perceive and discuss Aboriginal people. One general observation from the data was that individuals often discussed Aboriginal issues in relation to principles of individual responsibility and equality rather than historical factors or Aboriginal people's rights. That is, although there was general sympathy for Aboriginals Australians' predicaments, there tended to be a belief that they should be treated the same as everybody else and not receive "special treatment" because of their race. In fact, several participants indicated that their negative views were primarily due to Aboriginal-related government policies. There was also a sense among many that Aboriginal people do not face societal barriers in terms of advancing themselves (e.g., via educational opportunities). A somewhat paradoxical finding was that many participants discussed notions of inclusion in relation to Australian nationalism, although, in contrast to this view, there was opposition to the development of government programs to redress historical injustices against Aboriginal people. It was also common for participants to refer to themselves as "ordinary" people possessing egalitarian beliefs, thereby serving to deflect acknowledgement of, or responsibility for, the social disadvantages experienced by Aboriginals. Moran (2009) suggests that Australians' racial

attitudes need to be explored via certain categories of understanding, including norms of egalitarianism and individual responsibility as well as notions of inclusive nationalism. Importantly, Moran argues that the concept and deep political roots of fairness serve as a formidable barrier to redressing White-Aboriginal inequality in Australia.

The previous sections have outlined the nature of prejudice along with some of the factors that have been shown to predict prejudice toward Aboriginal people. Irrespective of the type of prejudice and the variables under study, a key consideration for researchers is how to best assess prejudiced attitudes. Indeed, as argued by Durheim and Dixon (2004), social psychology has been vexed by ongoing difficulties and debates with respect to measuring “true” prejudice.

1.3 Measuring Prejudice

1.3.1 Approaches to measurement. Traditionally, prejudice has been assessed through self-report scales, where people provide their explicit evaluation of a social group (Brochu et al., 2008). However, in acknowledgement of the fact that some individuals may not be willing to consciously disclose their negative attitudes on such scales, researchers have become increasingly interested in measuring implicit prejudice, which involves an involuntary negative orientation toward a social group (Rudman, 2004). Implicit attitudes are frequently assessed via computer-based response latency association tasks and are seen as especially important in the study of modern or aversive prejudice, since individuals may present themselves as egalitarian, deny being prejudiced, or lack conscious awareness of their biases while still harbouring negative feelings and beliefs that they cannot control (Dovidio, 2001). Hence, implicit methods are presumed to play a key role in uncovering racial biases that are not revealed via self-report measures (Rudman, 2004).

In terms of investigating prejudice qualitatively, a review of the literature revealed that the vast majority of these studies have focused on the experiences of the targets rather than the perpetrators of prejudice. These studies typically entail interviews with individuals from minority groups in which they discuss personal experiences of prejudice and/or discrimination. Jewell (2007) identified three interview studies involving individuals known to possess anti-gay attitudes, though it was noted that these studies are limited by the fact that participants were drawn from deviant populations (i.e., men who had committed anti-gay crimes and men who had traumatic childhoods). In addition, women’s homonegativity was not explored. For the most part, in the retrieved interview studies that involved White/non-racial minority participants and racial

topics, the prejudice levels of participants were not known or measured beforehand (e.g., Monteith, Mark, & Ashburn-Nardo, 2010; Todd et al., 2010). (One exception was a study by Bonilla-Silva and Forman [2000], where follow-up interviews were conducted with White individuals who completed a survey on attitudes toward Black people.) In addition, a large portion of the qualitative literature consists of discourse analysis that either pertains to the public spheres of media and politics (e.g., Augoustinos & Every, 2010; Riggs & Due, 2010) or to the analysis of group discussions (e.g., Augoustinos et al., 1999; Goodman & Burke, 2010).

1.3.2 The role of social desirability. There have been ongoing social desirability concerns with respect to self-report prejudice measures. That is, the social implications of these measures can be transparent to participants, who may adjust their responses to present a more favourable (i.e., non-prejudiced) image of themselves (e.g., Holmes, 2009). According to Eisinga, Te Grotenhuis, Larsen, Pelzer, and Van Strien (2011), research in this area has revolved around two distinct components of social desirability: (1) self-deception, an unconscious tendency to view oneself positively, which can result in responses that project a positively biased self-image but that the respondent believes to be true; and (2) impression management, which involves a more conscious effort to present an artificial version of oneself and/or one's views and to respond in a socially desirable manner.

Face-to-face interviews have been found to be susceptible to socially desirable responding, presumably due to the social influence and lack of privacy that are present in this type of context (Gerich, 2008). This is thought to be especially relevant where racial topics are concerned, as many individuals wish to avoid the stigma associated with being or sounding racist, possibly resulting in a tendency to engage in impression management (Condor, 2000). It is typically assumed that individuals will be more likely to report or discuss socially undesirable attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours when they are at a greater physical distance from the researcher or interviewer (Holbrook, Green, & Krosnick, 2003). In their meta-analysis of 61 studies, Richman, Kiesler, Weisband, and Drasgow (1999) found that self-administered computer measures were consistently less prone to social desirability issues than face-to-face interviews, especially in the case of highly sensitive topics (e.g., illicit drug use, risky sexual behaviours). The researchers note that a similar pattern is generally observed for paper-and-pencil measures when compared to face-to-face interviews.

The present study utilized self-report prejudice scales as well as interviews to explore White Canadians' attitudes toward Aboriginal people. The aforementioned concerns suggest that these methods may not have circumvented social desirability bias; however, justification for the use of these methods is outlined in section 2.3.

1.4 Purpose and Objectives of this Research

The main purpose of this study was to qualitatively examine the nature of, and underlying reasons for, White Canadians' attitudes toward Aboriginal people. A secondary purpose of the study was to quantitatively measure the prevalence of old-fashioned and modern prejudice toward Aboriginal people in a sample of Canadian university students.

Based on a review of the prejudice literature, it appears that no previous researchers have adopted the method of interviewing racially prejudiced individuals. All but one of the retrieved qualitative investigations pertaining to racial topics did not explicitly measure prejudice. In fact, only one study that involved interviews with individuals from a non-deviant population and known to hold prejudiced attitudes could be located, and this concerned university students who were prejudiced toward gay men (Jewell, 2007).

The advances that can be made from the current study are twofold. First, it serves to address the gap in the literature that currently exists with respect to studying the nature of prejudice toward Aboriginal people in Canada. Further, as noted previously, the qualitative research that has been conducted, thus far, has focused on the recipients of prejudice and discrimination (i.e., Aboriginal people) rather than the perpetrators. Second, it is evident that the study of racial prejudice in general has yet to make a meaningful contribution in the realm of qualitative analyses regarding prejudiced individuals' thoughts, feelings, and experiences; therefore, this study represents an important methodological advance in the field.

This study set out to illuminate some of the dynamics surrounding White Canadians' attitudes toward Aboriginal people. To this end, the following exploratory research questions were of interest:

1. How do White Canadians who evidence prejudice toward Aboriginal people make sense of and articulate their views toward this group?
2. What are these individuals' perceived reasons for their views?
3. What social and psychological factors appear to be underlying the formation and maintenance of old-fashioned and modern prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people?

1.5 Situating Myself in the Research

At the time of this study, I was 30 years old and lived in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. I am a White female who grew up in rural Saskatchewan and moved to Saskatoon at the age of 18, where I have lived for the past 13 years. I espouse strong social justice principles and, accordingly, my main research interests are in the areas of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. My motivation for studying these topics is to generate information that can potentially contribute to the amelioration of inequality. My honours and master's research were both in line with this goal: the former involved an investigation of the climate of the sport environment for non-heterosexual female athletes; and for the latter, it was thought that an increased understanding of prejudice toward Aboriginal people could be gained via a qualitative approach, which, in turn, might prove beneficial in the development of strategies aimed at reducing racism and racial inequality.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Methodological Approach

This research project involved a two-part study that employed a combined quantitative and qualitative (i.e., mixed-methods) approach. It is believed that the two methodologies have the potential to complement one another in the study of prejudice: quantitative studies are useful in identifying general patterns with respect to the variables associated with prejudice, while qualitative studies may serve to highlight the unique ways in which individuals make sense of and discuss their views and experiences. According to Salkind (2002), qualitative methodologies are often utilized when researchers are “interested in obtaining detailed and rich knowledge of a specific phenomenon” (p. 143). Qualitative approaches are intended to be flexible and open-ended in an attempt to gain insight into the meaning that the phenomenon holds for individuals (Creswell & Maietta, 2002), thereby falling in line with the objectives of this study.

In Phase 1 of the study (i.e., the administration of prejudice scales to identify prospective interview participants for Phase 2), quantitative analyses were conducted to examine the prevalence of prejudice toward Aboriginal people. In Phase 2, participants' qualitative responses were analyzed for common themes. This combined approach allowed for comparisons between findings extracted from the two methods of data collection (e.g., with respect to the prevalence of old-fashioned and modern prejudice). Complementary findings of this nature would serve to

enhance conclusions made about the factors that underlie prejudice toward Aboriginal people, which could, in turn, have implications for the development of prejudice reduction strategies.

2.2 Methodological Framework

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was selected as the methodological framework for this study because it is well suited to qualitative, exploratory research that aims to assess people's perceptions and experiences surrounding a particular phenomenon (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009; Smith & Osborn, 2003). The process of allowing individuals to provide their own portrayal of their experiences pertains to the phenomenological aspect of the analysis, while the interpretative portion involves the researcher's organization of these experiences into themes in order to make sense of these personal accounts (Brocki & Wearden, 2006). In line with the main purpose of this study, Smith et al. (2009) state the key goal of an IPA-based study is to conduct a detailed examination of how participants discuss the topic of interest, which may elucidate some of the social and psychological factors that underlie it.

IPA has three main theoretical underpinnings, which are outlined by Smith et al. (2009). The first of these is *phenomenology*, an approach to studying human perception and experience that takes into account the inter-subjectivity associated with living in the world. More specifically, inter-subjectivity relates to the idea that the social context in which we are imbedded inevitably shapes our understanding of ourselves and others. This is particularly relevant to the study of prejudice, as it is a phenomenon that is inherently comprised of both social and personal elements (Jewell, 2007). Secondly, IPA is based on *hermeneutics* or the theory of interpretation, whereby it is acknowledged that the researcher plays a key role in uncovering and explaining the main themes that emerge from participants' reflections. In fact, it is argued that an IPA researcher becomes engaged in a double hermeneutic when interpreting interview data: he or she is attempting to make sense of the responses of individuals who were trying to make sense of their inner and social worlds. Smith et al. (2009) contend that a successful IPA study is one in which the researcher is able to combine both an empathic stance (i.e., attempting to see the phenomenon from the participant's perspective) and a questioning stance (i.e., adopting an outsider's perspective in order to go beyond what the participant has stated). The desired outcome of this process is a coherent representation of the data that captures the essence of participants' thoughts, feelings, and experiences (in this case, relating to Aboriginal people). Lastly, IPA is an *idiographic* approach in that the emphasis is on the

detailed, nuanced inquiry of the particular; that is, how particular people in a particular context understand the topic of study. This contrasts with the nomothetic approach to research in which the objective is to make conclusions about the larger population. For this reason, IPA studies generally involve small samples (i.e., three to six participants) that are selected purposively, which allows for an examination of converging and diverging themes within a fairly homogeneous group (Smith et al., 2009). In the present study, this was achieved by interviewing White Canadian students attending the University of Saskatchewan (hereafter U of S), who evidenced some level of prejudice toward Aboriginal people.

2.3 Justification for Data Collection Methods

In regard to issues surrounding social desirability in prejudice research, the following points may assuage these concerns. First, in regard to self-report measures, Morrison et al. (2008, Study 1) found that 56% of participants in a student sample from the U of S scored above the midpoint on a measure of personal endorsement of Aboriginal stereotypes, most of which were negatively-valenced (e.g., bad parents, alcoholic). In Study 2, Morrison et al. developed two new measures of prejudice toward Aboriginal people in Canada: the Old-Fashioned Prejudiced Attitudes toward Aboriginals Scale (O-PATAS) and the Modern Prejudiced Attitudes toward Aboriginals Scale (M-PATAS); higher scores reflect more prejudice. The average score on the O-PATAS was below the midpoint, but the average M-PATAS score was above the midpoint. Similarly, Nesdole (2009), who also used a student sample from the U of S, reports that a majority of participants scored above the midpoint on the M-PATAS. Thus, with respect to modern prejudice and endorsement of negative stereotypes, self-report measures appear to be capable of capturing negativity toward Aboriginal people; at least, among respondents attending the U of S. These findings also suggest that endorsement of the main tenets of modern prejudice may represent the norm when it comes to U of S students' views toward Aboriginal people. In addition, assessments of face-to-face interview studies have shown that matching the race of the interviewer to that of the interviewee can influence participants' responses, particularly when racial topics are being discussed. For example, with respect to studies in the U.S., one review found that participants tended to respond in a manner that they thought would be viewed more favourably by an interviewer of their race (Davis, Couper, Janz, Caldwell, & Resnicow, 2010), while another found that Black people reported less favourable opinions toward White people when they were interviewed by Black as compared to White interviewers (Anderson, Silver, &

Abramson, 1988). Taken together, then, despite the sensitivity associated with racial topics, it is thought that the interview context of this study was satisfactory in terms of maximizing participants' willingness to discuss their true thoughts and feelings because (1) unfavourable impressions of Aboriginal people may be seen as a cultural norm among White students attending the U of S, possibly resulting in lowered inhibitions in reporting negative views (e.g., modern prejudice); and (2) as the researcher/interviewer was a White U of S student, she may have been viewed by participants as similar to themselves, which could have made them feel more comfortable discussing their views candidly.

Second, Jewell (2007) conducted face-to-face interviews with four men and four women who evidenced negativity toward gay men, and she notes that the religious participants sometimes attempted to qualify their negative statements (e.g., "I mean, you could say I'm a little bit prejudiced against, not gay people, but homosexuality in...general"; p. 64). While this might be an indication of impression management, participants also expressed overtly negative sentiments; for instance, one male participant stated, "So if somebody turns out to be gay like, the only reason is because they're fucking stupid, you know, because, like, there's nothing that happens that means that you have to be screwed up" (p. 69). Moreover, Jewell indicates that religious participants' efforts to qualify their negative attitudes were illuminating, since they demonstrated the inner conflict experienced by these individuals; namely, their belief that homosexuality is wrong (as per their religious teachings) is incongruent with the Christian principle of being accepting of others (Herek, 1987).

Third, according to Tourangeau and Smith (1996), who recommend the use of self-administered measures versus face-to-face interviews for sensitive topics, a question is said to be sensitive "if it raises concerns about disapproval or other consequences (such as legal sanctions) for reporting truthfully or if the question itself is seen as an invasion of privacy" (p. 276). While the researchers use this definition in relation to the disclosure of illegal or embarrassing activities (e.g., drug use, sexual behaviour), the willingness to disclose racial antipathy on self-report measures as compared to face-to-face interviews is not discussed. Therefore, it is unclear whether questions about racial attitudes, especially toward highly derogated groups such as Aboriginal people, would be classified as sensitive in accordance with Tourangeau and Smith's (1996) definition of the term.

Fourth, not all researchers agree that social desirability compromises the validity of research findings, with some arguing that social desirability scales measure an individual-difference trait rather than response bias (e.g., McCrae & Costa, 1983). That is, some personality researchers have suggested that certain individuals may be more likely to portray themselves positively than others (Uziel, 2010). McCrae and Costa (1983) compared men's and women's self-reported personality ratings to an objective criterion (i.e., spouse ratings) and found that correcting self-reports for social desirability scores did not increase the correspondence between the two types of ratings (in fact, it decreased in most cases). In addition, social desirability scores were related to personality traits such as neuroticism, providing support for the view of social desirability as a trait and not necessarily a characteristic of a scale or the items therein. The researchers suggest that these results should cast doubt on the usefulness of correcting scores for lying or social desirability. Further support for the trait versus response style distinction was provided by Ones, Viswesvaran, and Reiss's (1996) meta-analysis of the social desirability literature, from which they concluded that social desirability scores represent individual differences in personality. In particular, social desirability was found to consistently correlate with differences in emotional stability and conscientiousness.

Fifth and finally, Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) state that contemporary survey-based prejudice research tends to depict racial attitudes as increasingly tolerant or ambivalent, which seems to conflict with qualitative studies which have found evidence that prejudiced expressions remain common. This is often in the form of individuals providing disclaimers (e.g., "I'm not racist, but...") followed by prejudiced sentiments toward racial out-groups. The researchers note that interview-based studies consistently demonstrate a greater presence of prejudiced attitudes than do survey-based studies. For this reason, they argue that the latter approach may serve to underestimate the prevalence of prejudice among White people. To explore this paradox, Bonilla-Silva and Forman conducted follow-up interviews with White Americans who completed a self-report survey on racial attitudes toward Black Americans. Participants' interview data were then compared to their survey data, and it was found that, overall, participants appeared more prejudiced in their interview responses. For example, while the survey results showed that participants were generally accepting of various forms of inter-racial contact, the interviews revealed that participants often expressed reservations or opposition in response to a question about their views on inter-racial marriage. These findings lend support to

the use of interviews in the study of prejudice, as it appears that socially desirable responses in the context of racial topics may not necessarily be a concern, especially since those who use disclaimers to rationalize their views may not see themselves as responding in a prejudiced manner.

While the above points provide justification for the use of face-to-face interviews as a means of data collection in prejudice research, it was felt that, because studies of this nature are limited, a less direct method of interviewing could be tested to explore potential differences in participants' responses. Hence, online instant messaging (i.e., live chat) interviews were conducted in addition to face-to-face interviews.

2.3.1 Advantages associated with conducting interviews. While social desirability bias represents a possible downside to utilizing interviews in the study of prejudice, this type of inquiry offers several benefits that should be acknowledged. Babbie (1990) highlights three advantages of face-to-face interviews: (1) interviewers can probe for responses, thereby reducing non-response rates; (2) interviewers can respond to participant misunderstandings and clarify questions if necessary; and (3) interviewers can listen to participants as well as observe their non-verbal behaviour. (Points 1 and 2 can also be applied to instant messaging interviews.) Holbrook et al. (2003) offer two additional advantages: (1) interviewers can communicate enthusiasm non-verbally, which may motivate participants to fully engage in the interview and generate meaningful responses (face-to-face interviews also tend to elicit longer, more detailed responses; Richman et al., 1999); and (2) whereas participants in telephone interviews or online studies may be susceptible to distractions such as multitasking, this is generally not the case in face-to-face interviews. Lastly, the following strengths of this mode of data collection are discussed by Reid, Flowers, and Larkin (2005): (1) it allows for the development of rapport between participant and interviewer; (2) it enables participants to process their thoughts and have their voices heard; and (3) it is well-suited to research involving in-depth, personal discussions. It was hoped that by taking a qualitative approach to studying prejudice rather than the more common quantitative (i.e., self-report measures) approach, this study would be able to explore how prejudiced individuals interpret and explain their attitudes toward Aboriginal people, in their own words.

3. PHASE 1: QUESTIONNAIRE STUDY

Phase 1 was designed to produce a pool of prospective interviewees for Phase 2 and to investigate the prevalence of prejudice toward Aboriginal people in a sample of Canadian university students. To achieve this, a questionnaire was administered to a sample of U of S undergraduate students. The study was entitled *An Exploration of Canadians' Social Views*, and participants were informed that the purpose of the study was to gain insight into how Canadians view certain social groups and social ideas. To make the central objective of the study (i.e., assessment of attitudes toward Aboriginal people) less transparent, scales that measure attitudes toward other social groups (e.g., gay men) also were included in the questionnaire.

3.1 Method

3.1.1 Participants. The sample was comprised of 192 non-Aboriginal U of S undergraduate students who were recruited from the Department of Psychology's participant pool; they received course credit for their involvement. The majority of respondents were female (72.9%) and reported a White/Caucasian ethnic background (72.0%). Ages ranged from 17 to 33 ($M = 19.56$, $SD = 2.90$), with 90.1% of the sample falling between the ages of 17 and 22. A variety of academic disciplines were reported (e.g., medicine, kinesiology, commerce). Among the 149 participants who indicated how they would define themselves along a 6-point political orientation continuum ranging from *Very liberal* to *Very conservative* (Jewell, 2007), the average response of 3.46 ($SD = 1.27$) indicates that the sample was fairly neutral overall. However, a slightly greater proportion of participants evidenced a liberal political leaning (see Table 1). As per *t*-test analyses, statistically significant differences between men and women were not observed for age or political orientation.

3.1.2 Measures

Anti-Fat Attitudes Scale (A-FAS). One of the measures of prejudice toward a non-Aboriginal group that was included is Morrison and O'Connor's (1999) A-FAS. The A-FAS is a 5-item measure reflecting blatant anti-fat bias (e.g., "It is disgusting when a fat man/woman wears a bathing suit at the beach"). Participants responded along a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating a greater level of negativity toward overweight people. As per the recommendation of Brochu and Morrison (2007), the sex of the target was specified: half the participants ($n = 96$) received the "fat men" version of the scale, while the remaining half completed the "fat women" version. The A-FAS

Table 1

Ethnic Background and Political Orientation of Questionnaire Participants

	Overall (<i>N</i> = 192)		Men (<i>n</i> = 52)		Women (<i>n</i> = 140)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
<i>Ethnic Background</i>						
African	6	3.2	1	1.9	5	3.6
Asian	31	16.4	12	23.1	19	13.9
Hispanic	2	1.1	1	1.9	1	0.7
White/Caucasian	136	72.0	32	61.5	104	75.9
Other	11	5.8	5	9.6	6	4.4
Prefer not to answer	3	1.6	1	1.9	2	1.5
<i>Political Orientation</i>						
Very liberal	11	5.9	3	6.0	8	5.8
Liberal	23	12.3	7	14.0	16	11.7
Somewhat liberal	42	22.5	14	28.0	28	20.4
Somewhat conservative	37	19.8	9	18.0	28	20.4
Conservative	32	17.1	6	12.0	26	19.0
Very conservative	4	2.1	2	4.0	2	1.5
Prefer not to answer	38	20.3	9	18.0	29	21.2
<i>Political Leaning^a</i>						
Liberal	76	51.0	24	58.5	52	48.1
Conservative	73	49.0	17	41.5	56	51.9

a. Liberal = *Somewhat liberal, Liberal, or Very liberal* responses; conservative = *Somewhat conservative, Conservative, or Very conservative* responses.

has demonstrated satisfactory reliability in previous studies. For example, Morrison and O'Connor (1999) and Brochu and Morrison (2007) report reliability coefficients (i.e., Cronbach's alpha values) of .72 and .77, respectively. In support of the construct validity of the A-FAS, Morrison and O'Connor (1999) found correlations between A-FAS scores and scores on authoritarianism and blatant homonegativity. In the present study, the reliability coefficient for the A-FAS (both versions combined) was .68, which falls slightly below the conventional cut-off for "good" reliability (i.e., .70). As results pertaining to the A-FAS were not of primary

importance in this study, this result was not overly concerning. See Appendix A for a copy of the A-FAS.

Demographics. After completing the main measures, participants were asked to provide the following information about themselves: age, sex, academic major (open-ended), ethnic background, political orientation, relationship status, and the total annual income in their (or their parents') home. These questions can be found in Appendix B.

Modern Homonegativity Scale - Gay Men (MHS-G). Morrison and Morrison's (2002) 12-item MHS-G was utilized as a second measure of prejudice toward a non-Aboriginal social group. A sample MHS-G item is "Gay men should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people's throats." Three MHS-G items reflect non-prejudiced attitudes and, thus, require reverse-scoring (e.g., "Gay men who are "out of the closet" should be admired for their courage"). Items were answered on the same 5-point scale used for the A-FAS; higher scores represent greater levels of modern homonegativity. Morrison and Morrison (2002) report a reliability coefficient of .91 for the MHS-G (Study 3) and found evidence of construct validity in the form of a stronger correlation between modern homonegativity and modern sexism than that found between modern homonegativity and old-fashioned sexism. The reliability coefficient observed in the current study was .88. A copy of the MHS-G can be found in Appendix C.

Prejudice toward Aboriginal people. Morrison et al.'s (2008) 11-item Old-Fashioned Prejudiced Attitudes toward Aboriginals Scale (O-PATAS) and 14-item Modern Prejudiced Attitudes toward Aboriginals Scale (M-PATAS) constituted the measures of prejudice. A sample O-PATAS item includes "Most Aboriginal people can NOT take care of their children," and a sample M-PATAS item is "Canada needs to stop apologizing for events that happened to Aboriginal people many years ago." As with the MHS-G, three M-PATAS items reflect non-prejudiced attitudes and are reverse-scored (e.g., "Aboriginal people still need to protest for equal rights"). Items were answered on the same 5-point scale used for the A-FAS and MHS-G, with higher scores reflecting more prejudiced attitudes. In terms of reliability, Morrison et al. (2008) observed coefficients of .92 for the M-PATAS and .91 for the O-PATAS, while construct validity was evidenced via correlations between O-PATAS scores and old-fashioned prejudice toward gay men, and between M-PATAS scores and MHS-G scores. In the present study, reliability coefficients of .91 and .88 were observed for the M-PATAS and O-PATAS, respectively. These two scales are located in Appendix D.

In an effort to provide variability, the A-FAS, MHS-G, O-PATAS, and M-PATAS items were inter-mixed in the first section of the questionnaire. The remaining measures, outlined below, appeared after these items and were not inter-mixed.

RWA Scale. This variable was assessed with Altemeyer's (2006) 22-item RWA Scale. The first two items are not scored, as they are intended to get participants acquainted with the response scale. Ten items reflect RWA if participants indicate some level of agreement (e.g., "This country would work a lot better if certain groups of troublemakers would just shut up and accept their group's traditional place in society"). The other 10 items reflect RWA if participants indicate some level of disagreement (e.g., "Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else"). This scale employs a 9-point response continuum that ranges from -4 (*Very strongly disagree*) to +4 (*Very strongly agree*), and higher scores reflect greater adherence to RWA. Altemeyer (2006) notes that the reliability of the RWA Scale tends to be around .90, which is consistent with the reliability coefficient of .92 that was observed in the current study. In support of construct validity, RWA has been found to correlate with religious fundamentalism (Altemeyer, 2006). A copy of the RWA Scale can be found in Appendix E.

SDO Scale. Sidanius and Pratto's (1999) 8-item group-based version of the SDO Scale was utilized (e.g., "Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups"). Participants indicated their opinion toward each item on the same 5-point response scale that was used for the prejudice scales; higher scores represent stronger endorsement of SDO. As with the RWA Scale, Pratto et al. (1994) indicate that various versions of the SDO Scale have demonstrated reliability coefficients of roughly .90, which, again, is consistent with the results of this study ($\alpha = .86$). With respect to construct validity, Pratto et al. (1994) found a correlation between SDO and meritocratic ideology. The SDO Scale is located in Appendix F.

3.1.3 Procedure. Data collection involved a series of paper-and-pencil questionnaire administrations that took place in a classroom on the U of S campus in October 2012. Students could view a brief description of the study on the participant pool website and then register in a session that suited their schedule. A total of 10 sessions were held, with the number of participants in each one ranging from four to 32 (most had between 15 and 30 participants).

At the scheduled start time of the session, the researcher provided each person with an envelope that contained a participant information sheet, a questionnaire, and a contact information sheet. Each group administration started with the researcher asking participants to

remove the contents of their envelope so that they could look at each document as it was being discussed. The researcher provided a brief overview of the study and encouraged everyone to respond to the questions as honestly as possible (see Appendix G for the verbal instructions script used).

Next, the process for providing contact information in order to participate in a follow-up interview was explained. Participants were informed that, if they were interested in partaking in an interview, they had to answer the five questions on the last page of the questionnaire (see Appendix H), which would create a unique identification code. They would also have to answer the exact same set of questions on the separate contact information sheet (see Appendix I) and provide their name, phone number, and e-mail address. The questions recommended by DiIorio, Soet, Van Marter, Woodring, and Dudley (2000), and employed by Jewell (2007) in a study very similar to this one, were used to generate codes (e.g., what is the first letter of your mother's first name?). Participants were told that this procedure would allow for the linking of their responses to their contact information while protecting their confidentiality; that is, they would not be placing any personally-identifying information on the questionnaire itself.

Following this, participants' main rights were highlighted (e.g., participation is completely voluntary, responses will be kept confidential), then they were asked to review the participant information sheet prior to completing the questionnaire and to keep this sheet for their records (see Appendix J). They were also told that written consent was not necessary, as willingness to complete the questionnaire implied their consent to terms and conditions outlined in the consent form. Finally, participants were instructed to place only their completed questionnaire back in the envelope. If they had filled out the contact information sheet, they were to place it in a lidded box with a slit cut across the top, which was done to enhance privacy. When participants handed in their questionnaire, they were thanked and provided with a debriefing form (see Appendix K). Each session was scheduled for half an hour, though the vast majority finished the questionnaire in 20 minutes or less.

All procedures and materials utilized in this phase of the research received ethical approval from the U of S Behavioural Research Ethics Board.

3.2 Results and Discussion

3.2.1 Data screening. All questionnaire responses were entered manually into a database and checked to ensure accuracy. Missing responses were limited: non-responses for all scale

items were 2% or less; and for each of the demographic questions, less than 3% of total responses were missed. An inspection of the descriptive statistics for all variables did not reveal any concerns with respect to outliers.

Two “quality control” items were included in the questionnaire as indicants of how well participants were paying attention to the items while responding. The first of these, “For this question, circle the number that corresponds to *Agree*,” was located in the attitudes toward social groups section, and accuracy was high at 97.4%. The second item appeared within the RWA Scale and read “For this question, write in the number that corresponds to *Strongly disagree*,” where accuracy was much lower at 75.8%. This may have been due to a more elaborate response scale for the RWA items, along with the fact that the response scale was at the top of the page and participants had to write in (rather than circle) the number. In order to enhance the accuracy of the findings, participants who responded incorrectly to this quality control item ($n = 46$) were excluded from analyses pertaining to RWA scores.

3.2.2 Prejudice toward Aboriginal people. Scores on the O-PATAS ranged from 11 (lowest possible score) to 51 (highest possible score = 55). For both the O-PATAS and the M-PATAS, a score above the scale midpoint (33 and 42, respectively) indicates that the participant generally endorsed the items, thereby suggesting that he or she possesses some degree of prejudice toward Aboriginal people. In this sample, the average score on the O-PATAS was 29.63 ($SD = 7.31$), with 66.0% ($n = 124$) of participants scoring below the midpoint. A sizeable minority of participants (29.3%; $n = 55$), however, scored above the midpoint, indicating that this type of prejudice persists and, therefore, is still a concern. Moreover, if one considers that university students are thought to espouse liberal ideas and open-mindedness (Augoustinos et al., 1999), the fact that many of these participants blatantly view Aboriginal people unfavourably is particularly problematic. The average O-PATAS score in the current study was similar to the scores reported by Morrison et al. (2008) and Nesdole (2009), who utilized U of S samples. Hence, it appears that rates of endorsement for this type of prejudice have remained fairly steady over the past three to four years. Fairly similar results were observed for old-fashioned prejudice toward overweight individuals: the mean score of 13.76 ($SD = 3.41$) fell just below the scale midpoint of 15, and 32.3% of participants scored above the midpoint, while 58.2% scored below the midpoint.

As can be seen in Table 2, the highest average response (denoting greater prejudice) occurred for the item “Drug abuse is a key problem among Aboriginal people.” The item that received the lowest endorsement was “Aboriginal people have no sense of time.”

Scores on the M-PATAS ranged from 17 (lowest possible score = 14) to 68 (highest possible score = 70). The average M-PATAS score was 44.83 ($SD = 10.20$), which is just above the scale midpoint of 42. Thus, as would be anticipated due to changes in prejudiced attitudes over time, participants endorsed modern prejudice more strongly than old-fashioned prejudice. Further, over half the sample (61.4%; $n = 116$) scored above the midpoint, while 36.5% ($n = 69$) of scores fell below the midpoint. These proportions were significantly different from each other, indicating that favourable and unfavourable attitudes toward Aboriginal people were not equally distributed in this sample, $\chi^2(1, N = 185) = 11.94, p = .001, V = .25$. Together, these findings suggest that modern prejudice toward Aboriginal people was quite prevalent in this sample, although the average score was slightly lower than that found by Morrison et al. (2008) and Nesdole (2009). Despite the small decrease in average score, however, the fact that close to two-thirds of the sample scored above the midpoint indicates that modern prejudice toward Aboriginal people may be fairly common at the U of S. Moreover, modern prejudice toward Aboriginal people was much more pronounced than modern prejudice toward gay men. The average MHS-G score of 31.28 ($SD = 7.98$) is below the midpoint of 36, and a reverse pattern to that found for M-PATAS scores emerged with respect to proportions of scores above and below the scale midpoint: 25.3% and 70.5%, respectively. These proportions were significantly different from each other, $\chi^2(1, N = 182) = 40.64, p < .001, V = .47$. Possible reasons for this difference are discussed in section 5.3.

Table 3 shows that the three items with the highest average rates of endorsement concern the perception that Aboriginal people receive unfair advantages (e.g., “Aboriginal people should pay taxes just like everyone else”). The two items receiving the lowest mean rate of endorsement focus on historical inequities (i.e., residential schools and treaties). On the basis of these findings, it may be the case that participants hold more unfavourable views toward Aboriginal-related programs and policies, particularly those pertaining to reserved placements at universities, which is likely related to being students themselves. In terms of past injustices such as residential schools or the establishment of treaties, however, fewer negative responses may have surfaced because these items were not regarded as personally salient.

Table 2

Endorsement of O-PATAS Items

	Overall (<i>N</i> = 192)			Men (<i>n</i> = 52)			Women (<i>n</i> = 140)		
	Average ^a	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree <i>n</i> (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree <i>n</i> (%)	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree <i>n</i> (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree <i>n</i> (%)	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree <i>n</i> (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree <i>n</i> (%)
Most Aboriginal people can NOT take care of their children	2.48	104 (54.2)	36 (18.7)	2.42	29 (55.8)	9 (17.3)	2.50	75 (53.6)	27 (19.3)
Most Aboriginal people sound intoxicated (drunk)	2.39	113 (58.9)	35 (18.2)	2.25	34 (65.4)	5 (9.6)	2.44	79 (56.4)	30 (21.4)
Most Aboriginal people are on welfare	3.06	55 (28.7)	68 (35.4)	2.75	24 (46.2)	12 (23.0)	3.18	31 (22.2)	56 (40.0)
Most Aboriginal people need classes on how to be better parents	2.77	82 (43.2)	43 (22.7)	2.63	28 (53.8)	12 (23.0)	2.82	54 (39.1)	31 (22.5)
Aboriginal people have way too many children	2.71	79 (41.2)	41 (21.3)	2.77	20 (38.4)	10 (19.3)	2.69	59 (42.2)	31 (22.1)
Aboriginal people have no sense of time	2.02	137 (71.7)	4 (2.1)	1.96	35 (67.3)	2 (3.8)	2.04	102 (73.4)	2 (1.4)

Table 2 continued

	Overall (N = 192)			Men (n = 52)			Women (n = 140)		
	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree n (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree n (%)	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree n (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree n (%)	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree n (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree n (%)
High standards of hygiene are NOT valued in Aboriginal culture	2.55	103 (53.6)	33 (17.2)	2.42	32 (61.6)	8 (15.3)	2.60	71 (50.7)	25 (17.8)
Diseases that affect Aboriginal people are simply due to the lifestyle they lead	2.66	93 (48.5)	46 (24.0)	2.63	24 (46.1)	13 (25.0)	2.67	69 (49.3)	33 (23.5)
Drug abuse is a key problem among Aboriginal people	3.54	27 (14.1)	116 (60.4)	3.44	10 (19.2)	28 (53.9)	3.57	17 (12.1)	88 (62.9)
Poverty on reserves is a direct result of Aboriginal people abusing drugs	2.72	87 (45.3)	48 (25.0)	2.50	30 (57.7)	12 (23.1)	2.80	57 (40.7)	36 (25.7)
Few Aboriginal people seem to take much pride in their personal appearance	2.73	83 (43.4)	47 (24.6)	2.65	21 (40.4)	11 (21.1)	2.76	62 (44.6)	36 (25.9)

a. Response scale ranged from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*); midpoint = 3 (*Neither disagree nor agree*).

