INTERGROUP PLURALISTIC IGNORANCE: FEAR OF REJECTION AMONG

INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

International student enrolment is increasing worldwide. While both international and domestic students stand to benefit from greater levels of contact these groups seem to have difficulties integrating. One barrier to contact in this context may be due to intergroup pluralistic ignorance whereby both groups express interest in contact but fear rejection, while believing it is the outgroup that is disinterested. In Study 1, international students reported being more interested in domestic student friends than they felt domestic students were interested in them. Domestic students, on the other hand, perceived international students' level of interest in friendship to match their own level of interest. In response to a vignette of an intergroup scenario, there was a significant statistical interaction for both groups whereby participants perceived their own behaviour as resulting from fears of rejection while assuming that the outgroup's behaviour was more due to lack of interest. Additional analyses revealed that national identity for both groups of students was related to wanting more ingroup friends and, in the case of domestic students, stronger Canadian identity was related to wanting less international friends. Multicultural attitudes were the strongest predictor for domestic students wanting to have more international student friends. Study 2 investigated fear of rejection by showing photographs of an outgroup member paired with either another outgroup member or with an ingroup member. In one condition, the outgroup member was racially ambiguous whereas in the other condition the outgroup member had more ostensible racial features. All students expressed more interest in the outgroup person than they believed the outgroup person would have in them, and this effect was amplified when race was salient. Rejection concerns were greater when the photograph showed two outgroup members in the racially ambiguous conditions only. A number of the effects found were qualified by interactions of ethnicity and gender. For domestic students, the strongest negative predictor of rejection concerns was multicultural attitudes. Explanations for the partial replication of the findings of previous research are discussed. Overall, the results suggest that pluralistic ignorance is present in the meta-perceptions of students. Increasing multicultural engagement would be beneficial for both groups, and these interventions should be facilitated by post-secondary institutions.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1. RESEARCH OVERVIEW

The number of international students on university campuses has been increasing globally, with the number of students enrolled outside their country of origin steadily increasing. In 2015, Canada attracted about 172,000 post-secondary international students, which represented 11.9% of students nationally. This percentage is above the average share of 8.7% observed across OECD countries (OECD, 2017). Attracting and retaining these students serves not only as a financial asset for universities, but they also contribute diverse perspectives and can increase the cultural awareness of domestic students. Often, institutions of higher education recruit international students with the intention to promote cultural exchanges that can benefit both foreign and domestic students and the community at large by providing opportunities for cross-cultural interaction (Williams & Johnson, 2011). The integration of domestic and international students, however, is often difficult to facilitate. Despite the fact that international students are among the most studied groups in the cultural contact literature (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001), there is still a divide between international and domestic students in that international students struggle to make friends with members of the host culture (Canadian Bureau for International Education, 2015). Understanding what is at the heart of the gap between these two groups is important for supporting international students' sociocultural adjustment and providing domestic students the opportunity to benefit from cross-cultural interaction.

1.1 International Student Social Networks

Moving to a foreign country to study can present challenges for international students as they try to integrate with and adjust to the host culture[1] of a new country. Some commonly encountered obstacles to adjustment include the experience of acculturative stressors such as language barriers, educational difficulties, loneliness, discrimination, and practical problems associated with living in an unfamiliar setting (Smith & Khawaja, 2011). In the literature, the construct of adjustment has incorporated both a psychological dimension of well-being and satisfaction as well as a sociocultural component which refers to the ability to "fit in" and negotiate aspects of the new culture (Searle & Ward, 1990). The greater the cultural distance the higher the likelihood that an individual will encounter sociocultural problems and struggle to

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[1] The concept of culture is dynamic, not easily defined and may be described differently across the social sciences. For the purposes of this paper culture is considered to be a network of shared knowledge and meanings that is produced distributed and reproduced among a collection of interconnected individuals (Chiu & Hong, 2006).

develop necessary social skills (Furnham & Bochner, 1982). For international students in the U.S., Zimmerman (1995) went as far as to state that the most important factor in their sociocultural adjustment was the frequency of interaction with the local American students. Through contact with the host culture, international students are exposed to behaviors of members of the host culture and they begin to understand why people act, communicate, and interact the way they do, and this behaviour can be interpreted more readily (Hendrickson, Rosen, & Aune, 2011). An important pathway, then, to sociocultural adjustment is through contact and relationships with domestic students.

 1.1.1 Co-National Friendships. Although developing relationships with domestic students can facilitate and enhance sociocultural adjustment, there is evidence to suggest that international students tend to limit their social contact to those of their own ethnicity or other international students (Constantine & Sue, 2005). Cross-cultural studies demonstrate that most international students have primary bonds with co-nationals. An early, and often cited, study by Klineberg and Hull (1979) comprised over 2500 international university students living in 11 different countries. They found that, regardless of whether these students were in Japan, France or Canada, international students reported that their most regular contact was with fellow co-nationals and most (57%) indicated that their best friend was either a co-national or another international student.

 There are benefits to having co-national friendships as these relationships can provide students with an opportunity to make sense of a new culture through discussion, social interaction, and intellectual exchange in their first language with other students who are likely having similar experiences (Woolf, 2007). Moreover, co-national friendships may help with the psychological component of adjustment as these relationships provide avenues for coping by being able to relate with those in a similar situation (Kim, 2001). For instance, in a study of Asian international students in New Zealand, Ward (2001) found that the 23% of Asian students in the sample who did not have friendships with New Zealand nationals, turned to fellow Asian international students for support if they encountered difficulties with their academic life. Having co-national friendships can provide a source of emotional support and provide an opportunity to relieve the stress of culture shock (Kim, 2001).

 Co-national friendships are also beneficial for international students because they provide support for their identity with their cultural or national heritage during the process of adjusting to the new host culture (Maundeni, 2001). According to Bochner, Mcleod's and Lin's (1977) classic

functional model of friendship, international students develop three networks of relationships: a co-national network that functions to affirm cultural identity and provide psychological and emotional support, a host national network to facilitate professional and academic aspirations and a multicultural network consisting of acquaintances from various backgrounds and whose function is largely recreational. With respect to the co-national network, affiliating with others who share a salient cultural identity can create a sense of belonging and co-nationals can initially aid students' coping strategies as they are surrounded by people who share common beliefs, values and social norms who can help them make sense of their diverse setting. A healthy sociocultural adjustment reflects the individual's ability to retain his/her cultural identity at the same time as integrating into the culture of the host country. Keeping a close network of co-national friends fulfills these identity needs and these social ties can reduce uncertainty and alleviate culture shock (Rienties & Nolan, 2014).

In addition to co-nationals, international students can also find support from fellow international students no matter their origin. Being an international visitor in a new country can be sufficient to create a bond with other students new to the country. Such friendships with other international students were found to predominate in a study investigating international students' friendship networks (Bochner, Hutnik, & Furnham, 1985). These multinational friendships provide a certain sense of commonality that provides solidarity while adapting to a new environment. Further, some international students indicate that they feel embarrassed and self-conscious about their accent, therefore speaking with other newcomers is less intimidating and can still allow for language learning to occur (Hendrickson et al., 2011).

1.1.2 Host Friendships. Associating with co-nationals in a foreign culture can be productive in initially providing students an opportunity to affiliate with people who share common beliefs, values and social norms and who can help them cope with their diverse setting. Over time, however, relying on co-national friendships within a host environment may potentially reduce the likelihood of successful cross-cultural adjustment (Kim, 2001). Further, having more co-national contacts than host student contacts can be associated with higher levels of stress, reduced cultural adjustment and higher outgroup derogation (Geeraert, Demoulin, & Demes, 2014). Conversely, international students have reported that having local friends and spending more time with them, is related to greater experiences of positive mood (Furnham & Erdmann, 1995), less depression (Klineberg & Hull, 1979), and greater confidence in the host language which can lead to increased life satisfaction (Noels, Pon & Clement, 1996).

For example, Hendrickson et al. (2011) studied 84 international students' social networks at a university in Hawaii. The results showed that the international students who reported a higher ratio of host nationals in their friendship networks also reported significantly higher levels of satisfaction, contentment, and significantly lower levels of homesickness. Conversely, those with a higher ratio of co-nationals in their friendship networks reported lower satisfaction and feelings of social connectedness. Indeed, positive contact between domestic and international student appears to have beneficial effects for the psychological and educational outcomes of international students from culturally diverse backgrounds (Kashima & Loh, 2006; Ward & Masgoret, 2004).

The relationship between domestic and international students can, further, be mutually beneficial. Beyond just the adjustment of international students, domestic students also can benefit from the interchange of knowledge, ideas and worldviews with individuals from different cultures. Creating interpersonal relationships with international students can reduce levels of perceived threat as well as instill tolerance that facilitates greater cultural understanding (Cushner & Karim, 2004). Interacting with international students can inspire local students and contribute to cultural interest and awareness including a desire to travel, learn new languages, and learn about different countries (Peacock & Harrison, 2009).

1.2 The Social Divide

Despite the increasing diversity of students on university campuses, research conducted in English-speaking countries has indicated that friendships between domestic students and international students are relatively rare. This finding has been observed in the U.S. (William & Johnson, 2011), in England (Harrison & Peacock, 2010), in New Zealand (Ward, Masgoret, Newton, & Crabbe, 2005), and in Canada there is a similar divide between international and Canadian-born students. Walker (1999) found that international students had problems establishing friendships with Canadian students reportedly due to factors such as language barriers and cultural differences. A similar study a decade later found that, although international students expressed having less difficulty making Canadian friends, it was still easier for them to make friends with other international students (Canadian Bureau for International Education, 2015).

This divide between students could be attributed to the fact that students, on balance, pursue friends similar to themselves and favour friends that are culturally like for like (Centola,

González-Avella, Eguíluz, & San Miguel, 2007; Furnham & Alibhai, 1985). Nonetheless, this does not appear to generally be the case for international students as there is evidence that they desire more contact with host students (Elsey, 1990; Hayes & Lin, 1994; Kashima & Loh, 2006; Ward & Masgoret, 2004; Westwood & Barker, 1990; Zhang & Brunton, 2007). Indeed, many of these students move to a new cultural setting with the assumption that they will make friends with people from the host country. There is often a disconnect, then, between their expectations and their actual experiences when they have less interaction with domestic students than they would have anticipated (Kimmel & Volet, 2010; Pritchard & Skinner, 2002; Quintrell & Westwood, 1994; Summers & Volet, 2008; Volet & Ang, 1998; Ward & Masgoret, 2004). This incongruity between desired contact and actual contact can contribute to acculturative stress and lower students' well-being (Zheng & Berry, 1991).

Naturally, the development of an intercultural relationship requires involvement from both international and domestic students. Although increasing attention has been dedicated to researching the intergroup relations of international and domestic students, most studies focus on the perspective of the acculturating group and, thus, there is little information on the perceptions and attitudes of host students within the receiving community (Ward, 2001; Williams & Johnson, 2011). From what work has been done in the area, it appears that domestic students share consensually held beliefs and stereotypes about international students as a group, although that population consists of a considerably diverse group of individuals (Spencer-Rodgers, 2001).

There is some evidence that domestic students hold relatively favorable perceptions of international students (Spencer-Rodgers, 2001; Ward et al., 2005, Ward, 2006) and that interactions between the two groups of students are positive (Lehto, Cai, Fu, & Chen, 2014; Ward, Masgoret, & Gezentsvey, 2009). Lehto et al. (2014) found that domestic students expressed a willingness, similar to international students, to engage in more intergroup contact, although there was more in-group variability among the domestic students than among the international students. Even in light of the positive perceptions though, interactions are still rare and host students tend to be uninterested in initiating contact with their international classmates (Montgomery, 2010; Peacock & Harrison, 2009; Ward, 2006). This lack of interest could be due to language barriers, prejudices, cultural distance, or different interests (Bethel, Szabo & Ward, 2016), but what contributes to the domestic students' lack of interest in international student relationships is not well understood (Williams & Johnson, 2011).

1.3 Intergroup Misunderstandings

Often, social psychologists will investigate prejudice on the part of host member groups or explore the effects of victimization on minority groups. Research encompassing both of these groups and the dynamic relationship of minority and majority intergroup relations, however, has received very little attention. That is, very few studies have focussed on the different perspectives and realities of high- and low- status, or majority-minority groups in the same context, or in the same interaction (Demoulin, Leyens, & Dovidio, 2013). For example, in Pettigrew and Tropps's (2006) meta-analysis of over 500 papers in the area of the intergroup contact, 72% of the studies gathered responses from only majority group members. Only 8% of the reviewed studies investigated responses of majority and minority group members within the same situation. Thus, there is a need for more research into the dynamic nature of intergroup attitudes.

1.3.1 Metaperception. When individuals from different social categories interact, there are two fundamental sets of beliefs that influence intergroup relations. The first is regarding what people think of "others" and the stereotypes that guide their assessment of the group member. For example, there is a body of research suggesting that the traits of warmth and competence are two important themes that are stereotypically attributed to people based on group membership (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). These stereotypes then trigger affective reactions and influence behavior toward the members of other groups.