Table 3

Endorsement of M-PATAS Items

	Overall (<i>N</i> = 192)			Men (<i>n</i> = 52)			Women (<i>n</i> = 140)		
	Average ^a	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree <i>n</i> (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree <i>n</i> (%)	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree <i>n</i> (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree <i>n</i> (%)	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree <i>n</i> (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree <i>n</i> (%)
Canada needs to stop apologizing for events that happened to Aboriginal people many years ago	3.10	68 (35.4)	79 (41.2)	3.31	15 (28.9)	24 (46.1)	3.02	53 (37.8)	55 (39.2)
Aboriginal people still need to protest for equal rights*	3.12	74 (38.9)	61 (32.1)	3.38	24 (47.0)	11 (21.6)	3.02	50 (35.9)	50 (36.0)
Aboriginal people should stop complaining about the way they are treated and simply get on with their lives	3.19	59 (30.7)	88 (45.9)	3.12	20 (38.5)	21 (40.4)	3.22	39 (27.9)	67 (47.9)
Aboriginal people should simply get over past generations' experiences at residential schools	2.66	95 (49.5)	57 (29.7)	2.88	21 (40.4)	22 (42.3)	2.57	74 (52.9)	35 (25.0)

Table 3 continued

	Overall (N = 192)			Men (n = 52)			Women (n = 140)		
	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree n (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree n (%)	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree n (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree n (%)	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree n (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree n (%)
Aboriginal Canadians seem to use their cultural traditions to secure rights denied to non-Aboriginal Canadians	3.45	39 (20.3)	109 (56.8)	3.44	12 (23.0)	28 (53.8)	3.45	27 (19.3)	81 (57.8)
Many of the requests made by Aboriginal people to the Canadian government are excessive	3.28	36 (18.8)	80 (41.7)	3.35	8 (15.4)	21 (40.3)	3.25	28 (20.0)	59 (42.2)
Special places in academic programs should NOT be set aside for Aboriginal students	3.21	70 (36.5)	92 (48.0)	3.20	18 (34.6)	24 (46.1)	3.21	52 (37.2)	68 (48.6)
Aboriginal people should be satisfied with what the government has given them	3.43	34 (17.7)	94 (49.0)	3.31	9 (17.3)	20 (38.5)	3.47	25 (17.9)	74 (52.8)

Table 3 continued

	Overall (N = 192)			Men (n = 52)			Women (n = 140)		
	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree n (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree n (%)	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree n (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree n (%)	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree n (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree n (%)
It is now unnecessary to honour treaties established with Aboriginal people	2.48	108 (56.5)	30 (15.7)	2.53	30 (57.7)	8 (15.4)	2.47	78 (56.1)	22 (15.8)
Aboriginal people should NOT have reserved placements in universities unless they are qualified	3.91	28 (14.6)	140 (72.9)	4.08	3 (5.7)	40 (77.0)	3.85	25 (17.9)	100 (71.4)
Aboriginal people should pay taxes just like everyone else	4.14	5 (2.6)	160 (83.3)	4.13	0 (0.0)	40 (76.9)	4.14	5 (3.6)	120 (85.7)
The government should support programs designed to place Aboriginal people in positions of power*	3.00	51 (26.5)	56 (29.1)	3.17	16 (30.8)	11 (21.2)	2.94	35 (25.0)	45 (32.2)

Table 3 continued

	Overall (N = 192)			Men (n = 52)			Women (n = 140)		
	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree n (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree n (%)	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree n (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree n (%)	Average	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree n (%)	Agree/ Strongly Agree n (%)
Non-Aboriginal people need to become sensitive to the needs of Aboriginal people*	2.77	51 (26.6)	86 (44.8)	2.85	15 (28.9)	21 (40.4)	2.74	36 (25.7)	65 (46.4)
Government agencies should make every effort to meet the needs of Aboriginal people*	3.04	66 (34.4)	55 (28.6)	3.11	19 (36.5)	12 (23.1)	3.02	47 (33.5)	43 (30.8)

a. Response scale ranged from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*); midpoint = 3 (*Neither disagree nor agree*).

* Item is reverse-scored (i.e., 1 = *Strongly agree* to 5 = *Strongly disagree*); disagreement reflects more prejudice.

The statistically significant correlation between O-PATAS and M-PATAS scores, $r(183) = .54, p < .01$, was expected, as old-fashioned and modern prejudice are considered related but conceptually distinct constructs (McConahay, 1986). Due to this association, it is likely that prejudiced individuals will possess both forms to varying degrees. In this sample, close to a quarter of participants (22.3%; $n = 42$)² scored above the midpoint on both measures, while just under a third (29.3%; $n = 55$) had scores below the midpoint on both measures. It was more common for participants to score above the midpoint on the M-PATAS but below the midpoint on the O-PATAS (34.6%; $n = 65$) than the other way around (5.9%; $n = 11$).

In terms of gender comparisons, average M-PATAS scores for men and women were 46.00 ($SD = 9.76$) and 44.40 ($SD = 10.35$), respectively. This difference was not statistically significant, $t(187) = -.96, p = .339, d = .16$, and, therefore, fails to replicate previous research suggesting that, in comparison to women, men evidence greater levels of prejudice toward Aboriginal people (e.g., Morrison et al., 2008; Pedersen & Walker, 1997). In contrast to past research, the average O-PATAS score was slightly higher for women ($M = 30.09, SD = 6.77$) than for men ($M = 28.44, SD = 8.51$), although this difference was not statistically significant, $t(186) = 1.39, p = .168, d = .21$. Both of these comparisons suggest that the male and female participants in this sample evidenced quite similar attitudes toward Aboriginal people. However, men were found to have a higher average MHS-G score, $t(188) = -2.22, p = .028, d = .36$, and a higher average A-FAS score, $t(187) = -2.55, p = .012, d = .43$. Statistically significant differences between men's and women's average RWA and SDO scores were not observed, $t(187) = .25, p = .803$, and $t(189) = .29, p = .771$, respectively.

Theoretically relevant relationships between variables, identified in past research, were replicated in this study, as indicated by the statistically significant correlations displayed in Table 4. First, scores on the MHS-G and the M-PATAS, two measures of modern prejudice, were related (although the correlation was slightly higher between MHS-G and O-PATAS scores, a finding that is inconsistent with past research; e.g., Morrison et al., 2008; Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Second, RWA scores correlated with both O-PATAS and M-PATAS scores. Third, SDO scores were related to O-PATAS and M-PATAS scores (these correlations were higher than those observed in regard to RWA). Lastly, as mentioned, the correlation between O-PATAS

² Due to missing responses, 188 out of a possible 192 scores were computed for the O-PATAS, while 189 M-PATAS scores were computed. Given how close these values are, $n = 188$ was arbitrarily used to calculate percentages.

Table 4

Correlations among Theoretically Relevant Variables

	O-PATAS Scores	M-PATAS Scores	MHS-G Scores	A-FAS Scores	RWA Scores	SDO Scores
O-PATAS Scores	X					
M-PATAS Scores	.54	X				
MHS-G Scores	.44	.39	X			
A-FAS Scores	.39	.29	.32	X		
RWA Scores ^a	.37	.18 ^b	.68	.28	X	
SDO Scores	.55	.51	.37	.26	.35	X
Political Conservatism ^c	.26	.33	.43	.15 ^d	.57	.26

- a. $N = 146$ (participants who responded incorrectly to the quality control item excluded).
 b. Statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level; all other correlations significant at the $p < .01$ level.
 c. $N = 149$ (participants who responded “Prefer not to answer” excluded).
 d. Statistically non-significant.

scores and M-PATAS scores was statistically significant but moderate in magnitude (i.e., 29% shared variance), suggesting that these two forms of prejudice are inter-related yet distinct.

4. PHASE 2: INTERVIEWS

4.1 Participants

A criterion sampling technique was used to identify prospective interview participants. To obtain a sample of White university students possessing some level of prejudice toward Aboriginal people, two criteria had to be met to receive an invitation: (1) a score above the midpoint on the O-PATAS and/or the M-PATAS, and (2) a self-reported White/Caucasian ethnic background. Given the moderate correlation observed between O-PATAS and M-PATAS scores, it was anticipated that this pool of individuals would endorse aspects of both old-fashioned and modern prejudice to some extent. In total, 41 individuals met these criteria and were invited to participate, of which 13 responded to schedule an interview. To compensate participants for their time, each received \$20 cash. With regard to scale scores and demographic variables, an

inspection of the data revealed that there were generally no salient differences between those who chose to participate and those who did not ($n = 28$). However, interview participants had a slightly higher average O-PATAS score than non-participants: 33.38 ($SD = 7.25$) versus 30.64 ($SD = 6.34$). In addition, the former had a greater proportion of scores above the O-PATAS midpoint (54% as compared to 38% of non-participants). There was also evidence that non-participants were more politically conservative than participants: $M = 4.14$ ($SD = 1.01$), 67% conservative leaning versus $M = 3.36$ ($SD = 1.36$), 36% conservative leaning among participants.

Of the 13 participants, nine were female and four were male, which closely mirrors the proportions of women and men in the overall sample (i.e., 72% and 28%, respectively). Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 27 ($M = 20.62$, $SD = 2.81$), and individuals predominantly grew up in Saskatchewan ($n = 10$), with 54% of the sample ($n = 7$) reporting that they grew up in rural Saskatchewan (i.e., farm, acreage, or small town; see Table 5). Hence, with respect to age and location of upbringing, the sample can be considered quite homogeneous³. In terms of exposure to Aboriginal people, just under half of the sample ($n = 6$) indicated, at some point during their interview, that they lived in or near a community with a relatively high Aboriginal population. Table 5 shows that seven participants reported a liberal political leaning, while four participants indicated they have a conservative leaning. The two remaining participants selected "Prefer not to answer" for this question.

Approximately half of the female participants were randomly assigned to a face-to-face interview, with the remainder assigned to an instant messaging (IM) interview. Due to the low number of male participants, only face-to-face interviews were conducted, as it was felt that meaningful comparisons between the two interview formats would be difficult to achieve under these circumstances. Additionally, given the less thorough responses that were observed in the first few IM interviews with women (as compared to the face-to-face interviews), it was thought that assigning half the men to IM interviews could have resulted in the loss of in-depth data from a male perspective. Attempts to recruit additional male participants were unsuccessful, possibly as a result of the time of year (i.e., March/April, which is when final assignments are typically

³ The inclusion of Chad (names have been changed), who grew up in England and immigrated to Canada five years ago, could be viewed as compromising homogeneity; however, it was felt that his unique insights as a newcomer to Canada warranted the inclusion of his data. Further, as noted by Pringle, Drummond, McLafferty, and Hendry (2011), Smith et al. (2009) recommend a *fairly* homogeneous sample and state that a criterion of the effectiveness of IPA studies is the light it sheds on the topic, which Pringle et al. argue may be "difficult to achieve if the sample group is too specific or unique" (p. 22).

Table 5

Demographic Characteristics of Interview Participants

Pseudonym	Age	Grew Up In (In or Near Community with Relatively High Aboriginal Population ^a)	Major/College (Major/College Sought)	Type of Interview ^b	Political Leaning ^c
<i>Women</i>					
Amy	20	Rural Saskatchewan (SK; Yes)	Undeclared (Dentistry)	F	Liberal
Bailey	20	Rural SK (Yes)	Undeclared (Nursing)	IM	Liberal
Krista	18	Rural SK (Yes)	Undeclared (Pharmacy)	F	--
Danielle	18	Rural SK (No)	Undeclared	IM	--
Megan	20	Rural SK (No)	Kinesiology	F	Conservative
Eve	18	Rural SK (Yes)	International Studies	IM	Liberal
Heather	23	Urban/Rural SK/Alberta (Yes ^d)	Undeclared (Engineering)	F	Liberal
Jill	21	Urban SK (No)	Undeclared (Psychology)	IM	Conservative
Michelle	18	Rural SK (No)	Undeclared (Pharmacy)	F	Conservative
<i>Men</i>					
Adam	20	Urban SK (Yes)	Commerce	F	Liberal
Bryce	27	Rural Alberta/Urban British Columbia (No)	Engineering	F	Liberal
Chad	25	England (No)	Psychology	F	Liberal
Dustin	20	Urban SK (No)	Undeclared (Medicine)	F	Conservative

a. e.g., a reserve; Prince Albert, SK; participant indicated presence of many Aboriginal people.

b. F = face-to-face; IM = instant messaging.

c. -- indicates that the participant selected "Prefer not to answer" for the political orientation question.

d. Also lived on a reserve for one year when 12 or 13 years old.

due and final exams take place). Although obtaining fairly comparable numbers of men and women had been the initial goal, after conducting the 13 interviews, it was determined that few salient differences in response patterns were evident. Further, it was felt that saturation had been achieved by this point (i.e., novel information was no longer emerging; Patton, 2002) and that data collection should cease for pragmatic reasons (i.e., time).

In light of the detailed, idiographic nature of IPA research, Smith et al. (2009) suggest that sample sizes between three and six are generally sufficient; thus, this sample can be considered large by IPA standards. Smith et al. also note that there is no right or wrong number of participants in an IPA study; instead, a central criterion for determining an appropriate sample size is the richness of the data obtained. Therefore, as it was found that the depth of responses provided in the IM interviews was considerably lower than that provided in the face-to-face interviews, it was felt that a sample size greater than Smith et al.'s guideline of six was appropriate.

4.2 Measures

4.2.1 Interview guide. In line with the majority of IPA studies that have been conducted, data were collected via semi-structured interviews, whereby an interview guide served as a general agenda and was used flexibly in order to follow up on topics that seemed to be important to the participant (Smith et al., 2009). The guide consisted of a series of open-ended questions along with follow-up questions and was developed in accordance with past research, conceptualizations of old-fashioned and contemporary prejudice, and the objectives of the study. Due to the similarities between this study and Jewell's (2007) study with homonegative individuals, a few of the questions were adapted from her interview guide.

Questions formulated on the basis of past research were designed to explore the correlates of prejudice toward Aboriginal people that have been identified in quantitative studies. For instance, in order to explore whether participants' views appear to be associated with perceived intergroup conflict, one of the questions posed was "What are your thoughts on government programs and government spending directed at Aboriginal people?" To elicit responses that would possibly reflect old-fashioned prejudice, participants were asked "Are there things about Aboriginal people that you dislike?", while some questions were intended to examine aspects of modern prejudice (e.g., "Do you think that Aboriginal people are facing prejudice and discrimination in today's Canadian society?"). The remaining questions were aimed at acquiring

information about participants' general views toward Aboriginal people (e.g., "What are your thoughts on Aboriginal people?"), their past experiences and interactions with Aboriginal people (e.g., "Do you know any Aboriginal people?"), and potential factors that have shaped their views (e.g., "Where would you say that you get most of your information about Aboriginal people from?"). The complete interview guide can be found in Appendix L. After the main interview questions had been asked, demographic information was collected from participants (e.g., "Where did you grow up?"; see Appendix M).

Prior to conducting interviews, the researcher's supervisor reviewed the interview guide and provided feedback as to what questions should be prioritized in light of the research objectives. In addition, the researcher tested the guide with a 29-year-old White male who attended the U of S and grew up in rural Saskatchewan. Hence, he shared several similarities with the target population; however, his level of prejudice toward Aboriginal people was not measured. Following this test interview, feedback was obtained with regard to question wording and understandability, which led to a few minor revisions. The first two interviews with participants (one male, one female) served as additional testing for the guide, after which final refinements were made for subsequent interviews.

4.2.2 Follow-up questions. The responses that emerged in the interviews uncovered interesting information pertaining to how individuals make sense of and discuss their views toward Aboriginal people, which prompted the researcher to send a short set of follow-up questions to participants electronically. For example, due to several participants' assertions of a non-prejudiced stance toward Aboriginal people, one question was "What do you think it means to be prejudiced/racist toward Aboriginal people?" (see Appendix N for the remaining questions). Four of the 13 participants (all female) responded to the questions.

4.3 Procedure

When the questionnaire administrations were finished, data were entered into SPSS so that scale scores could be computed. The database was then screened for participants who scored above the midpoint on one or both prejudice scales and selected "White/Caucasian" as their ethnic background. Invitations were sent to all 41 participants who met the inclusion; thus, the response rate was 32%. Invitations were sent via e-mail (see Appendix O), and two weeks later a reminder e-mail was sent to those who had not yet responded. Interview scheduling was done through e-mail, and interviews occurred in November and December of 2012.

All interviews were conducted by the researcher and took place in an office on the U of S campus. For the IM interviews, the researcher was situated in an office adjacent to the aforementioned office. Each interview began with the researcher informing the participant about the purpose of the interview, their rights as a participant, and the confidentiality of their responses. Face-to-face interview participants were told that the interview would be audio-recorded with their permission, and all participants were told that the researcher would be obligated to report to the authorities any future intent they might express to harm either themselves or someone else (given the nature of the topic; cf. Jewell, 2007). The script that served as a guide for this introductory information can be found in Appendix P. Initially, it was felt that not informing participants they were selected for an interview because of their scale scores could circumvent the possibility that this would prime the negative dimension of their views toward Aboriginal people. If this occurred, perhaps more favourable or nuanced responses would not have been captured. It became evident, however, that few participants were disclosing negative views, which may have been a function of one or more of the following: self-deception, impression management, holding modern but not old-fashioned prejudiced attitudes, and/or scale scores above but near the midpoint(s). In seven of the first nine interviews, participants projected a colour-blind, non-prejudiced stance at the outset of the interview (e.g., “They are humans just like the rest of the world”), which could have been indicative of social desirability bias. In light of this, the researcher opted to inform subsequent participants that they were asked to partake in an interview because their questionnaire responses suggested that they thought less favourably of Aboriginal people to some degree. All four of these participants nodded in response to receiving this information, presumably denoting agreement. Results pertaining to this change in procedure are discussed in section 5.1.

Participants were next provided with a consent form to read (see Appendix Q), and the researcher asked if they had any questions prior to them signing the form. No participants asked any questions and all provided written consent. The recorder was then turned on (face-to-face) or the researcher went to the adjacent office (IM) and the interview commenced. The IM interviews were conducted via Windows Live Messenger, a well-known online chat program that is operated by Microsoft. Interviews lasted between 55 and 110 minutes ($M = 85.38$, $SD = 17.97$). On average, the IM interviews were longer than the face-to-face interviews ($M = 101.25$ minutes, $SD = 7.50$ and $M = 78.33$ minutes/, $SD = 16.77$, respectively). Due to the semi-structured nature

of the interviews, each participant was asked the first question in the interview guide, after which the researcher strived to attend to participants' insights by asking relevant follow-up questions and using their responses as segues to other questions in the guide. Consequently, there was variability in the use of the guide with respect to the number of questions posed as well as the order in which they were asked. After collecting demographic information, the researcher then explained the transcription process to participants (for the IM interviews, the researcher re-entered the office after asking the demographic questions). In addition, the researcher asked participants if they would be interested in receiving the follow-up questions⁴. All participants agreed to this and, therefore, provided their e-mail address to the researcher. Two participants indicated that they wished to review their transcript; hence, the transcripts were e-mailed to them and transcript release was obtained. See Appendix R for the transcript release form and Appendix S for the closing statement script. Following the collection of participants' e-mail addresses, participants were provided with a debriefing form that included further details about the study along with contact information for community resources in the event that participation in the interview caused them any distress (see Appendix T). The inclusion criteria were explained to the participants who were not provided with this information beforehand. None of these participants expressed concerns upon receiving this information, although one male participant seemed somewhat surprised, as he asked, "Was I negative?"; he did not question or attempt to deny the results, however. Finally, participants were thanked and given \$20 cash as a token of appreciation for their time.

All original and amended procedures and materials utilized in this phase of the research received ethical approval from the U of S Behavioural Research Ethics Board.

4.4 Data Analysis

Immediately following each interview, the researcher engaged in journaling as a means of noting key aspects of the interview, including the participant's verbal behaviour (e.g., hesitations in speech), non-verbal behaviour (e.g., facial expressions), or IM behaviour (e.g., time taken to send responses); as well as interesting or unique insights and some of the more prominent, recurring ideas that surfaced. This was done in a cumulative fashion, such that, from the third

⁴ At this time, it was unknown whether the follow-up questions would be feasible. The researcher informed participants that she may or may not send them the questions.

interview onward, common observations and themes that were evident across participants were recorded in addition to information specific to the participant.

The face-to-face interviews were transcribed verbatim. To ensure accuracy, each passage was replayed after it had been typed so that the text could be reviewed against the recording. The IM transcripts were created following each interview by copying the conversation and pasting it into a Word document. Minor edits were made to these transcripts to improve readability (e.g., adding periods where they had been missed). As the transcription process involved repeated listening to and reading of the data, the researcher started to get a sense of some of the common themes. Thus, after all interviews had been transcribed, she engaged in further journaling in order to document her initial thoughts and interpretations. (It should be noted that journaling occurred throughout both the data collection and analysis phases.)

The interview data were analyzed in accordance with the IPA guidelines outlined by Smith et al. (2009). The first step involved reading and re-reading the transcripts in order to become strongly familiarized with the data, which was achieved via the transcription process followed by a read-through of each completed transcript. In line with the idiographic nature of IPA, the remaining analytic procedures were performed on one transcript at a time. First, descriptive notes that focused on the content of the participant's responses were made. In conjunction with this, linguistic patterns (e.g., laughter, degree of fluency) were recorded, as were conceptual comments that were more interpretative in nature (i.e., moving toward the participant's general view toward Aboriginal people). While Smith et al. recommend note-taking on the transcript itself, the researcher opted to make notes electronically (in table form) because of the increased speed afforded by typing versus writing by hand. The next step involved the development of emergent themes, a process through which a researcher aims to transform the notes made into concise statements that capture the psychological essence of the participant's perceptions and experiences. Therefore, themes should reflect both the participant's words and the researcher's interpretations of those words. Upon completing these analyses for all of the transcripts, the researcher recorded her ideas about the common and unique themes that were evident in the data. Additional themes were created on the basis of notes made in the journaling process.

When working with larger sample sizes (i.e., greater than six), Smith et al. suggest that the emphasis may need to be placed on determining the key emergent themes and patterns across the sample as a whole. Accordingly, they state that a suitable strategy is to complete the foregoing

analysis for each participant but to delay the search for patterns until all participants can be analyzed together. Due to the current study's sample size of 13, this strategy was utilized. Specifically, after recording the list of what seemed to be the main themes within the sample, themes that appeared to be related to each other were clustered together, resulting in the formation of higher-level (i.e., super-ordinate) themes with corresponding nested themes. This created an overarching theoretical framework against which the individual transcripts could be compared. That is, the themes that were developed for each participant were reviewed using this framework as a guide in order to determine the number of participants demonstrating each theme, as Smith et al. note that evidence of recurrence is important when working with larger samples. Despite an emphasis on common themes, however, areas of convergence as well as divergence were attended to in an effort to follow Smith et al.'s recommendation of balancing commonality and individuality. Throughout the review of individual transcripts, themes that were not included in the original framework but were evident in the data were added where necessary, and illustrative quotes were documented. The researcher also periodically consulted the literature during this time as a means of gaining an understanding of the data and further refining themes.

4.4.1 Validity in IPA research. Due to growing dissatisfaction over the application of validity standards for quantitative studies to qualitative studies, increased attention has been devoted to developing validity criteria that are specific to qualitative research (Smith et al., 2009). Smith et al. (2009) offer Yardley's (2000) four general principles as a framework to evaluate the quality of IPA studies. To maximize the credibility of the reported findings, the researcher attempted to conduct the study using this framework as a guide. The first principle is *sensitivity to context*, which can be achieved in a number of ways, such as striving to obtain rich data by paying close attention to the interview process, grounding interpretations in the raw data, and demonstrating awareness of the existing literature. For instance, the researcher frequently reflected on her interviewing style throughout data collection so that she could improve upon her ability to elicit illuminating responses. The second principle is *commitment and rigour*, where commitment refers to the researcher's personal investment during data collection and analyses and rigour pertains to the thoroughness of the study (e.g., selection of an appropriate sample, interpretations that go beyond what participants have said). The third principle is *transparency and coherence*, with transparency relating to the clarity of the description of the research process

and coherence referring to the degree to which the findings are presented logically. Lastly, regardless of how well a study may be conducted, it is thought that a key measure of a study's validity is its *impact and importance* in terms of what it tells us about the phenomenon of interest. Given the lack of (qualitative) research on prejudice toward Aboriginal people, it is believed that this criterion has been met.

Reid et al. (2005) note that researchers who engage in IPA should be prepared to work in “flexible collaboration” with participants so as to identify the meanings that are most relevant to the phenomenon of interest (p. 22). This requires the researcher to continually reflect upon his or her subjective role in the interpretation and presentation of the data, as it is ultimately through the selection of themes and quotations that participants' words will be represented and the research question addressed. This reflexivity was ongoing during data collection and the analysis phase, primarily in the form of journaling. In addition, the researcher's supervisor reviewed a random sample of the transcripts as a means of testing the accuracy of the interpretations made.

Finally, Smith et al.'s (2009) recommendations for reporting results from larger samples were adhered to in an effort to enhance the validity of the findings. For example, recurrence of themes is seen as one measure of validity; hence, in most cases, the selected themes were evident for at least half the sample (i.e., six or seven participants). Smith et al. indicate that there is no “rule” when it comes to classifying themes as recurrent, as it is partly dependent upon the objectives of the study. Clearly, the more participants who are found to demonstrate the theme, the more support there will be for claims of generality. The decision may also depend on the amount of data collected, as less stringent criteria (e.g., one-third of the sample) result in a larger number of themes to discuss and illustrate with extracts. Thus, for pragmatic reasons, and to provide sufficient support for the selected themes, 50% was chosen as the criterion in this study. However, themes that were pertinent to the focus of this research were included even if they were evidenced by fewer than 50% of the sample. For example, notions of Aboriginal people being inherently inferior to White people (i.e., old-fashioned prejudice) were rare, which would be expected due to changing norms but still important to consider when qualitatively assessing the nature of prejudice toward Aboriginal people. In addition to selecting a recurrence criterion to enhance validity, care was taken to ensure that extracts were sampled proportionately across participants so that everyone's voices were represented in the account provided.

5. PHASE 2 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Comparison between Interview Procedures

As mentioned, part-way through data collection, the procedure was modified to see whether informing participants that they were selected because of their scale scores would lessen the tendency to respond in a socially desirable fashion. This was done with Heather (above midpoint on M-PATAS only), Jill (above midpoint on both), Michelle (above midpoint on M-PATAS only), and Dustin (above midpoint on both). Analyses revealed that three of these four interviews (Heather, Jill, and Dustin) consisted of more negativity than most of the other interviews, which suggests that disclosing this inclusion criterion may have attenuated the desire to engage in impression management. However, there was no means by which potential effects could be definitively measured, and despite more notable negativity in some of these interviews, these participants also made assertions of non-prejudice. Based on these results, it is inconclusive as to which procedure may maximize participants' comfort in speaking candidly and minimize their desire to engage in impression management. Future studies may be able to address this by including a social desirability measure or by sending a follow-up survey via e-mail to ascertain participants' perceived level of honesty in the interview.

5.2 Comparison between Interview Methods

Five women participated in a face-to-face interview and the other four participated in an IM interview. Although an in-depth analysis of differences in levels of candidness was not performed, no notable differences were observed. However, Danielle's IM interview provides some indication that the lack of face-to-face contact did not necessarily diminish impression management, as she scored above the midpoint on the O-PATAS but expressed little overt negativity in the interview. The main difference between the two methods involved the depth of responses, with the IM interviews generally taking longer to complete but resulting in significantly less data than the face-to-face interviews. Since participants were presumably adept at typing (because they are university students), it is unlikely that they experienced difficulties in typing their responses. Instead, perhaps the lack of direct interaction removed the awkwardness that can be associated with silence, resulting in less perceived social pressure to respond promptly and thoroughly. Another interesting observation in the IM interviews stemmed from a feature of the software program that was utilized. An icon appeared when the participant was typing, and in many cases, the icon would appear then disappear, but no response was received

by the researcher. This indicates that the participant began typing then either paused before continuing to type or edited what had already been typed. If the former was occurring, it could be a sign that participants experienced difficulties in articulating their views, which, indeed, seemed to be the case in most of the face-to-face interviews. On the other hand, if editing was occurring, this could be indicative of impression management (i.e., reviewing and editing one's responses to appear less or non-prejudiced). In light of these observations, it is recommended that future studies of this nature utilize keystroke logging software, which tracks participants' keyboard presses and mouse activity (Westerman et al., 1996). This would allow one to assess whether a participant is pausing or editing (and the nature of the editing) and, thereby, provide insight into the response patterns involved in the discussion of racial topics via instant messaging.

5.3 Scale Scores

Although the researcher was aware that participants scored above the midpoint on one or both prejudice measures, to reduce potential biases while conducting analyses, she remained blind to participants' scale scores until all transcripts were analyzed and common themes across the sample were generated. Table 6 displays each participant's score on the scales included in the questionnaire from Phase 1. The average O-PATAS score was 33.38 ($SD = 7.25$), which is essentially at the scale midpoint of 33. Scores on the O-PATAS ranged from 21 to 44 (possible range = 11 to 55), and seven of the 13 participants were found to score above the midpoint. In line with the quantitative data, modern prejudice was more prevalent, as the average score was 52.23 ($SD = 4.11$; midpoint = 42), scores ranged from 46 to 59 (possible range = 14 to 70), and all participants scored above the midpoint. Therefore, the sample was fairly homogenous with respect to modern prejudice, though there was some variability in the endorsement of old-fashioned prejudice. In contrast to scores on the O-PATAS and the M-PATAS, the average scores on the remaining measures fell below the midpoints. Further, with respect to the non-Aboriginal social groups, only three participants scored above the midpoint on the A-FAS, while four scored above the midpoint on the MHS-G. This suggests that participants' negativity was stronger for Aboriginal people than for overweight individuals and gay men. The results pertaining to modern prejudice are similar to those found in Phase 1 with respect to M-PATAS and MHS-G scores. It is not entirely clear why this differential negativity emerged; however, previous research points to category salience based on physical characteristics (in this case, skin colour) as one possible factor (Dudley & Mulvey, 2009). In addition, Gaunt (2011) states that

Table 6

Interview Participants' Scale Scores in Phase 1

Pseudonym	O-PATAS Score (midpoint = 33)	M-PATAS Score (midpoint = 42)	A-FAS Score (midpoint = 15)	MHS-G Score (midpoint = 36)	RWA Score (midpoint = 100)	SDO Score (midpoint = 24)
<i>Women</i>						
Amy	42	56	12	31	53	26
Bailey	29	53	12	24	34	18
Krista	35	47	14	38	83	23
Danielle	35	59	10	33	105	25
Megan	35	49	13	27	57	16
Eve	21	56	12	28	36	15
Heather	32	51	9	38	50 ^b	22
Jill	42	57	17	39	97	29
Michelle	32	53	12	32	72	24
<i>Men</i>						
Adam	29	50	13	33	55	11
Bryce	21	46	13	28	36	17
Chad	44	54	21	27	47	25
Dustin	37	48	16	56	138	18
Average	33.38	52.23	13.38	33.38	66.38	20.69

- a. This participant did not respond to one RWA item; thus, in order to obtain a scale score, a value was imputed using SPSS's expectation maximization procedure.

long-term conflict between groups can foster mutual hostility; hence, the long-standing contentious relationship between European/White Canadians and Aboriginal people may be another factor that contributed to this result. Lastly, endorsement of RWA was not common, with only two participants scoring above the scale midpoint, and four participants scored above the midpoint on the SDO Scale.

In an attempt to gauge the degree of congruence between the scale and interview data, following the detailed analysis of each transcript, but prior to learning the participant's scale scores, the researcher estimated whether the participant scored below, near, or above the midpoint on the O-PATAS and the M-PATAS. For eight of the 13 participants, estimates were fairly accurate, thereby providing converging evidence for the measurement of prejudice toward Aboriginal people. For the five remaining participants, inaccuracies pertained to O-PATAS scores. In two of these cases, it was estimated that the participant scored below the midpoint, when, in fact, they scored above the midpoint. Estimates were based on the fact that these participants frequently responded in a manner denoting non-prejudice. For example, Krista said that she is aware of the stereotypes associated with Aboriginal people but does not personally endorse them, and Megan indicated that her "outlook is fairly positive towards them, like any other culture." These findings suggest that impression management may have been employed by these two participants. Self-deception (i.e., truly believing that one is non-prejudiced; Eisinga et al., 2011) cannot be ruled out but seems less plausible, as these participants did not express surprise or disagreement when informed in debriefing that their scale responses reflected a degree of negativity toward Aboriginal people.

On the other hand, the three remaining participants in this group were believed to have scored above the midpoint on the O-PATAS but instead scored below the midpoint. One of these participants, Heather, evidenced more overt negativity toward Aboriginal people than most other participants, which was interpreted as a sign of endorsement of old-fashioned prejudice. However, an inspection of her scale responses revealed congruence with her interview responses. For instance, although she takes exception to some Aboriginal people's dependence on social assistance, she is "well aware" that there is no correlation between being Aboriginal and being on social assistance. This matches with her non-endorsement of the O-PATAS item "Most Aboriginal people are on welfare." Additionally, in the interview, she stated that most of her negativity was geared toward Aboriginal people in Saskatchewan, due to her negative

experiences while living on a reserve, and not toward Aboriginal people as a whole, which is consistent with scoring below the midpoint on the O-PATAS. However, some of her views did appear to generalize (e.g., she agreed with the item “Most Aboriginal people can NOT take care of their children”).

Incongruence between estimated and actual scale scores may partly stem from the inability of the O-PATAS items to fully capture these three participants’ negativity. Heather, for example, implied that Aboriginal people are financially misguided, Adam thinks that Aboriginal people are more susceptible to alcoholism than non-Aboriginal people, and Bryce believes that Aboriginal people are failing to adapt to mainstream Canadian society; there are no O-PATAS items directly corresponding to these overtly negative beliefs. In addition, one of the main old-fashioned prejudice themes that emerged from the interviews revolves around the idea of Aboriginal people having a poor work ethic, and, again, there is no corresponding O-PATAS item for this belief. Taken together, these findings suggest that the O-PATAS may not be detecting the full range of blatantly negative attitudes toward Aboriginal people that are held by White Canadians.

5.4 Overview of Interview Results

Three super-ordinate themes were selected to represent participants’ views and experiences relating to Aboriginal people: (1) the role of socialization in the formation and maintenance of prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people, (2) expressions of modern prejudice toward Aboriginal people, and (3) expressions of old-fashioned prejudice toward Aboriginal people. Each of these themes contains several nested themes and sub-themes. It was determined that between nine and 13 participants demonstrated the super-ordinate themes in some way, with some representing the commonality among responses and others evidencing the theme in a unique manner. As mentioned, pseudonyms were used in order to protect participants’ confidentiality. In an effort to illustrate the dynamics surrounding participants’ articulations of their views and experiences, linguistic elements such as hesitations, pauses, and “fillers” (e.g., “uh,” “like”) have been included. Details about the notation used when reporting extracts are presented in Table 7.

5.5 Graphical Representation of Interview Findings

Figure 1 summarizes the interview findings. As socialization is seen as the primary vehicle through which prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people are developed and maintained, the

Table 7

Notation Used in Extracts

--	Stuttering or abrupt changes in speech (e.g., stopping mid-sentence and starting a new sentence)
...	Pause
[...]	Text has been removed
MB	Interviewer/researcher
F	Face-to-face interview (women only)
IM	Instant messaging interview (women only)

socialization process is depicted as the overarching source of the social psychological phenomena that have been identified as possible factors underlying participants' attitudes. In turn, these factors, along with direct and indirect socialization experiences, are thought to be driving participants' old-fashioned and modern prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people.

5.6 The Role of Socialization in the Formation and Maintenance of Prejudiced Attitudes toward Aboriginal People

Socialization refers to the process through which individuals learn, internalize, and conform to prevailing societal norms and values via interactions with various "agents," including family, friends, school, and the media (Parke & Buriel, 1998). Participants discussed both direct (i.e., personal experiences or observations) and indirect (e.g., family, friends, the media) sources of information that have influenced their views toward Aboriginal people. The role that socialization can play in the adoption of prejudiced attitudes was particularly pronounced for seven of the participants, who noted that their views went from neutral or positive in childhood to more negative as they got older. In fact, most of these individuals, such as Bailey, indicated that they had a colour-blind mentality when they were younger: "When I was in elementary school I was too young to even really realize the difference between races. [...] It was based more on personality than it was on race" (IM). Thus, it is evident that individuals' experiences and interactions with others and social institutions perform a key function in shaping their views toward social groups. This is arguably the most crucial super-ordinate theme that emerged from participants' responses, as it appears to represent the foundation underlying participants' views

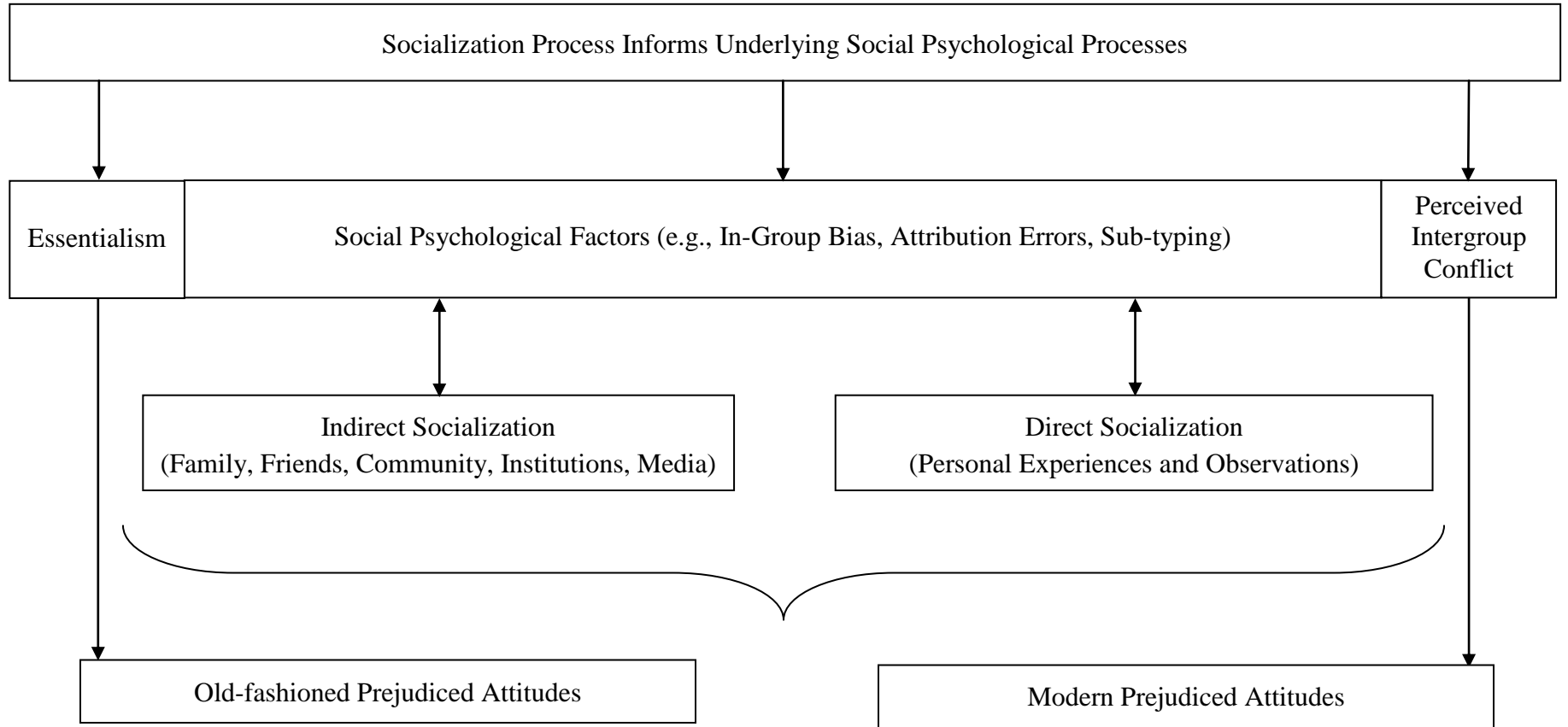


Figure 1. Graphical representation of interview findings

toward Aboriginal people.

5.6.1 Direct experiences and observations involving Aboriginal people. All the participants discussed negative personal experiences and observations that have involved Aboriginal people, though all but one participant (Jill) also indicated that they have had positive experiences with Aboriginal people. Negative experiences ranged from fairly innocuous (e.g., Megan recounted a situation in which an Aboriginal man played the “race card”) to serious (e.g., Jill disclosed that a former Aboriginal boyfriend sexually assaulted her). In many cases, growing up in or near a community with a high proportion of Aboriginal people (e.g., Prince Albert [PA], Saskatchewan or a reserve) was implicated as a reason why participants had negative observations:

“Um, I lived in a--grew up in a small town [in Saskatchewan], and we were pretty much surrounded by reserves on three sides.

[...] ⁵

I find that a lot of [Aboriginal people] come into our town to go to the bar and then they exceed their limit or whatever, and then we would sometimes, before school, we’d have to drive past the bar to get to our school, and we would see Natives - or Aboriginals - on, like, just laying on the ground by the bar, passed out ‘cause they couldn’t make it to their vehicle or to a person - vehicle or whatever. And I just-- That also gave me a negative view on them a little bit.” (Amy, F)

“I’m from a small town by a reserve so the majority of my town are First Nations or treaty or have some sort of relation to the Aboriginal people.

[...]

My geographical location affected the way I saw Aboriginal people as a whole due to where I worked, where I went to school, and how interactions between the races was within my hometown. Like I said, this doesn’t reflect on their race as a whole, but within my experiences with them I saw a lot of laziness or lack of education or disrespect towards our town, their reserve, and people within both places.” (Bailey, IM)

“I grew up in Prince Albert partially, for a little while, um, on the west side - so that’s high Native population. Um...I did spend one year on [a reserve]. [...] So I’ve grown up with them a lot, which kind of, maybe is why I have such negative feelings towards them, I guess.” (Heather, F)

⁵ In cases where [...] is not preceded or followed by a space, this indicates that the participant illustrated the theme in different parts of the interview.

These extracts illustrate that recurrent exposure to Aboriginal people engaging in undesirable or stereotypical behaviours can facilitate negative racial associations. This falls in line with Pedersen et al.'s (2000) finding that rural Australians, who likely witnessed more anti-social behaviours among Aboriginal people than urban Australians (due to a higher proportion of Aboriginal people living in rural areas), were more likely than urban Australians to perceive an experiential-schematic function of their attitudes (i.e., attitudes are formed on the basis of personal experiences). Interestingly, however, Amy is the only participant in this group who scored above the midpoint on the O-PATAS, suggesting, as Bailey pointed out, that having witnessed negative behaviours in one's hometown does not necessarily result in overtly prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people in general.

The effect of location was particularly relevant for Heather, who lived in PA and also on a reserve in Saskatchewan for one year when she was 12 or 13 years old. She had a unique perspective due to her primarily negative experiences on this reserve, stating that,

“when you go out of Saskatchewan, it seems that Natives change. [...] [I]n Alberta and BC, I've met a lot of Natives there and they're very nice. Like, some of the nicest, classiest people you'll ever meet. [...] They're, um, great people. But it seems to be, in Saskatchewan, there's something wrong. I don't know why.” (F)

Most of this interview revolved around her experiences on the reserve, such as being physically victimized for being White and witnessing substance abuse, violence, neglect of children, and other social issues on a regular basis. Therefore, as previously noted, her negativity was generally geared toward Aboriginal people in Saskatchewan rather than Aboriginal people as a whole. This highlights a benefit to conducting qualitative research on racial views, as this type of nuanced information cannot be captured through measures such as the O-PATAS, which, by nature, emphasize generality. Indeed, while Heather scored below the midpoint on the O-PATAS, which would be considered a favourable result in a quantitative context, her admissions of overtly negative impressions of Aboriginal people living in Saskatchewan indicate that prejudice reduction strategies may need to take regional differences into account. This relates to one of the 14 mechanisms for reducing prejudice advanced by Pedersen, Walker, Paradies, and Guerin (2011): meeting local needs (i.e., taking into account potential differences in attitudes across locations and situations).

In contrast to this ostensible lack of generalizability, for the seven participants who scored above the midpoint on the O-PATAS, it would appear that their negative experiences and observations have been extrapolated to the general Aboriginal population. This extrapolation occurred despite assertions that not all Aboriginal people meet the stereotypes (e.g., Amy, Krista), acknowledging that Aboriginal people experiencing social problems are not a representative section of the population (Dustin), and noting that one's negative experiences represent an extreme case (Jill). In terms of possible reasons for this finding, according to Gray-Little (1973), negative information has been found to be a particularly potent facet of human perception. Specifically, when presented with both positive and negative information, people have a tendency to disproportionately attend to the latter when forming impressions of others. There is some indication that the influence of negative experiences outweighs that of positive experiences in the formation of attitudes toward out-groups: based on an aggregation of the results of seven Australian studies, Barlow et al. (2012) found that contact valence moderated the relationship between frequency of contact and prejudice, with negative contact consistently emerging as the stronger predictor of prejudice. In addition, negative contact predicted greater prejudice more than positive contact predicted less prejudice. Hence, similar to Haddock et al.'s (1994) results, quality versus quantity of contact with Aboriginal people may be more important in participants' impressions of this group. A few participants alluded to the stronger influence of negative information as being part of human nature, such as Adam:

Adam: Like, the negative [views my friends have] are stronger, but then the positive ones, you have a lot more, but they may not be as strong.

MB: Okay. So stronger in the sense that, if you see a negative thing or hear a negative thing about Aboriginal people, you're more likely to make a judgement, maybe?

Adam: Mm-hm. Yeah. Whereas, it'll take more for the positive ones to be reinforced.

MB: Okay. Why do you think that is?

[...]

Adam: [*Pauses*] I'd say just because of, like, the whole general thing about the positive... Um, just anything positive is--has-- I can't remember where I heard this. It's just, like, this little thing that I said that-- Um, you have to do something positive twice just to beat

the one negative thing that you did. That's just, like-- It's so much harder just to keep the positive thoughts in your head rather than a negative one.

Thus, for this sub-group of participants, perhaps their negative experiences are more salient than their positive ones, resulting in general negativity as a default impression that became activated when presented with the category "Aboriginal" in the questionnaire. A study by Paolini, Harwood, and Rubin (2010) may provide support for this notion. They tested for a valence-salience effect; that is, the role of the valence of a contact experience in social category salience. In the context of an inter-ethnic interaction between a White participant and a Sri Lankan confederate, a negative valence-salience effect was observed: following the interaction, participants completed an open-ended questionnaire regarding their impressions of the confederate, and it was found that participants referenced the confederate's ethnicity earlier and more often in the negative contact condition as compared to the neutral and positive conditions.

The attribution theory literature may also be relevant here, as causal attributions for in-group and out-group members are often ethnocentric in nature, such that individuals typically evaluate in-group members more favourably than those belonging to an out-group (Hewstone, 1990). Hewstone (1990) discusses the "fundamental attribution error," which involves the tendency to over-emphasize personal or internal factors and underestimate situational factors when evaluating an out-group member's behaviour. This can have a negative effect on impression formation in that observing negative behaviour among out-group members may serve to reinforce one's stereotypical view of the out-group. The fundamental attribution error was the basis for Pettigrew's (1979) advancement of the "ultimate attribution error," which refers to out-group causal misattributions that are thought to be predicated, in part, on prejudiced attitudes. Pettigrew (1979) posited that, for prejudiced individuals, actions of out-group members that are perceived as anti-social or undesirable are more likely to be attributed to dispositional factors, with these factors often being seen as innate negative characteristics of the out-group. In a review of 19 studies, Hewstone (1990) found support for this contention, stating that participants more often made internal attributions for the negative actions of out-group members as compared to those of in-group members. With respect to endorsement of O-PATAS items, then, it is possible that these participants see their negative experiences and observations as confirmation that Aboriginal people inherently possess certain negative traits. Indeed, Megan

suggested that people are inclined to make racial associations on the basis of negative experiences:

“I feel like, if something...is maybe negative, then of course, the--their culture, like, comes into play, you know, and then people just, like, generalize or stereotype from there. Like, ‘Oh, that person hit me with his car - we were in a car accident - and he was Aboriginal.’ So then people are like, ‘Oh, they’re horrible drivers,’ or ‘They’re violent - he probably meant to,’ or--you know?” (F)

The potentially stronger role of negative experiences in participants’ views was exemplified by Jill, who, as mentioned, disclosed that a former Aboriginal boyfriend had sexually assaulted her. In addition, she indicated that all of her interactions with Aboriginal people have been negative:

Jill (IM): I lean closer to the negative side. I have been very open to friendships or open relationships with them but have always been used or abused by them. Example: hitting me, alcoholism, stealing my money and fighting.

MB: I see. So can you tell me more about those negative episodes?

Jill: They have always lied or cheated me in some way. Bars. They pick fights for no reason. I have been date raped and had money stolen from me. I find every time I forgive I am hurt again even if it is not the same indian, métis or native.

In light of these experiences, when asked about her feelings toward future relationships or interactions with Aboriginal people, she responded, “No chance. It’s been years of trying and it’s always me that suffers.” Jill, along with several other participants, also seemed to externalize the reasons for their views by implying innocence (i.e., the actions of Aboriginal people are the cause of their negativity):

“I have always thought the best of people and been willing to try new things [and] meet new people, and ever since I have opened myself completely to aboriginals I have been used and abused so much so that I am still trying to open myself up to anyone. It’s like I’m all alone now. I’m not the same happy person I used to be and I blame them.” (Jill, IM)

“Like, it’s not so much I don’t like them. Like, I don’t have a problem with them. It’s just, like, their--like, the way they are, I guess; the way they act. And, like, their ambition and, like, just, lack of caring at times.” (Michelle, F)

“I was never racist when I was younger. I mean, you don’t really see colours. I didn’t know any different, so it didn’t matter to me, um...until I started getting called, like, ‘the White girl.’ Like, I was always the only White child [*laughs*], so I had a lot of racism towards me from them, even though I’d never been racist towards them.” (Heather, F)

The desired avoidance discussed by Jill was also illustrated by Bryce, though it was specific to one Aboriginal person. Earlier in the interview, Bryce had described the one and only face-to-face interaction he has had with an Aboriginal person. He indicated that this individual became very intoxicated and tried to fight him despite the fact that they had an amicable conversation earlier in the night.

“Um...well, like, for the first part, um, I thought he was an interesting person. Like, it was honestly like, oh, man, I could totally become friends with this guy, you know, ‘cause he was intelligent and asking, like, creative questions about stuff and made me think about things that, you know, I, like, maybe hadn’t seen it from that particular aspect before, which I love. That’s the whole point of, like, crazy-deep conversations about spiritualism anyway, right? And then, um...after the whole, like, rage and trying to fight me thing, I was kind of like, whoa, I’m gonna keep my distance from this guy. I didn’t hold it against him, because it was obvious that, like, he was just, like, far too drunk for his own good, and nobody got hurt, which is always a bonus [*laughs*], and, um... But yeah, I just basically didn’t want anything to do with him after that, because, you know, if you can’t trust people, you know, like, when you’re partying with them, you don’t really wanna be around them, ‘cause you never know what’s gonna happen next. And, you know, like, next time, if, you know, he pushes his limits too far again, somebody might get hurt. It might be him, it might be somebody else, but, you know, nobody wants that.”

Bryce went on to say that this incident caused him to become more leery of Aboriginal people who have been drinking. Importantly, for both Jill and Bryce, extremely negative encounters were their first direct experiences with Aboriginal people, indicating that bad first impressions may preclude relationships or interactions with Aboriginal people in general or on an individual basis. It would appear that in-group bias may be underlying this phenomenon, as it does not seem plausible that these individuals would form similar judgements in response to negative experiences with White people. For instance, as alluded to by Jill, it is unlikely that she would avoid future intimate relationships with White men if a White man had sexually assaulted her: “I know that a white man can date rape some innocent girl but I think it’s the fact that it was an aboriginal that date raped me” (IM). This speaks to the importance of positive or neutral intergroup interactions in preventing or reducing prejudiced attitudes. Pettigrew and Tropp’s

(2006) meta-analysis of Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory found that, across 696 samples, intergroup contact generally reduced intergroup prejudice, with a moderate average effect size ($r = -.22$). Further, this effect was typically found to generalize beyond out-group members in the experimental setting to the entire out-group. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) speculate that "the process underlying contact's ability to reduce prejudice involves the tendency for familiarity to breed liking," possibly due to factors such as reduced uncertainty and perceived threat and, therefore, reduced intergroup anxiety (p. 766). However, while the results of this meta-analysis provide convincing evidence for the ability of positive intergroup contact experiences to foster more favourable impressions of out-groups, the researchers note that, because most of the studies reviewed focused on the creation of optimal conditions, little is known about the factors that may serve to impede the prejudice-reducing effect of intergroup contact. Though conjectural, on the basis of Jill's and Bryce's experiences, perhaps the feeling of being betrayed by an out-group member one previously liked and trusted is one such factor that can act as a barrier to prejudice reduction.

There was variability with respect to the number of Aboriginal people that participants know, with six stating they know few and four indicating that they know many. In terms of friendships with Aboriginal people, seven participants currently have few or none, three participants have more than a few, and one participant has many. Bailey, Krista, and Dustin indicated that one of their best friends has an Aboriginal background, while Megan, Jill, and Chad previously dated an Aboriginal person and Heather was in a relationship with an Aboriginal man at the time of the study. With the exception of Jill, participants generally expressed fondness toward their Aboriginal friends and acquaintances and viewed them differently than Aboriginal people in general, perhaps "because it's one thing to, uh, you know, discuss a group of people and be like, okay, well, these are, you know, facts that I know, or opinions that I've heard, or opinions that I have, and it's entirely another [thing] to interact with an individual" (Bryce). Megan had the following to say about her former boyfriend:

"Uh, he's a--he's a great guy. He's now going out with, um, one of my good friends, and he's done nothing but treat her well. Like, they love each other so much. He's, um-- When we went out, he was really, like, caring and...and, uh...and nice and respectful. Um...yeah, he's... I would say he had--he was mature for his age. Like, he was responsible. Like, got good grades, and he was on sports teams. Like, he played soccer

and stuff and played a year for the [university team name] - so he's athletic. And, I mean, he was a good citizen, so... Yeah." (F)

Similarly, Krista thinks very highly of one of her Aboriginal friends:

"I think he's a really nice guy - like, one of the nicest guys I actually, probably know. He - I don't know - kind of shows that he cares as a friend and...hasn't really done anything to hurt me, so I think that he's good. Like, he's always there for you [inaudible], or that kind of thing." (F)

In spite of this positivity, however, participants often described their favourable views in counter-stereotypical terms, possibly implying that they view their friends as exceptions to the norm (the norm presumably being that Aboriginal people meet the stereotypes; e.g., welfare-dependent, lazy, addicted to drugs and/or alcohol). In fact, though many implied this, Dustin stated it outright:

MB: When you see [an Aboriginal person who is] successful, do you see that as almost an exception...to the norm?

Dustin: Um, I think it is an exception to the norm right now. [...] Well, I would say I think it is an exception to the norm, but the norm is switching. So every person who makes it really successful is contributing to the switching of the norm. So I would applaud them, saying, like, 'You went against the norm,' but also, 'You're helping. Like, the more of you there are, the more the norm is switching.'

Although it is not entirely clear what Dustin means by "successful," there was evidence indicating that participants' positive evaluations of Aboriginal people may be partly contingent on whether an Aboriginal person appears to be participating in mainstream Canadian society (i.e., subscribing to the same norms and values as White Canadians, working or going to school, and belonging to the middle or upper socio-economic class). In other words, participants may (unconsciously) use the degree of perceived similarity between an Aboriginal person and themselves when forming their judgements. Hence, greater perceived similarity may have a normalizing effect on participants' views, such that the Aboriginal person is seen as "just another Canadian" rather than a member of an out-group. Indeed, many participants alluded to a colour-blind attitude toward his or her Aboriginal friend(s) by referring to them as being similar to their non-Aboriginal friends. This is consistent with Brown and Lopez's (2001) assertion that intergroup contact can foster perceptions of interpersonal similarity, which, in turn, may lead to

the liking of out-group members. Critically, however, they state that improved interpersonal relations do not necessarily translate into the amelioration of intergroup conflict. To support this argument, they discuss the results of a Quebec study which found that superficiality and the avoidance of divisive issues are used by Francophones and Anglophones in an effort to achieve intergroup harmony (Taylor, Dubé, & Bellerose, 1986).

In addition to avoidance as a potential factor in the maintenance of conflict between White Canadians and Aboriginal people, some Aboriginal people's attitudes toward other Aboriginal people or their Aboriginal background may be of concern. In this study, a few participants noted that their Aboriginal friends make jokes or negative comments about other Aboriginal people. For example, Heather explained how her friend who moved to Saskatchewan from Ontario has adopted a prejudiced attitude toward Aboriginal people in Saskatchewan, frequently making comments such as "Those fucking Indians" out of frustration. Regarding her Aboriginal boyfriend, Heather also remarked, "He's more racist than I am." Danielle implied that one of her friends, who does not "look" overly Aboriginal, is selective with regard to who she discloses her Aboriginal identity to: "I think she would only reveal this information to people who support her. For example if someone was talking about how they didn't like Aboriginal people, but she wants them to like her, I don't think she would tell them she was Aboriginal" (IM). Similarly, Krista said that her friend does not try to "flaunt" her Aboriginal identity so that she can fit in with non-Aboriginal people:

MB: Okay. What would flaunting it look like?

Krista (F): Like, kind of stick up for them, 'cause if anyone ever said anything bad, like-- Not really flaunt it, but, you know, like, stick up for them. It was just kind of like, "I'm the same as you," type thing.

Together, these examples suggest that certain Aboriginal people's negative attitudes, coupled with some Aboriginal people's desire to "blend in" rather than be viewed as Aboriginal, could serve as additional obstacles to improving intergroup relations between White Canadians and Aboriginal people.

Notions of a mainstream/counter-stereotypical lifestyle as the benchmark against which evaluations are made were evident in statements such as: "I also had a lot of friends that were Aboriginal though too and they were just as normal and educated as the next person" (Bailey,

IM); “They’re just everyday people to me” (Krista, F); and “The family’s...normal. They’re just very normal” (Heather, F). Below are several extracts which illustrate this interesting dynamic:

“I like that some of them are hard workers and that they *do* actually try and go somewhere. Like, I’ve seen people around campus and they’re actually, like, wanting to get an education and get a good job, and that’s, like, one of the good things that I like about them.” (Amy, F)

“She’s an awesome girl who comes from an educated and middle class family. She has respect for everyone around her and would never harm anyone or anything on purpose. She lived in the same town as me, she was not from the Reserve connected to our town.” (Bailey, IM)

“Um...he’s really never got himself into trouble or whatever, and, I mean, lots of times, if you are somewhere and people get into trouble, or that’s the stereotypes you kind of hear is, like, the First Nations might have done it or that kind of thing, which isn’t really right because everyone gets themselves into trouble. But...he has never really got himself into trouble, so that’s why I might see him a bit differently.” (Krista, F)

“Um, they’re fully functioning, contributing members to society. They all hold jobs; if not, they all own their own companies. They’re well off, they’re... There’s nothing wrong with them, in my mind.” (Heather, F)

“He seems outgoing. Nothing too radical or anything like that. He does smoke, but there’s lots of people who smoke - doesn’t really mean too much. Um...hm...I don’t know what else to say. Yeah, he seems like a decent... No trouble with the law, sort of thing - anything like that. Um...yeah.” (Adam)

“[J]ust getting to know the guy and realizing that, um, he’s just a regular guy. And, like, um, hearing him talk about his dreams and stuff he wants to do, like, I think that’s really good. So, comparing that to the situation of Aboriginal people right now, I just would think, ‘Wow, I wish there was, like, a lot of Aboriginals just like you,’ because then it would be successful and then everybody would be back to normal.” (Dustin)

Perceived similarity may also be a function of skin colour, as some participants indicated that their friend does not look Aboriginal, with a few saying that they did not even know their friend had an Aboriginal background when they first met them. Eve believes that whether someone appears Aboriginal or not can affect people’s judgements: “The prejudice only occurs when the aboriginal ancestry is obvious by a person’s appearance. If someone does not appear to

be aboriginal, they are not judged in the same way” (IM). Adam and Dustin also think this is the case:

MB: Okay. So how, um, how might that be different than finding out someone’s...I guess, being able to tell, visibly, that somebody’s Aboriginal versus someone you might not be sure about? Would it play a role for you?

Adam: Um...I think it would, just because then you have those stereotypes, just even in the back of your head. Just, you’re looking for it, so then of course you’re going to find it if you’re looking for it. But...it’s just that extra little reinforcement that you’re looking for, which might not help, might help - not necessarily a good thing either, so...it’s hard to tell that way *[laughs]*.

Dustin: Yeah, I probably wouldn’t even know, like, he is [Aboriginal]. I just think he’s just, like, a regular Joe Blow.

MB: And is that related to him maybe not being as visibly Aboriginal, or what do you think it relates to?

Dustin: Probably, he’s not quite as visible. [...] Like, you can see it on him, but he doesn’t look like he’s, like, right off a reserve or anything, too, so that probably contributed to [me seeing him as different than Aboriginal people in general] a lot.

This is an intriguing sub-theme that may warrant further investigation. One question of interest, for instance, is: what role might level of “Whiteness” play in White Canadians’ views toward Aboriginal people? Does it enhance perceived similarity and, therefore, reduce the likelihood of negative impressions? Relatedly, since some participants said that their friends were not overly engaged in Aboriginal culture, does the strength of an Aboriginal person’s Aboriginal identity affect White Canadians’ perceptions? It may also be of value to explore whether White Canadians’ views differ by Aboriginal group. In this study, although participants were informed that the term “Aboriginal” includes First Nations, Métis, and Inuit persons (Statistics Canada, n.d.), it appeared that participants were inclined to think of First Nations people rather than Aboriginal people as a whole when discussing their views (e.g., some used the term First Nations, many discussed reserves). Further, presumably, First Nations individuals are more likely to have darker skin tones than Métis individuals, resulting in greater category salience (Dudley & Mulvey, 2009). It has also been found that labels applied to Aboriginal people may be

a factor in White Canadians' views. For example, Donakowski and Esses (1996) observed that Aboriginal people were seen as more likely to threaten national unity when referred to as "First Nations People" in comparison to other labels (e.g., "Aboriginal Peoples"). Thus, it is recommended that future studies address these possibilities by exploring White Canadians' perspectives on Aboriginal people's skin colour and strength of Aboriginal identity, along with their views toward each of the three Aboriginal groups.

Most participants discussed the positive effect that their Aboriginal friends or acquaintances have had on their views in terms of these individuals serving as "proof" that the stereotypes are not always correct:

"Well, just kind of, um, made me realize that they weren't *all* the people that passed out in front of the bar, so it was a positive thing." (Amy, F)

"They definitely showed me that you can be Aboriginal and still come from a high class lifestyle and carry respect. She's proof that the majority of experiences I have had with Aboriginal people do not account for their entire race." (Bailey, IM)

"And, like, you--like, you hear that families don't support a kid or something, but, I mean, like, obviously her family was putting her in hockey, and it's expensive, and they were coming to every game and watching her and stuff, so that kind of made me realize, too, that stereotypes in that sort of way aren't right - that people don't really take care of their kids and that kind of stuff." (Krista, F)

"Um...you know, beforehand, I was given the impression that, you know, Aboriginal people are, you know, all unemployed, they're all on welfare, they all drink and gamble - blah, blah, blah. But then, knowing him, he didn't drink at all because of--um, he had relatives who were alcoholics and, um, they had to go through rehabilitation, and so he doesn't touch alcohol at all, so he's, like, so far removed from that stereotype. And he did have a job, so again, not the stereotype. [He] doesn't gamble, doesn't smoke, doesn't do... Like, he's: the stereotype is here and he's over here on the other side, like..." (Chad)

In light of the fact that this sample was comprised of individuals possessing prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people, these findings suggest that sub-typing might be occurring. Sub-typing is "a phenomenon whereby individuals who disconfirm a group stereotype are functionally placed outside the group boundary and not 'counted' when thinking about what the group is like" (Park, Wolsko, & Judd, 2001, p. 325). Consequently, Park et al. (2001) note, sub-typing is an impediment to the eradication of negative attitudes. Sub-typing appears to be particularly

pronounced for those who said they have dated an Aboriginal person in the past. For example, Heather possesses strong negativity toward Aboriginal people in Saskatchewan, yet she is dating an Aboriginal man - who looks Aboriginal - and said that she intends to marry and have children with him. Hence, in conjunction with Brown and Lopez's (2001) suggestion that intergroup contact, perceived interpersonal similarity, and interpersonal liking may not be enough to reduce intergroup conflict, if sub-typing is, in fact, being employed by participants and other White Canadians, it may pose considerable challenges in prejudice reduction. Moreover, if sub-typed Aboriginal persons makes jokes or negative comments about other Aboriginal people or dissociate themselves from their Aboriginal background, it could serve to foster or enhance feelings that sub-typed persons have assimilated into the dominant group and are, thus, atypical members of the Aboriginal population. In turn, this may further solidify negative attitudes toward Aboriginal people who are seen as meeting the stereotypes, since a sub-typed, counter-stereotypical Aboriginal person "just kind of shows that it can be done" (Heather, F). Therefore, by extension, Aboriginal people with lower socio-economic status, which represent the majority according to many participants, may be viewed as possessing inherent deficiencies (e.g., poor work ethic) that prevent them from being able live "normal" or "regular" lives.

Together, the above findings point to the possibility that participants' views toward Aboriginal people are somewhat malleable and unstable, thereby making them susceptible to fluctuations along a continuum from negative to positive in accordance with personal experiences. This is consistent with Bell and Esses's (2002) assertion that ambivalence can produce instability in individuals' responses to out-groups. All the participants talked about the ways in which their views toward Aboriginal people have changed over time as a result of the socialization process and their positive and negative experiences. The susceptibility of participants' views to fluctuations is illustrated well by Amy and Adam. Amy said that she has mixed feelings toward Aboriginal people, likening it to a wave:

Amy (F): Well, when you're younger you like everybody, really. [...] And then when you get older and you learn more, then you start getting negative views, and then you meet different people and you get positive views again, and then you see things happening that are horrible and you just--then negative things again.

[...]

MB: So, um, has it sort of always been a wave - kind of up and down?

Amy: Mm-hm.

MB: Is it more one way than the other, has it been, or...?

Amy: Well, there's times that I don't even, like, think about it and it's kind of like it's a neutral thing: it doesn't really affect my life, it doesn't really come up in conversation. But then, when you hear something on the news or you see something, then that's when it starts to fluctuate.

Thus, negative experiences and observations may serve as triggers that activate the negative dimension of her attitudes, which, given her relatively high score on the O-PATAS (42), may be her dominant dimension despite her assertion that she does not have a negative impression of Aboriginal people. Adam described a similar perspective, with the addition of alluding to a possible in-group bias, such that his views toward Aboriginal people tend to be more unstable than his views toward non-Aboriginal people:

Adam: Um...I think, like, personal experiences, it's changed it both positive [and] negative - extremes of both and anything between. Like, it's been... There's nothing really specific that has pushed me either to say one or the other in an end result, 'cause they all sort of balance out.

MB: So you've had a variety of experiences, then?

Adam: Yeah.

MB: Okay. And it kind of...it does, I guess, influence your views at the time?

Adam: I'd say, yeah, for sure, it influences your feelings at that moment, and then something else will come along, change it - either good or bad - and then that will stay for a little bit, and then another thing will happen. So it just changes a lot.

MB: Do you think that that process, for you, is different than your experiences with non-Aboriginal people?

Adam: I'd say so. Um...it seems like theirs is more prone to change, whereas [with] non-Aboriginals, it seems it's more of a solid, consistent neutral. So it's kind of...whereas both should be neutral, and then the Aboriginal one seems to be more fluctuating, either good or bad - whichever way it goes.

Dustin described a similar counter-balancing effect:

“Um, you just sort of get, like, the stereotype [...] of them, so you just don’t wanna hold everybody back, because, like, obviously, I’ve also come in contact with Aboriginals who are, like, business people or people working and, like, making a good living for themselves, so those obviously balance the scales as well.”

This theme highlights the key role that direct experiences and observations involving Aboriginal people, particularly those that are negative in nature, can play in White Canadians’ attitudes toward Aboriginal people. However, as the next two themes demonstrate, indirect socialization experiences such as hearing things about Aboriginal people through word of mouth or the media may have an equal influence on White Canadians’ views. Indeed, analyses revealed that six participants were primarily influenced by personal experiences, while six participants appeared to be affected more by what they have heard from others or the media (the remaining participant seemed to evidence a balance between direct and indirect influences).

5.6.2 *The role of others and social institutions in the formation of prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people.* Participants were asked about their parents’, siblings’, and friends’ views toward Aboriginal people and the perceived influence of these individuals’ views on their own views. An interesting general observation was that participants seemed somewhat uncertain about the views of their family members and friends, often noting that it was never a major topic of discussion and that most of what they can remember involved passing (negative) comments about Aboriginal people (e.g., in response to a story in the news or seeing an Aboriginal person in a stereotypical context). Although researchers have long postulated that agents of socialization can contribute to the formation of unconscious/implicit racial biases in children, few studies have tested this notion (Sinclair, Dunn, & Lowery, 2005). Hence, Sinclair et al. (2005) addressed this gap in the literature by assessing Allport’s (1954) idea that the intergenerational transmission of prejudice is moderated by a child’s identification with their parents. Using a sample of children in grades four and five, this hypothesis was supported: correspondence between parents’ and children’s explicit and implicit prejudice was found, but it was stronger among the children who identified more strongly with their parents. On the other hand, in a sample of third-grade children, Aboud and Doyle (1996) found that results conflicted with the prevailing view that children acquire racial attitudes primarily through their parents and peers. That is, children tended to overestimate the level of similarity between both their parents’ and friends’ views and their own, which, according to the authors, reflects a common bias known as false consensus. The researchers conclude that, although parents and peers may be influential in the development

of children's racial attitudes, it is likely that moderating and/or mediating factors (e.g., the degree to which parents explicitly express their views) must be considered as well in order to gain a clearer understanding of the ways in which racial attitudes are transmitted via the socialization process.

Related to the notion of perceived similarity, some participants' descriptions of their father's, but not their mother's, views resembled those of their own. One such case was Amy, who said that she has mixed feelings toward Aboriginal people and that her views toward them tend to fluctuate:

MB: Okay. So, I guess, then, um, just based on what you said about your dad, do you think his views have affected your views toward Aboriginal people?

Amy (F): In some ways, yeah. Like, some... Definitely positive. Like, when he would mention that they were good workers or whatever, they would show up on time, then that would, like, make me have a positive view. But then, when he would say stuff about, um, advances and not, like, working it off, and it was kind of, like, "Okay, well, what are you doing?"

MB: Okay. Yeah. So like you were saying, it kind of would go back and forth based on things you'd hear from him, maybe.

Amy: Yeah. Mm-hm. Definitely.

In general, participants had more knowledge of their father's views toward Aboriginal people than their mother's and siblings' views, which likely relates to the fact that they could recall hearing their fathers make negative comments. Fathers' attitudes were typically described as being more negative than mothers' attitudes, falling in line with past research showing that men tend to possess more prejudice than women (e.g., Morrison et al., 2008; Pedersen & Walker, 1997). Mothers were more often thought to hold neutral or compassionate attitudes toward Aboriginal people, though several participants could not recall their mothers saying anything about Aboriginal people throughout their upbringing. Bryce implied that his mother exhibited passivity:

"Um...she's of the opinion that, you know, all peoples are peoples, and they're, you know, equally valid, and to each their own. And, uh, she's a nurse and she's all about helping other people [*laughs*]. But, um, she also is very hesitant of bringing up any sort of thing that'll cause, like, strife or disharmony within our own family unit, so, um, she

mostly kept her opinions to herself *[laughs]*. You know, like, she wouldn't speak up often, if at all, you know, when Dad was loudly proclaiming his opinions *[laughs]* on what should be done with them, sort of thing. She was mostly just - I don't know - 'Maybe that's not the whole story,' sort of thing. So I think that's one of the reasons, or-- Well, she was definitely the mitigating influence, and, like, part of the way that, in my upbringing, helped me to, uh, do a lot of self-analysis and self-reflection of my own, like, views...that were just kind of held, and then, you know, rather than just unquestioningly behave."

This perceived counter-balancing effect was also evident for Adam:

Adam: Um...I'd say my dad is a little bit more negative towards them than what I am. Um, I think my mom's [views] are actually a little bit more positive. She worked a lot with Aboriginal kids for her work. She worked in a behavioural schooling program with a whole bunch of Aboriginal kids, so she dealt with them, I think, for, like, 15 years. And all sorts of ages from, I think, grade 3 to high school, so she got a lot of interactions with the good and the bad sides of it, and... So I think she's a little bit-- Which, it almost seems weird that her idea of them might be a little bit more positive, just because she's dealt with a lot of the bad, but then, I think it's the fact that she gets to see them turn around and not succumb to the negative stereotypes.

MB: Okay. That's interesting. How do you think their views have influenced your own views and feelings toward Aboriginal people?

Adam: Um...I'd say as a kid, like, they didn't show it. I never picked up on it if they did. I don't even know [...] if they had those ideas then. And I think in high school, I became a little bit more aware of... I think then it went a little bit more negative. I don't know if it's necessarily that my parents had a play in it, just because they didn't really openly say or do anything; it was just more...just little things that they said and did. It wasn't obvious or anything like that. So I wouldn't say that they had a large part in anything.

MB: What were some of those little things they might've said or did?

Adam: Um...I think one for my mom - the fact that hers was a little bit more positive - was that she actually stuck with the whole program, she worked with them a lot, she enjoyed her work, so it made it seem like there was no difference - it's whatever. So it's not like she was hating her work because she was working with Aboriginals, so I think that was one of the positive messages that were sort of subliminal. And...with my dad...I would say, uh, one of the negative ones...I think it was that he never really interacted with them. He never was-- He didn't necessarily avoid them, but he didn't go--he didn't have any Aboriginal friends or anything like that, so it was just sort of not there. Like, the

whole Aboriginal presence wasn't there. So I think that's the whole subliminal part on his side.