The second set of beliefs that plays a significant role in determining relations between members of different groups is the way that individual group members think that others "see" them. That is, when members of two social categories interact they not only form impressions of each other, but also make assumptions about what the other individual may think of him or her. These *metaperceptions* are less often taken into consideration, but certainly affect the early moments of an encounter as well as much of the ensuing interactions (Yzerbyt, Muller, & Judd, 2009). On the one hand, minority group members who feel that their group is the target of prejudice are likely to be sensitive to cues of discrimination and might interpret ambiguous behaviours as discriminatory. On the other hand, members of a dominant social group may also expect to be negatively stereotyped by the lower-status group members, and this expectation to be perceived negatively can impact the intergroup social interaction (Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy, 2000; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998).

When referring to a person's beliefs regarding the stereotype that out-group members may hold about his or her own group, Voraruer et al., (1998) applied the term *metastereotype.* They demonstrated, for example, that White Canadians hold a metastereotype regarding how they are viewed by Indigenous Canadians that comprises a host of undesirable traits, such as prejudiced, closed-minded, arrogant, selfish, unfair, and cruel. In a similar way, newcomers adjusting to an unfamiliar cultural setting may exaggerate the extent to which they are negatively perceived and accepted by the host society members. Moghaddam, Taylor, Tchoryk, Pelletier, and Shepanek (1994) measured self-perceptions as well as metaperceptions among Europeans, Haitians, Asians, Latin Americans, and Jewish immigrants in Quebec. The findings of the study indicated that there was a rift between how majority group members actually perceive minorities and how they are assumed to perceive minorities. These rifts were systematically associated with status differences between groups in that "non-visible" minorities (the Francophone Europeans) assumed they were accepted by the dominant group. Conversely, visible minority groups, such as the Haitians lacked confidence and assumed they were perceived more as outsiders and less accepted than they actually were.

It stands to reason that these metaperceptions would play an influential role in the dynamics of intergroup relations, especially in the case of misunderstandings between groups. If group members are too pessimistic about how they think they are viewed by others, then it is unlikely that these groups will interact and the mistaken beliefs will persist. Given the impact of self-fulfilling prophecies (Madon, Willard, Guyll, & Scherr, 2011), an initial assumption of how the other group thinks influences the actual intergroup interaction and may lead to a negative feedback loop.

1.3.2 Pluralistic Ignorance. In the 1920s, social psychologist Floyd Allport was first to introduce the concept of pluralistic ignorance. He conceptualized it as an illusion or a mistaken impression of how other people feel and think on various matters (Allport, 1924; Katz & Allport, 1931). From the 1970s on, renewed interest in the patterns of these false beliefs emerged in diverse areas of research such as race relations, international politics, voting preference, and bystanders' reactions to people in distress (Shamir & Shamir, 1997).

Pluralistic ignorance is a form of metaperception in that it concerns individuals making assumptions about what others think and feel. It describes the case where someone privately holds a belief, opinion, or practice, yet publicly acts differently to align with what he/she believes is the norm without considering that others might feel similarly but are also adhering to

a perceived norm. That is, although the individual may be acting in a way that is at odds with what he/she truly believes, the individual assumes that this discrepancy does not exist for everyone else. In effect, it is a case where people are *ignorant* to another's private sentiments; they think they know what the other person thinks, but in reality are mistaken (Prentice & Miller, 1996). The result of pluralistic ignorance, then, is the individual adhering to a norm or social convention that he/she does not accept, but erroneously believes that everyone *does* accept.

Pluralistic ignorance is prevalent in social life and contributes to the dynamics of social situations and social groups (see Miller & McFarland, 1991; Miller & Prentice, 1994, for reviews). For example, Latané and Darley (1970) proposed that in an emergency situation no one wants to be embarrassed by overacting and, thus, bystanders will act nonchalant to conform to an assumed norm that others around them are feeling unaffected by the situation. Consequently, each bystander engages in this similar thinking, and the seriousness of the situation is never addressed despite the fact that each individual is genuinely concerned. Another instance of pluralistic ignorance in a social situation occurs sometimes in the classroom when students hesitate to respond to encouragement to request clarification from the lecturer. An individual student assumes that since others are not raising their hands then they must genuinely comprehend the material and that individual must be alone in feeling confused. He/She does not want to speak up for fear of looking unintelligent in front of the class, meanwhile a number of other students feel similarly, but the norm set by no one seeking clarification results in the students remaining silent (Miller & McFarland, 1987).

In an interpersonal context, Vorauer and Ratner (1996) investigated the potential for relational pluralistic ignorance in the case of romantic encounters. They conducted six studies testing the hypothesis that individuals "making the first move" experience pluralistic ignorance. They, indeed, found that individuals make different attributions for their own and a potential romantic partner's failure to make the first move. When participants explained their own inaction, it was in terms of their fear of being rejected whereas they attributed a potential partner's inaction to a lack of interest in developing a relationship with them. This study was significant for exploring the phenomenon of pluralistic ignorance at a relational level and what implications this kind of misunderstanding might have on social bonding.

1.3.3 Intergroup Pluralistic Ignorance. Although the theory of pluralistic ignorance has been applied in a number of domains of social cognition and interpersonal relations, only recently has it begun to be extended to intergroup situations. The first to test the theory with

regards to intergroup contact was Shelton and Richeson's (2005) study exploring interactions between White and Black students on a college campus. They hypothesized that students would have divergent explanations to account for their own inaction in engaging in contact versus the presumed reasons for the out-group person's inaction. More specifically, they posited that in an intergroup setting, people perceive their own non-interaction as reflecting fears of social exclusion. Conversely, they would not consider such fears to be an explanation for other people's behaviour, but instead believe that the outgroup member is not interacting due to lack of interest. The authors suggested that Whites and Blacks are inferring that the identical behaviours of aloofness displayed by both the self and others reflect fundamentally different internal states.

The results of the set of studies they conducted suggested that there is indeed a gap between the way individuals perceived themselves and the way they perceived outgroup members when it comes to intergroup contact. Their first study provided evidence that White and Black students each perceived themselves and their in-group as wanting to have more intergroup contact than the outgroup. Most individuals expressed wanting to have intergroup contact and develop friendships, but it was the outgroup who did not want to have contact or be friends with them.

Once establishing that this pluralistic ignorance was present, the authors looked at the extent to which it predicts the amount of actual intergroup contact students have during their first semester in college. In a sample of White students, there was evidence that having divergent attributions for one's own failure and the failure of out-group members to initiate interracial contact influenced behavioural outcomes. The extent to which differing attributions about inaction were made for the self vs. the outgroup was predictive of the extent to which Whites reported having actually had contact with Blacks. The more participants believed fear of rejection was a better explanation for their own inaction than the outgroup targets' inaction, the more their frequency of intergroup contact declined over the semester. In fact, it was only Whites' fear of being rejected because of their race that predicted a decline in the frequency of intergroup contact during the semester. Interestingly, and contrary to the researchers' predictions, the extent to which Whites believed that lack of interest was a better explanation for Blacks' inaction rather than for their own inaction was unrelated to the change in the amount of intergroup contact.

Their final study provided evidence that intergroup pluralistic ignorance is attenuated if individuals' concerns about race-based rejection are allayed, for instance, if they learn that a

close friend feels positive about outgroup members. When White students were provided with information that their best friend enjoyed hanging out with the targeted group of Black students, the same effects of pluralistic ignorance were not observed. In other words, these students indicated that the out-group members were likely to be inhibited by fear of rejection and lack of interest just as much as they themselves were.

Overall, Shelton and Richeson (2005) demonstrated that both Whites and Blacks were, in fact, interested in having contact with each other, but were under the impression that the out-group was not interested in engaging in contact. They further identified differences in beliefs about the factors that inhibit self and outgroup members from initiating contact whereby—similar to Vorauer and Ratner's (1996) relational study—individuals believe that their own inaction stems from a fear of being rejected while outgroup's inaction reflects lack of interest. Shelton and Richeson (2005) further theorized that the inaction of an individual is perceived to reflect the feelings of a group as a whole. For example, when a White person notices that a Black person is not interacting, despite having the opportunity, the White individual may believe that Blacks, as a group, are not interested in interacting with Whites. Then, as an explanation of his or her own inaction, the White person is apt to think that he or she is avoiding Blacks because Blacks, as a group, are prone to reject Whites.

Fear of rejection, however, has not always been found to be at the heart of intergroup social detachment. Al Ramiah, Schmid, Hewstone and Floe (2015) were interested in the role that intergroup attributions and norms play in promoting, or impeding, contact in a school cafeteria in Britain. They used a framework of pluralistic ignorance to investigate White and Asian students' attributions for why they do not engage in cafeteria contact. In their three studies, they did not find strong evidence of attributional divergence between the groups and fear of rejection by the outgroup did not play an explanatory role in the way that it did in Shelton and Richeson's (2005) American university context. Typically, the groups attributed their own, as well as the outgroup's, inaction to a lack of interest in having more contact rather than fear of being rejected. The authors concluded that this contrary finding highlights the importance of replication research to fully understand the mechanisms of pluralistic ignorance. The difference they found suggests that the attributions that people make about others' actions may depend on geography and demographics. That is, college students in the U.S. will have different norms and sociocultural context than High School students in England leading to different levels of desired contact and different attributions for non-contact.

1.4 The Research Problem

There are benefits for international students having co-national friends as well as domestic student friends and both of these relationships can be an important part of the sociocultural adjustment process. One anticipation of many international students is that they will make friends with people from the local culture as part of their study abroad experience. Despite that these cross-cultural relationships can be mutually beneficial for domestic students in addition to international students, these intergroup friendships are not occurring as frequently as they potentially could. The reason for this divide could be a byproduct of misconstrued metaperceptions leading to a state of pluralistic ignorance. In other words, domestic students may be interested in cross-cultural friendships, but they see international students associating with intragroup friends and assume they are not interested in interacting with domestic students. Simultaneously, international students may desire connections with domestic students, but see domestic students associating with intragroup friends and assume that domestic students are not interested in socializing with international students. This fear of rejection could lead international students to seek out relationships primarily within their ingroup which furthers the perception that they are not seeking domestic friendships.

CHAPTER 2. STUDY 1

The objective of the first study is to examine whether the pluralistic ignorance is indeed a factor in the intergroup relations of domestic and international students. More specifically, this study will attempt to replicate Shelton and Richeson's (2005) findings by using the same theoretical framework and similar measures. Other replication attempts have had varying success when applied in a different context (Al Ramiah et al. 2015), nonetheless, the assumption underlying Study 1 is that the dynamic between Black and White university students will be similar to that of international and domestic students.

Hypothesis 1): Students will assume that they, and their ingroup, are more interested in intergroup contact than the outgroup.

Hypothesis 2): Individuals will believe that their ingroup's inaction is due to fear of rejection whereas the outgroup's inaction is due to disinterest.

There are a number of other psychological or social psychological variables that likely contribute to the group dynamics of international and domestic students. To further explore the correlates related to pluralistic ignorance, other relevant variables will be included and these relationships will be examined through several additional research questions. For instance, at an individual level, the extent to which individuals value multicultural contact as important could be related to their interest in such contact. Tropp and Bianchi (2006) reported that among majority group (White) participants, how much they valued diversity predicted interest in intergroup contact. In another example, support for multiculturalism predicted intercultural contact with a sample of mainland Chinese immigrants to Hong Kong, and this relationship was fully mediated by the greater tolerance held by dominant group members attesting to the influence of multicultural attitudes in supporting intercultural relations. Multiculturalism is often seen as offering more to the minority group, whereas it can be seen as a threat to the cultural majority group (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). Notwithstanding, past research has shown that there is general support in the general Canadian population for multiculturalism as both an idea and a practice (Berry & Kalin, 1995). In Canada, then, the prevalent norm of multiculturalism (Grant & Robertson, 2014; Verkuyten, 2006) may, thus, be a factor germane to the context of domestic students interacting with students from other countries and cultures. It is important, though, to consider the attitudes of both majority and minority members in order to better understand the

intergroup environment (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006), and thus attitudes from both groups of students will be assessed:

> Research Question 1): Are attitudes toward multiculturalism related to students' interest
> in intergroup contact?

According to Tajfel (1978), and Turner and Tajfel (1986) in their discussion of Social Identity Theory (SIT), individuals who have a stronger identification with their in-group are less likely to initiate and maintain interaction with outgroup members. For international students, SIT would predict that students who have a greater sense of cultural or national identity will be less likely to interact with members of the host society. In the case of domestic students, the same principles of SIT would normally apply whereby, the more majority group members identify with their ingroup the more they are interested in their own group, but the nature of Canadian identity complicates that assumption. A strong national identity is an important part of the self-concept of many people around the world (David & Bar-Tal, 2009) and, for Canadians, this identity includes the belief that being Canadian means being accepting of other cultures and endorsing multiculturalism (Citrin, Johnston, & Wright, 2012; Grant, 2016; Grant & Robertson, 2018). Thus, a greater Canadian identity could conceivably be related to greater expressed interested in intergroup contact.