His use of "subliminal" is interesting, as he seems to perceive that his parents likely influenced his views even though he may not have recognized it. In contrast to participants like Adam, who believe that their parents have influenced their views, a few participants expressed a desire to dissociate themselves from being influenced by their father's negative views:

"Um...like, I have heard from [my dad], 'Oh--oh, they're just lazy' - whatever, this. And I get mad at him and stuff, and like, you know, 'When I'm around you don't have to speak like that. Like, you can say things like that other--like, other places.'" (Megan, F)

"Um...like I mentioned earlier, my father is heavily biased [*laughs*], like, against Native people. He thinks they're all lousy bums, basically [*laughs*]. And, um...so a lot of shaping my own opinion came from trying to see past that bias, because, like, he's a smart man, but, uh, you know, it's easy to be indoctrinated [*laughs*] - like, especially from an early age - with that sort of belief system. And, um, I've spent a portion of my adult life trying to, like, de-program myself from all of the things that-- You know, I kind of-- As I live on my own, I'm like, oh, hey, maybe that isn't, you know, a useful generalization, or even true [*laughs*] for the most part, you know, come to think of it." (Bryce)

Participants mainly discussed the views of their elementary and high school friends, with some recalling racist jokes about Aboriginal people being shared within their peer group. In line with the idea of false consensus discussed by Aboud and Doyle (1996), Krista perceives that her and her friends share the same view toward Aboriginal people, and below she describes the influence this had on her views:

"Um...I don't know. Like, just because...you kind of know that they can get past it too, so it helps you get past it, right? Not that I ever had trouble, like, say, when kids came into our class - Aboriginal kids came into our class. It doesn't really bother you, right? And when--especially when you see your friends are okay with it, you know that you can be okay with it too. Or in, like, high school days, that's kind of how it worked. So you knew, like-- It's not like they were influencing me in a bad way, because they felt the same as me or whatever, and I knew that...that, uh, it was okay to feel the way that I did because they never really--I never got beaked or anything because of the way I thought, 'cause we all thought the same.'" (F)

The general role of others was alluded to by participants several times, through mentioning of word of mouth as a source of information about Aboriginal people or saying things such as

“It’s from common knowledge” (Dustin) or “I guess it’s more or less what you hear” (Michelle, F). Adam tied his views to the perceived dominant view within the city he grew up in:

MB: Okay. Um, so you tended to, um...I guess, in a way, assume that that was the case, that maybe they’re more prone [to alcoholism and smoking]?

Adam: Mm-hm.

[...]

MB: Okay. Okay. So why do you think you feel that way?

Adam: Um...it almost seemed normal, that that’s just what-- That’s what everyone believed. Well, not necessarily everyone, but the majority believed that that’s what they did, that’s the way that they acted, so why would it be any different anywhere else?

This may relate to Pedersen et al.’s (2008) findings on the association between perceived consensus and prejudice toward Aboriginal Australians; namely, that higher-prejudiced participants displayed larger overestimates of community support for their attitudes toward Aboriginal people than did lower-prejudiced participants. Therefore, some participants, despite claims of questioning and being critical of the information they receive from others, seem to have acquiesced to what is perceived to be the dominant view of White Canadians. That this dominant view is primarily negative and can be unconsciously absorbed via socialization is supported by Chad’s experience as an immigrant who moved to Canada five years ago. From the outset of the interview, he expressed surprise over his scale responses and concluded that he must have automatically taken on the views of those around him:

“Um...well, like, in some of [the questions], like, I was--I felt more negatively towards them as a people, um, but I wouldn’t say that I was that kind of person, that would feel that way in general. I would never... I don’t know. I’m not that kind of person [*laughs*]. So it was interest-- And I don’t know if that’s my view or whether that’s a view that’s been put upon me, maybe, ‘cause before I-- Like, I’m not from here originally - I’m from England - so...all I know is what I’m absorbing from everybody else. Like, I haven’t researched it, I haven’t studied it all, so...”

This insight is intriguing, especially since Chad had the highest O-PATAS score in the sample (44). Further, as mentioned previously, though direct experiences with Aboriginal people are certainly influential in the formation and maintenance of people’s negative attitudes toward

Aboriginal people, it is clear that indirect experiences are used to form negative impressions even in the absence or limited number of interactions with Aboriginal people. In other words, it is plausible that many White Canadians rely on hearsay rather than experiences in their evaluations of Aboriginal people, as alluded to by Chad:

Chad: Um, I'm trying to think of any specific-- Do you have any of the specific questions at all?

MB: Um, so one that comes to mind would be "Most Aboriginal people are on welfare."

Chad: Mm-hm. Well, I said--I'm pretty sure I said I strongly agree with that, and again, like, I don't--I've never seen facts relating to this, I've never read articles about it, but everybody I speak to would say that that was the case, so...like, I'm basing my opinions, really, on what those people are telling me. Like, it's not based on fact.

Given that Chad perceives the dominant view toward Aboriginal people to be negative among non-Aboriginal Canadians, his experience provides compelling support for the need to continue working toward prejudice reduction and better relations between White Canadians and Aboriginal people. While improved interpersonal relations are essential to the reduction of intergroup conflict (Brown & Lopez, 2001), as Chad suggests, changes are needed at the institutional level as well:

"I mean, when you come to Canada, you can take, like, classes on how to adjust to life here, and, um, you can learn about the economy and, um, all that kind of stuff, but when it comes to things like that - like, learning about groups of people - like, there's no one to sit there and educate you on...on that."

Further, as evidenced by participants' general lack of dialogue with their friends and family, the apparent desire to avoid discussions of Aboriginal people or social issues (cf. Taylor et al., 1986) indicates that many White Canadians' negative attitudes toward Aboriginal people remain unchallenged, thereby perpetuating intergroup tension. Additionally, it would be problematic if prejudiced White Canadians perceive that their negative views are shared by many other non-Aboriginal Canadians, since it has been found that the former are more likely to express and act on their negativity (Watt & Larkin, 2010).

The role of the education system was discussed by some participants, with a few noting that the presence of Native Studies courses in high schools and universities is a step in a positive

direction. For Bryce, however, the education system is failing to provide children with a comprehensive picture of Aboriginal people's history and culture:

“I guess the only other real input I got towards, you know, gaining an understanding of, you know, their history and their culture would be through, uh, like, grade school social studies. And a lot of that was really sterile ‘cause I think the writers were trying to be really - or at least seem - really objective, you know, so it was kind of a distant and cold sort of analysis. You know, it didn't give you a real feel for...you know, what they're like as a people, or what it would be like to, you know, like, live with them for a month or a year or something, and, like, actually, like, really get involved in their culture. I found social studies was lacking that. And, I mean, the modules we had on Native studies were small to begin with.”

Bryce also provided an interesting perspective on the possible role that education can play in reducing negativity between White Canadians and Aboriginal people:

Bryce: Um...yeah, I don't know how you'd begin to go [about] breaking that down. Probably with the kids [*laughs*], you know, ‘cause it's a lot harder to change an adult's viewpoint on something than it is to, uh, introduce children to, you know, information and then have them form viewpoints. Not that I'm saying, like, you should brainwash them to be like, you *must* love the Aboriginal people [*laughs*], or you *must* love the White people, or anything like that, but, um, maybe present them with a more complete picture of it; you know, of what's happened in the past, and where, you know, we'd like to go in the future. I think a lot of that is missing from the school system actually. They're very focused on rote learning of, like, facts and figures, and it's usually fairly cold and remote, unless you have really good teachers. But, uh, there's not a lot of...you know, here's what it is; what do you think about that? Here's what it is; where do you wanna take it, you know? Uh, [...] nobody ever asked what *I* thought about things [*laughs*], you know?

MB: Yeah. Not a lot of dialogue?

Bryce: And there was no, um, yeah, there was no encouragement of critical thinking on the Aboriginal issues, or any other [*laughs*], for that matter.

MB: Yeah. So do you think the education system has a lot to do with some of the barriers?

Bryce: Um, I don't think it's necessarily the cause. [...] [T]he educational system would be the tool that you'd use to break down the barriers. You know, it's just kind of neutral right now. It's like, here's some facts about stuff that happened a while ago. But, uh, you

know, it certainly doesn't make a lot of efforts towards, you know, repairing the gap [laughs].

Lastly, depictions of Aboriginal people in the media, particularly in negative news stories, were discussed by several participants, who generally noted that this serves to create and reinforce stereotypes about Aboriginal people. This is illustrated by Amy:

“I think that some [White Canadians] have negative views on them that are built on false pretenses that they maybe heard, or by, um, bad things depicted in the media or whatever, ‘cause, like, the news is not necessarily good things - actually, it’s mainly bad things that you hear - so when you hear that somebody robbed a bank and that it was an Aboriginal person, like, that gives you a view that--it could, potentially, give you this idea that all Aboriginal people are like that.” (F)

Amy, along with a few other participants, projected imperviousness to the influence of the media on their own views but saw it as likely having an effect on other people’s views. Conversely, other participants said that they believe the media plays a role in their views, such as Krista: “I mean, media’s a big one because that’s where I ever heard the stereotypes, right, so then you think of the stereotypes” (F). Some participants questioned the way the media reports on events pertaining to Aboriginal people:

“[Y]ou don’t see a lot of media coverage of, you know, what Aboriginal tribes are doing unless something goes wrong, right? ‘Cause, like, the only news stories I can think of are, like I said, like, embezzling, like, grant-- Or, I guess, not grant money, but, like, government aid; or, you know, when, uh, health inspections teams, you know, find, like, deplorable mold and sort of, like, horrible conditions; or, you know, armed stand-offs - and *that’s* what you hear about in the news. And, of course, most news is sensationalist, but, you know, you just don’t get exposed to a lot of other, like, you know--the positive things that people in the Aboriginal culture are trying to do for themselves.” (Bryce)

“I know now that the news distorts things also, they sometimes just want to make a big story, or only focus on the extreme negatives/positives of something.” (Danielle, IM)

“[I]f there’s anything in the media, I think that catches on more than what it should. Where they’ll, like, name an Aboriginal male or Aboriginal female, or whatever; where then they may not necessarily say a Caucasian male or female, which I feel like that’s a major difference that the media plays - that they distinguish.” (Adam)

In contrast, while Dustin feels that the media reports on more negative news stories involving Aboriginal people than positive stories, he does not question the validity of these stories:

Dustin: Um, I do think they portray negative, but I don't think that's, like, the media putting a spin on it, although they do, like, spin the news, usually, to get a story. But I think it's more just, like, the truth. Like--

MB: Okay, reporting facts?

Dustin: Yeah. Yeah, they report facts. So, like, when you see violence, on the whole, more times than not it's, like, an Aboriginal person.

Further, both he and Megan think that in recent years there has been an increase in positive attention being devoted to Aboriginal people in the media.

Watt and Larkin (2010) state that prejudiced individuals' overestimates of consensus may be shaped, in part, by contact with the mass media. They note that the media is omnipresent, exposes people to myriad opinions, and provides normative information regarding public attitudes; thus, it is plausible that estimates of societal norms are influenced by media messages. In Australia, for example, Watt and Larkin (2010) posit that media messages which communicate that public attitudes toward Aboriginal people are prejudiced may result in a belief that Australians generally view Aboriginal Australians unfavourably, possibly leading prejudiced individuals to assume that the majority of non-Aboriginal Australians' views are congruent with their own. Alternatively, it follows that non-prejudiced individuals may assume that few non-Aboriginal Australians share their attitudes. In support of this hypothesis, it was found that, irrespective of prejudice level, the more participants perceived that the media conveyed negativity toward Aboriginal Australians, the more they rated the community's attitudes toward Aboriginal Australians as prejudiced. These results suggest that portrayals of Aboriginal people in the Canadian media may be shaping public attitudes toward Aboriginal people, and there is some evidence that these portrayals may be primarily negative. For instance, Harding (2009) notes that Aboriginal initiatives aimed at improving social conditions tend to be under-reported, while situations involving conflict between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal governments attract considerable media attention. Further, media coverage has been found to be biased in favour of non-Aboriginal interests (e.g., Furniss, 2001). The media may also be part of the reason why participants were drawn to "tokenistic" aspects of Aboriginal culture (e.g., pow-wows, traditional regalia) when asked if there is anything they like about Aboriginal people (Rouse & Hanson, 1991). For instance, First Nations representatives and Aboriginal dancers, both dressed

in traditional attire, were featured at the Opening Ceremony of the 2010 Olympic Winter Games in Vancouver (“Opening Ceremony,” 2010).

5.6.3 Negative stereotypes about Aboriginal people become ingrained via socialization. It is clear that participants have become aware of the common stereotypes that are held about Aboriginal people in Canada, most, if not all, of which are negatively-valenced. Stereotypes that were mentioned closely resemble those reported by Morrison et al. (2008) and include the following: poverty, welfare dependence, addictions (to alcohol, drugs, and gambling), criminality and gang activity, violence, poor lifestyle (e.g., lack of regard for appearance, smoking), laziness and lack of ambition/direction, bad parenting, and abuse of “the system” (i.e., taxpayers’ money). All participants discussed or alluded to one or more of these stereotypes, while all but one participant (Eve) explicitly indicated endorsement of a stereotype or discussed a stereotype in a manner that implied endorsement. As this sample was comprised of prejudiced individuals, this finding is consistent with Devine’s (1989) model of automatic and controlled processes in prejudice. According to Devine (1989), stereotypes are well-learned associations that become ingrained through the socialization process and automatically activated in response to stimuli pertaining to a particular social group. Importantly, however, research by Devine (1989) and Devine and Elliot (1995) showed that, although most people do not differ in their level of stereotype knowledge and, therefore, the automaticity of stereotypes, higher-prejudiced individuals are more likely to believe stereotypes to be true. In other words, stereotype knowledge and stereotype endorsement appear to be cognitively distinct structures that underlie attitudes toward out-groups (Devine & Elliot, 1995).

In support of the idea that socialization plays a key role in stereotyping and prejudice, a few participants suggested that intergenerational transmission is a factor that serves to maintain intergroup conflict. For example, Bryce said that he thinks “a lot of the barriers are passed down through, uh, like, family and, like, you know, like, closed societal groups,” and Adam referred to the situation as a “huge cycle.” Megan discussed it in this manner:

“And I think that comes from previous generations, ‘cause I do have friends who say that their grandparents are *very* racist - not that they share those beliefs or anything - but then, um, being around that, you know? And even if you’re saying or thinking, oh, well, I don’t think that, if that’s what you’ve heard [...], then maybe it’s--it could be in the back of your mind.” (F)

More support for the role of socialization can be seen in the way participants talked about the stereotypes about Aboriginal people that seem to be “out there” in Canada. Here are a few examples of the stereotypes participants have learned through word of mouth:

“Um, like, the drinking, and not raising enough money for their family, and not caring, kind of - that type of thing. And getting in lots of, like, fights or gangs, or...like that.”
(Krista, F)

“Um...that they’re lazy, and...they just waste their money, and they don’t have direction. Um, couple-- You know, you hear, um, racist jokes about, um, them and stuff like that, and... Yeah, just--those are probably the basic ones. Like, people are [like], ‘Oh, they’re just lazy’ or...yeah, ‘They’re not doing anything with their lives’ - stuff like that.”
(Megan, F)

MB: So what kinds of things have you heard in terms of Aboriginal people having “everything so easy”?

Eve (IM): Funding for education, hunting rights, cheap cigarettes (not that it benefits anyone), and money from the government.

Some participants conveyed a sense of perceived consensus with respect to stereotypes about Aboriginal people. For instance, Heather talked about her community referring to certain days of the month as “dark nights,” which relates to Aboriginal people’s skin colour. She perceives that “it’s common knowledge” that there are “guaranteed days during the month that you know that the Native population in the bars will be higher than normal, so you just don’t go” (F). When Michelle was asked where she has heard stereotypes about Aboriginal people from, she responded, “Um, I guess, like...other people I know. Like, just-- Yeah. Like, it’s just a common thought, I guess” (F). Similarly, Dustin noted that many of his ideas stem “from common knowledge or word of mouth.” Chad, who immigrated to Canada from England, had the following to say:

“Um...and of course, back home there were people who were, you know, at one end of the spectrum and then there were people at the other end, and so it was kind of--you kind of had to make up your own mind about things and look at it from your own perspective and how it affects you. Whereas here, there’s more people that are - I feel, personally - there’s more people on [the negative] end than there is on the other end of spectrum here, so maybe it’s easier for me to...to side with the...the majority.”

His last sentiment is another indication that the participants in this sample who endorse stereotypes about Aboriginal people may be uncritically acquiescing to what is perceived to be the dominant viewpoint among White Canadians. As postulated earlier, the perceived dominant view is likely negative, which was illustrated by a few participants:

“I do see that the way they are viewed in society is different than how other groups are made to look. [...] The way they are treated in society shows the negative parts of their culture.” (Danielle, IM)

“I also think they have gotten a bad name because of places that do have high crime rates of aboriginal people.” (Eve, IM)

“Like, just, like, it almost seems like the whole, like, society kind of, like, pushes it on, like, that it is a negative stereotype. Like, they have all these negative attributes and stuff like that.” (Adam)

Danielle, Adam, and Chad seemed to use this presumed preponderance of negative stereotypes toward Aboriginal people to externalize the reasons for their views. All three participants suggested that the influence of society in creating and maintaining stereotypes about Aboriginal people is inescapable, which falls in line with the assertion that stereotypes become ingrained and susceptible to automatic activation (Devine, 1989). Below are extracts that portray these individuals' insights:

“I think that I dislike stereotypes made about them, because that subconsciously gives me a judgment before interacting with Aboriginal people.” (Danielle, IM)

“I'm from Prince Albert, so there is, like, a large Aboriginal basis up north, so... I don't know. Like, I don't know if it's because I'm from PA, but, just, it seems like a lot of... There's a lot of negative stereotype[s] towards them from where--like, where I'm from, which it's... You try and, like, steer away from that, which is kind of hard, and then it's sort of almost pushed on, which doesn't feel right, so... I don't know.” (Adam)

“Like, the people around me feel one way, and, you know, then you layer in what, you know, what my dad is telling me or even my uncle, I guess, to a degree, and it kind of just forms this whole...way of thinking, I suppose. [...] I'm not at all really educated on any of it, quite honestly, and so everything I know is from osmosis, kind of thing.” (Chad)

While indirect sources of stereotypical information, such as word of mouth and the media, appear to be informing participants' attitudes toward Aboriginal people, many also discussed the confirmatory or reinforcing role of personal experiences and observations:

“Well, it’s something that we kind of see. Like, certain days of the month there would be a lot of--you’d see a lot more Aboriginal people at the bank or at the grocery store in town, just pretty much, like, stocking up, and they’d always have, like, these big wads of cash, so you’d know that it was, like, their family allowance day.” (Amy, F)

“There has been a lot of vandalism and breaking in going on, and the culprits have consistently been of First Nations descent. They mistreated teachers within our classes by talking back a lot, or not listening, or not even showing up to class. Our town is known by cops as one of the worst places for crime and drugs for the amount of people that live there, and knowing cops, the majority of the culprits are aboriginal.” (Bailey, IM)

“Everybody on the reserve got \$20,000; that was the payout for selling their land. [...] Um, there were line-ups; the LB - like, the liquor store - was sold out of almost everything. Um, you couldn’t buy smokes for an entire weekend. Um, it just seemed like every stereotype was reaffirmed completely.” (Heather, F)

Dustin: Um, well, just being downtown [in Saskatoon] and stuff, I know, um, that there’s lots of people down there that are Aboriginals. Also, um, just hearing about gang fighting and stuff, there’s a lot of Aboriginal names that come up. And just stuff that makes the news, and pictures you see, and everything. A lot of it that’s, like, violence is related to that specific population.

MB: Okay. So thinking of all of those things you mentioned, how do you think they’ve influenced your views and feelings toward Aboriginal people?

Dustin: Um, I think it definitely--like, even if I don’t try to, it has affected it, just because it does sort of get skewed because, if the majority of the population you see - um, either with substance abuse or with, um, breaking the law, or anything like that - if the majority of the names you see are one population, I think it does skew your view.

These extracts highlight the probable role of confirmation bias in participants' evaluations of Aboriginal people. Nickerson (1998) defines confirmation bias as the propensity to seek or interpret evidence in a manner which supports one's existing beliefs and expectations. By extension, disconfirming evidence is typically not sought and is dismissed when it is available. In

a review of the literature surrounding this phenomenon, Nickerson (1998) concludes that confirmation bias is arguably one of the most pervasive and problematic aspects of human reasoning, since individuals are often motivated to defend or justify their positions on a given issue even when presented with factual counter-arguments. In the context of stereotyping, Bodenhausen and Wyer (1985) found support for a heuristic hypothesis, which posits that individuals use stereotypes as “rules of thumb” when interpreting out-group members’ behaviour, forming alternative explanations only if stereotypic information is unavailable. Hence, for many of the participants in the present study, perhaps when stereotypes about Aboriginal people become activated, they are inclined to focus on experiences and information that are consistent with those stereotypes and ignore experiences and information that contradict the stereotypes (Murray, 1996). Indeed, a few participants, such as Megan, said that they think people are susceptible to confirmation bias:

“Yeah, ‘cause then it’s like, ‘Oh, see - what I’ve heard or what’-- You know, it’s true, then, right? Like, people are always looking for things to, like, solidify what they’ve heard or their, you know, um, situations that they’ve been involved with or stuff like that.” (F)

Most participants discussed stereotypes about Aboriginal people as associations that they have learned over time and that come to mind automatically when they see or hear about Aboriginal people. In fact, as illustrated by Michelle and Chad, the adoption and influence of stereotypes may operate unconsciously. For Michelle, prior to the interview, she did not realize that she had used her stereotypical perception of Aboriginal people to form an opinion of an Aboriginal girl she played volleyball with in high school:

MB: Did you--? Like, were you aware of that happening - that sort of automatic...impression?

Michelle (F): Not really, no. Like, not until, I guess, now, when I’m thinking about it that it--I guess I realized that it happened.

[...]

But, like...at the same time, she, like, seems to fit, like, my view, so, like, maybe that’s why I just kind of didn’t really notice it until now.

MB: Yeah. ‘Cause I guess you kind of, at the time, would’ve maybe just expected that?

Michelle: Yeah.

As mentioned, Chad said that he was surprised by his negative responses to the scales, providing evidence for the capacity to absorb and endorse stereotypes with little conscious awareness. Further, he discussed his scale responses with some friends following the questionnaire session, and like him, they agreed with the scale items and indicated that they were not consciously aware that they felt that way. Thus, if this is common among White Canadians, it further complicates prejudice reduction strategies, as it would mean that few are critically reflecting on their negative attitudes toward Aboriginal people. With regard to the formation of general impressions about Aboriginal people, whether one's first exposure to ideas about Aboriginal people is negative or positive may be an important factor as well, suggesting that information being provided to children is particularly crucial. For example, although Chad's first exposure to Aboriginal people occurred in adulthood because he grew up in England, he believes that his uncle planted the idea that there is reason to view Aboriginal people unfavourably:

“My uncle had asked me a question, um, about... Well, it was a question but kind of wasn't. Um, he said, ‘I hear you get a lot of problems with those Natives over there,’ and so, automatically, that's putting that thought into my head that there's a problem.”

For many participants, it was evident that the automaticity of their stereotypes about Aboriginal people, often reinforced by personal experiences, has made them susceptible to negative preconceptions when seeing or interacting with an Aboriginal person:

“I think [my views] have been more negatively affected since I have went through more negative experiences and it has lead me to stereotype them in such a way, and it isn't until after I actually think about it that I remember positive experiences. Goes back to the thing of negative things always seem to stick out more than positive.” (Bailey, IM)

“It just kind of looks bad when, like, you have that stereotype, but the thing is, it's almost showing the stereotype. It doesn't mean they do anything bad about it, but they're just like-- I've seen that they really do buy smokes or whatever, and, I mean, lots of stereotypes are, like, they should go home and buy their kid food instead or something. But, like, so it's kind of...kind of bad because you know they could be spending it somewhere else or better.” (Krista, F)

“Um...just that, if I see them doing something wrong, I might assume they do that all the time, when it may be out of, like, a certain situation where it actually calls for them to do that, whether it's... Like, of anything in PA, it's hitchhiking. Like, who knows why that person's doing it, but then you can just take on that stereotype that that's what they always do, that they can't find their way.” (Adam)

“If I was meeting somebody who was, um...Asian or Latino, um, and they were dressed in the same attire as, um, a Native man, and they were both standing in front of a bus stop, I would probably have more of a negative stereotype applied to the Native than I would to the Latino or the Asian, or whoever else - whatever other race. It would take more conscious effort to not make that stereotype.” (Heather, F)

Heather’s comment about the influence of stereotypes being stronger for Aboriginal people than non-Aboriginal social groups was shared by other participants as well. For instance, Danielle said, “If I don’t understand what they are saying I think ‘Oh, maybe they are drunk’, more than I would with other ethnic groups” (IM). This may be related to the finding that the sample evidenced more negativity toward Aboriginal people than gay men and overweight individuals.

For some participants, such as Heather and Jill, the susceptibility to hold negative preconceptions about Aboriginal people has led to a tendency to look for or expect confirmations of their stereotypical views:

“It’s-- I don’t know if other people do that or not, but you have to consciously make the effort - or at least I do - to not associate every Aboriginal you meet with a stereotype and not to look for those, um, confirmations, I guess.” (Heather, F)

“Now when I see any aboriginal guy my first thought is bad. I find myself constantly reminding myself not to make a negative decision on them until they actually do something bad, but I constantly wait and expect something bad of them.” (Jill, IM)

This thought process appeared to create inner conflict for several participants, with some asserting that they can or attempt to suppress stereotypes about Aboriginal people in interactions, presumably because it is wrong or unfair to pre-judge Aboriginal people whom they have never met before. This inner conflict is consistent with modern prejudice, as one of its key elements is the conflict between individuals’ desire to be egalitarian and their underlying animosity toward a social group (Bell & Esses, 2002). The following participants illustrate this well:

“Yeah, definitely the stereotypes do come to mind, but I--since I don’t know any of them personally, I won’t put judgement down ‘cause you don’t really know. I mean, I bet, like, some of them, I’m sure, must take the stereotype, right - ‘cause the stereotype has to come from somewhere - but doesn’t mean, like, it’s as bad as it might be. But, so, I mean, I bet you some of them would be that stereotype and some wouldn’t, but I won’t put judgement down ‘cause you don’t really know other people’s lives, type thing.” (Krista, F)

“I guess, sometimes when you’re walking down the street or... ‘Cause they’re--I guess they’re-- Another thing that I’ve heard people say is that they can be violent. Like they’re--they, you know, they might jump you, or... Like, I guess there has been kind of a bit of a fear. Like, if you were to see an Aboriginal male walking down the street. Like, oh, maybe...like, oh, you wanna switch to the other side of the street. Like, you know, some things like that. And you’ve heard that about, um, African American males as well. Um, so maybe in that sense, like, maybe when I first see, like, an Aboriginal male and I might, like, think, oh, like, what--you know, maybe a little sense of fear. But then it’s like, no, that’s--that’s never happened before. Like, unless that person looks scary or that they are coming at me to be violent, then that thought is just pushed aside and it’s... So maybe, from hearing those things, there’s that first thought of, oh, avoidance, but since I’ve never encountered a situation like that, I just usually try to push it aside and just, you know, continue.” (Megan, F)

“When I meet Aboriginals, I don’t keep in mind the past stuff. I do meet them as an individual, and I do it specifically. I have to consciously think, um, about not holding those stereotypes, so that I can meet the individual and not the stereotype that I’m looking for. Um, but that takes a lot of effort - like, a lot [*laughs*].” (Heather, F)

“Um, yeah, they can come up. I would say, just in my thinking, ‘cause of, like, the background and the stuff I know, probably when I think of an Aboriginal person, that would be susceptible to me to come up, but I do, like, suppress that and just try and have an open view of them. But I would definitely say it does have, like, a subtle effect on me.” (Dustin)

For both Michelle and Adam, their discussions of how they try to override their stereotypical impressions led to an illuminating dialogue about how they think they would feel in an interaction with an Aboriginal person they have never met before. Michelle said she would probably expect the person to confirm a stereotype but that she would do her best to keep an open mind. At the end of the extract, she expresses a feeling of guilt over her tendency to pre-judge Aboriginal people.

Michelle (F): Um...I don’t know if [the stereotypes would] so much affect the conversation, but it might affect, like, what I think about while I’m having the conversation - if that makes sense. Like, I don’t know.

MB: What are some examples of what you might be thinking about in the conversation?

Michelle: Um...like, probably negative things like, I wonder what their job is, I wonder if they work - like, that kind of thing.

[...]

MB: Okay. Yeah. Would you have any kind of expectations about the interaction?

[...]

Michelle: Like, I guess I'd probably try and find out more about them, and, like, see what they have to say and what they do, and, like, that kind of thing. And then-- Like, I wouldn't just automatically rule them out. Like... But it's, like, hard, like, the way I would maybe start to judge them would be, like, based on those stereotypes, and, like, I'd get a better idea about it from them - like, talking to them.

MB: Yeah. When you say it would be hard, um, how would it be hard?

Michelle: Um...like, hard to block out the stereotypes.

[...]

Um, I guess it would be, like...hard not to, like, expect it to go...like, for them to be, like, "Oh, no, I don't work," or, like, whatever - like that. Like, it would be hard not to, like, expect something - expect an answer that is, like, part of those stereotypes. Does that make sense?

MB: Yeah, yeah, for sure. So you would almost anticipate them meeting [the stereotypes]?

Michelle: Yeah.

[...]

Yeah. And then, I guess if they don't, then I might be surprised.

MB: Okay. And now that you've kind of thought about that, like, how do you feel about that?

Michelle: Um...I think that it's probably not, like, great to, like-- Like, even though you're not completely ruling them out, you're still judging them, and, like, that's not a good quality, I guess.

Adam described a similar thought process, with the addition of believing that his mood would influence the interaction:

Adam: Um...I would say that I would feel a little bit more...possibly a little bit more uncomfortable than when I would, say, with a non-Aboriginal person, just because of those stereotypes that are almost just learned behaviour - that that's what you have, and...

So it'd be a little bit more uncomfortable, and then as I'd get to know them, it'd definitely go away.

MB: Mm-hm. When you say uncomfortable, like, in what ways?

Adam: Uh...I think it's just, like, the whole...like, you're unconsciously always looking for those reinforcements for the negative stereotypes. That--that's always something that you're looking for and trying to reinforce, whether it's true or not.

MB: Mm-hm. Is that something that you feel like you can't really control, maybe?

Adam: Um, no, like, I feel like...it's definitely more noticeable with an Aboriginal person rather than a non-Aboriginal person, but I feel like it's not out of control. Like, I definitely feel like I can control it. Like, I can choose to do it or not, that maybe, depending how my day has gone, may affect that as well - if I'm having a crappy day or a really good day. So it all depends on that, I think. It's just extremely situational.

MB: Yeah. So if you were having a crappy day, for example, what might that interaction look like?

Adam: I think it might make it a little bit more... I think it would be-- Like, I would look for the stereotypes more than what I would normally. Like, it would just be more of a negative interaction than if I was having a good day, and I wouldn't be looking for them. Like, I would be extremely positive towards it, then.

MB: Mm-hm. Why do you think that might be the case?

Adam: [*Pauses*] Um...I think it's just, if you're having a good day, you're expecting things to go good; if you're having a negative day, you're expecting them to go bad. I think it's just the whole expectancy behind everything.

MB: Yeah. Um, if you were having a crappy day and you interacted with a non-Aboriginal stranger, would that be...do you think that would be different than with an Aboriginal stranger?

Adam: Uh...might be a little different. I feel like I would still look for negative stereotypes about that person, whether they were... I don't think that I would have as many that I would be looking for, necessarily, but I feel like there would still be some, just not as strong.

MB: Okay. Okay. You, um, have mentioned a few times about sort of looking for the stereotypes when you, um, meet Aboriginal people or interact with them. Um, can you tell me a little bit more about that?

[...]

Adam: Just, like, little, like, hints [inaudible]. Um...I don't know. There's a hole in your jeans, you're not taking care of yourself, sort of thing. It's just, like, little things that may not even make sense. Um...just little things like that. Like, [they] don't even have to make sense; [they] can be completely off-track of what it actually is. And just...just any way to reinforce what that actual stereotype is.

MB: Yeah. So maybe, like, jumping to a conclusion, then, just based on these visual things, maybe?

Adam: Yeah.

The potential role of his mood is consistent with Bell and Esses's (2002) conclusion that ambivalent individuals' responses to Aboriginal people may vary in accordance with their mood state because ambivalence may serve to create instability in individuals' views toward Aboriginal people.

As alluded to by Heather, above, the process of trying to suppress or eradicate one's biases is possible but requires deliberate cognitive effort (Devine, 1989). Devine's (1989) research found that low-prejudiced participants were able to inhibit the automatically activated stereotype-congruent information they were presented with and consciously replace it with non-prejudiced sentiments (e.g., valuing equality). High-prejudiced participants, on the other hand, demonstrated more negativity toward Black people and were more likely to assign negative traits to Black people as a whole. This latter finding was not observed for low-prejudiced participants. Therefore, Devine posits that the transformation to a non-prejudiced stance is likely to be a gradual and effortful process involving intentional, conscious decisions to espouse a non-prejudiced persona. Additionally, since automatic stereotype activation can be likened to a bad habit, Devine states that "new responses must be learned and well practiced before they can serve as competitive responses to the automatically activated stereotype-congruent responses" (p. 15). In terms of the ambivalence associated with modern prejudice, which all interview participants in this study demonstrated, Devine suggests that the conflict between one's egalitarian ideals and their negativity toward an out-group may facilitate the process of

eliminating the negative habitual response of stereotype activation. While it is positive that several participants indicated that they engage in bias suppression, it is not known whether this is, in fact, occurring, since it cannot be ruled out that participants were attempting to qualify their responses in order to project a non-prejudiced, open-minded stance toward Aboriginal people (i.e., impression management). Further, considering that this sample contained individuals known to possess prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people, it can be questioned as to how effective participants might be at suppressing their bias. That is, perhaps they are able to repress overt negativity but still engage in subtle acts of prejudice or discrimination (i.e., microaggressions; Sue et al., 2007). Hence, as stereotype change is typically seen as a critical precondition in the reduction of prejudice and the improvement of intergroup relations (Devine & Elliot, 1995), on the basis of these results, it is evident that negative stereotypes about Aboriginal people constitute a core psychological factor that is underlying participants' prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people. Indeed, according to Adam, the reduction of stereotyping could improve relations between non-Aboriginal Canadians and Aboriginal people:

“I think something that, like, both sides could work on is that--the whole assumptions that everyone has, bad stereotypes about each other. Like, non-Aboriginal versus Aboriginal people - that there is--that both sides do have negative stereotypes about [each other]. But I think that they need to work and just assume that they don't, so that you aren't automatically putting up these barriers and trying to avoid these people just based on these assumptions.”

5.6.4 Surface evaluations and understandings of Aboriginal people and social problems.

The foregoing themes have demonstrated the various ways in which participants have come to form their views toward Aboriginal people. While participants' scale scores along with many of the comments made during interviews indicate that these individuals possess varying degrees of negativity toward Aboriginal people, the interview data provide evidence for the complexity of prejudice and the challenges associated with addressing the myriad factors that interact to create and maintain prejudiced attitudes. Participants generally seemed to experience difficulties articulating where their views have come from and why they feel the way that they do toward Aboriginal people (this was most evident in the face-to-face interviews). This may reflect the unconscious internalization of stereotypes and negative attitudes toward Aboriginal people via the socialization process, as mentioned by some participants, or it may be due to participants' lack of prior reflection on their views toward Aboriginal people. In fact, five participants stated

that the interview was their first in-depth reflection on and discussion of their views and experiences relating to Aboriginal people. For example, Megan said, “I think that’s--those are some good questions - things that I’ve never really thought about before” (F), and Bryce commented, “This is the most I’ve ever thought about the issue. [...] I’ve never really analyzed it, you know, all in one spot.” This is likely, in part, a function of participants’ limited dialogue with others when it comes to Aboriginal people, which, as discussed earlier, can be seen as a sign of avoidance that may be contributing to the maintenance of intergroup conflict.