> Research Question 2: How does the strength of students' national identity relate to
> interest in intergroup contact?

2.1 Method

2.1.1 Participants. A total of 315 students were recruited to participate in the study of which 133 were international and 182 were domestic. The research participants were sought using the psychology participant pool and by posting an advertisement on the university student portal. A little more than half of the international students (56.2%) were graduate students whereas 23.1% of domestic students were pursuing graduate degrees. In the overall sample, 68% of respondents were women and the mean age was 25.3 years. The key inclusion criterion was to be enrolled as a student, at least on a part-time basis, with no restriction on age. Domestic students were either born in Canada, or had lived in Canada most of their life and have Canadian citizenship. International students included anyone studying in Canada on a student visa. There were individuals from 34 different countries in the international sample. Most came from Asia (38.5%) and Africa (20.2%), but there was also representation from North America (13.2%),

South America (10.5%), the Middle East (9.6%), Europe (7.0%) and Oceania (1.0%). Despite the fact that the international student group consisted of a number of different nationalities, the perception that international students comprise a unique social category allows for these students to be broadly grouped together (Spencer-Rodgers, 2001).

2.1.2 Procedures. Ethical approval was obtained from the Research Ethics Board of the University of Saskatchewan and those guidelines were followed during the study. The method of data collection was an electronic survey that was created on an online survey platform. Upon following the survey link, participants were asked to review a consent form and were explained their right to confidentiality, anonymity and the ability to withdraw from the study. Although the measures for both groups of respondents were largely similar, the questions were altered to reflect the relevant ingroups and outgroups (e.g., asking domestic students' perceptions of international students and vice versa). Participants were asked to complete the measures related to the research questions and hypotheses and were also asked a series of basic demographic questions.

2.2 Measures[2]

2.2.1 Intergroup Contact. If pluralistic ignorance is a factor, then it is implicit that students are not already satisfied with the cross-cultural interactions they currently have. As a measure of satisfaction with intergroup contact, Leong and Ward (2000) had international students indicate how satisfied they were with their relationships with host nationals and co-nationals. They operationally defined a high satisfaction score as indicative of a quality or better relationship. Using their same item, contact satisfaction was assessed by asking participants to rate on a 5-point scale from 1="not at all" to 5="very" how satisfied they are with their relationships with the outgroup, with a high score indicating greater satisfaction with current intergroup relationships. To assess quality of contact, four questions drawn from Islam and Hewstone (1993) were used that assess the equality, intimacy, voluntary and cooperative nature of contact with the outgroup. These questions were measured on seven-point scale with one representing one end of the construct (e.g., superficial) and seven representing the opposite pole (e.g., intimate). This scale was found to be a reliable (Cronbach's $\propto$=.70).

2.2.2 Pluralistic ignorance. With the purpose of replicating Shelton and Richeson's (2005) Study 1A and 1B, the same questions were employed, but were modified to reflect

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[2] Items regarding pluralistic ignorance were presented first while all other measures were randomly presented.

domestic and international students as the respective ingroup and outgroup. Example questions included: "To what extent would you like to have more international student friends at the University of Saskatchewan?" and "To what extent do you think the average Canadian student at the University of Saskatchewan would like to have more international student friends"? Participants answered using a 7-point scale, where 1= "Not at all" and 7="very much". Further, "self" and "other" questions were counterbalanced across participants such that roughly half of the participants rated themselves first while the other half rated the average student first.

To assess attributions individuals use to explain situations in which intergroup contact could, but does not occur, participants were asked to imagine the following situation from Shelton and Richeson's (2005) Study 3:

> *You enter the library to pass some time before your next class. You are alone because your close friends are in a review session. As you look around for a place to sit, you notice several International/Canadian students who live near you sitting together and socializing. These students also notice you. However, neither of you explicitly makes a move to sit together.*

After presenting the vignette, participants evaluated their, and the outgroup's, attributions for inaction. For example, participants rated the statement: "How likely is it that fear of being rejected would inhibit you from sitting with these students?" using a 7-point scale, where 1= "not at all" and 7= "very much". Conversely, they were also asked "how likely is it that fear of rejection is inhibiting these students from asking you to join them?"

2.2.3 Social Identity. Of interest is the impact of social identity on how intergroup interactions are perceived. Domestic students were asked to report their strength of identification with Canada and international students were posed the same question about their identification with their home country. For each of these scales, six items adapted from a scale developed by Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade, and Williams (1986) was used. This scale has been used extensively by intergroup relations researchers and has good reliability and validity (Jackson & Smith, 1999; Grant, 2007; Grant & Nadin, 2007) and was also found reliable in the current implementation (Canadian identity Cronbach's ∝=.79, national identity Cronbach's ∝=.71).

2.2.4 Multicultural Attitudes. The Multicultural Ideology Scale (Berry & Kalin, 1995) was used to measure participants' endorsement of multicultural principles. The scale consists of 10 statements (e.g., "We should recognise that cultural and racial diversity is a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society") assessed on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). The scale was found to be reliable (Cronbach's ∝ = .80).

2.3 Results

Table 2.1 *Mean Ratings of Self and Typical Student's Interest in Having Domestic and International Student Friends*

Respondent	Domestic Student Friend		International Student Friend	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
International students (*N*=133)				
Self	5.58	1.43	5.32	1.63
Average international student	5.08	1.43	-	-
Average domestic student	-	-	3.65	1.55
Domestic Students (*N*=182)				
Self	4.76	1.52	4.62	1.57
Average domestic student	-	-	3.96	1.28
Average international student	4.85	1.52	-	-

It was hypothesized that, similar to Shelton and Richeson's (2005) findings, pluralistic ignorance would be a factor in the intergroup relations of domestic and international students. If Hypothesis 1 is correct, then participants should believe that they want more contact with outgroup members than outgroup members want with them. International students' responses supported Hypothesis 1 in that they indicated that they would like Canadian student friends more than the typical Canadian student would like to have more international student friends $t(127) = 12.04, p < .001$. As individuals, international students were also more likely to assume that their interest in having Canadian student friends was greater than the average international student $t(127) = 3.77, p < .001$. From a group perspective, international students perceived that the average international student is more interested in having Canadian student friends than the average Canadian student is interested in international student friends $t(129) = 9.58, p < .001$.

Counter to the hypothesis, Canadian students on average did not report a difference between what they felt their interest was in international students compared to international students' interest in them $t(176) = -1.74, p = .083$ (Table 2.1). Canadian students felt, however, that they would personally like more international student friends than the average Canadian

Figure 2.1. *Perspective by Explanation Interaction*
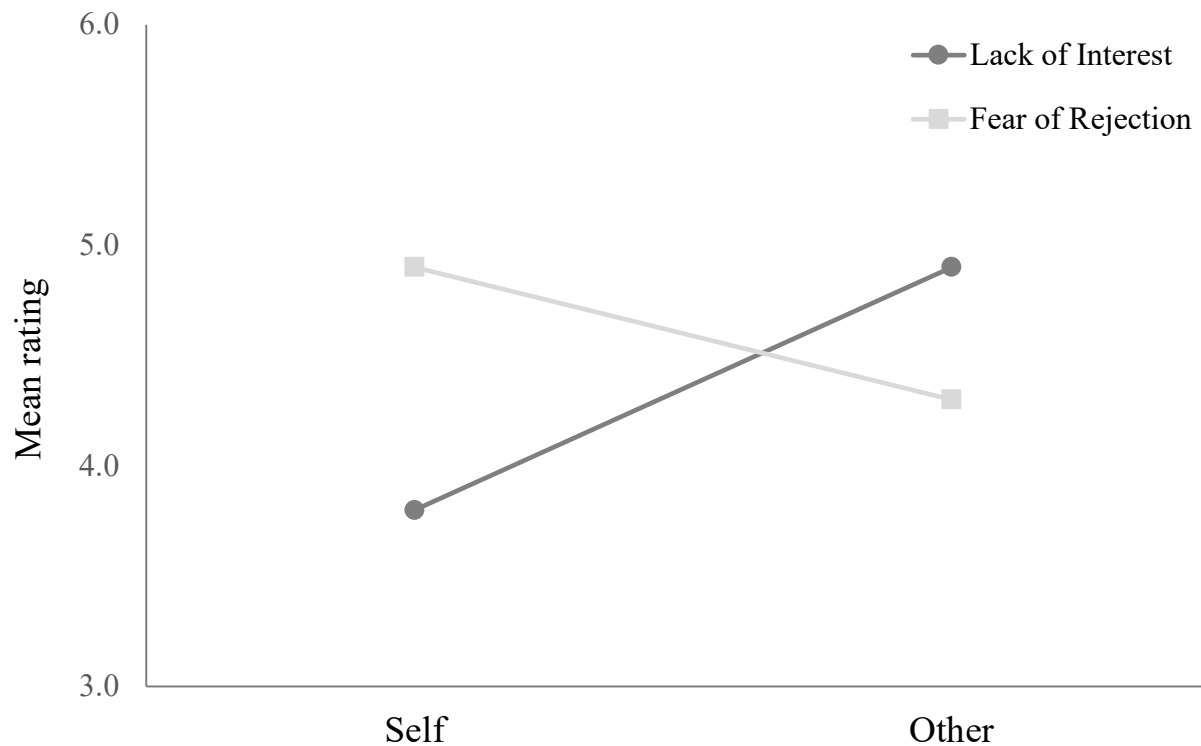
student would $t(179) = 5.97$, $p < .001$. When asked about satisfaction with the amount of contact with the outgroup, Canadian students ($M = 4.28$) were significantly more satisfied than international students ($M = 3.88$); $t(287) = -2.04$, $p = .042$. Similarly, Canadian students rated the quality of the contact ($M = 4.72$) higher than their international counterparts ($M = 4.39$); $t(282) = -2.42$, $p = .024$. When judging the average group member, Canadians perceived that the average international student was more interested in having Canadian student friends than the average Canadian student was interested in having international student friends $t(178) = 7.05$, $p < .001$.

For Hypothesis 2 the data were analyzed using a 2 (international vs. domestic) x 2 (self vs. other) x 2 (rejection vs. lack of interest) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors[3]

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[3] Three additional ANOVAs were conducted with levels accounting for student status, gender and visible minority status in order to assess the possibility of a 4-way interaction. There was no difference between graduate and undergraduate responses $F(1, 279) = .06$, $p = .807$, $\eta p^2 = .000$, neither was there a difference by visible minority status $F(1, 282) = 2.56$, $p = .111$ $\eta p^2 = .010$ nor gender $F(1, 252) = 5.06$, $p = .142$, $\eta p^2 = .009$.

There was no significant main effect based on student type $F(1, 288) = .75$, $p = .338$, ηp^2 = .003, suggesting that both international and Canadian students responded similarly in the way they rated themselves and others. There was no main effect for explanation for inaction (i.e., fear of rejection vs. lack of interest) $F(1, 288) = 2.93$, $p = .088$, $\eta p^2 = .010$, indicating that there was no significant difference between students' reporting of their own, or others', inaction as due to lack of interest compared to fear of rejection. There was, as anticipated, an interaction between perspective (self vs. other) and explanation (Figure 2.1) such that students more commonly attributed their inaction as due to fear of rejection and the other group's inaction as due to lack of interest $F(1, 288)= 91.40$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .241$. In line with the prediction of Hypothesis 2 (Table 2.2) the perspective and explanation interaction was not qualified by a three-way interaction of student type $F(1, 288) = 3.34$, $p = .069$, meaning that the interaction effect was the same for both international and Canadian students. Interestingly, though not significant, domestic students were more inclined to attribute fear of rejection to international students ($M = 4.62$) at a level similar to what they attributed fear of rejection to their own actions ($M = 4.92$).

Examining the first research question regarding multicultural attitudes and domestic students' interest in intergroup contact, correlations were conducted separately for international and Canadian students. Incidentally, there was no difference $t(300) = -.04$, $p = .971$ in multicultural attitudes between international ($M = 3.85$) and Canadian students ($M = 3.85$). International students' endorsement of multicultural attitudes was not related to wanting more Canadian student friends $r = -.077$, $p = .398$, but was positively related to their perception that the average Canadian student would like more international student friends $r = .241$, $p = .008$. Conversely, with Canadian students, multicultural attitudes were indeed linked with wanting more international student friends $r = .377$, $p < .001$.

To examine how multicultural attitudes related to wanting more international student friends, a multiple regression analysis was conducted on the domestic sample that included variables that correlated with the desire to have more international student friends (see Table 2.4). The results of the regression model were significant $R^2 = .23$, $F(3, 166) = 16.12$, $p < .001$ and it was found that Canadian identity negatively predicted the desire to have more international student friends $\beta = -.19$, $p = .008$, while wanting more domestic student friends was a positive predictor $\beta = .27$, $p < .001$. The most considerable predictor, however, was multicultural attitudes which accounted for 13.0% of the variance over and above the other variables ($\beta = .36$, $p < .001$).

Table 2.2 *Mean Ratings of Reasons for Avoiding Intergroup Contact*

Respondent	Self		Other	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
International students (N=133)				
Lack of Interest	3.92	2.07	5.01	1.91
Fear of Rejection	4.85	1.99	3.80	2.13
Domestic Students (N=182)				
Lack of Interest	3.71	1.84	4.86	1.67
Fear of Rejection	4.92	1.96	4.62	1.72

Table 2.3 *Correlates of Desiring More Intergroup Friendship[4]*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Canadian identity	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. National identity	-	-	.108	.273**	.167	.037
3. Quality of contact	.189*	-	-	.022	.065	.129
4. More international friends	-.168*	-	.085	-	.375**	.056
5. More domestic friends	.208*	-	-.082	.267**	-	-.077
6. Multicultural attitudes	-.052	-	.189*	.377**	.067	-

*p <.05   **p <.001
Correlations shown above the diagonal are for international students and those below the diagonal are for domestic students. International students were asked about national identity and domestic students were asked about Canadian identity.

Table 2.4 *Predictors of Domestic Students Desiring More International Student Friends*

Variable	B	Std. Error	β	t	sr	p
Multicultural attitudes	.94	.18	.36	5.20	.26	.000
Canadian identity	-.26	.97	-.19	-2.70	.19	.008
More domestic friends	.29	.08	.27	3.83	.36	.000

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[4] Correlation matrix includes variables related to the individual and excluded measures regarding perceptions of the "average" student.

Concerning the second research question (Table 2.3), the results showed support for the assumptions of SIT. That is, stronger national identity with the international students' country of origin was correlated with a desire to have more international student friends ($r = .273$, $p = .004$). Alternatively, a strong Canadian identity was negatively linked to wanting international student friends ($r = -.168$, $p = .028$), as well as positively related to wanting more Canadian friends ($r = .208$, $p = .004$).

2.4 Discussion

The purpose of this study was to test the theory of pluralistic ignorance as it pertains to the intergroup relations of domestic and international students. Using research methods similar to those employed by Shelton and Richeson's (2005), it was anticipated that the results in the Canadian university context would be very similar. In their study, they first established that Black and White students were both interested in more contact, but each believed the other group to be the less interested party. Despite that there is relatively little in the literature that focuses on domestic students' attitudes toward intergroup contact, there is some evidence that domestic students view international students favourably (Lehto, et al. 2014; Spencer-Rodgers, 2001; Ward, Masgoret, & Gezentsvey, 2009; Ward et al., 2005; Ward, 2006). Hence, it was assumed that, similar to the Black and White U.S. students, a parallel phenomenon would be occurring among international and domestic students whereby each group believed they were more interested in contact than the other.

According to the results, international students had greater interest in friendships with domestic students than they did friendships with fellow international students (Zhang & Brunton, 2007). Domestic students did not have any significant preferences, rating their level of interest in having more international students' friends as the same as their interest in having more domestic student friends. Additionally, domestic students perceived international students' level of interest in friendship to be on par with their own personal level of interest. Both international and domestic students indicated that they felt the average international student likely would be more interested than the average domestic student in intergroup friendship.

Overall, domestic students were significantly more satisfied with the amount of contact they currently had with international students than international students were satisfied with their level of contact with domestic students. This is noteworthy given the relative exposure to the respective outgroups; international students are surrounded by domestic students yet desire more

contact, whereas domestic students have fewer opportunities to interact with international students yet feel satisfied with the current level of contact.

These results partially reflect the findings of Shelton and Richeson (2005) in that the international students assumed that domestic students are less likely to want more international student friends. Domestic students, on the other hand, do not feel they are personally exclusionary since they do not individually express a particular preference for any group of students, but they acknowledge that the average domestic student may not be interested in more international student friends. Where the results differ is that Shelton and Richeson (2005) found both student groups felt they were unique in wanting more intergroup contact. Although the international students seem to desire more friendships with domestic students than international students, the domestic students express an equal desire for friendships with both. Further, domestic students appear to believe that most domestic students are not as interested in intergroup friendships as international students are. This differs from Shelton and Richeson (2005) who found that students felt that the average member of their ingroup was more interested in contact than the average member of the outgroup. In the context of the present study, both groups agreed that the average international student is more interested in increased contact than the average domestic student.

The second hypothesis was related to providing a theoretical social situation where pluralistic ignorance, that is, making different attributions for one's self as compared to another despite exhibiting the same behaviour, could be directly assessed. Given a hypothetical scenario where intergroup contact does not occur in a setting on campus, there was a significant statistical interaction whereby participants perceived their own behavior as resulting from fears of rejection as opposed to lack of interest, while assuming that the outgroup's behaviour is more due to lack of interest than fear of rejection (Vorauer & Ratner, 1996).This differential pattern of attribution for the behaviours of self and other reflects pluralistic ignorance and aligns with the self–other difference effect that Shelton and Richeson (2005) consistently found in their work. While domestic students tended to acknowledge that fear of rejection may be also a legitimate concern for international students, both groups of students' metaperception was that the other group was not interested in them, creating a fear of social exclusion that they thought was unique to them.

To investigate some of the potential factors that may impact the desire for intergroup contact, two other variables were included in the analysis: multicultural attitudes and national

identity. For international students, the impact of multicultural attitudes was unrelated to wanting more domestic student friends likely since multiculturalism, from a minority perspective, is more focused on protecting cultural heritage than it is promoting mingling with the host group. For Canadian students though, multicultural attitudes were strongly related to desiring more international student friends. This finding may be in part due to the multiculturalism scale that was used which had some elements of pro-activity, e.g., "we should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups", and, thus, someone in strong agreement would not just tolerate multicultural practices, but would actually seek out multicultural experiences such as befriending people from different nations. The regression analysis revealed that, in fact, multicultural attitudes were the strongest predictor for domestic students of wanting to have more international student friends.

Consistent with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) national identity also was a factor associated with whom the participants desired more friendships. The stronger international students' attachment to their country of origin, the more they were interested in having international student friends. It was not clear, however, whether they were interested in more co-national friends in particular or international students in general. Notably for internationals students, a stronger national identity did not negatively correlate with the desire to have Canadian student friends. Though a stronger attachment to one's home country may mean that students desire similar others who can relate to their experience of cultural adaptation (Kim, 2001), it does not result in a diminished desire for relationships with domestic students (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006).

Canadian identity was both linked to wanting more Canadian student friends as well as less desire to have more international student friends for the domestic students. There was reason to assume that Canada's multicultural ideology may make Canadian identity a prime to be more open to international friendships, but the data did not bear this out. Canadian identity was related to more ingroup preference and was unrelated to multicultural attitudes. This finding was more in line with Esses and colleagues (2006) who found that making Canadian identity salient led to more negative attitudes toward immigrants. More recently, Breton (2015) reported that, although priming Canadians' identity did not make them more opposed to immigration, the prime did not make them more welcoming either. Thus, despite Canada being ostensibly multicultural, Canadian identity functions according to traditional assumptions of SIT whereby a stronger

identification with the in-group is linked to less interest in and interaction with outgroup members.

Overall, there was partial support for the hypotheses and some interesting insights garnered from the research questions. The results support the fact that the attributions students make in order to explain an outgroup member's inaction diverge from the attributions they make to explain their own inaction. That is, both groups simultaneously fear rejection and assume the outgroup is disinterested in interaction. In terms of the desire to have more friendships with the outgroup, stronger identification with one's country seems to be an inhibiting factor, while multicultural attitudes were conducive to wanting intergroup friendships, albeit only for the domestic students.

CHAPTER 3. STUDY 2

While the previous study did not provide evidence that domestic students are specifically seeking more international student friends, they are nonetheless interested in these relationships. International students, conversely, are more unequivocal about seeking more Canadian student friendships. When assessing the pluralistic ignorance that may diminish intergroup interaction, it was clear that, despite that students are open to interacting, both groups attribute their own inaction to fear of rejection. Study 2 was designed to further investigate factors that may be related to the students experiencing fear of rejection and what factors may enhance or mitigate that fear.

3.1 Identity-Based Fear of Rejection

In general, people express some concerns about intergroup interaction fearing that it may be awkward, inauthentic, or that they share little in common with the outgroup individual. These concerns have been termed *social identity contingencies* and refer to the possible challenges, restrictions, and mistreatment that people believe that they may encounter within a given context as a result of their social identity (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). Certain cues in a setting, such as the diversity of a group or the number of people in a given scenario sharing the same identity, may create identity threat and the expectation that a person's treatment will be contingent on one of their social identities. Accordingly, these cues can largely determine the extent to which a person will trust and feel comfortable in a given setting (Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davis, Ditlmann, & Randall-Crosby, 2008).

Relating back to the concept of metaperception, people actively make inferences about how others will perceive them (Mallett, Wilson, & Gilbert, 2008; Vorauer et al., 1998). Social contingencies arise in intergroup situations when an individual's metaperception leads to the anticipation of an adverse interaction with someone based on the expectation that he/she will be negatively perceived because of a particular identity. Thus, intergroup contact can often be stressful or non-existent since people tend to overestimate the negativity of interactions with the outgroup, and the individual fears that the other group member's disinterest will result in him/her being rejected (Mallett, et al., 2008, Shelton & Richeson, 2005; Shapiro, Baldwin, Williams, & Trawalter, 2011). The literature on cross-race friendship, for example, shows that both White and minority individuals will avoid interracial interactions due to fear of rejection and this fear

impedes contact and intergroup relationship development (Mallett & Wilson, 2010; Plant, 2004; Plant, Butz, & Tartakovsky, 2008; Shelton & Richeson, 2005).

3.2 Social Networks

As fear of rejection by the outgroup is a factor in inhibiting intergroup interaction, it is of interest to discover if contextual cues may contribute to social identity contingencies. One such cue is the outgroup member's social network, which influences how the perceiver makes attributions about that member's motives. For instance, when an individual enters a workplace or attends a social event, he or she may scan the different social groupings and make assumptions about the probability of being socially rejected or accepted by looking at a person's friendship networks. In particular, an individual likely would infer that those associating with their ingroup (similar others) are primarily interested in the ingroup and uninterested in friendship with different others.

Researchers have recently been investigating the effect of friendship networks on intergroup metaperceptions. Looking at interracial contact on campuses, Wout, Murphy, and Steele (2010), demonstrated that the outgroup's racial network of friends moderated the expectations in interracial interactions. That is, for Black participants, anticipating an interaction with a White partner who had diverse friends increased positive metaperceptions, which in turn, decreased the expectations of being rejected. Shapiro et al. (2011) pursued a similar course of research but looked at Whites perceptions of Blacks in the context of having same-race or cross-race friends. They showed White participants a photograph of a Black man with either a Black friend or a White friend and asked how interested they would be in becoming friends with the person in the photograph, and how interested they thought that person would be in becoming friends with them. They found that White participants were more inclined to reject a Black person as well as more likely to anticipate rejection from this Black person when he was featured with a Black, compared to a White, friend. The White participants made the assumption that the Black person with a Black friend would have little interest in a friendship with a White person and reject the White participant. Further, White students' interest in the Black student was mediated by rejection concerns; if they feared rejection then they were not interested in making contact with the Black student.

Regarding domestic and international students, the lack of integration of the two groups results in somewhat homogenous friendship networks (Dunne, 2008; Constantine & Sue, 2005).

If a domestic student perceives that international students only socialize or affiliate with other international students, meanwhile international students feel the same way about domestic students, then one might assume that friendship networks are based on ingroup preference. Evidence of *homophily*, or the preference for people similar to oneself, has emerged in some research on host and international student interaction ranging from students' friendship networks, to their seating positions in lectures, to their work groups for academic projects (Dunne, 2008). What Study 1 suggests, however, is that fear of rejection, as opposed to ingroup preference, may be an alternate explanation for lack of intergroup interaction. In the Study 1 vignette, participants imagined a scenario where they consider interacting with a group of people that were outgroup members, and it is possible that the context of a homogenous group exacerbated the fear of rejection as the person may infer the likelihood of being accepted based on the presumed social networks of the outgroup members.