Most participants are aware of basic information pertaining to the past and present relationship between European/White Canadians and Aboriginal people. First, the majority perceive that a climate of mutual tension currently exists in Canada, which was often linked to historical conflicts (e.g., with respect to land claims and residential schools). Second, there was general agreement that Aboriginal people were mistreated in the past, particularly in regard to being forced to attend residential schools. Third, many seem to know that Aboriginal people are experiencing more socio-economic problems than White Canadians. Lastly, there was consensus that Aboriginal people have faced and still are facing prejudice and discrimination in Canada. On the other hand, a few participants showed a lack of awareness regarding basic facts about Aboriginal people, with Megan wondering if they are forced to live on reserves; Bryce stopping to ponder whether they have the right to vote and using the term “Native Americans”; and a few participants having difficulties remembering the term “residential schools,” one of the most widely publicized aspects of Aboriginal people’s history. It was also evident that several participants hold misconceptions about Aboriginal people that appear to be driving some of their attitudes. For instance, some believe that Aboriginal people do not have to pay taxes and automatically qualify for free post-secondary education, which is only true for a minority of the population (e.g., Status Indians who earn income on reserves and Status Indians belonging to Bands that have available funds, respectively; “In Depth: Aboriginal Canadians,” 2005). Some participants also seem to perceive that most Aboriginal people live on reserves and are, thus, somewhat isolated from the rest of Canadian society. In fact, this perception led Dustin to conclude that the government could get the biggest bang for its buck, so to speak, by gearing its financial assistance toward reserves. This is another incorrect assumption, as First Nations individuals, who make up nearly the entire reserve population, represent 61% of the total Aboriginal population and only 38% of this sub-group lives on a reserve (Statistics Canada,

2011). Further, just over half of the Aboriginal population lives in urban areas (Statistics Canada, 2006). Lastly, a few participants appear to be under the false impression that all or most Aboriginal people receive financial assistance from the government (e.g., in the form of “monthly cheques”), with some perceiving that they receive more financial aid than White/non-Aboriginal Canadians. According to the Government of Saskatchewan’s web page concerning income assistance, however, financial aid is equally available to all low-income individuals (Government of Saskatchewan, n.d.). In terms of the federal government, assistance is available to all Canadians, with some programs being dedicated to certain groups (e.g., seniors, veterans) but not Aboriginal people (Government of Canada, n.d.). These findings suggest that Canadians need to be better informed about myths and facts about Aboriginal people, as false beliefs may play a key role in the development and expression of prejudice (Pedersen et al., 2000). Importantly, however, the provision of information about Aboriginal people may reduce false beliefs but not prejudice if it is not accompanied by other prejudice reduction techniques (Pedersen et al., 2011).

In accordance with the lack of a concrete understanding of Aboriginal people that could be gleaned from responses, many participants admitted that they have limited knowledge or factual information surrounding Aboriginal people, as evidenced by comments such as: “I don’t really know what exactly, like, the percentages that go out to each race [are]” (Amy, F); “I don’t really know...the history that well, so that’s why, like, I...I don’t really know” (Krista, F); “I’m not sure about specific stats” (Danielle, IM); “I could be wrong. I-- Like I said [*laughs*], I’m not super solid on facts” (Bryce); and “Like, obviously I’m no expert. I’m probably gonna keep on saying that [*laughs*], because I don’t know a whole lot about these people” (Dustin). Despite participants’ difficulties in backing up their views with facts, their prejudice scores suggest that, for many, their negative attitudes toward Aboriginal people may be largely based on what they feel versus what they know; and what they feel seems to be primarily informed by what they have learned via the socialization process. Consequently, as illustrated by Bryce, participants may have a vague sense of the nature of and reasons for their views toward Aboriginal people: “Again, I can’t quote exact things, but this is what my mind has assimilated into, you know [*laughs*], some sort of vague impression about the situation.”

Together, these findings indicate that participants may be engaging in surface-level information processing when they evaluate Aboriginal people. In other words, they might take

what they see and hear around them at face value, with little to no regard for the root causes of the social problems facing the Aboriginal population. For example, while a few participants alluded to Aboriginal people's past mistreatment as a source of certain social issues (e.g., alcohol addiction, poverty), only one participant, Heather, mentioned the intergenerational impact of residential schools: "Yeah, residential schools, um, is still fairly fresh in everybody's memory, and mine, and in the generations; and it's still affecting us" (F). Amy views the impact of residential schools at the interpersonal level, stating that their main effect was that they "probably gave Aboriginals a bad view of us," which represents a logical but simplistic evaluation of a complex issue. It was common for participants to discuss an Aboriginal-related social issue but not reflect on and discuss why it is occurring. For instance, Megan talked about socio-economic disparities and then abruptly moved on to a different topic:

"Um...I...I think that, um...economic status. Like, I feel like maybe, um, White Canadians have more money. Not saying that Aboriginal families are, like, poor or anything, um, but as you kind of move--as you just go throughout [Saskatoon], I think more of the west side, like, some of the older houses-- I feel like most of the Aboriginal population is, um, within the area of the city that...maybe isn't as, like, nice or as expensive. Um...uh, I know some of the schools - that some of my friends that I played soccer with who are a couple years older than me - that they teach at, some of the, um, children who don't get breakfast at home or don't get sent with winter coats are Aboriginal." (F)

As discussed under the next super-ordinate theme, which pertains to modern prejudice, the majority of participants perceive that Aboriginal people receive unfair educational and financial advantages compared to non-Aboriginal Canadians. Along with misconceptions about Aboriginal people, another factor that may be underlying this perception is a lack of awareness or acknowledgement of White privilege and institutional barriers, which both serve to maintain racial inequality. In essence, then, for these participants, social issues in the Aboriginal population may be viewed as Aboriginal people's fault rather than a result of White people's accrued advantages and Aboriginal people's accrued disadvantages due to colonization as well as current interpersonal and institutional forms of prejudice and discrimination (cf. Pincus, 2000). The failure to consider White privilege and institutional barriers was most evident in participants' assumptions that Aboriginal people can succeed in Canadian society if they simply try. That is, a level playing field is thought to exist, thereby giving Aboriginal people the opportunity and choice to attain socio-economic success:

“Like, they could be ambitious and they could do whatever they want if they tried, so...”
(Michelle, F)

“Um...[White Canadians and Aboriginal people] both have the options to do good or bad things. They both have the choice whether they do or don't, and it's completely optional.” (Adam)

“[T]he government can make opportunities available, but, really, it's their life, so they sort of gotta live it. So you can try and make things look good, but it's gonna have to be the people who actually make the decisions to change.” (Dustin)

“Um, they have such amazing opportunities that they can take, and some do and some don't, and it's frustrating to watch because, if everybody was granted that opportunity equally, I think we'd have a lot more students.” (Heather, F)

These extracts highlight two more factors that may be underlying participants' attitudes and contributing to surface evaluations: incongruence with personal and/or societal values, which may be seen as common sense; and an inability to relate to those with lower socio-economic status due to one's upbringing in a middle- or upper-class home. The former is in line with both a value-expressive function of participants' attitudes (i.e., attitudes reflect one's core values and beliefs; Pedersen et al., 2000) and studies showing the role of symbolic beliefs in prejudice toward Aboriginal people (e.g., Donakowski & Esses, 1996; Haddock et al., 1994). The latter may pose a barrier to neutrality or positivity toward the Aboriginal population, as it has been found that empathy in the form of perspective-taking can reduce prejudice (Pedersen et al., 2011). It may also be linked to participants' sub-typing, as Aboriginal people who are seen as more similar to them appear to be viewed more favourably than the general Aboriginal population. One of the main values that participants may see a number of Aboriginal people violating is individual responsibility/individualism (e.g., several participants disagree with providing financial assistance to Aboriginal people because they believe it fosters dependence). Egalitarianism is another value that is perceived as being violated, mainly with respect to government spending and programming targeted at Aboriginal people (i.e., most participants feel that this constitutes “special treatment” and, therefore, runs counter to the goal of equality). While incongruencies were inferred for the most part, a few participants, including Heather and Michelle, explicitly stated that Aboriginal people's behaviour or mindset does not align with their personal beliefs:

Heather (F): You *can* do this. Like, you don't have to feed your kid chips and pop. And you can be, you know, a contributing, independent member of society. But why not? Like, why are you so comfortable not being that person, I guess?

MB: So you find it frustrating and confusing--

Heather: Yeah, it just doesn't make sense to my personal beliefs, I guess, you know? I'm fairly independent [*laughs*].

Michelle (F): I guess it's, like, um... I don't know. Like, it's kind of crazy to me that somebody could be like that, but, like, I guess I just like to try and, like, be the best I can be, so...

MB: Mm-hm.

Michelle: I don't know. Nobody's perfect, but I guess it's, like, worth it to try as hard as you can to do the best you can.

MB: Yeah. Yeah. So you, again, are saying that, like, I guess her attitude toward volleyball just didn't quite match up with how you would view it?

Michelle: Yeah.

MB: Okay. And so that was, I guess, part of the reason why you might've had a more negative view toward her, was based on that?

Michelle: Yeah, probably.

Heather also serves as a good illustration of some participants' apparent lack of ability to identify with people experiencing socio-economic struggles:

Heather (F): Um...I understand that they love their children. I mean, how can you not? I just don't understand how you could love your child, but they don't have a jacket that winter because you were drinking, or because you didn't win in Meadow Lake, or because you were playing bingo, and whatever. Um...I don't know. I always grew up with where-- [...] I always had my basics met, at least, and they didn't even have their basics.

[...]

MB: Okay. Yeah. What are some of your thoughts on why that might be - that lack of knowledge, I guess, that you're talking about?

Heather: Uh...why they don't know to give--or not to give...pop [to babies]?

MB: Things like that, yeah.

Heather: Um, honestly, I don't know. To me, I have a really hard time wrapping my mind around that. I don't know why you don't know that. I thought everybody knew that. Um, I can't blame it on the education system - I went to the school; I know there's posters. You know, there's a health care facility on the reserve. There are-- There's TV [laughs]. There's basic, you know-- Like, they get all the same information that we receive as well, if not more, especially for, like, parenthood - a lot more [laughs]. Um...I don't know. I really don't know.

A strong indication that participants do not factor institutional barriers into their views stems from their discussions about the prejudice and discrimination that Aboriginal people face in today's Canadian society. Most participants spoke of the reduction of prejudice and discrimination over time solely in interpersonal terms, such as Chad, who believes that Aboriginal people are still facing prejudice and discrimination for the following reason:

“Um, well, like, to use the example that I just said: like, ‘another drunk Indian,’ or um... Yeah. Well, I mean, that would be the closest example, like, that I know of. Um...but even, like, you know, when people are talking and they'll talk about a Native person, it's--again, it's not always in a...in a positive light.”

This indicates that participants may be largely unaware of the concepts of institutional and structural discrimination, which together serve to maintain inequality. According to Pincus (1996), the former pertains to differential treatment of dominant and minority groups that stems from policies and the actions of individuals within institutions, while the latter is broader in that it includes the enactment of policies that are race/gender neutral in intent yet have differential and/or negative effects on minority groups. Related to this notion of not taking institutional and structural inequality into account when evaluating Aboriginal people, participants' proposed solutions to social problems in the Aboriginal population were, again, logical on the surface but overly simplistic in scope. For example, Amy felt it was problematic for Aboriginal people from a nearby reserve to drink in her hometown's bar because they often became intoxicated, causing their town to get “a bad rap.” To circumvent this issue, she proposed that the reserve should have

their own bar, which is a surface solution that does not address the root causes of alcoholism and would serve to foster segregation:

“I feel like it would maybe more localize their drinking ‘cause then they wouldn’t have to leave the reserve. And then some reserves are far away from town, and then they wouldn’t end up maybe passing out beside the bar. They might make it home ‘cause they could walk there.” (F)

For Bailey and Danielle, not providing Aboriginal people government “handouts” would instill independence and a sense of appreciation for what they receive. Others proposed that there should be tighter regulations imposed on government assistance provided to Aboriginal people in order to prevent abuse of the system or wasting of taxpayers’ money. For instance, Megan suggested that university students from Aboriginal families above a certain income level should not qualify for free education, Heather thinks that people (in general) should have to pass a drug test in order to be eligible to receive financial assistance, and Michelle proposed a time limit on financial assistance because “there comes a time when it’s time to, like, make your own money, and, like, work, and...try, at least” (F). As with Amy’s suggestion, these solutions gloss over societal barriers and instead emphasize individual responsibility. Further, discussions of mental and physical health issues, which are often linked to socio-economic difficulties, were absent in these participants’ reflections. Hence, for many participants, it appears that the onus should be on Aboriginal people to improve their social conditions regardless of their circumstances.

According to Bryce and Dustin, the onus is also on Aboriginal people to adapt to mainstream Canadian society, which, presumably, they believe would be seamless and result in better socio-economic outcomes and intergroup relations. For example, in response to a follow-up question asking what integration looks like to him, Dustin responded:

“Um, I think it’s just where, sort of, there isn’t this separation, where they live on the reserves and there’s people-- Or else, everybody would be welcome to live wherever they want, sort of thing, so that they would become more of a people, um, *in* our city. Also, I think, in our city, there is a bit of a bias where - or just a reality too - where they are sort of in the poorer population, just because of where they’ve come from, so I think getting them through university and into certain positions too, where it more meshes and it would match with our, uh, representative population, or per capita or whatever. I think that would be good so that there’s a lot more equality.”

Despite this positive vision for the future of Aboriginal–non-Aboriginal relations in Canada, it does not take into account the significant attitudinal and structural changes that would need to occur to facilitate this process. Adam failed to consider the need for such changes as well, and though well-intentioned, the effectiveness of his idea would likely be limited by a key difference between gender relations and Aboriginal–non-Aboriginal relations; namely, the various injustices and atrocities associated with colonization:

“Like, when I think about the whole separation between genders - like, way back when, like, the whole issue between women and men and stuff like that. And now, like, it seems like it’s almost invisible. Like, it doesn’t seem nearly as large as what it used to. Like, there’s still issues today and stuff like that, but it doesn’t seem to [be to] the degree as what it used to be at all. And then, if you look at how that developed rather than how it developed from Aboriginals way back - I don’t know, a hundred years ago - to where it is now, it has changed a lot, but it’s not at the same degree as to what, like, the men and women roles have played together. So I feel like, I don’t know where it sort of went wrong, or where, like, their tactics differed and stuff like that, or made that huge change, that it didn’t go the same path, but I feel like...if we went the same-- Like, if we looked at the two gender roles and then applied the same sort of...I don’t know, theory, sort of thing, to Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals, then it might work, but... I don’t know [laughs].”

In summary, this super-ordinate theme has outlined the ways in which participants’ direct and indirect socialization experiences have shaped their views toward Aboriginal people. Personal observations and experiences, family members, friends, members of one’s community, the media, the education system, and the immigration system emerged as socialization agents that have informed participants’ general impressions of Aboriginal people. Thus, in accordance with the idea that attitudes are developed on the basis of multiple sources of information, participants’ views toward Aboriginal people have been influenced by cognitive, affective, and behavioural/experiential factors (Haddock et al., 1994). In addition, it appears that various psychological processes, many of which likely become internalized via socialization, may be underlying participants’ attitudes, including attribution errors, the salience of negative experiences, in-group bias, perceived similarity between oneself and out-group members, subtyping, malleability and instability of views toward out-groups (and relatedly, ambivalence), perceived consensus and acquiescence, the automaticity of negative stereotypes, confirmation bias, and surface-level information processing. As stated at the outset, this theme is believed to

be the foundation upon which participants' old-fashioned and modern prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people are created and maintained.

5.7 Expressions of Modern Prejudice toward Aboriginal People

In line with the results of Phase 1 along with interview participants' M-PATAS scores, expressions of modern prejudice toward Aboriginal people were more common than expressions of old-fashioned prejudice. It was also observed that participants generally appeared more comfortable (e.g., fewer hesitations and qualifiers) when discussing notions of modern prejudice than when making comments about Aboriginal people that were more blatantly negative. This is consistent with previous research indicating that individuals who possess modern prejudiced attitudes may perceive themselves to be non-prejudiced and use their belief in equality to justify their underlying negativity toward minority groups (Pincus, 2000). The core tenets of modern prejudice were evident across the sample, particularly in the form of perceiving that (1) Aboriginal people are receiving unfair or undeserved advantages in Canadian society, and (2) prejudice and discrimination toward Aboriginal people has decreased considerably, thereby reducing or eliminating the need for this "special treatment" (Blatz & Ross, 2009; Brochu et al., 2008; Durrheim & Dixon, 2004). There was also a sense that "the past is the past" and that we are one nation now; therefore, it is time for everyone to move forward (i.e., despite past injustices and conflict, all Canadians should be treated the same in today's society). In accordance with research on contemporary racial discourse (e.g., Augoustinos & Every, 2010; Van Dijk, 1992), denials of being prejudiced or racist, assertions of colour-blindness, and the use of disclaimers and qualifiers to rationalize or soften negative sentiments were frequently used by participants when articulating their viewpoints. In part, this may have been a function of impression management due to social norms surrounding racial topics. However, it was also evident that these and other types of expressions were a sign of participants' ambivalence/inner conflict, one of the central facets of modern prejudice (McConahay, 1983).

5.7.1 Aboriginal people receive special treatment from the government. Although the majority of participants expressed sympathy toward Aboriginal people due to the injustices associated with colonization, there was general opposition to what are perceived as privileges that are afforded to Aboriginal people but not non-Aboriginal Canadians. This coincides with results from Phase 1 indicating that the M-PATAS items receiving the highest average endorsements reflect Aboriginal people's perceived advantages, whereas the items that received

the lowest average endorsements revolve around perceiving treaties and residential schools as irrelevant in present day society. This finding is also consistent with Langford and Ponting's (1992) study on non-Aboriginal Canadians' attitudes toward government policies aimed at Aboriginal people as well as Moran's (2009) qualitative study on non-Aboriginal Australians' views toward Aboriginal Australians. Given the context of the current study, the results of a 2011 survey of 1,099 Saskatchewan residents are particularly relevant: while the majority acknowledged that the Aboriginal population is facing challenges, there was general resistance to government programs that could be perceived as giving Aboriginal people preferential treatment (Atkinson, McGrane, Berdahl, & White, 2012). In Moran's (2009) study, it was also found that many participants' negativity was predominantly based on the perceived special treatment of Aboriginal Australians. This may also be the case in the present study, as resentment toward Aboriginal-related government spending and programming appeared to represent the most common expression of negativity across all participants. As discussed earlier, many participants find that the favoured treatment Aboriginal people supposedly receive is counter-productive to the attainment of equality:

“If they're trying to work towards equality, they should be treating every race equally.”
(Bailey, IM)

“I just think that all should be fair through every culture. Like, no one should have an up on, you know, anyone else, kind of thing.” (Krista, F)

“I feel that if everyone wants to be seen as equal, they should be treated equal.” (Eve, IM)

“It's hard to say that way, where...being equal, what does it actually mean? Like, do they--? Does everyone get, like, special programs and stuff like that, or does no one get special programs? Like, I think if it's gonna be equal, that there shouldn't be special programs. I think that that would be an easier way to close the gap.” (Adam)

For some participants, the Canadian government has overcompensated, such that the attention devoted to Aboriginal people has, in essence, backfired by *increasing* inequality rather than decreasing it. This is illustrated by Bailey and Heather:

Bailey (IM): I feel as though everyone is always discussing equality between races and genders and etc. I don't get how we are expected to have equality between races when we aren't all on the same playing field. For example, with me applying to school next year, there are a certain amount of seats that are reserved for Aboriginal people, so that lowers

my chances of getting in as someone with lower grades than me could get in over me, just because of their race. I don't really see that as equality. Yes, our ancestors did horribly wrong things in the past, and devalued and made Aboriginal people unequal to white people back then, but now the government is doing it all over again but flipping it around.

MB: Okay, I see. Can you clarify what you mean by the government "flipping it around"?

Bailey: The government, through their attempts to make things right between our country (the Europeans) and the Aboriginal people, is now giving the Aboriginal people more privileges than Caucasian people. Therefore now making the equality unbalanced again but in favor of the Aboriginal person this time.

"Um...in trying to make things equal, it's just created more inequality. Does that make sense? In all these things that the government feels like they need to do for them in order to make up for - whatever the reason - um, or in order to help for - whatever the reason - um, by giving that out, it's not equal to anybody else, and I don't feel like that's right. [...] Um, I don't know. I guess that would probably be the root of the problem. Just, the more you try to make it equal, the more unequal it is, I guess. It's like a huge HR mess [*laughs*]." (Heather, F)

These views relate to one of the trends in White people's racial attitudes identified by Pincus (2000); that is, many see equity-promoting strategies as resulting in reverse discrimination, whereby White people are increasingly becoming victims of inequality. This trend is supported by the results of an American study on racial views: using a national sample of White and Black Americans, Norton and Sommers (2011) found that, among White participants only, perceived decreases in bias against Black people over time were associated with perceived increases in bias against White people. Moreover, White participants perceived anti-White bias to be more prevalent than anti-Black bias. As Norton and Sommers (2011) note, this pattern of results is paradoxical, since research has consistently demonstrated greater socio-economic disadvantages in the Black population as compared to the White population. The same can be said for the Canadian Aboriginal population in comparison to the White Canadian population (e.g., regarding income disparity; Pendakur & Pendakur, 2011). This perceived reversal in inequality may be problematic in light of Leach et al.'s (2007) finding that non-Aboriginal Australians who scored

high on modern racism and who perceived in-group deprivation relative to Aboriginal Australians were less likely to support government redress.

As with Augoustinos et al.'s (2005) qualitative study on non-Aboriginal Australians' attitudes toward affirmative action programs directed at Aboriginal Australians, it appears that many participants in the current study may take their social status for granted and frame their opposition to Aboriginal-related spending and programs in terms of a belief in equality. Additionally, participants may assume that societal barriers no longer exist for Aboriginal people (or other minority groups; cf. Moran, 2009), which is evidenced by participants' assumptions that prejudice and discrimination toward Aboriginal people "has died down a lot" (Krista, F) and that, "nowadays, everything is becoming so politically correct, and everybody's sort of equalizing out their views" (Dustin). Findings in this regard were somewhat inconsistent with the definition of modern prejudice, as no participants denied that prejudice and discrimination toward Aboriginal people still exist (Blatz & Ross, 2009). Instead, there was a feeling that prejudice and discrimination have decreased considerably (mainly in an interpersonal sense), to the point that they no longer preclude Aboriginal people from getting ahead in life. According to Augoustinos et al. (2005), together, these ideologies can have negative consequences in that they may serve to perpetuate White privilege and racial inequality. This underscores the need to educate White Canadians about the ways in which their modern prejudiced attitudes do, in fact, constitute prejudice in spite of the fact that they may endorse egalitarianism, a positively-valenced ideology.

As Krista, Eve, and Adam demonstrate below, several participants expressed that Aboriginal-specific government spending and programming is unfair, indicating that the negative feelings surrounding this issue are mainly in the form of resentment/anger, bitterness, or an inability to comprehend why Aboriginal people receive certain benefits:

"I don't see why they kind of get the upper treatment and don't--not that they get an upper treatment, but that they don't have to pay, you know, certain taxes, or they might get, like, cheques every here and there or whatever. Like, I just think that, I mean...everyone's here now, kind of, right, that I think that everyone should be equal in the world, kind of thing. And...I mean, every person's living should be kind of the same...so...I don't really think they should be getting that, personally, but, like, I don't know tonnes of the details why, so I--like, I would never really be, like, against it and fight for it, but, like, when you first think about it, it's kind of like, why are--like, why

isn't it just kind of fair? Why doesn't everyone just kind of pay the same, and that kind of thing?" (Krista, F)

"Having secondary education institutions strictly for aboriginal people does not seem fair to me since it would not be fair to have schools strictly for caucasian people or anyone else for that matter." (Eve, IM)

"Like, one thing that I always thought that was really weird is that they seem to always want equality, and that's, like, their main goal is to be equal and treated equal just like everyone else. But...then they want all of these programs put in place and all these, like, special things." (Adam)

Some participants related their views on the issue to their personal situation, often conveying a sense of jealousy or bitterness. For instance, Bailey said that, "when applying for University and College and seats [are] reserved for Aboriginal people it makes a person a bit bitter (and their ease of funding for university through the government also)" (IM). Megan and Michelle described their positions in the following manner:

"As someone who has to work very hard to pay for going to school, um, it would be nice to see maybe more opportunities and more money given as, like, a whole for everybody instead of sometimes put aside. Um, with that being said, I don't have, like, a--like, it's not like I've really researched or seen that kind of money, but, um, I do know that any of the--like, the Aboriginal families that I do know or that have that descent, um, they are in positions where they don't necessarily need the money, so then, you know, it's just kind of like, oh, I wish that I had, like, more of an opportunity to be able to gain some of that money. Um, 'cause a couple of families that I know, they're both fairly wealthy with good jobs, and they have those scholarships available to them. [...] Then, like, this one girl I know, she got all scholarship money, so then the money her parents were gonna give her, she went out and she bought a brand new car. And it's like, oh, that'd be nice if I was [*laughs*], you know, in positions like that." (Megan, F)

"I don't know. I guess, like, it's just, like...I'm in school, trying to get a good job and, like, spending my money, and then hopefully gonna make money someday, obviously [*laughs*]. But it just doesn't seem right that some people just get a [free] ride, I guess." (Michelle, F)

A number of participants believe that their feelings are shared by other non-Aboriginal Canadians as well, and that the perceived benefits being extended to Aboriginal people fuel tension and conflict between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal Canadians. This is illustrated by Bailey:

“I think [White Canadians and Aboriginal people] are being separated by the government. Giving Aboriginals privileges that White Canadians do not have is just pitting two races against one another. Having reserves so that Aboriginals can keep their own land, is just separating the races. [...] I think by giving the Aboriginal people all these privileges it is almost putting them at more of a disadvantage and making the two races more separate and therefore negative experiences are coming from it.” (IM)

In addition to perceiving that Aboriginal people’s supposed special treatment is wrong and unfair in principle, many participants’ resentment stems from their belief that Aboriginal people are abusing their rights:

“Um, I spent the last three years out on, uh, Vancouver Island with my father, and, uh, he owns a boat, so we’d occasionally go out to do, um, like, recreational ocean fishing. And, um, they have the rights to fish whenever they want, wherever they want, for whatever kind of fish that they want; and we’re bound by all sorts of, like, restrictions on catch, and size, and, like, breed, and areas that you can actually go to. And, um, it’d be all well and good if they were fishing for their own, like, personal use of that fish, which is what, like, the legislation was originally enacted for. Like, these were your ancestral hunting grounds; fine, you can, like, continue to hunt with no restrictions. But, um, a lot of the time they take their catch and they sell it on the docks at cut rate--like, much less than you would get from, like, an actual commercial fisherman who had to go through all the licensing and hassle, and, um, I don’t think that’s fair. You know, for their own personal use, that’s fine - I’ve got no problem with that - but they catch *way* more than they could ever eat then they sell them back to us [*laughs*], you know? I think that’s a major issue [*laughs*] that should be resolved.” (Bryce)

“You see things on the news, like chiefs who are getting paid these, like, ridiculous amounts sometimes, so it makes me wonder a lot about, like... That’s where, also, some hesitancy would come in government funding. If the chiefs are, like, making a lot of money and then you still got a lot of social problems, it’s like, ‘kay, what’s going on? Government needs to step in or something, or else cut some of the funding so that people actually get the money.” (Dustin)

As Dustin’s extract shows, some participants relate their feelings to the perceived abuse of taxpayers’ money; that is, it is “frustrating to watch when you’re paying for it” (Heather, F). Further, according to Bryce, there is a divide between Aboriginal people and taxpayers that is serving as a barrier to integration:

“You know, ‘cause people work hard for their income and then the government takes, you know, a fairly significant chunk of that, and, um, to see that money being given to,

like, you know, a group of peoples that you don't really have a lot of interaction with and you don't see as, I guess, benefiting Canada as the whole, just because of that, like, you know, clearly defined barrier: you know, there's, like, Aboriginal people and then there's...taxpayers [*laughs*].”

The above findings indicate that perceived intergroup resource competition (Rouse & Hanson, 1991) may be underlying participants' negativity toward Aboriginal people's presumed special treatment. Rouse and Hanson (1991) found that, in two states where resource conflicts involving American Indians were highly publicized, university students' negativity toward American Indians was greater than that of university students living in a state where no such conflicts were occurring. In addition, the former students were more likely to oppose perceived special privileges afforded to American Indians as well as the honouring of treaties and land claims. Hence, as postulated by Rouse and Hanson, in the present study, perceived intergroup resource competition may be one of the factors involved in participants' modern prejudice. Similarly, Langford and Ponting's (1992) definition of perceived intergroup conflict in the context of Aboriginal–non-Aboriginal relations in Canada is likely a factor as well: the belief that the government devotes preferential attention to Aboriginal people at the expense of the needs and interests of non-Aboriginal people. Langford and Ponting found that support for prioritizing Aboriginal issues, Aboriginal self-governance, and Aboriginal people's distinct status was lowest among non-Aboriginal Canadians possessing higher levels of both prejudice and perceived group conflict. Thus, the findings of the current study may point to the role of Langford and Ponting's notion of “backlash politics,” whereby prejudice appears to interact with perceived intergroup conflict to generate unfavourable opinions toward government spending and programming targeted at Aboriginal people. Given the probable role of perceived resource competition and intergroup conflict in White Canadians' modern prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people, future qualitative research in this area would be beneficial in order to gain more insight into the dynamics surrounding these psychological phenomena.

Langford and Ponting's (1992) conceptualization of perceived intergroup conflict is further evident in some participants' perceptions that White and other non-Aboriginal Canadians receive less government benefits than Aboriginal people. For example, Amy feels that White Canadians' needs are not being met at the same level as Aboriginal people's needs:

“I feel like there are White people that are struggling too, and it’s unfair to them that they’re not getting anything when Aboriginal people are.

[...]

I don’t really know what exactly, like, the percentages that go out to each race [are], but, to me, I feel like they are getting more than White people that are suffering. Well, not suffering, but might need a little help.

[...]

It just feels like it’s unfair to everyone else because, like, we work and then our tax dollars get used for them, and it’s kind of, like, well, why can’t our tax dollars be used for us too?” (F)

As discussed previously, this view is based on a misconception, since all low-income Canadians are eligible to receive financial support from the government (Government of Canada, n.d.). Other non-Aboriginal ethnic groups living in Canada were also discussed by participants in order to validate their views that Aboriginal people should not receive special treatment. For example, according to Bailey, “Sure, they’re a minority race, but so are Chinese people and Asian people, and they aren’t getting all these special privileges” (IM); and Eve expressed disagreement over a Prince Albert radio station’s singling out of Aboriginal achievements: “People from every background make achievements and nobody would think of doing ‘caucasian achievement announcements’ or if they did, it would be seen as racist” (IM). For Heather, the fact that other Canadian ethnic groups have been mistreated in the past negates the argument that Aboriginal people deserve compensation:

“Um, there’ve been several other groups that have immigrated to Canada that don’t receive anything - like the Ukrainians; they were horribly mistreated. And the Irish - horribly mistreated. There are several other, um, Caucasian-based, I guess, or European-based cultures that came over that were poorly treated in much the same way - um, or Asian cultures - and they didn’t get any of that...and they’re fine.

[...]

Um, nobody else gets it. Like, a lot of the stuff that they get, a lot of the opportunities or handouts - or whatever you wanna call it - and a lot of the financial aid that they receive, nobody else receives, and it’s frustrating to watch. Um, when the opportunities are used for the right reasons, great. When they’re abused, it sucks [*scoffs*]⁶, ‘cause we’re paying for it...and nobody else got it, and there were, yeah, like I said, several other cultures that came over that were mistreated.” (F)

Adam compared Aboriginal people’s treatment to that of other minority groups in Canada:

⁶ Laughed in a manner that implied scorn or mocking.

“Yeah, like, they seem like they have a large focus of the...I guess, Canadian government, that focuses on Aboriginal people rather than, say, other groups. Like, in one of my classes we were talking about the five visible minorities, and that it just seems like they focus on Aboriginals more than, say, women, or disabled, or any of the other groups. Like, it just seems like they’re all not equal, and that - not necessarily that it’s wrong to have those minorities labelled - it’s just, I think the gap between them and everyone else is so large, so...”

These extracts seem to represent further cases in which, on the surface, the arguments are logical but do not take into consideration the unique experiences of Aboriginal people in comparison to other ethnic and social groups in Canada; namely, the intergenerational impact of colonization coupled with ongoing prejudice and discrimination at the interpersonal, institutional, and structural levels.

As mentioned, many participants are sympathetic to the injustices Aboriginal people have faced. However, most also think that the past cannot be undone; therefore, it should not be dwelled on and used as a rationale for continued reparations. In other words, it is generally felt that “it might not have been right the way that they were treated,” but “everyone’s here now” and there comes a point when “you just have to, uh...I don’t know - get past it” (Krista, F). The following extracts reveal how some participants feel that Aboriginal people’s past mistreatment does not warrant current redress:

“I get that it’s because Europeans deprived them of a lot of privileges and things back in the day but I don’t see why other races, including my own, should be having to pay for it now.” (Bailey, IM)

“I think it’s, like, just time to move, like, past the history part of it, um...and we shouldn’t have to feel like we owe each other anything anymore; um, us, like, more so, like, owing them. I feel like if we...if there wasn’t that centred on, like, the horrible history, you know, then it would help to take away some of those negative feelings. Obviously it’s still important to learn about them, but, um...you know, just, like, drawing it out and drawing it out really is--helps still create, like, that negative environment.” (Megan, F)

“Well, I just think, um...that if you’re not putting anything into the system, you shouldn’t really be getting much out of it. And I understand that there is, you know, the accords and treaties and stuff because we essentially came in here and conquered them, but, uh, well, I mean, like, they got conquered [*laughs*]. That’s a cold, hard fact; nothing’s gonna change that. And, um, dwelling on the past too much, it’s just gonna let that, you know, that, like, psychological trauma fester rather than, you know, giving it time to heal and

moving forward in to something that would be, you know, beneficial for both Aboriginal peoples and the people of Canada in general.” (Bryce)

“Um, I don’t necessarily agree that...um...like, the reparations, for example. Again, I don’t know a lot about it, so I’m kind of...I’m kind of working on what I’ve been told. Um...but from what I understand, some people are still getting money, like, but it’s many generations down the line.” (Chad)

On the basis of these sentiments, it can be seen that many participants feel government reparations for the past treatment of Aboriginal people are undeserved, which, again, disregards the fact that inequities still exist between White Canadians and Aboriginal people. Related to this idea of “the past is the past” is the perception that Aboriginal people’s rights should be revised or modernized to reflect the social realities of present day Canadian society. Eve, Heather, and Bryce, for instance, question the legitimacy of some people’s access to Aboriginal rights and funding, thereby implying that a “burden of proof” should be placed on Aboriginal people to prevent abuse of the system:

“[The treaties] were signed for a reason. It wasn’t fair for other people to come to Canada and ‘take’ their land and make them live in certain places. There are people who live by the traditions and culture of their ancestors. The treaties are very real to them. However, there is also a large number of aboriginal people who have assimilated into the lives of everyone else living in cities and towns.

[...]

They live like everyone else. They speak English and might not even know their aboriginal language. They may still carry on the beliefs of their culture but everyone has different beliefs so this should not classify aboriginal people as different. Some people may not even view themselves as aboriginal people because they do not take part in the culture.” (Eve, IM)

“Um, there are people who are--like, they’re Native but they’re very good people, and they’re on the reserve, and they’re...they’re on the reserve for the reason that they know they are, or, like, why they have reserves. They’re there for the culture. They’re aware that this is their land, and they actually hunt, and they fish, and they full on use the land as it’s supposed to be used, and, um--but they were generally an older generation or something. Um, there weren’t very many people my age then, um, who used it like that, and... Yeah. I just... I don’t know. Um...I’ve seen people abuse it, um, a lot [*scoffs*].

[...]

I think it was owed because of the lives that were lost, because of the land that was taken. Um, now I think it should be retracted because of the culture that they’re no longer

being-- They're not utilizing it. They're not utilizing land - or predominantly. Um, they're not utilizing what they're being given for the reasons that they're being given it for, and that bothers me." (Heather, F)

Bryce: Uh, I think the line drawn between, um, actual, like, uh, Indian heritage and, like, when you can get treaty cards to get, you know, all the perks and stuff - like, for, like, tax breaks and stuff - is, uh, you know, like, one-32nd Native. I think...no [laughs]; you're just, you know, another Canadian of, like, uncertain ancestry. I think people play that system and, uh, there should be tighter controls on that. I'm not saying the system shouldn't exist. You know, that's fine - at least for now. But, uh...

[...]

I know people who look like regular, everyday White people, and they're like, "Look, I've got a treaty card; let's go buy cartons of smokes for cheap" [laughs], sort of thing, right? And, like, they've never done anything to do with, like, Native Americans in their entire life, but they're like, "Oh, turns out I qualify for this."

MB: So you don't see something like that as legitimate.

Bryce: Or maybe even just, um, like, straight up blood ties aren't enough. You know, you need to have some sort of demonstrable attachment to the heritage or the community.

Eve's comment about assimilation relates to some participants' discussions surrounding the need for Aboriginal people to become more integrated into mainstream Canadian society. Consonant with the idea that the past cannot be undone, it appears that most participants' mentality is that the current structure of society is "just the way it is"; hence, Aboriginal people must, and should want to, adapt to this structure, because "if you can't keep up with the running, you know, sooner or later, uh, [laughs] you're gonna die out" (Bryce). This may relate back to participants' apparent use of a mainstream lifestyle as a benchmark for evaluations of Aboriginal people. The perceived need for increased integration was particularly important to Bryce and Dustin, who feel that it would be beneficial to both Aboriginal people and Canada as a whole. For example, Dustin said:

"I think it is better for us to, like, integrate, especially nowadays, um, because we are one country - the past is the past, sort of thing. I think they can still be who they wanna be, and if they want to live on reserves that's totally fine, but I think, progressively, we should be moving sort of away from reserves. Like, I don't know what their thinking is,

but I think, for Canada to progress, we need to overcome this, um, distinction and just become one people.