3.3 Multiculturalism

The results of Study 1 suggested that stronger multicultural attitudes are related to Canadian students desiring more contact with international students, yet these students still succumbed to applying differing attributions for similar behaviours as predicted by the phenomenon of pluralistic ignorance. It is, thus, possible that multicultural attitudes may be related to the extent to which domestic students assume they will be rejected by the outgroup. Shelton and Richeson (2005) speculated that, when engaging in intergroup contact, Whites are concerned about being rejected by Blacks because of the metaperception that Whites are racist, which results in fear of being rejected if they were to initiate interracial contact (Monteith, Sherman, & Devine, 1998; Shelton, Richeson, & Vorauer 2006). This reaction, however, is different among high-prejudice vs low-prejudice individuals. Low-prejudice individuals are interested in intergroup friendships and are concerned about what the other group members think and feel. Those with higher-prejudice attitudes are not interested in the other group and assume that the other group is as equally indifferent as them (Shelton, Richeson & Bergsieker, 2009). For lower-prejudiced Whites who are cognizant of the potential for interracial misunderstandings, the fear of rejection is greater than the interest in having contact with a person from another race. That is, although the individual holds beliefs different than the metastereotype of the "racist White", that person will still be concerned that the minority-race person would assimilate them into the category of prejudiced based on being White. As a result,

the White person then believes that the minority person would not be interested in forming a relationship with a stereotypically prejudiced White (Shelton et al., 2009). Consequently, this consternation of low-prejudiced people regarding how one will be perceived can hinder social interaction to such an extent that higher-prejudiced Whites have actually been found to give a more favourable impression to Blacks than their lower-prejudice counterparts (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore & Trawalter, 2005).

In the context of domestic students, those with favourable multicultural attitudes are concerned about promoting support for cultural diversity and equity, which makes them more sensitive to the perceptions of international students. It is plausible then that they would be more concerned with metaperceptions and more likely to look for cues on how to appropriately approach an intergroup situation. This same social awareness likely contributes to pluralistic ignorance whereby domestic students with stronger multicultural attitudes are interested in intergroup contact, but are more sensitive to concerns about being rejected than those with lower multicultural attitudes (Shelton et al., 2009).

3.4 Hypotheses

Using similar methods to Shapiro et al. (2011), the current study will examine both international and domestic students' perceptions as well as metaperceptions when assessing a photograph of an outgroup member. In addition, the role of multicultural attitudes as they relate to fear of rejection will be investigated. The experimental manipulation involves either presenting the outgroup member's photograph with a photograph of another member of the outgroup or a member of the participant's ingroup. Unlike Shapiro and colleagues (2011), both majority and minority group members will make assessments, two genders will be included, behavioural intentions will be measured, and there will be a condition where the social cues will be based on student group membership (i.e., racially ambiguous) instead of race. It is expected that, similar to the previous study, pluralistic ignorance will be present whereby students will assume that the outgroup is less interested in them than they are interested in the outgroup. The aim of this study, however, is to examine some of the factors that contribute to the fear of being rejected and that impede intergroup contact. Thus, the following hypotheses are proposed in this investigation:

1) Students will be more likely to have rejection concerns when a photograph of an outgroup student is presented with a photograph of another outgroup member.

2) Students will be less likely to be interested in and have weaker intentions to interact with a target outgroup member when a photograph of that outgroup member is presented with a photograph of another outgroup member.

3) Rejection concerns will be greater in the racialized condition than the ambiguous condition.

4) Domestic students with greater multicultural attitudes will have greater rejection concerns than those with less endorsement of multicultural attitudes.

3.5 Method

Participants were recruited through several sources. The psychology participant pool was used as well as advertising the study on the university student portal. These methods were quite successful when gathering domestic student responses, but it was more difficult to find an international student sample. As a result, a number of international students were recruited by an additional recruitment tactic where students were offered five dollars to complete the study. In selecting participants, the primary criterion for inclusion was that the individual was currently enrolled as a student, with no other particular exclusion criteria. To be considered a domestic student, the individual would either be born in Canada, or have lived in Canada for a significant enough amount of time to hold Canadian citizenship while international students were considered to be those on a student visa.

3.5.1 Participants. A total of 224 students took part in the study of whom 101 were domestic women, 45 were international women, 41 were domestic men and 37 were international men. The mean age of participants was 23 years old and the majority of students (61%) were studying at the undergraduate level. The majority of international students identified as a visible minority (57.7%) whereas domestic students were far less likely to identify as a visible minority (33.3%). Most international were from Asia (50.0%), Africa (11.0%), and Europe (11.0%), but there were also participants from South America (9.8%), the Middle East (9.8%) and North America (2.4%).

3.5.2 Procedures. Before the study was conducted, ethical approval was again obtained from the Research Ethics Board of the University of Saskatchewan. An experimental survey method was employed using an online platform. Participants were told that the purpose of the study was to see how people rate the friendliness of others based on a photograph. The participants first indicated whether they were a domestic student or an international student and

also indicated the gender with which they identify. These screening questions were used to branch participants to photographs from the same gender and from the corresponding student outgroup. After being directed to a condition, participants were presented two side-by-side photographs that were described as being pictures of two friends. The photographs featured either a small Canadian flag or a foreign flag in the corner to further indicate group affiliation. The foreign flag used was fake as to not signal a connection to any particular nation. In every condition, an outgroup person was presented on the left, but what was manipulated was the person included on the right. The stimuli were randomly administered whereby some participants received two people both from the outgroup, while others received an intergroup pair. Participants were always asked to respond to questions about the person featured on the left. Two different sets of photographs were shown: one set of racially ambiguous individuals, and a second set more suggestive of individuals of a specific race physically[5]. For the first set of photographs, the racially ambiguous photographs were randomized such that each photograph was randomly presented as either a domestic student or an international student in order to see if group affiliation is the distinguishing factor and not perceived ethnicity. In the racialized condition, however, the photographs were purposefully of people representing different racial backgrounds. For each of the photograph sets, participants were asked to rate their interest in the target, rate how interested the target would be in them and rate several examples of behavioural intentions toward the target. Subsequent to answering these questions, participants completed a measure on multicultural attitudes and a social desirability scale.

3.6 Materials

The faces selected for the experiment were created using a database for face perception studies (http://faceresearch.org). In order for the experiment to be based on student and not racial group membership, composite faces were created that are an aggregate of different races in attempt to have racially ambiguous stimuli (Fig. 3.1). In addition, a second set of faces was used with the explicit goal to represent racialized individuals (Fig. 3.2). In the ambiguous condition, the photographs were alternated in a way that each photo was presented as an international

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[5]As 'race' is not a natural category but rather represents categories that are socially constructed, the term "racialized" focuses upon the social processes through which categories are constructed (Hopkins, Reicher, & Levine, 1997). That is, these photographs featured stereotypical race markers with the assumption that participants would racialize the stimuli.

Figure 3.1 *Ambiguous Stimuli*

Figure 3.2 *Racialized Stimuli*
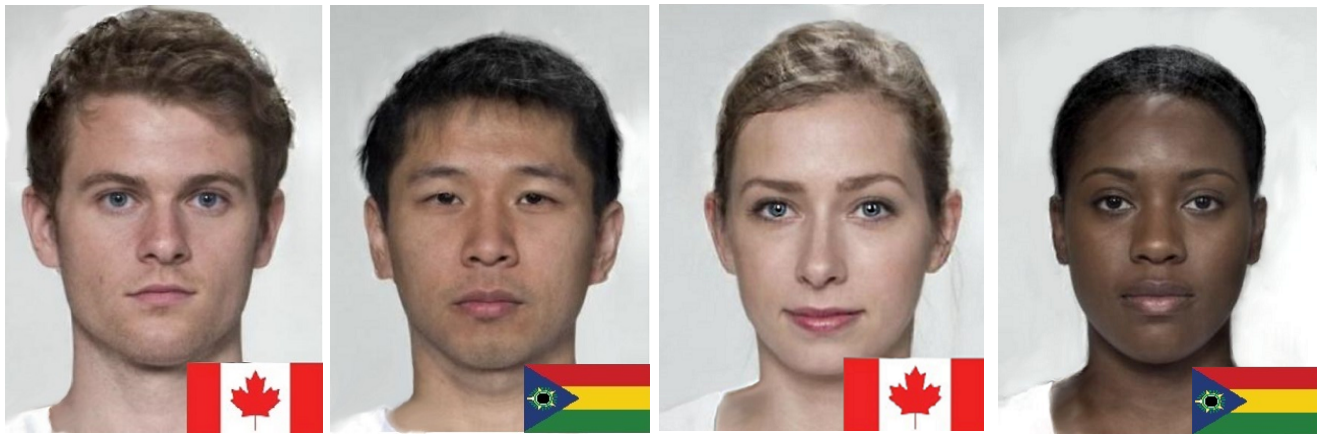
student in some instances and a domestic student in others thereby minimizing any biases due to facial expression or attractiveness. This same alternation could not be done for the race condition, thus, a total of eight photos were used randomly to reduce biases. The pairing of the outgroup member with either an ingroup member or outgroup member was randomized between the ambiguous and race conditions.

3.7 Measures

  3.7.1 Rejection/Interest/Behavioural Intentions. To assess rejection concerns and interest, the same scales used by Shapiro et al. (2011) were included. Participants responded to three items intended to measure how interested the individual would be in them (e.g., "To what extent do you think this person would want to become friends with you?") that were reverse coded in the analysis stage to represent rejection concerns. The three items were then asked regarding participants interest in the target (e.g., "To what extent do you think you would want to

become friends with this person?"). In addition to the existing scales, an additional three items were included regarding behaviour toward the target (e.g., "How likely would you sit next to this person on the bus?"). All items were measured using a seven-point using a scale of 1 (Not at all) to 7 (A great deal).

3.7.2 Multiculturalism. As was used in study 1, multicultural attitudes were assessed using the Multicultural Ideology Scale (Berry & Kalin, 1995). Again, the implementation of the scale was found to be reliable (Cronbach's $\propto$=.79).

3.7.3 Social Desirability. To control for socially desirable responses, the Marlowe-Crowne (M-C) Short Form scale was included. This scale is a 13-item short form of the original M-C scale, which is used to assess socially desirable responding (Reynolds, 1982). The shortened version of this scale has been previously found to have adequate reliability and validity (Loo & Thorpe, 2000) and was reliable in this study (Cronbach's $\propto$=.89). Higher scores on this measure indicate a greater tendency to respond in a socially desirable manner and can be used as a covariate in analyses to determine whether response patterns might be due to social desirability.

3.8 Results

Study 2 was designed to further investigate fear of rejection as a factor that inhibits intergroup interaction. The underlying assumption is that fear of rejection largely stems from metaperceptions concerning the outgroup that are influenced by pluralistic ignorance. In the case of presenting photographs of outgroup members, pluralistic ignorance would be present if both groups express being more interested in the outgroup than they perceive the outgroup is in them. Before creating the rejection concerns scale by reverse-coding the items that captured participants' assessments of how interested they believe the outgroup member is in them, these items were used as a measure of metaperception of the outgroup's interest levels. Paired sample t-tests revealed that domestic students were more interested in the international student ($M =$ 4.91) than they thought the international student would be interested in them ($M =$ 4.39) $t(106) =$ -4.65, $p < .001$. The same pattern was found for international students such that they were more interested in the domestic students ($M =$ 4.72) than they believed the domestic students would be interested in them ($M =$ 4.26) $t(34) =$ -2.58, $p = .015$.

Methods similar to that of Shapiro et al. (2011) were employed, in order to examine the rejection concerns of international and domestic students when presented with the photograph of

Table 3.1 *Students' Mean Ratings of Ambiguous Target Photograph*

Respondent	Picture with Ingroup Member		Picture with Outgroup Member	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
International students (*N*=82)				
Rejection concerns	3.64	1.32	3.82	1.31
Interest	4.61	1.13	4.65	1.43
Behavioural intentions	4.85	1.25	4.90	1.25
Domestic Students (*N*=138)				
Rejection concerns	3.65	1.21	5.00	1.41
Interest	4.99	1.14	4.33	0.47
Behavioural intentions	4.99	1.21	4.12	0.24

an ostensible outgroup member. The first set of stimuli comprised a photograph of a racially ambiguous outgroup member with another racially ambiguous target that was presented as either an ingroup or outgroup member. It was theorized in hypotheses 1 and 2 that the rejection concerns, interest level and behavioural intentions of participants would differ depending on whether they viewed the outgroup member with another outgroup member or with an ingroup member. Mean scores for these measures can be found in Table 3.1. A three-way ANOVA was conducted in order to look at the influence of gender, student status (international vs. domestic) and the photograph presented with the target person (ingroup member vs. outgroup member) on individuals' rejection concerns (Table B.1 in Appendix B). There was a main effect of gender $F(1,213) = 15.70, p < .001, \eta p^2 = .069$) whereby men ($M = 4.13$) had greater rejection concerns than women ($M = 3.83$). The analysis also yielded an effect of student status $F(1,213) = 4.17, p = .042, \eta p^2 = .019$ where it was found that domestic students ($M = 4.22$) reported higher rejection concerns than international students ($M = 3.76$). Lastly, in support of Hypothesis 1, there was a main effect of presentation $F(1,213) = 4.40, p = .037, \eta p^2 = .020$ such that rejection concerns were higher when the target was pictured with an outgroup member ($M = 4.24$) as compared to an ingroup member ($M = 3.75$).