[...]

If all the cultures were divided up just like them, we'd be back at the start of settling North America, with all these little tiny clans fighting against each other. So I think we've come a long way. So Europeans have meshed. Canada isn't just, like, France, and Europe, and all these countries. So they're just, like, the next step now that all these cultures have meshed, so if they just join in, then everybody--that's Canada. Everybody is equal, and now we're Canadians; we've got our own identity, so..."

Dustin's point about reserves demonstrates his and Bryce's belief that reserves pose a barrier to integration and should eventually be phased out. Given the aforementioned census data indicating that most Aboriginal people do not live on reserves (Statistics Canada, 2006, 2011), these insights appear to be based on misconceptions of the Aboriginal population. Below, Bryce illustrates these two men's thought processes surrounding the role of reserves in reinforcing Aboriginal people's disadvantaged status:

Bryce: I don't have statistics for, you know, like, what population of young people on reserves are actually, like, moving away or anything, but I have it in my mind that it's a definite trend that has been noticed, and that, um... I think-- Because the elders are, like-- maybe they've got almost a strangle hold on their own culture. They're trying *so* desperately to keep hold of it that it's, you know, dying [*laughs*] on them - like, underneath their own fingers. You know, because instead of, uh, trying to keep their culture *and*, you know, I guess, integrate into society so that they can, you know, like, also incorporate, you know, like, the bells and whistles of, you know, a technological [*laughs*], like, life that it is so appealing to the younger generations. Uh, instead of doing that, they're just trying to, you know, like, lay down, you know, strict rules, and it's just not working [*laughs*]. You know, like, tell teenagers not to do something. [You] expect them to, like, actually follow your commands [*laughs*]? That doesn't, you know, seem like the brightest of ideas [*laughs*].

MB: Yeah, okay [*laughs*]. So if you're right about that trend, where do you see that going? What do you see happening?

Bryce: Um...I'm not really sure. I don't think... I certainly don't think it would be, like, an overnight snuffing out of Aboriginal people's culture or anything [*laughs*], but, um... Nah, I think there's enough out there that are, like, dedicated to what they, like, you know, wanna hold on to of their heritage that it's not gonna disappear. But, uh...I can certainly see, like, reservation populations in, like, a steady decline over the next three or

four decades, and then just a general, like, repurpose of the land, you know, that isn't being, like, actively fought for.

MB: Yeah. What do you see the possible effects being of Aboriginal people moving more away from...traditional things or reserves?

Bryce: Um...to be honest, I don't think that, uh, it's negative at all. I think it's an extremely positive thing. I mean, life is change, and, uh, if you don't adapt and, you know, change with it, then you die out. You know, that's just a *fact [laughs]* of, like, biological existence, and, uh, you know, like, culture and society isn't, by any means, separate from that. You know, it's constantly moving and changing in order to adapt to new ideas and new technologies, and, um, if the Aboriginal peoples aren't willing to do that, then eventually they're gonna become like the Aztec or, like, Mesoamerican cultures, which are basically, like, a footnote in a history text book *[laughs]*.

Bryce also indicated that Aboriginal people seem reluctant to integrate and are isolationist in their desire to maintain their distinctiveness, which is a possible source of Aboriginal–non-Aboriginal conflict. He also believes that it is possible for Aboriginal people to adopt a dual identity; that is, there is “no reason that, like, living in our modern society can't also include everything else about your own peoples that you want.” For both men, along with Eve and Adam, racial distinctions are problematic because they fuel intergroup tension and conflict. For instance, Dustin stated:

“Like, couple hundred years from now, I hope we don't still have, like, people *just* living on reserves. And obviously the population would expand by then, so we're gonna have a lot more cities and things, so I'd hope that they'd be, like, integrated into society. I think that does sort of contribute to the overall feeling, too. If they're, like, purposefully living separate and wanna stay on a reserve, then that would, um, intentionally cause us to think of them in a different way because they're different people, whereas, if they become a part of us, then it's just second nature because you're not thinking, oh, well, this population and these people on a reserve; it's just, oh, we're all Canadians - like, there's not that distinction. So diversity is good, but distinction, I think, should fade away a little bit more.”

It is possible that these participants view integration favourably because, presumably, there would no longer be a need for the special treatment of Aboriginal people if integration was achieved. Importantly, however, their reflections do not take into account the numerous challenges that may be associated with attaining this ideal (e.g., the prevalence of prejudiced attitudes among White Canadians). Though speculative, another factor that may be driving the

desire for increased integration is a sense of shame among White Canadians with respect to the past injustices committed against Aboriginal people. In other words, perhaps becoming “one big, happy family” (Dustin) is seen as a goal so that we can all “put that behind us and just move forward” (Megan, F). Support for this notion is provided by Bryce and Chad:

“Well, to be honest, there’s a whole lot that’s wrong with colonialism and that entire period. Uh, there were countless atrocities performed [*laughs*] - like, willingly and actively by the colonists. And, uh, I feel kind of shame that it was our ancestors that did that, you know?

[...]

I think that’s brutal [*laughs*] and it makes me feel ashamed to, you know, hail from that ancestry, because it’s a deplorable violation of human rights.” (Bryce)

“The only people who’ve really spoken to me about [the past treatment] would be the people who I’ve known who are Aboriginal, so my guess is that people are feeling not so great about it. It’s not something they really like talking about.” (Chad)

There was also a feeling among some participants that government funds directed at Aboriginal people could be better spent. For example, Jill thinks that most Aboriginal programming is ineffective and, therefore, largely a waste of money; and Chad believes that some of the funding should be redirected to health care and education, which would benefit all Canadians. However, Jill and Chad did not appear to completely disagree with Aboriginal-related spending, as they provided suggestions for ways in which these funds could improve Aboriginal people’s social conditions. Jill, for instance, said she would view Aboriginal programming more positively if it was aimed at Aboriginal children, because “Why waste it on their parents who no longer care or can be changed?” (IM). Chad would also be in favour of funding directed at Aboriginal people if it involved “putting money into, um, like, rehabilitation and, um, programs for, like, for youths.” For Amy, Heather, and Dustin, government spending should be designed to provide Aboriginal people with opportunities that will give them the tools to become independent, contributing members of society:

“I think that [educational programs are] good. I don’t think that they should remove them, ‘cause it adds an incentive for them to try and get an education, to try and get those jobs, because they’re really good jobs and if they have the knowledge then they should do it. And so I think that that’s good that they have those incentives.” (Amy, F)

Heather (F): I think if you wanna further yourself, if you wanna make up for your past mistakes, the best thing you can do is provide an opportunity, not... It's a way to create independence, it's a way to, you know, further yourself in every way. It's an education - nobody can ever take that away from you. It's-- You learn so much. There-- Yeah. If you wanted to make up for a past mistake, I would provide an opportunity. I wouldn't try and put a band-aid on it every decade or so.

MB: Okay. So something that they can get something out of, as opposed to just, here you go--

Heather: Yeah, here's \$500 a month, like, or X amount of money a month. I don't like that. Um, you wanna go to school? You wanna go to school to be a doctor? Sure. Like, whatever the expense, fine, as long as the end goal is an opportunity that they can use to put back into society - like every other person. Do you know what I mean?

“They should give them help or schooling and make opportunities available for them, but not just give them our money if they're gonna waste it.” (Dustin)

Together, these insights suggest that participants' views toward government funding aimed at Aboriginal people are conditional, with support only being provided if the funds are seen as contributing to Aboriginal people's increased ability to participate in mainstream Canadian society.

Lastly, for a number of participants, it is evident that their opposition to Aboriginal-related government spending is partly based on a perception that many Aboriginal people feel entitled to special treatment due to past injustices, which, in turn, fosters dependence on the government. As discussed previously, this may be incongruent with participants' belief in individual responsibility (i.e., individualism), which is centred on autonomy and self-fulfillment (Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002). Accordingly, there was a general feeling that government funding should eventually taper off and that Aboriginal people should become self-sufficient. As with several of participants' views that have been outlined thus far, the focus on individual responsibility (i.e., Aboriginal people can succeed if they try/want to) neglects White privilege as well as the structural barriers that Aboriginal people encounter in Canadian society. This is evident in Dustin's definition of equality:

“Um, I just think, um, opportunity and, like, um, standard of living, and stuff like that. So everybody should have the equal standard of living - like, equal starting point, basically.

So what you make of your life is on you and your responsibility, so you should have equal opportunity, like the American dream - like, anybody can do that. But it doesn't mean that you're gonna make it there; it depends on your skill set and everything."

The extracts below illustrate the role of individualistic ideals in participants' views on this matter:

"Um...and I know, like, there is a lot of, uh, like, programs and stuff out there that the government puts forward for, um - you know, like bursaries and stuff - for people of Native American descent, so, like, if they wanna get educated, there is, you know, like, roads to go down to, like, try and get some of that funding and, you know, get ahead in life." (Bryce)

"Um, I think it's good that they wanna fund for a little bit of help - like, I mean, everybody needs help now and then - but I feel that they kind of use it to their advantage in a way, so that they don't have to work because they know that they'll get this monthly cheque - or work as hard." (Amy, F)

"A lot of these privileges they are getting are almost making aboriginal people think that it's okay to not do good in school and such because they'll get funding anyways. That they can buy new trucks all the time because the government or reserve will pay for it." (Bailey, IM)

Heather (F): They just expected it, um, and it was more self-absorption of--or expectancy, I guess, of the hand-outs, and that they should just receive it and have absolutely no idea why they're receiving it other than that the White man screwed them. Does that make sense?

MB: Yeah. Like, they're entitled?

Heather: Yeah, that's the word I'm looking for [*laughs*]. They seemed really entitled. Um, and then, I didn't know that it worked that way until I lived on the reserve, so that's where the main impression comes from. [...] I just didn't know that you could expect to receive money and be upset when you didn't do anything to earn it, and you personally hadn't felt any loss about it, and you didn't know any different. [...] But yeah, um... I don't know. I guess the entitlement is really weird...and that definitely left a negative impression for sure.

[...]

[I]t's frustrating to watch when you're paying for it and you know it could do good and you know that there are people that are using it for what it's supposed to be used for - like

going to university, or furthering your life - and [I'm] 100% behind them. Like, if you can, do it, great. I'd so kill not to have student loans [*laughs*]. Like, ugh... But, um, if you don't, and you don't know your culture and you don't respect it at all, and you're just feeling entitled to it, then I don't think you should get it, 'cause that's not how life works. You'll never learn to budget like that. You'll never learn how to be independent, really.

“I think part of the responsibility of government is shifting the responsibility back to them. So I think we need to help them now, but also, part of helping them is long-term thinking: if you become independent on your own, that's helping you and it's helping culture as a whole, because, if you can support yourselves, then government doesn't have to support you and government can support other things.

[...]

I don't think we necessarily have the responsibility to throw money at them, but I think society as a whole has the responsibility to help out these people. [...] So at the present, it may be more with money, to helping them, but we should be looking towards something else and progressively working towards that. So the money trail should sort of, uh, slowly fade off, but then, they should be able to sustain themselves.” (Dustin)

In sum, this prominent theme has served to highlight the ways in which participants frame their opinions toward government spending and programming targeted at Aboriginal people. In line with previous Canadian studies (e.g., Atkinson et al., 2012; Langford and Ponting, 1992), participants generally oppose Aboriginal-related funding because it is seen as unfair, unnecessary, or counter to the valued principles of individualism and egalitarianism. These findings are consistent with the conceptualization of modern prejudice (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2004; Morrison & Morrison, 2002; Pincus, 2000). Similar to what Moran (2009) observed with respect to non-Aboriginal Australians' discussions of Aboriginal Australians, participants appear to view Aboriginal people through a lens of individual responsibility and egalitarianism rather than historical factors, which serves to deflect consideration of the socio-economic disadvantages that Aboriginal people have accrued as a result of colonization and racism. Further, implicit in the espousal of individualism is the notion that achievements should dictate one's success rather than membership in a certain social category (Augoustinos et al., 2005), and that socio-economic disparities are due to a lack of ambition or trying, because prejudice and discrimination are no longer major barriers to participation in mainstream society (Pincus, 2000). This relates to one of the main findings from the 2011 Saskatchewan Elections Study mentioned earlier: 72% of

respondents agreed with the statement “German, Ukrainian and other immigrants to Saskatchewan overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Aboriginals should do the same without any special favours” (Atkinson et al., 2012). Interestingly, 58% of respondents also agreed with the statement “Generations of discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Aboriginals to work their way out of the lower class”; however, as indicated earlier, support for Aboriginal-focused initiatives was fairly low. Thus, it appears that sympathy for Aboriginal people’s past and present plight does not necessarily translate into support for programs designed to address inequities in Canadian society.

As suggested by Moran (2009), it seems that the social norms of individual responsibility and egalitarianism, coupled with the political roots of perceived fairness, may constitute key barriers to the amelioration of inequality between White Canadians and Aboriginal people. Consequently, prejudice reduction strategies should emphasize educating White Canadians on concepts such as White privilege (Pedersen et al., 2011); the intergenerational effects of colonization; institutional and structural factors that serve as obstacles to Aboriginal people’s socio-economic advancement; and the existence of, and reasons for, current socio-economic disparities between White Canadians and Aboriginal people.

5.7.2 Ambivalence toward Aboriginal people. According to the theory of modern prejudice, individuals may hold conflicting views toward minority groups, such that in-group bias and cultural stereotypes can result in negative feelings that are at odds with positively-valenced values such as equality and sympathy toward disadvantaged groups (Bell & Esses, 2002; McConahay, 1983). According to Bell and Esses (2002), this dynamic can result in attitudinal conflict, and it has been found that the negative dimension of these individuals’ attitudes typically does not emerge in contexts where prejudice or discrimination cannot be rationalized (McConahay, 1986). This manifested in participants’ expression patterns, as it was evident that participants were generally reluctant to respond in a manner that could be seen as overtly racist; hence, attempts to come across as non-prejudiced and egalitarian were frequent. In addition, when more unfavourable comments were made, they were normally preceded by disclaimers (e.g., “I’m not racist and I don’t have any problems with them”; Amy, F) or followed by qualifiers (e.g., “Some of every ethnic group is on welfare though”; Danielle, IM). These findings are consistent with research on contemporary racial discourse (e.g., Augoustinos & Every, 2010; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000). In fact, even among participants who made

admissions of negativity toward Aboriginal people (e.g., Heather, Dustin), the use of disclaimers and qualifiers to soften or rationalize responses was observed. Further, at the outset of nine of the 13 interviews, participants made statements reflecting either colour-blindness (e.g., “They are humans just like the rest of the world”; Bailey, IM) or favourable views toward Aboriginal people (e.g., “I think they’re definitely, like, a good part of our society and everything”; Dustin). This speaks to the robust influence of social norms and values when it comes to racial dialogue.

Disclaimers came in various forms. For example, many were used to justify opposition to the perceived special treatment of Aboriginal people (e.g., “They did get their traditions stomped on when the Europeans came to Canada, but [...]”; Bailey, IM). Others included assertions of: (1) neutrality (e.g., “I don’t really have any...negative or positive thoughts about them”; Heather, F); (2) colour-blindness (e.g., “I mean, you could be black, brown, yellow, pink, blue”; Megan, F); (3) being non-prejudiced/racist (see above example); (4) egalitarianism (e.g., “I’m, like, [a] big fan of fairness and everything. Like, I think that everybody should be viewed as equal”; Dustin); (5) open-mindedness (e.g., “I have always thought the best of people and been willing to try new things [and] meet new people”; Jill, IM); (6) valuing individuality (e.g., “I don’t like making generalizations about groups of people, ‘cause, you know, people are so diverse”; Bryce); (7) non-endorsement of stereotypes (e.g., “[The stereotype] comes to mind, but it’s not, like, what I personally view”; Krista, F); and (8) independent and critical thinking (e.g., “Now that I am older and do form my own opinions more than what others tell you [like the stereotypes] I think I have not been so judgmental, because I do know that it is just stereotypes”; Danielle, IM). In addition, as discussed under the previous super-ordinate theme, several participants said that they try to suppress their negative preconceptions about Aboriginal people in interactions, which is likely tied to feelings of guilt because it is seen as wrong or unfair to not give people the benefit of the doubt. For instance, after reflecting on her tendency to stereotype Aboriginal people, Michelle stated, “Um...I think that it’s probably not, like, great to, like-- Like, even though you’re not completely ruling them out, you’re still judging them, and, like, that’s not a good quality, I guess” (F).

In terms of the use of qualifiers to (ostensibly) soften certain statements, participants frequently employed phrases such as “Not all of them are like that” and “It’s not just Aboriginal people” (Amy, F). It was also common for participants to juxtapose their views toward Aboriginal people with how they would view similar situations involving White and other non-

Aboriginal people, possibly to avoid conveying that they make associations between being Aboriginal and engaging in certain behaviours. This is illustrated by Megan and Dustin:

“So I have seen, like, you know, when you’re downtown [in Saskatoon], I’ve seen a couple intoxicated [Aboriginal people] where they stumble into the streets, but that’s the same thing when you’re out on, like, a Friday night. You see other, you know, people stumbling into the streets, whether they’re grown men or women, or teenagers, and stuff like that. And I know people who, um, like, smoke weed that are Aboriginal and people who smoke weed who aren’t. So, for me, it doesn’t really go back to, um, your descent or your heritage, or your culture and such.” (Megan, F)

“Um, also, I guess the west side [of Saskatoon] is just known for, like, drugs and stuff like that, so I think substance abuse and, um, issues like that are definitely a big part of that. But I know it’s not, also, just all Aboriginals that live there, too. There are White people and Black people, normal people, and everybody, so...” (Dustin)

Juxtapositions with oneself were also employed (e.g., “Just, sometimes some of them look sloppy, I guess, but, like, I guess I do too sometimes”; Michelle, F). Along similar lines, most participants who said that they have or likely would purposely distance themselves from Aboriginal people in a public setting typically followed this up with a claim that they would do the same for any person in a similar context. Specifically, they usually indicated that their behaviour would depend on the context, with their safety serving as the main guiding factor, as explained by Krista:

“Um, if there was, like, a First Nation there that had been drinking and maybe started to act up or something, I mean, you kind of distance yourself, right? But I--you’d do the same thing if a White person was to act up and you get kind of scared too. But I definitely have distanced myself from them because of those reasons, but never in a way that if, like, I didn’t know the person or I didn’t think harm would be...like, you know, you didn’t really feel that harm was there, I wouldn’t distance myself - that kind of thing.” (F)

This relates to a number of participants’ apparent desire to dissociate themselves from overt prejudice or discrimination. Amy and Heather provide examples of this:

“I just treat them the same way that I normally treat-- I’m not really a major people person. Like, I’m not gonna walk up to somebody on the street and be like, ‘Hey, how’s it going?’ So, like, I never did that. But, like, if they talked to me, I would respond politely and whatever, and if-- Like, I didn’t purposely walk to the other side of the street when I saw them, so... Yeah.” (Amy, F)

“I’m not saying that they’re dirty - please don’t take it that way. I don’t think they’re dirty at all.” (Heather, F)

Many participants also expressed strong disapproval of the blatantly negative treatment of Aboriginal people associated with colonization (e.g., “I think it was...I think it was horrible, um...unfair, um...[*scoffs*] uncivilized, I think, for people to be able to treat people like that”; Megan, F). Interestingly, despite evidence that all participants possess some level of prejudice toward Aboriginal people (as per scale scores), Megan, Adam, and Dustin went so far as to explicitly state that they view Aboriginal people positively, while Amy and Megan said that they voice disapproval when people make racist comments about Aboriginal people (e.g., “I know that some people in my school would be really mean and call them, like, call them ‘dirty Indians’ and I was like, ‘Okay, you guys, like, that’s not really nice. You don’t even know them. Just back off’”; Amy, F). Although it is not possible to make firm conclusions, given that these two women, along with Dustin, scored above the midpoint on the O-PATAS, it would appear that they might have been engaging in impression management. For Amy and Dustin, this is supported by the fact that Amy scored above the midpoint on the SDO Scale, while Dustin did so on the RWA Scale. Similarly, while there were signs that Danielle and Chad were attempting to convey a non-prejudiced image, Danielle scored above the midpoint on both the RWA and SDO scales, and Chad scored above the SDO Scale midpoint. However, in Megan’s case, her response to the e-mail follow-up question “Would you consider yourself prejudiced toward Aboriginal people?” was as follows:

“I would not consider myself prejudice towards Aboriginal people, I honestly admit that I may have negative thoughts or feelings towards them at first but those first thoughts I push aside, trying not to let negative things I have heard from other people affect my experiences with Aboriginal people. My intentions are to treat everyone equal and make my own opinions through my own interactions.”

This may be indicative of self-deception (Eisinga et al., 2011), as she was informed in debriefing that her scale scores represented a degree of negativity toward Aboriginal people.

In addition to the abovementioned linguistic devices that were employed in responses, participants may have been using deflection and minimization to project a non-prejudiced attitude toward Aboriginal people. With regard to deflection, it was found that some participants accused others of being racist or closed-minded but asserted that they, themselves, were not

racist. For example, Bryce said that “there [are] biased people out there - like, racist and ignorant people,” while Krista believes that “lots of people think that they’re better over the Aboriginal culture” (F). Amy provided a more elaborate response:

“Well, there’s a lot of people that are really racist, and I think that it’s unfair to [Aboriginal people] that, uh, they’re treated that way, because, like, those people that have those views and they’re so--they’re not willing to change at all. They don’t even, like, give them a chance to prove to them that they’re not necessarily like what they have--like, what their views are.” (F)

By minimizing or defending the prejudiced attitudes and actions of people they know, it seemed that some participants were not only trying to assert their own non-prejudiced stance but that of family or community members and friends as well. With respect to hearing comments made by community members, for instance, Michelle stated, “Like, it was never anything terrible, but, like, just, like, the lack of ambition or something like that. Like, nothing, like, terrible” (F). Similarly, even though a few of her friends likened having Aboriginal employees to “babysitting children,” Amy claimed that her friends “think they’re good people and they have no racist opinion on them. It’s just kind of harder for them to, um, look after them and to rely on them” (F). For Krista, Megan, and Dustin, it seemed to be important to them to minimize their dad’s negativity:

“So, and then, like, he kind of is like, ‘Oh, why does it have to be them? Why do they have to steal?’ Like, so he almost tries to put it off on them, but, I mean, I don’t really--he would never do anything. Like, he would never try to hurt them in any sort of way, right? It’s just what he sees, too, from that.” (Krista, F)

“But, um, yeah, nothing ever, like, specific like, ‘They’re horrible people; don’t associate yourself with them.’ Just more so, yeah, probably...just, like, passing negative comments. Or like, ‘Oh, I wouldn’t--I don’t expect anything, like, less,’ or... You know?” (Megan, F)

“Like, he doesn’t view down on them, but I think, sort of like, probably the way he was raised, he just thought a little bit less [of] them. So, also with culture coming up out of that, he’s, like, come up out of that. So it hasn’t been anything major, but I think, as a whole, we’ve probably had a little bit of that sneaking in. But then, at the same time, now he’s just, like, totally equal. Like, he won’t speak down about them or anything like that.” (Dustin)

A few participants also minimized their own prejudiced behaviours, including Bryce and Dustin, who do not see a problem with the fact that they have, or still do, make or laugh at racist Aboriginal jokes. Here is what Bryce had to say about his behaviour:

“It wouldn’t be, like, directly to an Aboriginal person, but, um, you know, sometimes you’re hanging out with a group of people and they sort of [say], like, off-colour, like, really racist jokes, and, uh...well, I mean, I sometimes would laugh ‘cause some of them were pretty funny [*laughs*]. But, uh, you know, it’s not something that I really, like, held as, like, a core tenet of belief or something. It was just one of those times when you’re making really horrible jokes [*laughs*] with a group of close friends about, like, anything or anyone.”

Minimization of personal responsibility was also alluded to by a few participants, which relates to Pincus’s (2000) idea that perceived innocence represents a trend in White people’s contemporary conceptualizations of racial topics (i.e., acknowledging past wrongs but absolving oneself of responsibility and proclaiming a non-prejudiced stance). For example, Dustin expressed resentment toward what he perceives to be political correctness “overkill” in today’s society (i.e., he should not have to feel the need to censor the way he talks), Krista “personally just [doesn’t] care enough” to look into the Aboriginal privileges that she perceives to be unfair, and Bryce said:

“I guess, really, I feel that, uh, there needs to be some sort of change in the way--like, the interaction between our government and Aboriginal peoples, and between, you know, just, like, other people and Aboriginal peoples. But, uh, I also kind of feel like it’s not really my problem [*laughs*], and so I’m not gonna dwell on it too much.

[...]

I’m sure there might be things that I could do, but I just don’t have any particular drive to go about doing them. I, uh, I don’t-- You know, I’ve got my own plan for my life. [...] I have big plans for science, and, uh, you know, there’s just no room in that for, you know, lobbying for Native American rights [*laughs*], to be honest.”

Lastly, Heather strongly resents Aboriginal people’s negativity toward her because of a past that she had no involvement in:

“They just seem to be drawing that line, and I don’t know if it’s us drawing it or if it’s them, so much, ‘cause my personal experience dictates that it’s them, that they’re mad at me because I’m White, they’re mad that I did this and I owe them. In my mind, I don’t owe you anything. I didn’t do anything to you [*laughs*], you know, like, specifically, and

whatever happened 400 years ago is...400 years ago [*laughs*]. Like, you don't remember it either. Like, what's the difference?" (F)

Importantly, these mindsets, coupled with the apparent desire to avoid racial dialogue with others, may pose challenges to the dismantling of prejudice toward Aboriginal people.

Collectively, participants' articulations of their views toward Aboriginal people are intriguing, as they provide compelling evidence for people's continued tendency to view prejudice or racism in terms of blatant negativity, with modern prejudiced expressions seemingly not perceived as conveying prejudice toward/disliking of out-groups, thereby rendering them more socially acceptable. As can be seen in the above extracts, many participants appear to think that being prejudiced toward Aboriginal people means viewing them stereotypically or as inferior, bad, or horrible people; and/or committing overtly discriminatory acts toward them. This is supported by the four e-mail follow-up surveys that were received. In response to the question "What do you think it means to be prejudiced/racist toward Aboriginal people?", responses were:

"I think that it means that you have negative or stereotyped views and feelings towards Aboriginal people. Prejudice can also mean that you are physically being negative or hurtful to them as well." (Megan)

- a. Classifying aboriginal people under the same terms.
- b. Stating that all aboriginal people act the same or do the same thing.
- c. Looking down on people because they are of Aboriginal descent. (Eve)

"I believe it means to hold a predisposed stigma towards a person or people due to colour of skin, or Aboriginal cultural association." (Heather)

"I think to be prejudice/racist towards Aboriginal people means to have set view of them as a whole group without truly thinking about them individually. This view would most likely need to be a negative one and it is not likely true across the entire group."
(Michelle)

A few of the participants who scored above the midpoint on the M-PATAS but not the O-PATAS provide particularly convincing support for the idea that modern prejudice is not seen as representing negativity. For instance, in debriefing, Bryce was surprised that he evidenced some level of unfavourable attitudes toward Aboriginal people, asking, "Was I negative?" For Eve, it would, indeed, be peculiar if she had endorsed old-fashioned prejudice toward Aboriginal

people, as she indicated in her interview that she has a trace of Aboriginal ancestry. Accordingly, in the follow-up survey, she asserted that she does not view herself as prejudiced toward Aboriginal people. This is especially interesting in light of the fact that she had one of the lowest O-PATAS scores but one of the highest M-PATAS scores. It was also found that, of the nine participants who did not score above the midpoint on the SDO Scale, six of these participants scored below the O-PATAS midpoint (the four participants who scored above the midpoint on the SDO Scale also did so on the O-PATAS). Taken together, these findings further underscore the need to educate White Canadians about the ways in which modern prejudiced attitudes represent a form of negativity that serves to reinforce racial inequality.

On the other hand, Heather and Michelle, who both scored below the midpoint on the O-PATAS, indicated in their follow-up surveys that they do consider themselves prejudiced toward Aboriginal people:

“Yes I would. I find myself actively trying to mentally “check” myself of racist thoughts before they become verbally spoken or involuntary actions. Especially when I see an Aboriginal who is fitting a stereotype, such as a drunk Native at the bus stop, or pan handling downtown.” (Heather)

“To some extent yes I would say I am slightly prejudiced to Aboriginal people. I would say this because I feel I have a preconceived notion of what I think all Aboriginal people are like and I don’t always take into account the differences that could be present between different individuals.” (Michelle)

However, as discussed earlier, these responses may point to the inability of the O-PATAS to capture the full range of White Canadian’s overt negativity toward Aboriginal people. For example, Heather’s prejudice was geared primarily toward Saskatchewan Aboriginal people and not the Aboriginal population as a whole, while Michelle’s negative expressions mainly pertained to viewing Aboriginal people as lazy or lacking ambition, which does not directly correspond to any of the O-PATAS items. Further, in contrast with the generality of the Phase 1 findings, the interview data have revealed various nuances in participants’ views and experiences relating to Aboriginal people.

Finally, it appeared that many participants were uncertain about their views toward Aboriginal people, which is consistent with Bell and Esses’s (2002) finding that ambivalent participants displayed more variability in their responses toward Aboriginal people than non-

ambivalent individuals. Bell and Esses posit that ambivalent participants, who are thought to experience attitudinal conflict toward out-groups, may have unstable attitudes toward Aboriginal people, responding to them either favourably or unfavourably in accordance with the dimension of their attitudes that is activated. For participants in the present study, it was clear that many were experiencing attitudinal conflict when discussing their views. This is in line with Atkinson et al.'s (2012) conclusion that a “curious tension” emerged from Saskatchewan residents’ responses about Aboriginal issues, such that sympathy co-existed with opposition to Aboriginal programs (p. 2). This tension emerged in the current study as well, as did inner conflict surrounding how government assistance should be handled (e.g., perceiving that it is often unwarranted or should be better regulated but thinking “it would be a shock and unfair if it was all taken from them at once,” Danielle, IM; or that you “can’t be too strict with that either, too, ‘cause if they need help, they need help, right?”), Adam). For some participants, such as Bryce, Aboriginal people’s disadvantaged status is an uncomfortable reality that conflicts with the ideal of equality:

“I think it’s kind of sad [*laughs*], to be honest. I feel kind of depressed that there’s a, you know, group in our supposedly, like, so enlightened and morally upstanding country that are, you know, still having such a rough time of it. And, you know, it’s not--it’s certainly not all *their* fault [*laughs*], you know? I don’t believe that for a second.”

To conclude, for many participants, there appears to be contradictions between their desired projections of themselves as non-prejudiced and both their prejudiced sentiments in their interviews along with their scale scores. This is consistent with studies that have examined contemporary racial discourse (e.g., Augoustinos & Every, 2010; Van Dijk, 1992), in that participants’ responses were often organized around the denial of being prejudiced or racist. In line with the theory of modern prejudice, participants’ views may be mixed and unstable and, therefore, susceptible to varied and conditional responses to Aboriginal people. This may be due, in part, to the opposing forces of participants’ personal values (e.g., egalitarianism) along with their positive experiences with Aboriginal people, and the negative information they receive about Aboriginal people via the socialization process (e.g., stereotypes).

5.8 Expressions of Old-fashioned Prejudice toward Aboriginal People

While all 13 participants scored above the midpoint on the M-PATAS, seven participants scored above the midpoint on the O-PATAS. Of these seven participants, four scored fairly close

to the midpoint (between 35 and 37; midpoint = 33). In light of these results, along with contemporary norms surrounding racial discourse, it is not surprising that this super-ordinate theme was less prominent than the preceding one. However, since close to one-third of Phase 1 participants scored above the midpoint on the O-PATAS, it is clear that this type of negativity requires further understanding if prejudice toward Aboriginal people in Canada is to be eradicated. As per the definition of old-fashioned prejudice, some participants were found to allude to the perceived inferiority of Aboriginal people (Morrison et al., 2008), mainly in regard to Aboriginal people's work ethic, susceptibility to social problems, parenting skills, and the ability to adapt to mainstream Canadian society. Relatedly, certain expressions (e.g., the use of "they") evoked notions of essentialism (i.e., believing that Aboriginal people inherently possess certain negative characteristics; Morton et al., 2009), which is similar to Pincus's (2000) concept of cultural deficiencies (i.e., Aboriginal people's problems are of their own making). In line with the correlation between O-PATAS and M-PATAS scores observed in this and previous studies (e.g., Morrison et al., 2008), there were signs of overlap between some of the modern prejudice themes and the themes discussed below. For example, the idea that Aboriginal people should become more independent was frequently mentioned in relation to opposition to government spending aimed at Aboriginal people (modern prejudice), with some participants suggesting that Aboriginal people are prone to dependence on government assistance (old-fashioned prejudice).

5.8.1 Notions of Aboriginal people's inferiority. Although most expressions of inferiority pertained to a specific trait (e.g., work ethic), some sentiments were more general in nature. Amy and Jill, for instance, believe that Aboriginal people do not think the same way that other people do: after stating that "you can't really rely on them for anything," Amy said, "They just have different, um, views than we do, and they don't, like, respond the same or whatever" (F); and as a result of Jill's solely negative experiences with Aboriginal people, she concluded, "I don't think they can make the same decisions. I feel there is something different about them" (IM). Bailey implied that there are inherent class distinctions between White Canadians and Aboriginal people (e.g., "Overall in my home town I saw way more educated and respectful and well dressed white people, than I did Aboriginals," IM), Heather thinks that "there's something wrong" with Aboriginal people living in Saskatchewan (F), and Michelle does not dislike Aboriginal people per se; "It's just, like, the way they are. The way they act and stuff like that" (F). Lastly, for Jill, Aboriginal people have no redeeming qualities; that is, Aboriginal men are

“as low as can possibly go,” and “in general [Aboriginal people] are drunks, they cheat, lie and are sneaky. They use and abuse other people for their own benefit. I view all aboriginals like that” (IM).

In-group bias may be a factor underlying these attitudes, which was evident in the way some participants implied that Aboriginal people would have to change their behaviour or mindset in order for their impression of Aboriginal people to improve. This was particularly apparent among participants who endorsed old-fashioned prejudice. For example, Jill said that she is not prepared to “let them try” to improve her impression at the moment, but if they could “prove they don’t lie, cheat or steal, make good choices” (IM), eventually her views might change. Changes in Aboriginal people’s general character could improve Michelle’s impression: “Um...maybe, like...seem more ambitious; and, like, put together; and, like, get to work; and, like, that kind of stuff” (F). This was the case for Amy as well:

“Well, maybe if they were a little bit more reliable, like, I wouldn’t have that idea that they’re not reliable, that-- Well, some of them are reliable. And if they were more goal-orient--well, some of them were more goal-orientated, then that would maybe change my idea that some of them just don’t care.” (F)

For Chad and Dustin, their views may become more favourable if the number of Aboriginal people meeting stereotypes begins to decrease:

“Maybe if that was better, maybe if, you know, if there weren’t so many people out there who were kind of creating that stereotype, maybe that stereotype wouldn’t exist.” (Chad)

“Mm...success stories, I think - just, those help a lot. Also - I don’t know - just with, like, drug abuse and substance abuse and stuff, a lot of those things, I do see a high population of these--of Aboriginal people involved with those, so I think, um, them stopping that would help me draw a lot better conclusion of the Aboriginal people as a whole - um, if they weren’t such a high population or percentage of the people who are participating in those things. Same as, in the news and stuff, um, a lot of the gang-related activities or violence is usually, like, Aboriginal people, either killing somebody or killing another Aboriginal person, or something like that. So a lot of the news, too, that comes up is sort of a negative sense towards them, so that would also be part of the thing that, if that changed and if you saw more, um, news stories or something about, like, Aboriginal people who are making a success and viewing them in a positive light, then that would--I would start thinking, okay, well, we’re, like, making progress and they are-- That would give me a lot more positive view of them for sure.” (Dustin)

Adam represents a notable exception to this pattern, as he feels that his impression of Aboriginal people would become more positive “if society as a whole got rid of stereotypes,” which would help to eliminate the automaticity of his learned negative stereotypes about Aboriginal people. Another unique insight came from Chad, who, in spite of putting the onus on Aboriginal people to change his impression, also said, “I don’t know. I don’t think-- It’s probably not them *[laughs]* that need to make the change. [...] *[It’s]* the rest of us *[laughs]*.”

5.8.2 Aboriginal people have a poor work ethic and lack ambition. This theme revolved around perceiving that Aboriginal people are generally lazy, apathetic toward work or school, not motivated to advance themselves, and content to live off of the government/taxpayers. In other words, according to some participants, Aboriginal people are too dependent on government assistance, and government “handouts” act as a disincentive to work. The following extracts illustrate these types of views:

“Um, like, they’re not really reliable. Like, if they’re your employees and you want them to be there at a certain time, they’re kind of like, ‘Okay, well, this happened. I need to take my wife to the hospital,’ or whatever. Or they-- Sometimes they want, like, advances on their cheque - on their pay and stuff like that. I found when, like, my dad had a business and he hired Aboriginal people when, um, when he needed them, and I found that he would always say that they’re not always there. Like, some of them were really good, but then there were others that were not there all the time and they’d make up 40 excuses that we *knew* were just lies to get advances and then never necessarily work it off, and that kind of just gave me a negative view on them.