In contrast, there was no support found for Hypothesis 2 when a similar analysis was conducted using interest and behavioural intentions as dependent variables. For interest, the only

Table 3.2 *Correlates of Key Variables in Study 2*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Rejection Concerns	-	-.563**	-.593**	.757**	-.585**	-.547**	-.345**
2. Interest	-.686**	-	.767**	-.366**	.694**	.630**	.312**
3. Behavioural Intentions	-.716**	.791**	-	-.459**	.653**	.747**	.393**
4. Rejection Concerns (Race)	.242*	-.143	-.080	-	-.693**	-.633**	-.407**
5. Interest (Race)	-.086	.163	.060	-.772**	-	.822**	.386**
6. Behavioural Intentions (Race)	-.102	.135	.147	-.748**	.838**	-	.431**
7. Multicultural Attitudes	.057	.122	.143	.941	.992	.748	-

Correlations shown above the diagonal are for international students and those below the diagonal are for domestic students.
*** Significant at the < .001 level*

Table 3.3 *Students' Mean Ratings of Racialized Target Photograph*

Respondent	Picture with Ingroup Member		Picture with Outgroup Member	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
International students (*N*=81)				
Rejection concerns	3.82	1.50	3.78	1.49
Interest	4.53	1.44	4.60	1.47
Behavioural intentions	4.79	1.35	4.98	1.38
Domestic Students (*N*=138)				
Rejection concerns	3.84	1.35	3.79	1.31
Interest	4.74	1.38	4.65	1.14
Behavioural intentions	4.93	1.20	4.72	1.13

significant main effect was that of gender $F(1,214) = 27.16$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .113$ where women ($M = 4.91$) expressed greater interest in interacting with the stimulus person than men ($M = 4.20$). Similarly, there was an effect for gender in the case of behavioural intentions $F(1,214) = 33.37$, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .135$ such that women ($M = 5.02$) reported stronger intentions to interact with the stimulus person than men ($M=4.27$).

Parallel analyses for Hypotheses 1 and 2 were conducted for the racialized condition, but the results differed from the ambiguous condition (Table 3.3). For rejection concerns, there were no significant main effects, but there was a student status by gender interaction $F(1,204) = 12.48$, $p = .001$, $\eta p^2 = .058$ showing that international women and domestic men expressed more rejection concerns. Similarly, there was also student status by gender interaction $F(1,205) = 20.16$, $p < .001$ $\eta p^2 = .090$ with international women and domestic men expressing less interest in the stimulus person from the outgroup than their counterparts. The finding that those who had the most rejection concerns also expressed the least interest aligns with Shapiro et al. (2011) who suggested that rejection concerns mediates interest levels and these variables were significantly and strongly negatively correlated for both samples (see Table 3.2). Further, this finding held equally true for behavioural intentions, where there was a gender by student status interaction effect $F(1,204) = 16.61$, $p < .001$ $\eta p^2 = .075$. The only significant simple effect, however, was the difference between domestic student men ($M = 4.07$) and international student men ($M = 5.13$), as domestic men reported weaker intentions to interact with the outgroup target person.

To address Hypothesis 3, a three-way repeated measures ANOVA (student status, gender, ethnicity) was used to test participants' rejection concerns when presented with an individual from a particular race as compared to when presented with a racially ambiguous individual. As predicted, there was a within-subjects effect of rejection concerns $F(1,194) = 5.33$, $p = .022$, $\eta p^2 = .027$ showing that rejection concerns were greater in the racialized condition ($M = 3.93$) than the ambiguous condition ($M = 3.63$). There was an unexpected interaction with ethnicity $F(1,194) = 5.44$, $p = .021$, $\eta p^2 = .027$ with Whites having greater rejection concerns in the racialized condition ($p = .010$) while there was no significant change between conditions 1 and 2 for non-Whites ($p = .531$). There was also an interaction with gender $F(1,194) = 3.89$, $p = .050$, $\eta p^2 = .020$ suggesting that women had greater rejection concerns in the racialized as compared to the ambiguous condition ($p < .001$). Men, in both conditions, had higher rejection concerns than women, but the difference between the racialized and the ambiguous conditions was not significant ($p = .531$) (See Table B.2 in Appendix B).

Table 3.4 *Predictors of Rejection Concerns among Domestic Students*

Variable	Correlation with DV	β	R^2_{change} F	R^2 F
Step 1				
Age	-.09	-.11	12.1%	12.1%
Gender	.31**	.25	$F(3,117)=5.35*$	$F(3,117)=5.35*$
Social Desirability	.12	.06		
Step 2				
Multicultural Attitudes	-.35**	-.28	7.5%	19.5%
			$F(1,116)=10.79**$	$F(4,116)=7.05**$

*p <.05   **p <.001

To test Hypothesis 4 regarding domestic students' multicultural attitudes, a correlation analysis was employed and a significant relationship between multicultural attitudes and rejection concerns was found $r(129) = -.35, p < .001$ (See Table 3.2). The direction, however, was different than predicted; greater multicultural attitudes were related to *fewer* rejection concerns for domestic students and this relationship held true in the racialized condition as well $r(129) = -.41, p < .001$.

To further examine the influence of multicultural attitudes on the rejection concerns of domestic students in the ambiguous outgroup stimulus person condition[6], a two-stage hierarchical regression was conducted with rejection concerns as the dependent variable. Social desirability, age, and gender were entered at step one of the regression as controls. The variable for multicultural attitudes was then entered at step two. The regression revealed that at step one, the control variables contributed significantly to the model, $F(3,117) = 5.35, p = .002$ and accounted for 12.1% of the variance in rejection concerns (Table 3.4) while gender was the only significant predictor among the control variables $t = 3.61, p < .000$. Adding multicultural attitudes at the next step, the model was significant $F(4,116) = 7.04, p < .001$, as was the R^2 change $F(1,116) = 10.79, p = .001$. When all four independent variables were included in the

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[6] A regression analysis was also conducted for rejection concerns in the racialized condition which produced similar results (See Table C.1 Appendix C).

regression model, gender was again significant ($t = 2.93$, $p = .004$) and explained 6% of the variance while multicultural attitudes were also significant $t = -3.29$, $p = .001$ and explained 7.5% of the variation in rejection concerns over and above the other independent variables..

3.9 Discussion

Because the results of Study 1 indicate that students attribute their lack of interaction with the outgroup as being due to fear of rejection, Study 2 was conducted to examine factors which might contribute to this fear. Overall, both international and domestic students were interested in interacting with an outgroup member regardless of the photograph pairing they were presented, suggesting that there is fertile ground for intergroup contact. Attesting to the influence of pluralistic ignorance, however, all students felt that they were more interested in the outgroup person than they believed the outgroup person would be in them (Shelton & Richeson, 2005).

3.9.1 Findings in the Racially Ambiguous Conditions. Beyond assessments of a single outgroup member, a particular focus was students' perceptions and metaperceptions of an outgroup member based on whether that person was presented with a fellow outgroup member or with an ingroup member. Social identity contingencies, that is, the difficulties that a person may expect to encounter based on their social identity (Steele et al., 2002), were expected to influence the extent to which students would fear rejection. Specifically, it was presumed that the person with whom an individual was associated would give cues as to whether an individual is open to outgroup friendships or if she/he is mostly interested in associating with her/his ingroup. When shown a photograph of a racially ambiguous outgroup member, participants' rejection concerns were indeed greater when the photographs were of two outgroup members rather than of an outgroup member and an ingroup member. This finding aligns with Shapiro et al. (2011), in that participants assumed that friendships with others who are similar on one dimension, such as student status, suggests a lack of interest in friends who are different on that dimension.

Unexpectedly, domestic students showed greater rejection concerns than international students. It is unclear why this difference was found, although the discrepancy may be related to the nature of racially ambiguous stimuli. The majority of domestic students were White and, although the targets were not supposed to evoke a particular race, perceived race may have been a factor in the outgroup perception. Smith, Richard, and Wout (2019) observed that in the categorization of biracial individuals, people revert to the theory of *hypodescent* whereby the biracial person is assigned the status of their socially subordinate group. That is, if an individual

has both black and white ancestry, that person will be socially categorized as black, and these judgments are true of both Blacks and Whites. Accordingly, White domestic students that were presented photographs of both an international and a domestic student may still perceive them both as outgroup members given the tendency to categorize racially mixed individuals into a lower status category. Thus, it is possible that rejection concerns were higher for domestic students as they might have still categorized a fellow domestic student into a racial outgroup instead of an ingroup according to student status.

Another possible reason could be that selection effects had an influence. It might be that international students who have chosen to study abroad are more adventurous than those who did not consider leaving their country to pursue their studies. The fact that they have put themselves in an unfamiliar context may be indicative that these students feel less anxious, less insecure, less vulnerable and, thus, less sensitive to rejection by others in general (Brookings, Zembar, & Hochstetler, 2003).

In terms of interest and behavioural intentions, the manipulation of the group membership of the person featured to the right of the outgroup member did not have a significant effect. Rather, it was gender that was a key determinant of interest and behaviour toward the outgroup member. Women were both more likely to be interested in an outgroup member as well as have stronger behavioural intentions toward interacting with that person. With respect to interest in cross-group contact, women have been found to have more positive race-related attitudes and a higher likelihood of positive engagement in an interracial interaction with minorities than do men (Toosi, Babbitt, Ambady & Sommers, 2012). It could be, therefore, that women and men differ both in their interpersonal judgements of outgroup members, as well as how they anticipate they will be perceived, with women more likely to assume they will be accepted by the outgroup. Alternatively, it is also possible that women students are generally more open to cross-cultural interaction as there is some evidence that women have more international student friends than men (Williams & Johnson 2011).

3.9.2 Findings in the Racialized Conditions. The pattern of findings from Hypothesis 1 and 2 differed, however, when the hypothetical ingroup and outgroup members were clearly from a particular racial group. In this condition, gender interacted with student status such that international women and domestic men showed significantly greater rejection concerns. For domestic men, a conceivable explanation may be that they believe that a racialized person would be less interested in them due the metastereotype that White men, in particular, are racist

(Shelton & Richeson, 2005; Toosi et al., 2012). Indeed, the belief that one will be perceived as racist has been shown to contribute to intergroup anxiety (Plant & Devine, 2003). In the face of this type of intergroup anxiety among Whites, previous research has demonstrated divergent outcomes by gender wherein White women responded by acting friendlier toward an other-race partner, while White men, in contrast, acted less friendly (Littleford, Wright, & Sayoc-Parial, 2005). Given the evidence that White men and women react differently, it is possible that domestic men's metaperception of being seen as racist could have led them to believe, more so than women, that a racialized outgroup member would reject them.

Inversely, it was also found that international women assumed that the racialized outgroup member would not be interested in them. Although White women are seen to be more friendly than White men (Timberlake & Estes, 2007), there are reasons why international women may feel more prone to rejection than international men. While many international students feel excluded, being a woman further compounds the issue, as women international students have been found to have more difficulty than men in adjusting to the host cultures (Le, LaCost, & Wismer, 2016). Moreover, it has been found that some international student women have lower self-efficacy than men, resulting in women from certain cultures perhaps being more easily discouraged due to their lack of self-confidence (Manese, 1988; Scholz, Doña, Sud, & Schwarzer, 2002). A lack of confidence in the ability to successfully engage in intergroup interactions could have, thus, contributed to these students' assumption that the outgroup would be less interested in them.

The results from Study 2 (Table 3.2) as well as Shapiro et al., (2011) demonstrate that rejection concerns relate directly to having less interest in the outgroup. Similarly, domestic men and international women had higher rejection concerns and also reported having less interest in the hypothetical outgroup member. When it came to behavioural intentions, however, only domestic men reported having weaker behavioural intentions toward interacting with the outgroup member. Although in the ambiguous condition men overall had weaker behavioural intentions, the addition of the race component resulted in domestic men specifically having weaker behavioural intentions. This finding could suggest that fear of rejection and lack of interest would also relate to behaviours, but this pattern was not found among the international women. Thus, the difference found specifically among domestic men may be also a result of the difficulty and apprehension many White men encounter when faced with interracial interaction (Toosi et al., 2012).

The impact of gender and ethnicity were further evident in evaluating Hypothesis 3 with regards to the within-subjects effects. Indeed, there was an overall effect whereby all students had greater rejection concerns in the racialized condition, but this effect was qualified by ethnicity and by gender. Specifically, White students and women students had greater rejection concerns in the racialized as compared to the ambiguous condition. White individuals report more anxiety and discomfort when interacting with other-race partners often due to concerns about being perceived as racist by members of other groups (Monteith et al., 1998; Shelton, Richeson, & Vorauer 2006). It stands to reason, thus, that Whites had significantly greater rejection concerns when evaluating the photograph of a racialized person than a racially ambiguous person.

Given the fact that the other gender effects were based on differences among men, it is slightly surprising that women showed differences in rejection concerns over the two conditions. Although unexpected, it was not completely unprecedented. Whereas women report being more personally motivated to avoid prejudice, there is some evidence that women are more anxious in interracial group interactions than in racially homogenous groups (Toosi et al. 2012). If women are sensitive to issues of race in interpersonal situations, then it is understandable that they would have more trepidation and uncertainty about how they are being perceived in the explicitly racialized, as opposed to the ambiguous, condition.

Although it was hypothesized that multicultural attitudes would be a factor in assessing an outgroup member, the directionality of the results was opposite to what was expected. Instead of heightening anxiety and fear of rejection, multicultural attitudes were related to having fewer rejection concerns. In effect, multicultural attitudes emerged as the strongest predictor of having fewer rejection concerns. It was originally assumed that students who held a multicultural ideology would be interested in international students, but fear that international students were not interested in them. What was observed, however, was that having multicultural beliefs indeed related to domestic students being interested in the international student, but also related to domestic students assuming that the international student would be interested in them. This finding could be due to the fact that students with strongly positive multicultural attitudes have intercultural experience and may already have plenty of experience with international students (Martin, 2014). Such multicultural experience would mitigate the amount of intergroup anxiety and reduce the metaperception that international students would not be interested in them (Williams & Johnson, 2011). Although having low-prejudice attitudes might create some

intergroup anxiety regarding metaperceptions, there is also a pathway for multicultural ideology to result in decreased perceptions of threat and more positive attitudes toward group contact (Ward & Masgoret, 2006).

Multicultural attitudes may contribute to one believing that she/he will not be grouped together in a negative stereotype about domestic students being prejudiced. For example, the influence of metastereotypes apply for both lower- and higher-prejudice people in anticipated and actual interracial interactions, but there is some evidence lower-prejudiced Whites are more likely to believe that the metastereotypes will not be applied to them (Vorauer, 2003; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001). In an intergroup interaction, those with multicultural attitudes may think about how they are different from the stereotypical person in their open-minded attitudes, which leads them to the belief that an outgroup person would be interested in them. This type of scenario seems reasonable in a setting where there is an actual interaction and the person has a chance to show how he or she is different than the stereotype (Shelton et al., 2009), but it is a little more surprising that the current findings revealed a connection between fewer rejection concerns and multicultural attitudes when assessing a photograph alone.

Overall, the impact of the person presented with the outgroup member only had an effect in the racially ambiguous conditions and only with regard to fear of rejection. In this case, it appears as though students, not being able to rely on explicit race-based metastereotypes, may have looked for more external cues regarding acceptance or rejection such as the person presented with the target. In the racialized condition, the cues were more direct in terms of highlighting differences in nationality and race making the metastereotypes more prominent, allowing judgments to be made without needing to pay attention to the friend presented with the outgroup member. While the results partially replicated the findings of Shapiro et al., (2011), the addition of different conditions (ambiguous vs. racialized), expanding the population to both majority and minority groups, as well as the inclusion of same-gender targets produced novel effects. Gender differences, in particular, were common despite the fact that Shapiro and colleagues (2011) did not observe gender differences using only men as targets. Another notable difference would be that, when making assessments of Blacks and Whites, the distinguishing feature is predominantly race, whereas with international and domestic students the differences can be racial, ethnic, linguistic etc. Given the wide diversity in this population, it is unsurprising that the influence of multicultural attitudes played a part in rejection concerns, interest in the outgroup member, and behavioural intentions toward that outgroup member.

CHAPTER 4. GENERAL DISCUSSION

In line with other studies of students studying abroad, international students expressed interest in having more friendships with students from the host culture. While these types of cross-cultural friendships are beneficial for both international and domestic students (Pettigrew & Tropp), there remain barriers that inhibit contact. One barrier could be that domestic students are not interested in international students, but the results of the current studies suggest that there is interest in having international student friends. Thus, if both groups are open to contact, the barrier to interaction might be in the form of inaccurate processing of social information. Indeed, it appears as though students' perceptions of what the outgroup students think does contribute to the dynamic of the intergroup contact.

4.1 Pluralistic Ignorance

There are grounds to suggest that that pluralistic ignorance was a factor in the judgment of participants during the two studies. Study 1 provided evidence that there is desire from both groups of students to have more outgroup friends, although this desire was somewhat stronger on the behalf of international students. While domestic students felt their interest in friendship was on par with international students, international students reported a discrepancy between their interest and what they thought would be the interest level of domestic students. Both groups of students felt they were personally more open to friendships with the outgroup than they thought the average student in their ingroup would be, incidentally highlighting the presence of pluralistic ignorance from an *intragroup* standpoint as well. Further, when given a scenario depicting intergroup inaction, both groups were prone to making attributions of disinterest to the outgroup while believing that their inaction was due to fear of rejection. That is, the findings support the intergroup pluralistic ignorance hypothesis first proposed by Shelton and Richeson (2005). Additionally, in Study 2, both groups of students assumed they had greater interest in the outgroup member than the outgroup member would have in them. These metaperceptions also speak to a pattern of pluralistic ignorance as both domestic and international students assumed any interest they had in the outgroup would be met with disinterest, despite the fact that the outgroup was, in fact, also interested in intergroup interactions and equally experienced the same fear of rejection.

The presence of pluralistic ignorance was hypothesized based on what had been observed in studies using race as the defining group feature. In contrast, race was not salient in most of the

hypothetical situations provided to the research participants in Studies 1 and 2, nor was ethnicity or nationality; yet, group membership according to student status was sufficient to create a dynamic whereby pluralistic ignorance was present. Given the multi-faceted and intersectional nature of social identities (Roccas & Brewer, 2002), it is interesting that student status itself was a defining feature by which an ingroup/outgroup mentality can be created (Tajfel, 1970).

In Study 2, conditions were added that made race an explicit factor. Under these conditions, students became more concerned about how they would be perceived and how metastereotypes would be applied. This could be because White men may fear being seen as racist when interacting with a minority group member and, as a result, they have greater rejection fears when presented with a racialized individual as compared to a racially ambiguous individual. Similarly, women showed more concern in the racialized scenario perhaps due to increased sensitivities of how they would be perceived by a racialized outgroup member compared to a racially ambiguous target. Students still expressed interest in racialized outgroup members, but their rejection concerns in that condition were greater implying that pluralistic ignorance may became more acute in situations where race was salient.

4.2 Social Network

The idea of an intergroup exchange often produces expectations of adverse outcomes (Mallett et al. 2008), including expectations of communication issues (Plant & Devine, 2003), interpersonal rejection (Mendoza-Denton, Pietrzak, & Downey, 2008; Shelton & Richeson, 2005), or indifference (Al Ramiah et al., 2015). The vignette in Study 1 proposed a scenario where participants were to imagine themselves interacting with a group of individuals and it was apparent that participants felt that their inaction to engage in group contact was due to fear of being rejected. Study 2, then, looked at fear of rejection more specifically to see if fear of rejection was impacted by the presence of either another outgroup member or by an ingroup member. Only when the target person's race was ambiguous was there the tendency to rely on the partner to the right in order to make an assessment of whether the target person would be interested in interaction. Shapiro et al. (2011) mention that the subtle social cues, such as whether an outgroup member is smiling or not, may differentially communicate acceptance and rejection in an intergroup context. This very well may be the case with the present findings; where the racial cues were not as explicit, other cues such as social networks appeared to be more important. This type of perception was only relevant in the case of rejection concerns,

however, as students seemed interested and had behavioural intentions toward the outgroup member regardless of the person with whom they were featured.

The results of Shapiro et.al (2011) were not fully replicated which may be due to several factors. First, the racialized condition was responded to by students of all different backgrounds, and the photographs that were presented were racially diverse. This method differed from having participants and target photographs of two primary races and may explain some of the variance. Second, in addition to perceptions of race, labeling individuals as being from a foreign country created another layer of "otherness" which may have impacted responses (Quinton, 2019). Lastly, the addition of both minority and majority group perspectives to the experiment added an extra dimension of the intergroup scenario that was not included previously. Although there were similarities in the way that both student groups responded, the results showing areas where different patterns of responses emerged and this speaks to the value of including both perspectives when exploring the intergroup dynamic.

4.3 Gender

The inclusion of both genders as targets was an additional variable that was included in Study 2 which was not in the design of Shapiro et al. (2011). Although there were no specific hypotheses regarding dissimilarities between genders, this characteristic ended up yielding differences in several cases. There is somewhat of a theoretical basis on which to interpret these findings as there are indications that gender can moderate interpersonal perception processes (West, 2011). Recent work, for example, highlights the value of considering the intersection of race and gender in interracial perceptions, expectations, and interactions including metaperceptions (Babbit et al., 2018). Acknowledging the influence of multiple identities can lead to a more thorough understanding of intergroup relations among domestic and international students. Indeed, the interaction of gender and student status emerged at several points in the current findings. For instance, domestic women showed more interest and behavioural intentions than did the men, which might signal that they are better equipped to deal with intergroup contact as they are more adept at navigating social identity complexity (Toosi et al., 2012). Conversely, the international women may have unique experiences that lead them to perceive, as well as be perceived, differently than domestic women or international men which might relate to the fact that they expressed greater rejection concerns (Le et al., 2016). Ultimately, the influence of gender appears to have had an impact on metaperceptions and should rightfully be

considered as a variable of influence in the study of student intergroup interactions in the future (Babbit et al., 2018).

4.4 Multicultural Attitudes

Social Identity Theory was invoked in Study 1 as a theoretical reason to observe whether the strength of international students' national identities and domestic students' Canadian identities were involved in the level interest in intergroup friendships. International students with stronger national identities were more interested in international friends while domestic students with a stronger Canadian identity were less likely to want international friends and more likely to prefer domestic student friendships. Although confirming the tenets of SIT, this finding is noteworthy given the context of a multicultural country such as Canada; greater Canadian identity is paradoxically related to less interest in cross-cultural friendships.

On the other hand, multicultural attitudes were measured directly in both studies and these attitudes were key predictors of wanting more outgroup friends as well as being less fearful of rejection among Canadian students. As multiculturalism is about the active support for cultural diversity and equity in a society, it follows then that the degree of support for multiculturalism plays a significant role in predicting intergroup friendship and facilitating relationships between international and domestic students (Hui et al., 2015). Instead of creating a situation where the majority group member is aware of the metastereotypes of his/her group which leads to some anxiety, multicultural attitudes seem to provide the majority group individual with the confidence that s/he can break the mold of the negative stereotype of the group by being egalitarian and promoting diversity. Tropp and Bianchi (2006) identified that, in looking at intergroup contact, researchers need to consider the conditions beyond that of the "contact situation" and investigate subjective features such as diversity attitudes, personality characteristics and intercultural attitudes that guide intergroup experiences. Given most research on multiculturalism has been conducted from the viewpoint of the minority group (e.g. international students), the perspectives of the domestic students provide insight into the role of multicultural attitudes in the development of relationships with international students (Williams & Johnson, 2010).

4.5 Reducing the Gap

The predominant theme of both studies is that fear of rejection is a key component contributing to the intergroup dynamics of domestic and international students (Stathi, Pavetich,

Di Bernardo, Cadamuro, Cocco, & Vezzali, In press). The problem is that a student fearing exclusion will be inclined to inaction toward the outgroup, which then suggests a lack of interest to outgroup members. Further, the student that is afraid of rejection believes that his/her intentions are transparent and that outgroup members should know that he/she is interested but hesitant to be the first to make contact (Shelton & Richeson, 2005). Hence, in order to increase integration of international and domestic students, it is important to address which factors enhance, as well as which factors alleviate both individuals' fear of rejection and their misattributions of the outgroup. As pluralistic ignorance in the case of intergroup contact represents a misunderstanding on behalf of both groups, the onus falls somewhat on both international and domestic students for improving the current situation.

For international students, it is important to understand that domestic students, despite having the advantage of being in the majority, also have rejection concerns and feel some trepidation about the metastereotypes related to their group. Shelton and Richeson (2005) recommended increasing perspective taking as a method to draw more accurate inferences about the outgroup's behaviour and recognize that the other person may be experiencing similar anxieties. In that vein, the more international students become capable of understanding the point of view of the host culture, become aware of common intergroup misunderstandings, and empathize with members of the host culture, the less intercultural stress they will experience (Lewthwaite, 1996; Redmond & Bunyi,1993). It may seem counterintuitive to minority students that the majority students experience rejection concerns and, moreover, taking the lead initiating contact may cause discomfort for international students. However, if they are willing to go outside of their comfort zone and develop the confidence to engage with host students, then they will experience increased academic and acculturative success (Choudhury, 2015).

In a study of international students in Canada, Choudhury (2015) noted that students who are able to develop a deeper cultural understanding of their host country are able to make easier connections with domestic students. She recommends having cultural navigators or interpreters for international students who can explain cultural references, especially in popular culture in order to increase confidence in intercultural situations. For example, universities that have peer mentor or buddy programs to help new international students can ensure that the students acting as mentors or buddies are trained in cultural interpretation or understand their role as cultural interpreters, in addition to orienting the student through the institutional processes. Such

measures should lead to improving confidence in social situations and thereby ameliorate some rejection concerns.