[...]

And then, I also found that they weren’t really--um, they didn’t really care about their schooling. Like, we would have Aboriginal students come and they would be there for a month, and then they wouldn’t show up, and then they would come back a couple months later and just, like, be there sometimes and not be there, and it was just--like, they didn’t care to be at school. Like, they would rather just, whatever, be at home or whatever.”

(Amy, F)

“I know not all white people are perfect but more than not work get jobs and try to work for their needs, and wants as well as for their families. Never have I witnessed that of an aboriginal.” (Jill, IM)

MB: Do you have any ideas as to, you know, what you might think some of the possible reasons are for that? Not being able to take care of themselves, as you said.

Michelle (F): Probably, I guess, like, in a way it goes back to, like, the lack of ambition in the beginning, and then once you get too far behind, it's hard to catch up.

[...]

MB: Okay. So some of those things you mentioned, you see that as being the way Aboriginal people are?

Michelle: Yes, in a way.

MB: Yeah? In what way?

Michelle: In, like, I guess, like, the way that they don't really try at times to, like, make things better. Like, they just kind of hope it'll change them--like, change for itself, I guess.

[...]

MB: Yeah. And so you think it's, um, up to Aboriginal people to change those things?

Michelle: I'd say, yeah, it is. Like, they could be ambitious and they could do whatever they want if they tried, so...

MB: So you see a lack of trying?

Michelle: Yeah.

“There are, I think, like, glimmerings of truth. Like, I certainly think [there are] people that need to get away from, uh, relying on government funding in order to, you know, exist and, like, feed and clothe themselves. And, uh, that seems, to me, to be the vast majority of the income for reservations.” (Bryce)

“Um, maybe [I dislike their] ability to work hard. I've got sort of a bias towards that because of, like--they are sort of on the lower end of society right now, so maybe that.” (Dustin)

Amy also assumes that Aboriginal people may not try to apply to competitive academic programs unless they have a spot reserved for them, because it is challenging:

Amy (F): Um, I think that it's good that they reserve certain, um, spots in university programs for Aboriginal students, um, because some of them don't have the fund-- Well,

I guess they kind of need a little bit of funding. But they don't really have the will to work hard unless they know that they're gonna, like, get it.

[...]

MB: Yeah. So that's interesting. Why do you think that they would not have a will to try to get in if those spots weren't there?

Amy: 'Cause it's really hard.

MB: Okay.

Amy: And, like, that's with everybody, basically. I mean, to get to certain, um, to get certain degrees, I mean, you have to do a lot of work, and it's challenging, and it's, um, agonizing and just painful. And I feel like if they didn't have that incentive, then some of them would give up.

This notion of unwillingness to try was shared by Heather and Dustin, who do not understand why Aboriginal people would not take advantage of the opportunities available to them:

"Yeah, I really wish that the things that are in place for them, that they would take advantage of in the right way, I guess." (Heather, F)

"But at the same time, like, I know, um--I don't think it's even all being used up - like, all the opportunities - 'cause anybody can do that, but there's still, like, a lot of room for people who could do it but aren't." (Dustin)

For Jill, on the other hand, government spending on Aboriginal people is pointless because "they throw away the good things they have coming for them and it's just a waste" (IM).

According to Danielle, "over time Aboriginal people would benefit from not getting some of the things outlined in the treaty handed to them," as "they would have more appreciation for things given to them" (IM). Similarly, Bailey and Heather think that Aboriginal people take their rights for granted and would benefit from having them removed:

"I think that they would be forced then to have more respect for themselves and the world and learn that you have to work hard to get things, and that they aren't always just going to be handed to you or baby fed to you." (Bailey, IM)

"I think the opportunities should be in place. I think the social funding for some things should be cut because it doesn't foster an ability to create independence whatsoever, and it's a vicious cycle of giving them money, creating dependent people on that money, and

then having to give the next generation the money because there was no independence passed down, like, here - go get a job, go learn, go do something. Um...yeah.” (Heather, F)

These extracts relate to some participants’ perceptions that Aboriginal people are inclined to abuse the system. For instance, Amy and Heather believe that Aboriginal females have children for income reasons:

“[S]ometimes I feel that they take their rights they have to a--like, an extreme. Kind of like, um, what do they get - monthly paycheques for child support - I feel like they take that to such an extreme that they’re getting pregnant at 16 and having as many kids as they can when they can’t necessarily, um, provide for them, and I feel that that’s unfair to other people because we work to pay for their children, basically, ‘cause it’s our tax dollars.” (Amy, F)

“Yeah. It was, the more kids you had, the more money you got, so you may as well have more money, and then, yeah, your kids can just fend for themselves.

[...]

And then girls who didn’t mean to get pregnant kept them because they knew they would get financial support, and that was an easier way to get financial--more money.

[...]

I have some [Aboriginal] people that I know that have taken advantage of that and they’re going to school, and it’s awesome - like, good on you. Um...but I have a problem when the larger percentage of the population is sitting at home...procreating [*laughs*], I guess; reproducing [*laughs*], for lack of [a] better term, for income reasons. That’s... It doesn’t seem fair.” (Heather, F)

Once again, all of these comments appear to be related to valuing individual responsibility whilst being unaware of structural barriers facing the Aboriginal population. In other words, it is believed that, if Aboriginal people do not attain socio-economic success in Canadian society, it is because they lack the ambition to advance themselves. Thus, participants may be committing the ultimate attribution error, whereby prejudiced attitudes are thought to result in a tendency to attribute undesirable behaviours and outcomes among out-group members to what are seen as innate negative traits associated with the out-group, while failing to take social and situational factors into account (Pettigrew, 1979).

5.8.3 Aboriginal people are susceptible to social problems. A number of participants think that certain social problems are typical of the Aboriginal population, particularly poverty and

substance abuse. That is, they appear to endorse some of the main negative stereotypes associated with Aboriginal people:

“Um...I guess, so far, of what I do have of my knowledge of it, is that they do have a tendency to be susceptible to more alcoholism than everyone else. I remember someone just randomly saying that--that it's actually, like, a proven fact. I don't know if that's true or not, but... So then that also kind of puts you in the mindset that, of course they're going to be alcoholics, then, but not necessarily that it's true. Um...they all tend to smoke. It's just, like, a thing that I've noticed from home, whether it's true or not. Um, I don't know. It's kind of hard to say, just, not living anywhere else.” (Adam)

MB: So when you think of some of those experiences you had with Aboriginal people, what are some general impressions of Aboriginal people that come to mind?

Heather (F): Uh...hygiene...parenting...culture - or lack thereof. Um...and abuse, I guess. Not so much--well, I guess in, actually, every sense, to everybody, uh, between themselves. Abuse of the government, abuse of the hand-outs, abuse of their spouses, their children, their... They're abusive to everybody [*scoffs*], it seems like - at least where I lived.

MB: Okay. So when you mentioned the substance abuse and those sorts of things, um, what are your thoughts on that in relation to Aboriginal people?

Dustin: Um, I think, just from the way--the mindset I've gained, I think they're a lot more susceptible to that. Um, just because of how they were raised - a lot of families, how they go. I know if you're poor, too, that can definitely affect, like, things like violence, or, um, your ability to rob, or even, um, to, like, get high or whatever, because the desire is there, but if you don't have the means, then you'll find other ways to get there. So I think that might've been one of the things, where if they're in the poorer population, too, then that would be one of the factors involved in that.

[...]

But on reserves and stuff, like, I know some have money and [are] doing good, but I also know there are some that aren't as well off, and I think, with that poverty or whatever, or even people with not very much money, tend to...a lot of them just use it for things that give them pleasure so they can try and enjoy as much as they can, so that's where you do get, like, the heavy drinking, or going into drugs, or whatever it may be.

Some participants linked these issues to their perception that Aboriginal people have struggled to adapt to mainstream Canadian society:

MB: If you were to think about those times when you do see - say, Aboriginal people, um, intoxicated, in Saskatoon - um, how do you think that has affected your views and feelings toward Aboriginal people?

Megan (F): Um...I feel like they might be a culture who has kind of struggled to find their place within, um, within society, but I think that's come about because of history, and the past, and everything that's gone on. Um...I don't know. Like, there's-- If they're drinking during the day, there--like I said, there's other people in, like, maybe in their house, like, drinking during the day, you know, in the exact same state. Um, so, I guess...I feel like, yeah, there might've--they have some problems, um, within their lives, but just, like-- that's like anybody else, right?

[...]

Like, they're-- By being on a reserve, they're kind of...a minority, I guess. Like, they're put out somewhere else. So I feel like that could be tough. Like, if that's where they're raised and then coming into the city, like, it could be hard to find your place.

“I think some of them are involved in these lifestyles, maybe more than the rest of society. It makes me sad for them, that they may not realize how this lifestyle is not ideal to society.” (Danielle, IM)

Bryce: Yeah, and to slowly, um... I guess, to slowly nullify all of, uh...I guess, the things that do make them stand out. You know, like living in segregated colonies. Which, I mean, if you wanna live on the reserve that's fine; that's their land, you know? Like, I'm not saying completely abolish the treaties of such and such a year. But, uh...you know, if they were more willing to...I guess, not-- If there was definite purpose towards, uh, modernization, and, like, integration into our society, and actually, you know, like, producing something useful...

MB: Something useful...as in...?

Bryce: Yeah, well, I don't know. Whether it be, uh...uh... Well, I don't know. What are the things I consider useful to our society? Furthering of knowledge, uh, any boost to Canada's economic system. [...] But, uh, you know, it is useful; it's something that has purpose. Basically anything-- Even, actually, I find would be really useful is if they worked--started working and had a concerted effort to start improving their *own* state of

affairs, you know, so that you saw, with less and less frequency, you know, these tragedies. And obviously, not all of them are their own fault, but some of them are, you know, and I don't--I've never seen any evidence that, you know, they've been governing themselves towards trying to solve these issues.

Heather and Bryce tied some of these difficulties to perceived leadership and financial management issues, with Heather implying that Aboriginal people in Saskatchewan seem to be financially misguided:

“Um...I really wish they would just spend some of that money into teaching people, um, how to spend it. Like, the [name of reserve] - the one that sold their land by [name of city in Saskatchewan]. I just moved from [that city], so... Um, every other race stayed in that weekend [*laughs*] - I will tell you that. Everybody on the reserve got \$20,000; that was the payout for selling their land. [...] And my frustration was, uh, they didn't send anybody out to talk to the students, or talk to the people who were about to get \$20,000 [*scoffs*].

[...]

Yeah. Um, and the other stupid thing [*scoffs*] was--is that, um, they had \$20,000 and if they deposited it into the bank, they had to wait one week to receive 20,000, whereas if they deposited it in one of the 'cash now,' they had to lose a thousand dollars. And instead of waiting seven days for another thousand dollars, everybody took the 19, which, to me, makes no sense, 'cause a thousand dollars is a thousand dollars, and if you have 19 and you're gonna blow it in six days, what are you doing with it anyway? Um, yeah, it was just... Uh, people got stabbed at the bar that weekend [*laughs*]. Like, it was, like, every single stereotype [*laughs*].” (F)

Danielle's point, above, about being “sad for them” evokes notions of pity toward Aboriginal people, which may be perceived as positive but is not an emotion that has been found to reduce prejudice (Pedersen et al., 2011). This along with Heather's view that the government needs to help or teach Aboriginal people to manage their money properly appears to reflect benevolent prejudice, a condescending form of prejudice that operates under a guise of compassion but implies incompetence (Werhun & Penner, 2010). Benevolent prejudice was also evident in many of Dustin's responses, as he frequently mentioned that Aboriginal people “are on the lower end of the spectrum” in Canadian society and, therefore, “we” along with the government need to “bring them up to our level and make them equal.” Below is a more in-depth illustration of his views:

“A lot of their people have succeeded, but the majority is still hanging back a little bit and needs some help, so we need to help them get out of that. Basically, they’re in a problem - or they have been in a problem - and they’re trying to get out, but they’re not completely out of the hole yet, so we gotta help them get out of the hole.

[...]

[T]here’s not a huge gap left, so people can more hop out of it on their own and stuff. So that would be, like, the government funding, too; like, we need to help fill in the hole with dirt - if dirt is money. [...] But, basically, they’re, like, they’re getting a lot better and their situation is improved, but I recognize they do need some help too. So I think they’re all--um, as people, they are equal and there’s no difference between us, but as a culture, they need some help from the government to get out of their situation.”

Dustin’s benevolent prejudice could also be seen in the way he discussed Aboriginal people’s accomplishments:

“So, obviously, I do jump on board when somebody’s really successful, sort of with the thing along them taking responsibility. When you see somebody who’s come from maybe a bad situation, or maybe just a regular situation, for an Aboriginal person, and then they make it up and become successful, I really applaud them and be like, ‘Well done and way to go, because you really mean something.’ And then they’re also becoming a huge role model to people, so I just wanna help them realize what they actually did and be like, ‘You did a really good thing, so congratulations.’ So that’s probably one of the big things, for sure, that I see in them when I see somebody successful.”

5.8.4 Aboriginal people’s social problems are related to a poor upbringing. When discussing their views toward Aboriginal people’s work ethic and susceptibility to social problems, some participants implied that these issues have stemmed from faulty parenting in the Aboriginal population. As the extracts below demonstrate, a few participants think that Aboriginal parents lack parenting skills, are not instilling proper values in their children, and are not encouraging their children to go to school or work:

MB: Yeah. I was, uh, just trying to get at, um, maybe why you think the thought process is a little different in some way for Aboriginal people when they think about getting into these school programs.

Amy (F): It could be the way that they grew up, the way their parents acted. Like, ‘cause how your parents act in the world definitely has [an effect] on what you do and how, like, if your parents are telling you that, you know, you need to do this and you need to do that, you need to get a good job, then you’re more likely to, you know, maybe strive to be

better. And if their parents aren't being like...like, kind of encouraging them to do well, then they kind of just slack; they don't do anything.

MB: So you think it might be related to their upbringing.

Amy: Yeah, a little bit.

MB: Yeah. Anything else that might be at play there?

Amy: I don't think so. I think it's basically how you're raised that determines how you're gonna turn out in the end.

MB: Okay. Yeah. So for some reason, um, maybe with some Aboriginal people, um, something in their upbringing has resulted in this, I think what you described as, like, kind of a lack of will to work hard toward these school programs or higher-level jobs...

Amy: Um, yeah, I think so, that that would be one of the reasons why they have lower willingness to do that.

“Like, um, and I'm not sure that it was that they didn't think that they were fulfilling those needs. Like, yes, the baby is drinking a liquid, which is awesome, but not pop or Tang [*laughs*], or... You know what I mean? Like, it's like they didn't understand the concept of health, um, and that you couldn't abuse your body like that, or that, uh, nutrition was something that was important at such a young age especially. Uh, they just didn't-- And that chips and pop weren't an adequate supper. Uh, I thought it was lacking that way.” (Heather, F)

“I do an aboriginal program with a friend for aboriginal children to come get out of the house and play 3 times a week. All of their parents are alcoholics, none of their parents pick them up [or] drop them off or even care if they are warm on their walk to and from. I also worked at crisis nursery where I was wiping blood off of abused babies or babies addicted to drugs. Or sad aboriginal kids that were dying for love and attention.” (Jill, IM)

“You think of some of the kids, too, who come from these homes - whether there's turmoil, or things going on, or whatever - and so they're raised without a father-- Like, I've heard some--or I know some sad stories, too, of kids who've just been raised in, like, a terrible life, so I think that's also a part of why they're raised the way they are, and then it's obviously hard to cope with some things. They might not have the social skills, or else they just have, like, low self-esteem or something like that, so going through school,

that can also help them. So that wouldn't be everybody, but that would also be some of the population, so those kids, especially, would need some help.

[...]

Home life is, like, a big thing, especially for kids going through school. Having, like, parents who encourage them and stuff are a big part of it, so you can't--the government can't really affect them other than giving incentives. So, like, for school, so the kids would get a break, so maybe the parents would do that, but that's sort of where maybe progress is slow 'cause of that." (Dustin)

In sum, the findings outlined above indicate that some participants hold attitudes that are problematic in terms of their positioning of Aboriginal people as inherently possessing negative characteristics, which, in turn, are perceived as the cause of the Aboriginal population's disadvantaged status. Hence, while participants are well aware of the social challenges facing Aboriginal people in Canada, psychological factors such as in-group bias and causal misattributions appear to stand in the way of a critical evaluation of racial inequality. The insights falling under this super-ordinate theme provide further support for the notion that participants may be making surface evaluations of Aboriginal people and social problems. That is, the root causes and current structural barriers associated with these problems are likely not considered when forming judgements. In addition, participants' White middle- or upper-social status might be taken for granted, resulting in an inability to identify with individuals experiencing socio-economic issues as well as perceived incongruencies between their values and Aboriginal people's lifestyle.

5.9 Follow-up Questions

The e-mail follow-up survey, which consisted of three questions, was completed by four female participants: Megan, Eve, Heather, and Michelle. These participants' definitions of prejudice/racism and perceptions of whether or not they are prejudiced have already been discussed above. Heather and Michelle, who perceive themselves to hold prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people (Megan and Eve do not), said the following in response to a follow-up question asking whether they feel this is a problem:

"I don't believe it's a problem that would cause much personal concern to my wellbeing. I do believe it's not right that I have so many stereotypes associated to Aboriginals stored mentally. However, I do try and "check" them and make sure they don't affect my behaviour or speaking manner, when I am in some form of contact with an Aboriginal(s)." (Heather)

“I feel that this is a major problem because it is not right to lump people together and to assume they are all the same especially with regards to ethnicity. I think that everyone is unique and to judge a person before you even know them is not right.” (Michelle)

While Heather is not overly concerned about her prejudice toward Aboriginal people, Michelle seems to be bothered by it. Accordingly, in response to a question asking whether participation in the study has influenced their views toward Aboriginal people, Heather feels that it has not, while Michelle believes that it has:

“I don’t believe it has had any impact on my views or feelings towards Aboriginals, no. This is because I have never shied away internally from how I feel about the stigmas and stereotypes I hold in my head of Aboriginal people. I realize how I feel and I do what I consider to be enough internally to not let it affect the way I treat Aboriginal people. I do hold a firm belief that I will treat other as they treat me in kind, to the very best of my ability.” (Heather)

“Yes I think this study has influenced my feelings and views towards Aboriginal people. It has made me realize that I don’t know a lot about them and their culture so therefore I am not in a position to judge them. I also feel that it is important to get to know someone before jumping to any conclusion just based on a group they are a part of. With that said I feel I have gained some more respect for Aboriginal people and will try and be more open minded in the future.” (Michelle)

Megan said in her interview that discussing her views has made her interested in learning more about Aboriginal people, and she also feels that participating in the study has influenced her views toward Aboriginal people:

“It has made me think about the way I think and feel about others. It made me realize that people can be negative to a whole group of people, including myself, even though people may have only ever had one bad experience. It is not fair to stereotype, be racist or prejudice just because of the stories you hear. The study has made me more aware of my thoughts and what and how other people say not only to Aboriginals, but lesbians or gays, African Americans, etc.” (Megan)

For Eve, the experience was somewhat educational: “It has made me aware of the ways Aboriginal people are discriminated against.” Megan’s and Michelle’s insights, along with the fact that some participants (Megan, Bryce, and Chad) remarked that they were motivated to become better educated about Aboriginal people, are positive findings, since making people aware of their incompatible beliefs (e.g., endorsement of stereotypes, egalitarianism) may be

particularly effective for prejudiced individuals who have not previously reflected on their biases (Pedersen et al., 2011). Given the apparent lack of prior reflection and dialogue evidenced across participants, perhaps these findings are a sign that prejudice reduction strategies should include exercises in which White Canadians are encouraged to critically evaluate their preconceptions about Aboriginal people (e.g., what are their sources of information regarding Aboriginal people? Are their beliefs about Aboriginal people factual?).

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has served to address two important gaps in the literature: examining the nature of prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people, and qualitatively investigating the psychological underpinnings of prejudiced individuals' thoughts and feelings toward racial minority groups. Thus, this study represents both a subject matter and methodological advance in the field of prejudice research. By employing a combined quantitative and qualitative approach, this study (1) measured the prevalence of old-fashioned and modern prejudice toward Aboriginal people in a sample of non-Aboriginal Canadian university students; and (2) explored some of the social and personal dynamics surrounding the nature of, and reasons for, White Canadian university students' views toward Aboriginal people. There was evidence of convergence between the quantitative and qualitative results (e.g., with respect to the prevalence of modern prejudice), though there were areas of divergence as well (e.g., the interview data revealed nuances that were not captured via the quantitative data).

In Phase 1, it was found that most participants do not endorse notions of old-fashioned prejudice toward Aboriginal people, with just under two-thirds of the sample scoring below the O-PATAS midpoint. However, as the label "old-fashioned" implies, changing social norms have resulted in the diminishment of blatant prejudice and discrimination; therefore, it is concerning that a sizeable minority of participants regard Aboriginal people in this manner. Similar results were observed for participants' blatant prejudice toward overweight people, though fewer interview participants scored above the midpoint on the A-FAS than the O-PATAS. Modern prejudice toward Aboriginal people was far more prevalent in Phase 1, as 61% of the sample scored above the M-PATAS midpoint. In contrast, 25% of the sample scored above the midpoint on the MHS-G, indicating that participants' modern prejudice was much more pronounced for Aboriginal people than it was for gay men. This was also the case among interview participants, with all 13 participants scoring above the midpoint on the M-PATAS but only four participants

doing so on the MHS-G. This may be a function of both category salience (Dudley & Mulvey, 2009) and the long-standing conflict between European/White Canadians and Aboriginal people (Gaunt, 2011). This finding is problematic in light of the challenges associated with addressing modern prejudice. For example, as per the interview results, it is likely that many White Canadians view elements of modern prejudice as rational beliefs rather than prejudiced attitudes that can serve to maintain racial inequality. Taken together, then, the findings from Phase 1 have shown that (1) blatant negativity toward Aboriginal people persists in spite of current norms dictating that it is no longer socially acceptable, and (2) modern prejudice toward Aboriginal people may be fairly common among non-Aboriginal Canadian university students. These findings are consistent with previous research that has measured non-Aboriginal Canadians' attitudes toward Aboriginal people (e.g., Atkinson et al., 2012; Morrison et al., 2008; Nesdole, 2009).

The themes that emerged from the interviews in Phase 2 of the study have provided insight into the ways in which old-fashioned and modern prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people are formed and maintained. The interviews also elucidated some of the linguistic patterns that surface when White Canadians attempt to make sense of and discuss their views toward a stigmatized minority group such as Aboriginal people. It appears that the socialization process is one of the most important factors that may be shaping White Canadians' attitudes toward Aboriginal people, since it is through interactions with others and social institutions that they learn normative information pertaining to out-groups and intergroup relations. Among the participants in this study, it was evident in their responses that they have internalized certain norms and values, particularly egalitarianism and individualism, which, consciously or unconsciously, are used to guide evaluations of Aboriginal people. It is likely that socialization experiences, whether direct or indirect, also inform and reinforce the various psychological processes (e.g., in-group bias, stereotyping) that seem to be underlying prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people. While there is likely myriad mediating and moderating relationships among these processes that require further inquiry in order to better understand the nature of prejudice toward Aboriginal people, this study has uncovered several social and psychological factors that may be operating in White Canadians' negative evaluations of this group. Additionally, participants' apparent surface-level evaluations and understandings of Aboriginal people and social issues demonstrate that increased awareness and education is needed among

the Canadian public, particularly in the areas of (1) White privilege, (2) the root causes of social problems in the Aboriginal population (i.e., the intergenerational impact of colonization), (3) societal factors that serve to maintain inequality (e.g., institutional and structural discrimination; Pincus, 1996), (4) myths and facts about Aboriginal people, and (5) the reasons why endorsement of the tenets of modern prejudice constitutes a form of negativity that poses an obstacle to the amelioration of racism and racial inequality. Some of these suggestions fall in line with Pedersen et al.'s (2011) 14 mechanisms for reducing prejudice, 12 of which are most pertinent to this study and are briefly described in Table 8.

Interview participants were found to express both old-fashioned and modern prejudice toward Aboriginal people, and consistent with the results of Phase 1, expressions of the latter were more common. In keeping with the theoretical conceptualization of contemporary prejudice (e.g., Morrison & Morrison, 2002), modern prejudiced sentiments mainly revolved around the perceived unfairness of the special treatment Aboriginal people are presumed to be receiving in Canada, along with the feeling that it is time to put the past behind us and move forward. Ambivalence toward Aboriginal people, a core feature of modern prejudice (McConahay, 1983), was also observed, primarily in the form of expression patterns that were indicative of uncertainty or inner conflict (e.g., the use of disclaimers followed by comments reflecting resentment toward Aboriginal people's supposed privileges). This ambivalence was particularly evident in the paradoxical finding that most participants seem to be sympathetic toward Aboriginal people for the injustices they have faced, yet they generally oppose Aboriginal-focused initiatives aimed at addressing inequities (cf. Atkinson et al., 2012; Langford & Ponting, 1992). Participants did not perceive that their disagreement of the government's treatment of Aboriginal people demonstrates hostility toward, or disliking of, Aboriginal people; hence, explaining why most asserted they were non-prejudiced/racist (i.e., prejudice is primarily seen as involving overt negativity). Instead, participants' belief in equality was used to justify their positions, thereby serving to deflect charges of prejudice or racism. It is clear, therefore, that White Canadians need to be better informed about the changing face of prejudice. Specifically, increased awareness is required with respect to the fact that, although feelings of contempt or disgust toward Aboriginal people has decreased over time, the less hostile, subtler negative feelings associated with modern prejudice (i.e., resentment/anger and perceived threat) still function as barriers to the reduction of racism and racial inequality.

Table 8

Pedersen et al.'s (2011) Mechanisms for Reducing Prejudice

Mechanism	Role in Prejudice Reduction
Provision of accurate information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Endorsement of false beliefs correlates with prejudice. • May reduce false beliefs but not prejudice if used in isolation from other mechanisms.
Involving the audience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involve people in the process rather than simply “preach” at them. • Important to respect all views and not express disapproval of those that reflect prejudice.
Choose emotions to tackle wisely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Avoid inducing guilt; focus on empathy but not pity or sympathy. • Empathy involves compassion in the form of perspective-taking.
Emphasize commonality and differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to address diversity but also stress commonalities between groups. • Critical to discuss inequities (i.e., the lack of “an even playing field”).
Meet local needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Should take into account potential differences in attitudes across locations and situations.
Dissonance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highlighting incompatible beliefs may reduce tendency to strive for attitudinal consistency. • Might be most effective with those who are highly prejudiced or have not previously reflected on their biases.
Challenging perceived consensus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prejudiced individuals tend to overestimate community support for their views; convincing these individuals that this is incorrect can be useful in reducing prejudice.
Arranging appropriate contact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive contact experiences have been found to reduce prejudice. • Inviting out-group members to interventions may be beneficial, but onus is on the perpetrators, not the out-group, to eradicate their prejudice.
Experiential-schemata function of attitudes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education on the fallacy of stereotyping and essentializing out-groups on the basis of negative personal experiences may have a positive influence.
Group identity (Whiteness)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inform people about White privilege, particularly those who are generally privileged (e.g., with respect to age, class, ability, gender, and sexual orientation).
Finding alternative ways of conversing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teaching people “bystander anti-prejudice” skills (i.e., how to speak out against prejudice or discrimination) may be an effective strategy.
Addressing the sources and functions of attitudes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Essential to attitude change. • Sources can be direct or indirect; attitudes may be a function of experiences and/or values.

Consistent with the theoretical definition of old-fashioned prejudice (e.g., Morrison et al., 2008), some participants implied that Aboriginal people possess inherent inferiorities (e.g., poor work ethic) that are responsible for the social problems they encounter. This was often linked to a perception that Aboriginal people have the choice to advance themselves (e.g., through working or going to school), but many are content with being financially dependent on the government. Implicit in these views is adherence to the principle of individual responsibility, whereby it is assumed that Aboriginal people can participate in mainstream Canadian society and attain favourable socio-economic outcomes if they simply try. In-group bias was posited as another probable factor underlying these views, as many participants placed the onus on Aboriginal people to improve their social conditions. In other words, it is believed that prejudice and discrimination have decreased to the point that barriers to socio-economic advancement no longer exist; thus, the burden is on Aboriginal people to rectify their social issues. These viewpoints may stem, in part, from the inability or unwillingness of White middle- or upper-class Canadians to identify with individuals who, for a variety of reasons, are socio-economically disadvantaged. On the basis of these findings, it may be of value to educate White Canadians on the concepts of in-group bias and causal misattributions in an effort to bring to awareness people's tendency to over-emphasize individual factors and under-emphasize situational and societal factors when evaluating the behaviours and socio-economic status of out-group members. Indeed, some participants' professed interest in learning more about Aboriginal people suggests that several White Canadians, including those who hold prejudiced attitudes, may be open to critically reflecting on where their views have come from and why they feel the way they do toward Aboriginal people. This would likely be aided by increased dialogue among Canadians with regard to intergroup relations and current racial inequities, which, as per the results of this study, may not be occurring frequently enough to facilitate the reduction of prejudice and inequality.

6.1 Limitations

While this study has provided useful information regarding the nature of prejudice toward Aboriginal people in Canada, the conclusions that can be drawn from the data are limited by three factors. First, due to sample size, the idiographic nature of IPA research, and the fact that the majority of participants grew up in Saskatchewan, findings cannot necessarily be generalized to other White Canadian university students or to the White Canadian population as a whole. In

particular, as Saskatchewan is tied with Manitoba for the highest proportion of Aboriginal people across the provinces (Statistics Canada, 2006, 2011), it is possible that there are geographical differences in White Canadians' attitudes toward Aboriginal people. This was alluded to by Heather, who said that her negative views primarily concern Aboriginal people living in Saskatchewan, and that her Aboriginal friend was surprised by the negativity toward Aboriginal people in Saskatchewan as compared to her home province of Ontario. It should also be noted that, because few participants responded to the follow-up survey, the views of those who responded cannot be considered representative of the interview sample or of White Canadian university students and the White Canadian population in general.

Second, some qualitative research methods tend to operate under the assumption that participants are able to "reach inside themselves and extract their experiences" and articulate them fluently (Gough & Madill, 2012, p. 378). In addition, the phenomenological approach, which was employed in this study, has been criticized for downplaying the role of the social context in influencing and constraining participants' responses (Gough & Madill, 2012). Hence, while there is no way to know the degree to which the participants in this study were able and willing to provide "true" representations of their views and experiences relating to Aboriginal people, it is possible that these portrayals were not entirely accurate. This could be due to a variety of factors, including the research context, the nature of the topic, lack of prior reflection on the topic, or difficulties remembering past experiences. Consequently, the accuracy of the findings is dependent upon the accuracy of participants' accounts (Jewell, 2007).

Third, conducting qualitative research is inherently subjective and is, therefore, partly shaped by researchers' preconceptions (Tufford & Newman, 2010). Accordingly, Tufford and Newman (2010) note, it is often recommended that researchers "bracket off" (i.e., place aside) these preconceptions in order to avoid potential biases in data collection, analyses, and interpretations, thereby enhancing the rigour of the study. However, Tufford and Newman (2010) indicate that there is a lack of consensus with respect to when bracketing should occur and how it should be carried out. Further, a researcher's commitment to reflecting on and disclosing their preconceptions may not always be straightforward, since it can be questioned as to how effective they are at identifying and reporting their thoughts and feelings toward their research (Gough & Madill, 2012). Thus, although the researcher attempted to engage in bracketing, it is certainly possible that this did not result in diminished subjectivity throughout

the research process. It should be pointed out, however, that not all researchers agree that subjectivity comprises validity. For example, despite the field of psychology's long-standing emphasis on objectivity, Gough and Madill (2012) call for a more "reflexive scientific attitude," whereby the benefits of subjectivity (e.g., as a resource that can contextualize findings) is incorporated into the fabric of psychological research (p. 375).

6.2 Conclusion

In light of projections that White people's ethnic majority status will wane over the next few decades (e.g., Vincent & Velkoff, 2010), it is critical that White–non-White relations move in a more harmonious direction. Although there are signs that socio-economic conditions are improving in the Aboriginal population (see, for example, results from the Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study; Environics Institute, 2010), on the basis of this and other Canadian studies, it is evident that prejudice toward Aboriginal people remains a key issue in contemporary Canadian society. This, in turn, is serving as one barrier to the amelioration of social issues in the Aboriginal population. The qualitative results of this study have shown that blatant and subtle forms of negativity toward Aboriginal are complex psychological phenomena that are primarily developed and maintained via the socialization process. Therefore, it is likely also through socialization, in the form of public education and increased dialogue surrounding prejudice and racial inequality, that prejudiced attitudes toward Aboriginal people may begin to subside.

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APPENDIX A: ANTI-FAT ATTITUDES SCALE

(A-FAS; Morrison & O'Connor, 1999)

1. Fat women/men are less sexually attractive than thin women/men.
2. I would never date a fat person.
3. On average, fat women/men are lazier than thin women/men.
4. Fat women/men only have themselves to blame for their weight.
5. It is disgusting when a fat woman/man wears a bathing suit at the beach.

APPENDIX B: PHASE 1 DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

Lastly, the following questions are designed to find out a little bit more about you.

My age is: _____ years

My sex is:

____ Female

____ Male

_____ Other (*please fill in*)

____ Prefer not to answer

My academic major is (*please specify*): _____

My ethnic background is (*please select one*):

____ Aboriginal

____ African

____ Asian

____ Hispanic

____ White/Caucasian

____ Other (*please specify*): _____

____ Prefer not to answer

By my own definition, I would consider myself to be:

____ Very liberal

____ Liberal

____ Somewhat liberal

____ Somewhat conservative

____ Conservative

____ Very conservative

____ Prefer not to answer

I am currently:

- Single/dating
- Common-law
- Married
- Separated
- Divorced
- Other (*please specify*): _____
- Prefer not to answer

The total annual income in my (my parents') household before taxes is:

- Less than \$10,000
- \$10,000 to \$19,999
- \$20,000 to \$29,999
- \$30,000 to \$39,999
- \$40,000 to \$49,999
- \$50,000 to \$59,999
- \$60,000 to \$69,999
- \$70,000 to \$79,999
- \$80,000 to \$89,999
- \$90,000 to \$99,999
- \$100,000 or more
- Prefer not to answer

APPENDIX C: MODERN HOMONEGATIVITY SCALE - GAY MEN

(MHS-G; Morrison & Morrison, 2002)

1. Many gay men use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges.
2. Gay men seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same.
3. Gay men do NOT have all the rights they need.*
4. The notion of universities providing students with undergraduate degrees in Gay and Lesbian Studies is ridiculous.
5. Celebrations such as “Gay Pride Day” are ridiculous because they assume that an individual’s sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.
6. Gay men still need to protest for equal rights.*
7. Gay men should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people’s throats.
8. If gay men want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.
9. Gay men who are “out of the closet” should be admired for their courage.*
10. Gay men should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society and simply get on with their lives.
11. In today’s tough economic times, Canadians’ tax dollars shouldn’t be used to support gay men’s organizations.
12. Gay men have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights.

* Item is reverse-scored.

APPENDIX D: PREJUDICE TOWARD ABORIGINALS SCALES

Old-fashioned Prejudiced Attitudes toward Aboriginals Scale (O-PATAS; Morrison et al., 2008)

1. Most Aboriginal people can NOT take care of their children.
2. Most Aboriginal people sound intoxicated (drunk).
3. Most Aboriginal people are on welfare.
4. Most Aboriginal people need classes on how to be better parents.
5. Aboriginal people have way too many children.
6. Aboriginal people have no sense of time.
7. High standards of hygiene are NOT valued in Aboriginal culture.
8. Diseases that affect Aboriginal people are simply due to the lifestyle they lead.
9. Drug abuse is a key problem among Aboriginal people.
10. Poverty on reserves is a direct result of Aboriginal people abusing drugs.
11. Few Aboriginal people seem to take much pride in their personal appearance.

Modern Prejudiced Attitudes toward Aboriginals Scale (M-PATAS; Morrison et al., 2008)

1. Canada needs to stop apologizing for events that happened to Aboriginal people many years ago.
2. Aboriginal people still need to protest for equal rights.*
3. Aboriginal people should stop complaining about the way they are treated and simply get on with their lives.
4. Aboriginal people should simply get over past generations' experiences at residential schools.
5. Aboriginal Canadians seem to use their cultural traditions to secure special rights denied to non-Aboriginal Canadians.
6. Many of the requests made by Aboriginal people to the Canadian government are excessive.
7. Special places in academics programs should NOT be set aside for Aboriginal students.
8. Aboriginal people should be satisfied with what the government has given them.