In the case of the domestic students, Study 1 revealed that they possess some awareness that the average international student is interested in intergroup friendship, while believing that the average domestic student is not especially interested in those friendships. While both groups of students express similar concerns about rejection, the perceived discrepancy between international and domestic students' interest in friendship perhaps hints to the power differential that is inherent to the majority group during intergroup interaction (Saguy, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008). It seems to be mutually acknowledged that international students are pursuing intergroup friendships, while domestic students are interested, but do not place particular importance on them. Despite that Canadian students have some interest in friends from other countries, as the cultural majority they do not need to make international student friends and acquaintances in order to thrive in a Canadian setting. This position perhaps creates some indifference on behalf of domestic students leading them to expect international students to be the first to reach out in intergroup contact (Ward, 2001; Ward et al., 2009). As the majority group, however, domestic students contribute substantially to the social climate and play an important role in setting the stage for intergroup relations. The host nationals must bear more responsibility, then, in playing a crucial role in either stimulating or hindering intercultural relations (Robinson, Somerville, & Walsworth, 2020).

The findings of the current studies suggest the importance of multicultural attitudes in domestic students actively contributing to improving the intergroup dynamic. Indeed, more positive multicultural attitudes were linked to having interest in befriending international students as well as reducing rejection concerns in the face of intergroup interaction. It was believed that perhaps Canadian identity would be intertwined with multiculturalism such that Canadian identity might lend itself to being more multicultural, but this was not the case. It was only multicultural attitudes, independent of Canadian identity, that were positively related to contact with international students (Williams & Johnson, 2010). The connection, however, between multiculturalism and intercultural contact is not a novel finding. Not surprisingly, a number of efforts to engage international and domestic students have suggested multiculturalism as a means to promote intercultural interaction (Eisenchlas & Trevaskes, 2007; Gordon & Newburry, 2007; Klak & Martin, 2003)

As a means to increase intergroup interaction, post-secondary institutions can contribute to promoting multicultural attitudes by engaging domestic and international students in initiatives that support multiculturalism. In fact, both domestic and international students often perceive it to be the responsibility of educational institutions to increase and enhance intercultural interactions (Pandian, 2008). When institutions do put measures in place to endorse multiculturalism, there seems to be a particular benefit for the domestic students (Martin, 2014). Nesdale and Todd (2000), for instance, reported that institutional programs such as orientation programs, hall tutorials, and floor-group activities worked to increase domestic students' intercultural acceptance, cultural knowledge, and openness. There is no set formula for how interventions promoting multicultural attitudes should be implemented, although some examples include intercultural group work (Ledwith & Seymour, 2001; Summers & Volet, 2008), peer-partnering and mentorship (Campbell, 2012; Geelhoed, Abe, & Talbot, 2003) and curricula geared at cross-cultural engagement (Glass & Westmount, 2014; Leask, 2009).

The mere presence of multicultural groups and activities on campus do not equate, however, to meaningful intercultural interactions (Lehto et al., 2014). Based on interviews conducted with international students, Robinson, Somerville, and Walsworth (2020) reported that, despite the multicultural environment in Canada, intercultural contact was perceived to not extend beyond politeness. In other words, a multicultural environment can promote inclusivity, but sometimes only at the superficial level. Although an atmosphere of multiculturalism may be prevalent on a Canadian university campus, the inverse correlation found between Canadian identity and multicultural attitudes is suggestive of the fact that whatever support of multiculturalism comprises Canadian identity is not sufficient to support fulsome cross-cultural interaction. More than support of diversity at a rhetorical level, the present findings imply that multicultural attitudes need to be adopted and actively endorsed in order to create interest in the outgroup and to reduce spurious metaperceptions.

4.6 Limitations and Future Directions

A main concern for international students is that they feel it is difficult to forge meaningful relationships with domestic students (Robinson et al., 2020). Although, Study 1 addressed the topic of friendship, the topic was not broached in much depth. To truly understand the socioemotional significance of friendship among students was outside the scope of the present studies. In the future though, it would be valuable to explore the meaning and strength of

the intercultural friendships. In particular, the connotation of friendship according to domestic and international students could be examined in the context of the expectations of each group. There is some evidence, for example, that the closeness and intimacy of friendships differs among collectivist as compared to individualistic cultures (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). Perhaps, then, the norms of "friendship" vary such that what it means to have a friendship is different for Canadians than it is international students.

Relatedly, issues pertaining to cultural distance may have been a factor influencing the students' perceptions, but this construct was not assessed in the current studies (Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009). Although it is common in research to group students from around the world all into one category of international students, there are undoubtedly limitations to that approach. Presumably, larger discrepancies in language, ethnicity and customs would contribute to greater intergroup apprehension for both the host and international students. There was no explicit mention of any nationality when referring to international students and so it is unclear how culturally distant the domestic students considered the students in the vignettes and in the photographs. Further, although international students' home countries were recorded as demographic information in the surveys, there was no measure of how culturally compatible those students felt among Canadian students. Future research could focus qualitatively on exploring how perceptions of cultural differences may contribute to fearing exclusion.

Both the host and international students expressed fear of rejection and assumed that the outgroup would not be interested in them. What needs to be further expanded upon, though, is *why* the students felt the outgroup would exclude them. While the results of the present studies point to the fact that students rely on metaperception leading to assumptions that the other group will be less interested in interacting, future investigations would benefit from looking at the content of the metastereotypes involved in social cognition. Drawing from intergroup literature, it was assumed, for example, that White students may approach interracial interaction with some level of anxiousness because they may fear appearing to be racist or being seen as culturally insensitive. There may be different concerns, however, as the nature of the metastereotypes need to be explored on behalf of both the domestic as well as the international students.

The emphasis in the present research has been on the topic of intergroup pluralistic ignorance, but there are also instances of *intra*group pluralistic ignorance that could be expanded on in future research. Although looking at how individuals make incorrect assumptions about ingroup norms is much more aligned with traditional applications of pluralistic ignorance, this

was not the focus of the current studies. Nonetheless, that domestic students felt that they were personally more interested in international friends than the average domestic student would be is a case where it would be beneficial to look deeper into the perception of ingroup norms. If domestic students, for instance, perceive that the normative behaviour is to predominantly have friends from the ingroup, this could inhibit individuals from including international students in social situations for fear that other Canadian student would not fully approve.

4.7 Conclusion

As the number of students studying abroad continues to increase, it is vital to find ways to help these students adjust socioculturally and make their sojourn as beneficial as possible. In being exposed to different cultures, traditions, languages and worldviews, domestic students also stand to benefit from the integration of students from other countries. Integrating the two groups has been historically difficult and creating opportunities for cross-cultural contact poses a concern for post-secondary institutions. The findings from the current studies suggest that part of the problem may lie in intergroup misunderstandings due to incorrect metaperceptions. Pluralistic ignorance appeared to be a barrier for students as both groups fear rejection due to an assumed lack of interest on behalf of the outgroup. Metastereotypes and related concerns about how one will be perceived appear to be part of the intergroup dynamic and are heightened when race is salient. In the case of domestic students, multicultural attitudes were linked to greater interest in international student friends and less fear of rejection. In terms of real-world applications, encouraging perspective taking among international students in order to see that fear of rejection equally inhibits host students could reduce their rejection concerns. Meanwhile, encouraging multicultural initiatives and programming can both develop multicultural attitudes as well as facilitate valuable opportunities for intergroup contact. Ultimately, addressing metaperceptions to have students recognize that outgroup members may have motives and apprehensions similar to one's own would be beneficial in reducing some of the intergroup anxiety between students.

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Pluralistic Ignorance (Shelton & Richeson 2005)

Part 1

Using a 7-point scale (1= not at all and 7=very much):

1. To what extent would you like to have more international student friends at the University of Saskatchewan?

2. To what extent would you like to have more Canadian student friends at the University of Saskatchewan?

3. To what extent do you think the average international student at the University of Saskatchewan would like to have more Canadian student friends at the University of Saskatchewan?

4. To what extent do you think the average Canadian student at the University of Saskatchewan would like to have more international student friends at the University of Saskatchewan?

Part 2

Participants read the following vignette and then respond using a 7-point scale, where 1= not at all and 7=very much

> *You enter the library to pass some time before your next class. You are alone because your close friends are in a review session. As you look around for a place to sit, you notice several International/Canadian students who live near you sitting together and socializing. These students also notice you. However, neither of you explicitly makes a move to sit together.*

1. How likely is it that fear of being rejected would inhibit you from sitting with these students?

2. How likely is it that your lack of interest in getting to know these students would inhibit you from sitting with them?

3. How likely is it that fear of being rejected would inhibit the students from inviting you over?

4. How likely is it that the other students' lack of interest in getting to know you would inhibit them from inviting you over?

Multicultural Ideology Scale (Berry & Kalin, 1995)

On a scale of 1 to 5 (1= Strongly disagree, 5=Strongly Agree):

1. We should recognize that cultural and racial diversity is a fundamental characteristic of [national] society.

2. We should help ethnic and racial minorities preserve their cultural heritages in [country].

3. It is best for [country] if all people forget their different ethnic and cultural backgrounds as soon as possible.

4. A society that has a variety of ethnic and cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur.

5. The unity of this country is weakened by people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds sticking to their old ways.

6. If people of different ethnic and cultural origins want to keep their own culture, they should keep it to themselves.

7. A society that has a variety of ethnic or cultural groups has more problems with national unity than societies with one or two basic cultural groups.

8. We should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups in this country.

9. Immigrant/ethnic parents must encourage their children to retain the culture and traditions of their homeland.

10. People who come to [country/region] should change their behaviour to be more like us.

National Identity Scale (Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade, & Williams (1986)

For international students, the questions will be modified to not say Canadian, but to be generic in order to be completed by people from all other countries. The Canadian scale is given below as an example.

Answer the following questions by checking a number from 1 to 7.

1. To what extent do you feel Canadian?

   Not at all 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 Extremely

2. To what extent do you feel strong ties with other Canadians?

   No ties at all 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 extremely strong ties

3. To what extent do you feel pleased to be Canadian?

   Not pleased at all 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 Extremely pleased

4. How important to you is being Canadian?

   Not important at all 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 Extremely important

5. How much are your views about Canada shared by other Canadians?

   Not shared by any 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 Shared by all

6. When you hear someone who is not Canadian criticize Canadians, to what extent do you feel personally criticized?

   Not criticized at all 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 Extremely criticized

Intergroup Contact (Leong & Ward, 2000)

1. How satisfied are you with the amount of contact you have with international/Canadian students? (1=Not at all, 5= Very much)

Intergroup Contact Quality (Islam & Hewstone, 1993)

The following are on a 1-7 scale:

To what extent did you experience the contact with (out-group) as...

Unequal 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 Completely Equal

Involuntary 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 Voluntary

Superficial 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 Intimate

Competitive 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 Cooperative

Rejection Concerns

7-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much):

1. To what extent do you think this person would want to become friends with you?
2. How likely is it that this person would find you interesting?
3. To what extent do you think that this person would enjoy talking to you?

Level of Interest

7-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much):

1. To what extent do you think you would want to become friends with this person?
2. How likely is it that you would find this person interesting?
3. To what extent would you enjoy talking to this person?

Behavioural Intentions

7-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much):

1. How likely would you choose to work on a class project with this person?
2. How likely would you sit next to this person on the bus?
3. How likely would you invite this person out with you and your friend?

Social Desirability (Loo & Thorpe, 2000)

All questions are answered with either true or false.

1. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
2. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my own way.
3. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
4. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
5. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
6. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
7. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
8. I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget.
9. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
10. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
11. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
12. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favours of me.
13. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

Table B.1 *Repeated Measures ANOVA for Ambiguous Condition*

	df	MS	F	p	Effect Size
Between Subjects					
Ethnicity	1	2.52	.992	.321	.005
Gender	1	7.56	2.97	.086	.010
Within Subjects					
Rejection Concerns	1	3.33	5.33	.022*	.027
Rejection Concerns x Ethnicity	1	3.40	5.44	.021*	.027
Rejection Concerns x Gender	1	2.43	3.89	.050*	.020
Error	194	121.36	.626	-	-

*$p<.05$ **$p<.001$

Table B.2 *Means for the Significant Interactions from Repeated Measures ANOVAs*

	Rejection Concerns (Ambiguous Condition)		Rejection Concerns (Racialized Condition)	
	M	Std Error	M	Std Error
Gender				
Men	3.98	.240	4.03	.275
Women	3.28	.213	3.83	.146
Ethnicity				
White	3.61	.241	4.21	.276
Visible Minority	3.65	.126	3.65	.144

APPENDIX C. ADDITIONAL REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Table C.1 *Regression of Rejection Concerns in the Racialized Condition*

Variable	Correlation with DV	β	R^2_{change} F	R^2 F
Step 1				
Age	-.06	-.07	7.1% $F(3,117)=2.96*$	7.1% $F(3,117)=2.96*$
Gender	.25*	.19		
Social Desirability	.04	-.03		
Step 2				
Multicultural Attitudes	-.37**	-.33	10.3% $F(1,116)=14.42**$	17.3% $F(4,116)=6.08**$

*$p <.05$ **$p <.001$