9. It is now unnecessary to honour treaties established with Aboriginal people.
10. Aboriginal people should NOT have reserved placements in universities unless they are qualified.
11. Aboriginal people should pay taxes just like everyone else.
12. The government should support programs designed to place Aboriginal people in positions of power.*
13. Non-Aboriginal people need to become sensitive to the needs of Aboriginal people.*
14. Government agencies should make every effort to meet the needs of Aboriginal people.*

*Item is reverse-scored.

APPENDIX E: RIGHT-WING AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE

(RWA Scale; Altemeyer, 2006)

1. The established authorities generally turn out to be right about things, while the radicals and protestors are usually just “loud mouths” showing off their ignorance.*
2. Women should have to promise to obey their husbands when they get married.*
3. Canada desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us.
4. Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else.
5. It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people’s minds.
6. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.
7. The only way Canada can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas.
8. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps.
9. Canada needs free thinkers who have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people.
10. Canada will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fiber and traditional beliefs.
11. Everyone should have their own lifestyle, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everyone else.
12. The “old-fashioned ways” and the “old-fashioned values” still show the best way to live.
13. You have to admire those who challenged the law and the majority’s view by protesting for women’s abortion rights, for animal rights, or to abolish school prayer.
14. What Canada really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path.
15. Some of the best people in Canada are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the “normal way things are supposed to be done.”

16. God's laws about abortion, pornography and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, and those who break them must be strongly punished.
17. There are many radical, immoral people in Canada today, who are trying to ruin it for their own godless purposes, whom the authorities should put out of action.
18. A "woman's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past.
19. Canada will be great if we honor the ways of our forefathers, do what the authorities tell us to do, and get rid of the "rotten apples" who are ruining everything.
20. There is no "ONE right way" to live life; everybody has to create their own way.
21. Homosexuals and feminists should be praised for being brave enough to defy "traditional family values."
22. Canada would work a lot better if certain groups of troublemakers would just shut up and accept their group's traditional place in society.

* Practice items; not scored.

Agreement with items 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19, 22 reflects RWA.

Disagreement with items 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 18, 20, 21 reflects RWA.

APPENDIX F: SOCIAL DOMINANCE ORIENTATION SCALE

(SDO Scale; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999)

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
3. It's okay if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.

APPENDIX G: VERBAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR PHASE 1

Thank you all for volunteering to take part in this study. The research that you're participating in today is designed to help us understand how people view certain social groups and social ideas. There are no right or wrong answers to the questionnaire items, so please just answer them as honestly as possible.

In the next few weeks, I'd like to interview some of you to learn more about your social views and experiences. Your participation in this interview would be greatly appreciated, and you'll be able to receive a \$20 gift certificate⁷ for participating. If you're interested in participating in an interview, please make sure that you fill out the contact information sheet that's included in the envelope [*show them the sheet*]. You've been given this separate sheet to write your name and contact information on because we want to protect the confidentiality and privacy of your questionnaire responses by not having you place any identifying information directly on the questionnaire. However, we'd still like to know which questionnaire belongs to you, so there's a set of questions at the end of the questionnaire [*show them*]. This same set of questions also appears on the contact information sheet that I will use to match your questionnaire to your contact information [*hold them up, side by side*]. I'll use your answers to these questions to make a code, so please make sure that your answers to the questions on the questionnaire are exactly the same as your answers on the contact information sheet.

Before you start the questionnaire, I just want to go over your rights as a participant. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you are free to stop participating at any time, without any penalty. This means that, if you choose to withdraw from the study, you'll still get your bonus course credit for coming in today. I also want to assure you that your questionnaire responses and contact information will remain completely confidential. I'm the only person who will have access to your contact information, and your contact information will be stored separately from your questionnaires in locked filing cabinets.

You'll find more information about the study on the Participant Information Sheet in the envelope [*show them*]. Please read that form over before starting the questionnaire. The info sheet is yours to keep for your records. Written consent isn't necessary for this study, because your completion of the questionnaire will imply that you've consented to participate.

When you're finished, please place the questionnaire back in the envelope and hand it to me. If you've filled out the contact information sheet, please place it in this box [*point to*]. Then, before you leave, please place a check-mark next to your SONA ID code so that I can give you your

⁷ It was later decided that \$20 cash would be more appropriate, since it would be difficult to choose a store/business that would appeal to a variety of people. This amendment was approved by the U of S behavioural Research Ethics Board.

course credit. I'll provide you with the debriefing form that provides more information about the study.

If you have any questions, please feel free to ask me. You can now begin.

APPENDIX H: ID CODE QUESTIONS IN QUESTIONNAIRE

Self-Generated Identification Code

The answers to the following questions will be used to create an identification code that the researcher will use to link your questionnaire responses to your contact information. The researcher will be the only person who has access to your contact information and will keep your contact information and questionnaire responses confidential.

Please answer the following questions and then transfer your answers onto the Contact Information Sheet.

1. What is the FIRST LETTER of your MOTHER'S FIRST NAME? _____
2. What is the FIRST LETTER of your FATHER'S FIRST NAME? _____
3. How many OLDER BROTHERS do you have? _____
4. How many OLDER SISTERS do you have? _____
5. What is the LAST DIGIT of your home phone number? _____

APPENDIX I: CONTACT INFORMATION FORM

Contact Information Sheet

Please transfer your answers to the five questions on the last page of the questionnaire to this sheet. Please make sure that the answers on both sheets are EXACTLY THE SAME.

1. What is the FIRST LETTER of your MOTHER'S FIRST NAME? _____
2. What is the FIRST LETTER of your FATHER'S FIRST NAME? _____
3. How many OLDER BROTHERS do you have? _____
4. How many OLDER SISTERS do you have? _____
5. What is the LAST DIGIT of your home phone number? _____

Contact Information:

Name: _____

Phone number: _____

E-mail address: _____

THANK YOU!

APPENDIX J: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET



Participant Information Sheet

You are invited to participate in a study entitled *An Exploration of Canadians' Social Views*. Please read this form carefully, and feel free to ask any questions you might have about the study.

Student Researcher: Mel Brockman, M.A. Candidate, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, phone: 306-291-0429, e-mail: mel.brockman@hotmail.com.

Research Supervisor: Dr. Todd Morrison, Associate Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, phone: 306-966-6700, e-mail: todd.morrison@usask.ca.

Funding: This research project is being funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

Purpose and Objective of the Study

The purpose of this study is to gain insight into how Canadians view certain social groups and social ideas. The main objective of this research is to summarize the questionnaire responses so that the pattern of participants' views can be explored. In turn, this information will be used as a basis for further research regarding Canadians' social views and experiences.

Procedures

This study will involve the completion of a questionnaire consisting of a series of statements about certain social groups and social ideas. You will be asked to indicate your opinion toward each of these statements. You will be part of a group of participants that will be completing this questionnaire. The questionnaire should take you approximately 15 to 30 minutes to complete. Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role therein.

Potential Benefits

While it is likely that you will not necessarily receive any direct benefits from participating in this study, you may find it personally rewarding to be contributing information that can help to increase our understanding of people's views toward certain social groups. Your insights are highly valuable to this research project.

Potential Risks

As the questionnaire examines people's views toward social groups and social ideas, the statements may be sensitive for some participants. The questionnaire is not intended to cause you discomfort; however, should you experience any distress while completing the questionnaire and wish to discuss your reactions or concerns further, you are encouraged to contact the researcher or her supervisor. As well, the researcher can provide you with contact information should you wish to inquire into counselling services in your area. At the end of the study you will be given a form that explains the purpose and goals of the study in greater detail, and you will be given a chance to ask any further questions that you might have.

Compensation

As per the psychology participant pool guidelines, you will be given one course credit (i.e., 1%) toward your final Psychology 120 or 121 grade in exchange for your participation in this study. The researcher will use the online study management system (i.e., SONA) to assign this credit to you.

Confidentiality

Your data will be kept completely confidential; that is, although the data from this study will be included in a master's thesis and may be published in a journal and/or presented at conferences, the data will be reported in a summarized form, so that it will not be possible to identify individuals. Please do not put your name or other identifying information on the questionnaire.

Storage of Data

Your responses will be entered into a database on the researcher's password-protected computer; only the researcher knows the password to the computer. Your original questionnaire will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the supervisor's laboratory in the Arts Building. Only the researcher and supervisor will have access to the questionnaires. The data collected for this study will be stored for a minimum of five years following completion of the final report. After this time period, when all data and materials are no longer required, they will be destroyed beyond recovery.

Right to Withdraw

Your participation is voluntary, and you can answer only those questions to which you are comfortable responding. You may withdraw from the study for any reason, at any time, without explanation and without loss of research credit or any other penalty. If you choose to withdraw from the study, you will still receive the course credit associated with participating in this study. Additionally, if you choose to withdraw, any data that you have provided will be deleted from the research project and destroyed beyond recovery, at your request. Your right to withdraw data from the study will apply until the data from all participants have been entered into a database, analyzed, and included in the final report, which will occur by January 31, 2013. After this date,

it is possible that some form of research distribution will have already occurred and, therefore, it may not be possible to withdraw your data.

Follow-Up

To obtain the final report for this study, please contact the researcher using the phone number or e-mail address at the top of page 1 and an electronic version of the report will be sent to you once it is completed.

Questions or Concerns

If you have any questions or concerns in regard to this study, please feel free to contact the researcher or supervisor using the phone numbers or e-mail addresses at the top of page 1. This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office: ethics.office@usask.ca, 306-966-2975.

Consent

By completing and submitting the questionnaire, **YOUR FREE AND INFORMED CONSENT IS IMPLIED** and indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study. Please keep this information sheet for your records.

APPENDIX K: PHASE 1 DEBRIEFING FORM**An Exploration of Canadians' Social Views**

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study. The information you have provided in this questionnaire will help us to better understand the nature of Canadians' views toward certain social groups. In particular, your responses to the questionnaire items regarding Aboriginal Canadians are of primary interest in this study.

Previous research indicates that many Aboriginal Peoples across the world are experiencing the negative effects of colonization and racism. In Canada, Aboriginal people are evidencing several social problems as a result of European colonization (e.g., poverty, substance abuse) and have been the ongoing victims of negative stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination. Despite these facts, however, researchers have devoted limited attention to studying Canadians' attitudes toward Aboriginal people. Such information is crucial to theory and measurement development and to the creation of strategies aimed at reducing racism and racial inequality. Thus, the goal of this study is to address this gap in the literature by measuring Canadians' attitudes toward Aboriginal people. Each participant's responses to the Aboriginal-related questionnaire items will be used to obtain an attitude toward Aboriginals "score." Computing these scores will allow the researcher to investigate general patterns in participants' views toward this social group.

A second goal of this study is to examine whether relationships predicted by past research are present in the data. For example, correlations have been found between certain variables and people's scores on attitude scales like those included in this study; that is, individuals who possess certain characteristics have been found to score higher on these types of scales (i.e., they tend to hold less favourable attitudes toward the social group under investigation). For this reason, you were asked questions pertaining to psychological variables such as your political orientation, as well as demographic variables such as your age and gender.

If you would like further information regarding this study or wish to view the final report, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher or supervisor using the contact information below. In addition, if responding to any of the items in this questionnaire has caused you distress and you desire further discussion, you may contact the researcher and contact information for counselling services in your area can be provided.

Student Researcher: Mel Brockman, phone: 306-291-0429, e-mail: mel.brockman@hotmail.com

Supervisor: Dr. Todd Morrison, phone: 306-966-6700, e-mail: todd.morrison@usask.ca

APPENDIX L: INTERVIEW GUIDE

For the next while I'll be asking you various questions about your views toward Aboriginal people, along with the views of some of the people in your life. I'll also be asking you about your past experiences and interactions with Aboriginal people.

1. What are your thoughts on Aboriginal people?
2. Are there things about Aboriginal people that you dislike?
 - If yes:*
 - a) Can you tell me what some of those things are?
 - b) Why do you think you feel that way?
3. Are there things about Aboriginal people that you like?
 - If yes:*
 - a) Can you tell me what some of those things are?
 - b) Why do you think you feel that way?
4. Have your views and feelings toward Aboriginal people changed over time?
 - If yes:*
 - a) How have they changed?
 - b) Why do you think your views and feelings have changed?
5. Do you know any Aboriginal people?
 - If yes:*
 - a) How many Aboriginal people do you know?
 - b) What is your relationship to each person; for example, acquaintance, friend, family member, etc.?
 - c) What do you think of [person named]?
 - d) What kinds of interactions have you had with [person named]?
 - i. Would you say that those interactions have been positive experiences, negative experiences, or somewhere in between?
 - e) What are your thoughts on [his/her] race and cultural background?
 - f) Do you view [him/her] differently than Aboriginal people in general?
 - If yes:*
 - i. In what ways?
 - g) Would you say that your experiences and interactions with [person named] have affected your views and feelings toward Aboriginal people?
 - If yes:*
 - i. How so?

c) through g) for each person named.

6. What are your parents' thoughts on Aboriginal people?
 - a) How do they express their views and feelings toward Aboriginal people to you?
 - b) How do you think their views and feelings toward Aboriginal people have influenced your own views and feelings toward Aboriginal people?
7. What are your siblings' thoughts on Aboriginal people?
 - a) How do they express their views and feelings toward Aboriginal people to you?
 - b) How do you think their views and feelings toward Aboriginal people have influenced your own views and feelings toward Aboriginal people?
8. What are your friends' thoughts on Aboriginal people?
 - a) How do they express their views and feelings toward Aboriginal people to you?
 - b) How do you think their views and feelings toward Aboriginal people have influenced your own views and feelings toward Aboriginal people?
9. Have you ever acted in what could be considered a discriminatory manner, toward an Aboriginal person; for example, a verbal insult, purposely distancing yourself from someone – any type of behaviour that could be considered anti-Aboriginal?

If yes:

 - a) Can you tell me about what happened?
10. What are your thoughts on government policies and government spending directed at Aboriginal people?
11. Do you think that Aboriginal people are facing prejudice and discrimination in today's Canadian society?
 - a) Can you tell me more about that?
12. What are your thoughts on the past treatment of Aboriginal people in Canada, such as the residential schooling system?
13. Where would you say that you get most of your information about Aboriginal people from; for example, friends, family, the media, personal observations or experiences, etc.?
 - a) Can you share some examples of the kinds of information you've seen or heard about Aboriginal people?
 - b) How do you think the information you've seen or heard about Aboriginal people has affected your views and feelings toward Aboriginal people?
14. Generally speaking, how do you think White Canadians view Aboriginal Canadians?
 - a) Alternatively, how do you think Aboriginal Canadians view White Canadians?
15. Is there anything Aboriginal people could do to change your impression of them?

If yes:

 - a) What could they do?

16. Is there anything else you'd like to say about your views or experiences relating to Aboriginal people, that we haven't discussed?

Additional Questions if Time Permits

17. In what ways do you think Aboriginal Canadians differ from White Canadians?

18. Do you think Aboriginal people pose a threat to Canadian society?

If yes:

a) Please tell me more about that.

19. Do you think Aboriginal Canadians and White Canadians are equal, unequal, or somewhere in between?

If "equal":

a) In what ways do you think Aboriginal Canadians and White Canadians are equal?

If "unequal":

a) In what ways do you think Aboriginal Canadians and White Canadians are unequal?

b) Do you think it's a problem that Aboriginal Canadians and White Canadians are unequal?

i. Why [do/don't] you think it's a problem?

If "somewhere in between":

a) Please tell me more about that.

20. How do you think you'd feel in a direct interaction with an Aboriginal person whom you've never met?

21. Can you share some examples of times when you've seen Aboriginal people in different situations; for example, in public places, at an event, in someone else's home, or anywhere else?

a) Would you say that those experiences have affected your views and feelings toward Aboriginal people?

If yes:

i. How so?

22. Do you openly express your views and feelings toward Aboriginals to the people you know?

a) What about to people you don't know?

23. Do you think your views and feelings toward Aboriginal people affect the way you view yourself?

If yes:

a) How so?

24. Do you think your views and feelings toward Aboriginal people affect the way others view you?

If yes:

a) In what ways?

APPENDIX M: PHASE 2 DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

We're just about done. I would just like to find out a little bit more about you before we finish.

1. Where did you grow up (rural or urban centre)?
2. What is your academic major?
3. What year of university are you in?
4. What is your age?

APPENDIX N: INTERVIEW FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS

E-mail Message

Dear [interviewee's name],

Last term, you completed a questionnaire that asked for your opinions on statements pertaining to certain social groups. You later participated in an interview that involved questions about your views, feelings, and experiences relating to Aboriginal people in Canada. At that time, you indicated that you would be interested in receiving a few follow-up questions in relation to this study.

The questions (see attached) are open-ended and revolve around your views toward Aboriginal people. Please be assured that, as with your interview responses, your answers to the questions will be kept strictly confidential (i.e., care will be taken to ensure that nobody will be able to link your identity to this study). It is anticipated that the questions will take you 20 minutes or more to complete.

Responding to these questions is completely voluntary. Your additional insights on this topic would be highly valuable. If you choose to respond, please type your answers into the attached Word document and e-mail it back to me.

Thank you for your consideration!

Regards,

Mel Brockman
Master's Student
Department of Psychology
University of Saskatchewan

Follow-Up Questions

For each of the questions below, please type in your response. You may use as much space as you need. When you are finished, please save the document and e-mail it back to me as an attachment.

1. What do you think it means to be prejudiced/racist toward Aboriginal people?

2. Would you consider yourself prejudiced toward Aboriginal people? Why or why not?
 - a. If you indicated that you believe you are prejudiced toward Aboriginal people, do you feel that this is a problem? Why or why not?

3. Has your participation in this study influenced your views and feelings toward Aboriginal people in any way? Please explain.

APPENDIX O: E-MAIL INVITATION FOR INTERVIEWS

Dear [prospective participant's name],

A short time ago you completed a questionnaire that asked you for your opinions on statements pertaining to certain social groups. At that time, you indicated that you would be interested in participating in an interview that would serve to explore your social views and experiences in greater detail. As such, I am pleased to invite you to participate in an interview. In order to show my appreciation for your time, I would like to offer you \$20 cash for your participation.

The interview will revolve around your thoughts, feeling, and experiences relating to Aboriginal people in Canada (i.e., First Nations, Métis, and Inuit persons). Please be assured that anything you say in this interview will be kept strictly confidential; in other words, care will be taken to ensure that nobody will be able to link your identity to the findings of this research project. The interview will take between one and two hours to complete and will form the basis of my master's thesis.

If you are interested in participating in an interview or would like more information, please contact me by replying to this e-mail. You can also call me at 306-966-4329. We can then set up a time to meet that is convenient for you.

Thank you for your consideration!

Sincerely,

Mel Brockman
Master's Student
Department of Psychology
University of Saskatchewan

APPENDIX P: INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT FOR INTERVIEWS

Face-to-face Interviews

The purpose of this interview is to gain insight into your views and experiences relating to Aboriginal people. For the purposes of this interview, when I use the term “Aboriginal,” I’m referring to the First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples of Canada. [You’ve been selected to participate in this interview because you indicated on the questionnaire you completed a while ago that you think less favourable of Aboriginal people in some ways.]⁸

In this interview, I’ll ask you questions that are intended to help me obtain a better understanding of your views toward Aboriginal people, as well as your past experiences and interactions with Aboriginals. I know that this can be a sensitive topic for some people, so you might not feel comfortable answering some of the questions. If you choose to answer the questions, I just encourage you to do so as honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers, and I highly value your input on this topic. If you feel uncomfortable at any point or don’t want to answer a question, please don’t hesitate to let me know. You can also end the interview at any time or have me stop the recorder, without any penalty. This means that you will still receive your \$20. Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary. Also, please be assured that I don’t have an agenda; my only goal is to understand your views and experiences relating to Aboriginal people.

Before we get started, I also want to let you know that your responses will be kept strictly confidential, which means that care will be taken to ensure that no one will be able to identify you in my master’s thesis or other publications and presentations. With your permission, I’ll digitally audio-record the interview. Our conversation will be stored on my laptop computer, which is password-protected; I’m the only person who knows the password to the computer. Once I transcribe and print off the interview, I’ll store it in a locked filing cabinet that will be in a separate location from your consent form so that your identity can’t be linked to the study. Please feel free to tell me about your past behaviours that have involved Aboriginal people; however, you should know that I will be obligated to report to the authorities any future intent that you express to harm either yourself or someone else.

Before we begin the interview, please read through the consent form and ask me any questions you have. You can also ask me questions at any point throughout the interview.

⁸ This was stated for the last four interviews only. This change in procedure received ethical approval from the U of S Behavioural Research Ethics Board.

Instant Messaging Interviews

The purpose of this interview is to gain insight into your views and experiences relating to Aboriginal people. For the purposes of this interview, when I use the term “Aboriginal,” I’m referring to the First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples of Canada. [You’ve been selected to participate in this interview because you indicated on the questionnaire you completed a while ago that you think less favourable of Aboriginal people in some ways.]

In this interview, I’ll ask you questions that are intended to help me obtain a better understanding of your views toward Aboriginal people, as well as your past experiences and interactions with Aboriginals. I know that this can be a sensitive topic for some people, so you might not feel comfortable answering some of the questions. If you choose to answer the questions, I just encourage you to do so as honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers, and I highly value your input on this topic. If you feel uncomfortable at any point or don’t want to answer a question, please don’t hesitate to let me know. You can also end the interview at any time, without any penalty. This means that you will still receive your \$20. Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary. Also, please be assured that I don’t have an agenda; my only goal is to understand your views and experiences relating to Aboriginal people.

Before we get started, I also want to let you know that your responses will be kept strictly confidential, which means that care will be taken to ensure that no one will be able to identify you in my master’s thesis or other publications and presentations. Our conversation will be stored on my laptop computer, which is password-protected; I’m the only person who knows the password to the computer. Once I print off the interview, I’ll store it in a locked filing cabinet that will be in a separate location from your consent form so that your identity can’t be linked to the study. Please feel free to tell me about your past behaviours that have involved Aboriginal people; however, you should know that I will be obligated to report to the authorities any future intent that you express to harm either yourself or someone else.

Before we begin the interview, please read through the consent form and ask me any questions you have. You can also ask me questions at any point throughout the interview.

APPENDIX Q: PHASE 2 CONSENT FORM

Face-to-Face Interviews



Participant Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a study entitled *An Exploration of Canadians' Social Views and Experiences*. Please read this form carefully, and feel free to ask any questions you might have about the study.

Student Researcher: Mel Brockman, M.A. Candidate, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, phone: 306-291-0429, e-mail: mel.brockman@hotmail.com.

Research Supervisor: Dr. Todd Morrison, Associate Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, phone: 306-966-6700, e-mail: todd.morrison@usask.ca.

Funding: This research project is being funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

Purpose and Objective of the Study

The purpose of this study is to gain insight into Canadians' views and experiences relating to the Aboriginal people of Canada (i.e., First Nations, Métis, and Inuit persons). The main objective of this research is to increase our knowledge regarding some of the personal and social factors that occur when people reflect on their thoughts, feelings, and experiences relating to Aboriginal people.

Procedures

This study will involve a face-to-face interview between you and the researcher. The interview will consist of various open-ended questions that are designed to explore your views and experiences relating to Aboriginal people. The interview should take approximately one to two hours to complete, and it will be digitally audio-recorded. Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role therein.

Potential Benefits

While it is likely that you will not necessarily receive any direct benefits from participating in this study, you may find it personally rewarding to be contributing information that can help to increase our understanding of Canadian's views and experiences relating to the Aboriginal people of Canada. Your insights are highly valuable to this research project.

Potential Risks

As the interview examines people's social views and experiences relating to Aboriginal people, the questions may be sensitive for some participants; therefore, you are free to answer only those questions which you feel comfortable answering, and you may request that the recorder be turned off at any time. The interview is not intended to cause you discomfort; however, should you experience any distress while answering questions, and/or if you have any question or concerns during or after the interview, you are encouraged to contact the researcher or her supervisor. As well, the debriefing form that you will receive after the interview contains contact information for counselling services, should you wish to discuss your reactions or concerns regarding this study with a professional. The debriefing form also explains the purpose and goals of the study in greater detail, and you will have the opportunity to ask any further questions you might have after reading this information. It should be noted that it is possible that someone will be able to identify you on the basis of what you have said in your interview (e.g., a memorable incident), since direct quotations from your interview will be used when reporting the findings of this study. However, every attempt will be made to protect your identity, as outlined in the *Confidentiality* section below.

Compensation

You will receive \$20 cash for participating in this study.

Confidentiality

The data from this study will be included in a master's thesis and may be published in a journal and/or presented at conferences; however, your identity will be kept confidential. That is, although the researcher will report direct quotations from the interview, you will be given a pseudonym, and identifying information (e.g., the university you attend, where you grew up) will not be included in any form of research dissemination. In addition, identifying details such as specific names or unique events will be deleted from the audio recording, and if you disclose personal information during the interview, the recorder will be stopped. Lastly, the consent forms will be stored separately from the interview transcripts, so that it will not be possible to associate your name with the set of responses.

Storage of Data

The digital audio file for your interview will be transferred to the researcher's password-protected computer; only the researcher knows the password to the computer. This digital file will be used to transcribe your interview, and your interview transcript will be saved on the researcher's computer. No identifying information will be included in the transcript. Your transcript will be printed off and stored in a locked filing cabinet in the supervisor's laboratory in the Arts Building. Your signed consent form will also be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the Arts Building, but in a separate location from your interview transcript. Only the researcher and supervisor will have access to the transcripts and consent forms. The data will be stored for a

minimum of five years following completion of the final report. After this time period, when all data and materials are no longer required, they will be destroyed beyond recovery.

Right to Withdraw

Your participation is voluntary, and you may refrain from answering any questions you wish. You may withdraw from the study for any reason, at any time, without explanation and without penalty of any sort. If you choose to withdraw from the study, you will still receive the financial compensation associated with participating in this study. Additionally, if you choose to withdraw, any data that you have provided will be deleted from the research project and destroyed, at your request. Your right to withdraw data from the study will apply until the data from all participants have been transcribed, analyzed, and included in the final report, which will occur by January 31, 2013. After this date, it is possible that some form of research distribution will have already occurred and, therefore, it may not be possible to withdraw your data. After your interview, and prior to your data being included in the final report, you will be given the opportunity to review the transcript of your interview and to add, alter, and/or delete information from the transcript as you see fit.

Follow-Up

To obtain the final report for this study, please contact the researcher using the phone number or e-mail address at the top of page 1 and an electronic version of the report will be sent to you once it is completed.

Questions or Concerns

If you have any questions or concerns in regard to this study, please feel free to contact the researcher or supervisor using the phone numbers or e-mail addresses at the top of page 1. This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office: ethics.office@usask.ca, 306-966-2975.

Consent

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the description provided.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I agree to participate in the study described above, understanding that I may withdraw this consent at any time. This signed copy will be left with the researcher, and a copy of this consent form has been given to me for my records.

Name (please print)	Signature	Date
Researcher's Signature		

Instant Messaging Interviews



Participant Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a study entitled *An Exploration of Canadians' Social Views and Experiences*. Please read this form carefully, and feel free to ask any questions you might have about the study.

Student Researcher: Mel Brockman, M.A. Candidate, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, phone: 306-291-0429, e-mail: mel.brockman@hotmail.com.

Research Supervisor: Dr. Todd Morrison, Associate Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, phone: 306-966-6700, e-mail: todd.morrison@usask.ca.

Funding: This research project is being funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

Purpose and Objective of the Study

The purpose of this study is to gain insight into Canadians' views and experiences relating to the Aboriginal people of Canada (i.e., First Nations, Métis, and Inuit persons). The main objective of this research is to increase our knowledge regarding some of the personal and social factors that occur when people reflect on their thoughts, feelings, and experiences relating to Aboriginal people.

Procedures

This study will involve a computer-based instant messaging (i.e., live chat) interview between you and the researcher. The interview will consist of various open-ended questions that are designed to explore your views and experiences relating to Aboriginal people. You will complete the interview alone in the supervisor's laboratory, using a computer. The researcher will be in the room next to you and will send you the interview questions via instant messaging. The interview

should take approximately one to two hours to complete. Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role therein.

Potential Benefits

While it is likely that you will not necessarily receive any direct benefits from participating in this study, you may find it personally rewarding to be contributing information that can help to increase our understanding of Canadian's views and experiences relating to the Aboriginal people of Canada. Your insights are highly valuable to this research project.

Potential Risks

As the interview examines people's social views and experiences relating to Aboriginal people, the questions may be sensitive for some participants; therefore, you are free to answer only those questions which you feel comfortable answering, and you may end the interview at any time. The interview is not intended to cause you discomfort; however, should you experience any distress while answering questions, and/or if you have any question or concerns during or after the interview, you are encouraged to contact the researcher or her supervisor. As well, the debriefing form that you will receive after the interview contains contact information for counselling services, should you wish to discuss your reactions or concerns regarding this study with a professional. The debriefing form also explains the purpose and goals of the study in greater detail, and you will have the opportunity to ask any further questions you might have after reading this information. It should be noted that it is possible that someone will be able to identify you on the basis of what you have said in your interview (e.g., a memorable incident), since direct quotations from your interview will be used when reporting the findings of this study. However, every attempt will be made to protect your identity, as outlined in the *Confidentiality* section below.

Compensation

You will receive \$20 cash for participating in this study.

Confidentiality

The data from this study will be included in a master's thesis and may be published in a journal and/or presented at conferences; however, your identity will be kept confidential. That is, although the researcher will report direct quotations from the interview, you will be given a pseudonym, and identifying information (e.g., the university you attend, where you grew up) will not be included in any form of research dissemination. In addition, any personal information and identifying details such as specific names or unique events will be deleted from the interview transcript. Lastly, the consent forms will be stored separately from the interview transcripts, so that it will not be possible to associate your name with the set of responses.

Storage of Data

Your responses will be copied and pasted into a Word document, which will serve as your interview transcript. No identifying information will be included in the transcript. The transcript will be saved on the researcher's password-protected computer; only the researcher knows the password to the computer. Your transcript will be printed off and stored in a locked filing cabinet in the supervisor's laboratory in the Arts Building. Your signed consent form will also be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the Arts Building, but in a separate location from your interview transcript. Only the researcher and supervisor will have access to the transcripts and consent forms. The data will be stored for a minimum of five years following completion of the final report. After this time period, when all data and materials are no longer required, they will be destroyed beyond recovery.

Right to Withdraw

Your participation is voluntary, and you may refrain from answering any questions you wish. You may withdraw from the study for any reason, at any time, without explanation and without penalty of any sort. If you choose to withdraw from the study, you will still receive the financial compensation associated with participating in this study. Additionally, if you choose to withdraw, any data that you have provided will be deleted from the research project and destroyed, at your request. Your right to withdraw data from the study will apply until the data from all participants have been transcribed, analyzed, and included in the final report, which will occur by January 31, 2013. After this date, it is possible that some form of research distribution will have already occurred and, therefore, it may not be possible to withdraw your data. After your interview, and prior to your data being included in the final report, you will be given the opportunity to review the transcript of your interview and to add, alter, and/or delete information from the transcript as you see fit.

Follow-Up

To obtain the final report for this study, please contact the researcher using the phone number or e-mail address at the top of page 1 and an electronic version of the report will be sent to you once it is completed.

Questions or Concerns

If you have any questions or concerns in regard to this study, please feel free to contact the researcher or supervisor using the phone numbers or e-mail addresses at the top of page 1. This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office: ethics.office@usask.ca, 306-966-2975.

Consent

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the description provided.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I agree to participate in the study described above, understanding that I may withdraw this consent at any time. This signed copy will be left with the researcher, and a copy of this consent form has been given to me for my records.

Name (please print)

Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

APPENDIX R: TRANSCRIPT RELEASE FORM

*Data/Transcript Release Form*

I, _____, have reviewed the complete transcript of my personal interview in this study, and I have been provided with the opportunity to add, alter, and/or delete information from the transcript as appropriate. I acknowledge that the transcript accurately reflects what I said in my personal interview with Mel Brockman. I hereby authorize the release of this transcript to Mel Brockman to be used in the manner described in the consent form. I have received a copy of this data/transcript release form for my own records.

Name (please print)

Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

APPENDIX S: CLOSING STATEMENT FOR INTERVIEWS

Face-to-face Interviews

Thank you for participating in this interview. I really appreciate that you took the time to talk with me about this topic.

The last thing I want to go over with you is the transcription of this interview, which will involve me typing out our conversation. Researchers use interview transcripts because it is usually easier to work with a paper document rather than an audio recording. Once I complete the interview transcript, it is your right as a participant to review the transcript and to make any changes to it as you see fit. However, you are not required to review the transcript if you do not want to. Are you interested in reviewing your transcript? *[If yes, ask what format they want to review the transcript in (electronic or paper) and make arrangements accordingly.]*

Also, in a few months, I may be sending a few follow-up questions to interview participants by e-mail. Would you be interested in receiving the questions? Responding to them would be completely voluntary. *[If interested, collect e-mail address.]*

Instant Messaging Interviews

Thank you for participating in this interview. I really appreciate that you took the time to talk with me about this topic.

The last thing I want to go over with you is the transcription of this interview, which will involve me copying and pasting our conversation into a Word document then printing the document off. Researchers use interview transcripts because it is usually easier to work with a hard copy. Once I complete the interview transcript, it is your right as a participant to review the transcript and to make any changes to it as you see fit. However, you are not required to review the transcript if you do not want to. Are you interested in reviewing your transcript? *[If yes, ask what format they want to review the transcript in (electronic or paper) and make arrangements accordingly.]*

Also, in a few months, I may be sending a few follow-up questions to interview participants by e-mail. Would you be interested in receiving the questions? Responding to them would be completely voluntary. *[If interested, collect e-mail address.]*

APPENDIX T: PHASE 2 DEBRIEFING FORM**An Exploration of Canadians' Social Views and Experiences**

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study. The information you have provided in this interview will help us to better understand the nature of, and underlying reasons for, Canadians' views toward the Aboriginal people of Canada.

You participated in an earlier study entitled *An Exploration of Canadians' Social Views*, in which you responded to a series of Aboriginal-related questionnaire items along with items pertaining to other social groups. The Aboriginal-related items belong to two scales: the Old-Fashioned Prejudiced Attitudes toward Aboriginals Scale (O-PATAS) and the Modern Prejudiced Attitudes toward Aboriginals Scale (M-PATAS; Morrison, Morrison, Harriman, & Jewell, 2008). On the basis of your responses to these items, you were invited to participate in this interview because you met the two selection criteria: (1) a score above the midpoint on one or both of the aforementioned scales, which is indicative of a mixture of positive and negative attitudes toward Aboriginal people; and (2) a White/Caucasian ethnic background, as reported by participants in the demographics portion of the questionnaire. Non-Aboriginal participants who did not report a White ethnicity were not invited to participate in an interview due to the historical relationship between Aboriginal and European/White Canadians. That is, White Canadians have been the main perpetrators of prejudice and discrimination toward Aboriginals and, therefore, White Canadians' views and experiences are of primary interest in this study.

Previous research indicates that many Aboriginal Peoples across the world are experiencing the negative effects of colonization and racism. In Canada, Aboriginal people are evidencing several social problems as a result of European colonization (e.g., poverty, substance abuse) and have been the ongoing victims of negative stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination. Despite these facts, however, researchers have devoted limited attention to exploring why some Canadians hold unfavourable attitudes toward Aboriginal people as well as the factors that may serve to maintain these attitudes. Such insights are crucial to theory and measurement development and to the creation of strategies aimed at reducing racism and racial inequality. Thus, the goal of this study is to explore how individuals make sense of and discuss their views toward Aboriginal Canadians.

Another goal of this study is to assess some of the dynamics surrounding White Canadian's views toward Aboriginal people, including: (1) the type of language that White Canadians use to describe their views toward Aboriginals; (2) the ways in which they verbalize their thought and feeling processes surrounding Aboriginal Canadians; (3) the personal and social factors that emerge from their reflections; and (4) the commonalities and/or unique elements that arise in

their responses when they are asked to discuss their thoughts, feelings, and experiences relating to Aboriginal people.

You may have found it distressing to learn that your questionnaire responses were indicative of a degree of negativity toward Aboriginal Canadians; however, you should know that many people possess a mixture of positive and negative attitudes toward different social groups. You may also have found it stressful to discuss your views and experiences pertaining to this particular social group, and it is possible that you found some of the topics that you discussed during the interview to be upsetting. If you do experience any emotional and/or psychological concerns as a result of this study, you are encouraged to contact the agencies listed below to help you work through your concerns.

If you would like further information regarding this study or wish to view the final report, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher or supervisor using the contact information below.

Student Researcher: Mel Brockman, phone: 306-291-0429, e-mail: mel.brockman@hotmail.com

Supervisor: Dr. Todd Morrison, phone: 306-966-6700, e-mail: todd.morrison@usask.ca

Community Resources

Student Counselling Services

University of Saskatchewan
Place Riel Student Centre, 3rd Floor of Place Riel
Phone: 306-966-4920
Website: <http://students.usask.ca/current/life/health/>

Community Adult Mental Health Services

4th Floor, 715 Queen Street
Saskatoon, SK
Phone: 306-655-8877
Website:
http://www.saskatoonhealthregion.ca/your_health/ps_mhas_adult_community_adult_mental_services.htm